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THE publication of this Volume has been considerably delayed by the great labour required in the preparation of the Index, which is now completed, and published at the same time in a separate volume. This was done not only for the convenience of purchasers, as an Index in such a form is much more serviceable than one at the end of a volume, but also under the pressure of absolute necessity, as the Index, from the number of topics embraced in the work, has swelled to such a size that its combination with any but a very small volume was impossible, while any considerable contraction of a volume, embracing the great wars here treated of in India, Italy, and Hungary, especially at this crisis, was equally inadmissible.

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FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

FUNDATIUNEA UNIVERSITARA CAROL I. BUCUREȘTI

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L.

Author of the "History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution, in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo," &c. &c.

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CAROL I.
BUCUREȘCI

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CHINESE WAR AND INDIAN HISTORY, FROM THE AFFGHANISTAN DISASTER IN 1841 TO THE GENERAL PACIFICATION OF THE EAST IN 1842.

1. England is now for the first time brought into hostility with China.

It is observed by an American reviewer of the History of Europe during the French Revolution, that so vast was the extent of the British empire during that memorable contest, and so multiplied its relations in all parts of the earth, that there is no country, except China, with which its annalist does not find himself brought in contact, and of which he does not find it necessary to give some account. The next quarter of a century saw this exception removed. Great Britain, at the close of that period, came into collision with the Chinese empire; the ancient civilisation and immovable institutions of Asia were brought into fierce hostility with the rising power and expansive forces of Europe. This occurred, too, at a time of all others the least favourable to the European side of the contest, for the military strength of Great Britain, when it broke out, had been reduced to an unparalleled state of weakness from the effects of a long external peace and recent democratic revolution; and the warlike resources of India were simultaneously engaged in a desperate strife within the Himalaya snows,

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where a disaster of unprecedented magnitude was about to ensue. Yet to all these difficulties England rose superior, and the most glorious pacification she ever brought about in the East, concluded a double war deeply checkered in the outset with disaster. The account of this contest is not the least memorable part of contemporary history, or the least honourable to the arms and the constancy of Great Britain.

2. Description of China. Constancy of the character of its people.

Situated in the eastern extremity of Asia, on the verge of the Pacific Ocean, CHINA has, from the earliest ages to which authentic history reaches, preserved the same manners, habits, institutions, and national character. On this account it is an object of singular interest and importance to the philosophic observer. Of enormous extent, peopled by an almost fabulous multitude of inhabitants, its history extending back to the most remote antiquity, conquered repeatedly by the savage hordes which have so often from the table-land of Tartary descended to devastate and subdue the finest realms of Asia, it has still remained the same from the first settlement of the country by mankind. In no other country or part of the world, except perhaps in Japan, has a similar phenomenon been exhibited. So vast is the territory which the Chinese inhabit, so enormous its population, that foreign conquest, how decisive or desolating soever, produces no lasting effect upon its government, institutions, or national character. The conquerors are lost in the multitude of the conquered, and after a few generations are, except in war, almost undistinguishable from them.

3. Extent and population of the country.

The dimensions of China are such, that they can scarcely be conceived, even by the most creative imagination. Its length, from Kashgar to the mouth of the Amoor, is 1350 leagues, and its greatest breadth, from the Saiansk Mountains to the Isle of Hainan, 850 leagues. Its sea-coasts are 2000 leagues in length. The super-

ficial surface embraced in these limits may be roughly estimated at 670,000 square leagues, or above 5,000,000 square miles, being a little less than a tenth of the whole habitable globe, and nearly fifty times the area of the British Islands. This includes Chinese Tartary, which is much more thinly inhabited than China proper, and of much greater extent. The latter, however, contains 195,000 square leagues, or 1,800,000 square miles, being nearly double the whole of Hindostan, and about twelve times the area of France. This comparatively small portion of the country is inhabited, according to the census taken in 1825, by 367,000,000 of people, being a full third of the human race. The numbers given to Lord Macartney in 1795 were 333,000,000. These passed for long as gross exaggerations, and Balbi estimated them at only 170,000,000. The more intimate acquaintance with China, however, which has resulted from the recent war with the British, and their establishment at Hong-Kong, has led to the conclusion that the earlier accounts were not exaggerated, and that the empire now really contains 360,000,000 of souls.[1]

[1] Malte-Brun, ix. 436; Lord Macartney's Travels, 276; Amiot, 1076.

4. Revenues of the State.

The national revenues of China are by no means on a scale proportioned either to the immensity of its surface, or the magnitude of its population. They amount in all to £37,000,000, of which about two-thirds is paid in grain, and the remainder in money. The former constitutes, as in all Oriental states, the real rent of land, and the principal source of national income ; and the grain received is stored up by the Government collectors in huge magazines in each province, as a resource against the oft-recurring evils of famine. The quantity thus preserved in the public store-house of each province is accurately fixed, and always maintained according to the number and probable necessities of its inhabitants ; and the entire quantity reaches the enormous and almost incredible amount of 2,802,798 tons. The real amount of the revenue is not to be estimated, however, merely

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by the number of pounds sterling in British currency which it forms. The value of money, and general poverty of the working classes, are also to be taken into account; and if these are considered, the national income may be estimated as equal to at least £120,000,000 annually in this country.[1]

[1] Malte-Brun, ix. 439, 441; Balbi, 1074.

5. Forces by sea and land.

The military establishment amounts to 1,232,000 soldiers for China proper, besides 95,000 irregulars for Chinese Tartary; and of these immense forces, it is calculated that 900,000 men may be reckoned on as effective. The naval armament carries 32,000 guns, scattered over 9500 vessels bearing the imperial flag—a state of things which proves that the war vessels consist almost entirely of junks or gunboats. These troops, so far as they are composed of the Chinese proper, are, for the most part, miserably deficient both in discipline and the military virtues; and they almost always have taken to flight when attacked by any body, however inconsiderable in proportion, of European troops. But the case is very different with the descendants of the Tartar conquerors, who have placed a sovereign on the throne, and for centuries have governed the country over its whole extent. They have lost none of the courage or innate virtues of their ancestors; and in the war which ensued with England at this time, some of their chiefs exhibited, in the northern provinces, extraordinary intrepidity and devotion.[2]

[2] Rienzi and Klaproth, 317; Malte-Brun, ix. 440-443.

6. Great towns of China.

The great cities of China were long celebrated all over the world for their immense population; but the authentic accounts which have recently been obtained take much from the supposed prodigy. None of them approach to the population of London, which now exceeds 2,500,000. Pekin, the capital of the empire, contains only 1,700,000 souls; Canton, 845,000; Nankin, the ancient capital, 514,000. It cannot be said that these numbers are very great in a country containing 360,000,000 of inhabitants.[3] This is probably owing to the want, as in

[3] Malte-Brun, ix. 441; Balbi, 947.

all Asia, of any class of landed proprietors in the European sense of the word, and the scanty nature of its foreign commerce. China is essentially an agricultural country, and its principal wealth is drawn, and its immense population supported, from the resources of the soil.

7. Geographical description of the country.

The territory of even China proper being of such enormous extent, no general or uniform character can be assigned to its surface any more than could be done to the whole of Europe. In so far as any general description can be applied to it, the country consists of a series of basins formed by the ramifications of different chains of mountains, breaking off from the great central mass which forms the kingdom of Thibet, and the eastern ranges of which extend far into China. The great basins which these chains form are four in number, and they are all traversed by the great rivers which flow eastward from the Thibet Mountains into the Pacific Ocean. The southernmost of these basins lies to the south of the Nan-Ling chain ; the second is bounded by that chain on the south, and the mountains of Peling on the north ; the third extends from the latter mountains to the chain of Yan ; and the fourth lies to the north of the last-mentioned chain, and includes the city of Pekin. These ranges of mountains are, for the most part, of great elevation, and their summits are covered with perpetual snow, which, in the south of China, implies a height of 12,000 feet above the sea. They are, like the Himalaya and the Caucasus, of inestimable importance, by providing in their icy caverns perennial supplies of water by which irrigation may be afforded to the plains which adjoin the rivers flowing from them in their progress towards the sea. The greatest and most important plains of China are those which lie between the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, and the Yang-tze-kiang, or Blue River. These two great rivers rise near each other in the mountains of Thibet, but separate before they emerge from the hills, and embrace the richest agricultural districts of the

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empire, and from whence the chief supplies of food for its inhabitants are drawn. They are both above a thousand leagues, or 2600 miles, in length; and some of their tributary streams are larger than the Rhine or the Danube. In addition to these magnificent natural canals, there are, especially in the northern provinces of China, great numbers of lakes formed by chains of mountains intercepting the rivers in their course to the sea, some of which are of vast extent, being 80 or 90 leagues in circumference, and of great service to the inhabitants, both as furnishing the means of internal communication, and as affording inexhaustible supplies of fish.[1]

[1] Balbi, 974; Malte-Brun, ix. 339-341, 343.

8. Canals, and especially the great one.

The Chinese have turned to good account the supplies of water which their snow-fed rivers afford them, by conducting it into an infinite number of canals, which serve the double purpose of promoting internal communication, and furnishing the means of irrigation indispensable, especially in the southern provinces, to agricultural production. As in Lombardy, the large canals which draw off the water from the rivers are conducted into innumerable little rills, which are preserved with the utmost care, and carry the fertilising stream into every garden and field of the level country. But, in addition to this, there are several great canals intersecting the territory in different directions, which serve the purposes of internal commerce, and compensate, in some degree, the enormous distances which separate one part of the empire from the other. The most important of these internal arteries is that called the Imperial Canal, which is 600 leagues in length, and connects Pekin with the southern provinces of the empire. It was begun in the year 1181 of the Christian era, and finished in the end of the thirteenth century. It is 90 feet broad over the greater part of its extent, is edged by cut stones, and so great a number of persons are employed, either in the canal itself or the irrigation connected with it, that its sides are generally lined with rows of houses, continuous like

the streets of a town. At every league locks are established, connected with large tanks to let off the superfluous water in the rainy season, and store it up for the use of the adjoining fields. This canal, which may be called the great artery of the empire, is indispensable to Pekin and the northern provinces, by furnishing the means of transporting the tribute paid in kind from the great grain provinces in the south to the capital, and supplying it with the means of subsistence.[1]

[1] Dechalde, i. 33; Macartney, 174; Malte-Brun, ix. 343, 344.

9. Variety of the climate and natural productions.

The vast extent of China, and the circumstance of its being bounded on the one side by the warm ocean, and on the other by the mountains of Thibet, have rendered the climate and average temperature of its different provinces extremely various. In its eastern provinces the heats of summer are tempered by the balmy breezes of the Pacific; in the western, they are chilled by the cold winds which sweep down from the snows of Tartary. In the south the sugar-cane, cotton-plant, and all the productions of the tropics, are to be found in abundance; in those a little to the north the tea-plant grows in profusion, which has become in a manner a necessary of life in Great Britain and some parts of Europe. In the central provinces vast crops of rice and wheat furnish food to the immense population of the country; while in the north barley and oats are to be found, and all the cereal productions of northern Europe. The indifference of the Chinese people and their government to foreign commerce is mainly to be ascribed to this cause. Their empire forms a world within itself, containing nearly all the productions of all climates; the foreign commerce of other nations is to them a home-trade, and no external disaster seriously affects either their wealth or subsistence so long as their internal communication continues uninterrupted.[2]

[2] Kirwan, Essai sur la Temperature, 179; Mem. des Savans Etrangers, vi. 509; Malte-Brun, ix. 345, 346.

To the same cause is to be ascribed the indifference of the Imperial Government of Pekin, in the general case, to the concerns of their distant provinces, or the quarrels

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10. Despotic powers of the Viceroys, and indifference of the Central Government to their concerns.

in which they may be involved, and the ample powers, amounting almost to independence, which the viceroys over them enjoy. The concerns or disputes of the remote viceroys excite little attention in the imperial cabinet, so long as they remit their portion of the revenue regularly, which, being for the most part paid in kind, is not liable to be affected in any considerable degree by a stoppage or diminution of foreign commerce. The viceroys at Canton, Shanghai, or the other great ports of the empire, are rather independent sovereigns paying a tribute, than the lieutenants of a vigorous and efficient central government. So thoroughly centralised, however, is the machine of society, and so entirely dependent, as elsewhere in the East, on the Imperial Government, that this independence exists only so long as the appointed tribute is regularly paid, or no great disaster forcibly arrests the attention of Government. If the revenue fails, or an external calamity rouses the anxiety of the Emperor, the viceroy or mandarin is recalled, and ere long the bastinado or the bowstring may remind him of the precarious tenure by which his authority, great as it was, had been held.[1]

[1] De Guignes, ii. 445; Mem. des Missionaires, viii. 41, 348; Malte-Brun, ix. 400.

11. Agriculture of China.

Agriculture being the main resource of China, and the means not only, as in other countries, of furnishing food for the inhabitants, but of paying the revenue to the Government, the whole energies of the people are directed to this one object. Incredible is the industry exerted, the pains bestowed, to fertilise and increase the produce of the soil. Not only is a greater proportion than in any other state of equal extent under cultivation, but what is devoted to crops is worked with an unparalleled amount of attention and diligence. Tanks are cut out of the rocks on the summit of mountains, to collect the water which gathers on those humid heights, from whence the fertilising stream is conducted to the slopes beneath, which are shaped into terraces. If there is a river at their foot, its water is conveyed to the top by

means of portable machinery. The summits, if sterile and barren, are planted with pine-trees, so that every part may be made to contribute something to the use of man. They have even in some provinces contrived to render the lakes productive of more than fish, by planting and cultivating in them aquatic plants having tubercles something like the carrot (*Sagittaria tuberosa*), capable of forming human food.[1]

[1] De Guignes, iii. 326; Macartney, iv. 210; Malte-Brun, ix. 347.

12. Continued.

Little attention is paid to the rearing of animals, and very few of them are employed in the labours of cultivation. Everything almost is done by the human hand, and the greater part of the crops which are raised are for human subsistence. Among any other people this state of things would lead to a want of manure and a deterioration of produce, but this is prevented among the Chinese by the diligence with which they collect, and the economy with which they distribute, the whole human refuse, which is returned chiefly in a liquid form to the fields. No difficulty is experienced by them in disposing of the sewerage of cities, or the drainage of houses. It is all collected in tanks, and applied through watering-pans to the roots of plants, as is sometimes done in our gardens. Farms are small, seldom exceeding eight or ten acres, generally only three or four, and the occupants all live in detached houses on their little possessions. Thus the general aspect of the country, both in its level and mountainous regions, is that of a vast garden ; and it is this mode of cultivation which explains how the immense population is fed.[2]

[2] Barrow's China, iii. 66; De Guignes, iii. 288, 329; Malte-Brun, ix. 343.

13. The land tenures.

Like all other Oriental states, the Chinese have no landed proprietors in the European sense of the word— that is, owners of considerable tracts of land interposed between the Emperor and the cultivators of the soil. In China, as in Hindostan and over the whole East, the sovereign is the real landed proprietor. The land-tax, generally from a third to a half of the produce, is the real rent of the soil, and the limit of each cultivator's

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possession is what he can cultivate himself, with the aid of his family or domestic servants. This state of things, which covers the earth with a crowd of indigent cultivators, earning a subsistence and nothing more from the soil, and leaves no authority or influence but in the holders of political office or the possession of mercantile wealth, is the grand characteristic of Asiatic society, and the principal feature which distinguishes it from that of modern Europe. No government is practicable in such a state of society but an absolute despotism, communicating its orders through equally despotic satraps, mandarins, or governors of cities and provinces.[1]

[1] De Guignes, ii. 445; Malte-Brun, ix. 339, 406.

14. Form of government.

The power of the Emperor is unlimited so far as the constitution itself is concerned. No checks or restraint of any sort are provided against his authority—his will is law, his act the ministration of God Almighty in the government of the earth. The same unlimited power which the Emperor possesses is enjoyed by the mandarins, or provincial governors, within their respective jurisdictions. No one thinks of disputing, none is courageous enough to resist, their authority. When one of these functionaries appears in the streets, he is preceded by an hundred executioners, who announce his approach by loud howlings, which freeze every heart with terror. If any one neglects to range himself by the wall to let the procession pass, he is instantly beset by the executioners, who leave him half dead on the street, with strokes of bamboo canes. Justice is administered by these functionaries gratuitously, and without the aid of attorneys or legal assistants of any kind. It is sufficiently summary in civil cases; the judgment is pronounced on the first hearing, and the defendant receives the bastinado if he does not instantly satisfy the judgment. In criminal cases the punishment is still more severe, and too often consists of cruel tortures.[2] It cannot be inflicted, however, until the sentence has been confirmed by superior tribunals, and, in cases inferring death, by the sanction of the Emperor

[2] De Guignes, ii. 445; Mem. des Missionaires, viii. 41, 348; Macartney, ii. 239; Malte-Brun, ix. 399, 400.

himself. The mandarins, in their turn, are subjected to a despotism fully as rigorous as that with which they are intrusted over others; and if delinquency or malversation is established against any of their number, by what appears to the Emperor to be sufficient evidence, he is instantly dispossessed, his fortune confiscated, and he himself bastinadoed with as little mercy as he had shown to the meanest of his former subjects.

15. Practical checks on the Government.

In every country, however, even the most despotic, there is, practically speaking, some check upon the oppression of Government, when it rises to such a height as to have become unbearable, and to affect the persons or property of considerable numbers of the people. This last remedy is not awanting in China. It is true the laws recognise no limitation whatever on the will of the Emperor, and he may do whatever he pleases; but necessity compels him to have a council to share with him the labours and responsibility of Government; and they are permitted to tender their advice in council, which, when the sovereign is a man of sense and candour, is often done with freedom and effect. The mandarins also, though at an awful distance below, are permitted to make representations on the working of particular enactments or decrees, which are sometimes attended to, especially if they tend to an augmentation or additional facilities in the collection of the revenue. A certain restriction upon misgovernment arises from the custom, which has passed into a consuetudinary usage, of choosing the mandarins and public functionaries only from the lettered or highly-educated classes. They do not form a privileged class like the high castes in India or the feudal aristocracies of Europe, but are a body chosen by competition and open examination from all the other classes of society. Thus the career, whether of civil or military employment, is open to all, and it is the knowledge of this which renders the people so patient under the despotism which prevails. Every one hopes that he himself,

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or his son, may become one of the despotic governors. Finally, there exists the *ultimum remedium* of insurrection, when tyranny has become unbearable, which, although threatened with the severest penalties by the laws, and utterly adverse to the feelings and habits of the people, does sometimes come into operation, and takes effect in rebellions fearful to contemplate, from the oceans of blood shed, and the unbounded cruelty exercised and suffering endured on both sides.[1]

[1] Abbé Remusat, 247, 251; Malte-Brun, ix. 420.

16. Religion of the Chinese.

It is usually supposed that the Chinese are all Buddhists, or followers of the religion which soon after the Christian era had spread from Thibet over the adjoining regions of Asia. But although the Buddhists are the most numerous, they are not the only religious persuasion which prevails in China. The whole inhabitants in remote ages were worshippers of the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the ocean, and some of the most striking visible objects of nature. This primitive worship was succeeded by a more philosophic system, which was divided into the followers of Confucius, whose principles had some resemblance to those of the Stoics, and the adherents of *Laokiun* or *Tao-tse*, which are more analogous to those of Epicurus. But neither of these systems, the growth of a civilised age, and the offspring of contemplative minds, was adapted to the wants of the great body of men, who are chiefly influenced by their passions and imagination. The majority of the people accordingly eagerly embraced the religion of Fo, the disciples of which entered China from Thibet about the year 65 of the Christian era. This faith recognises the unity of the Supreme Being; but that sublime tenet is accompanied by innumerable superstitions and worship of inferior deities, which bespeak the pusillanimous and crouching spirit of the Oriental servitude. The priests of this faith are extremely numerous; they are said in the whole empire to exceed a million.[2] This immense body live entirely, like the mendicant friars in Europe, on voluntary charity, and, like

[2] Malte-Brun, ix. 416-419; De Guignes, ii. 283, 290; Neukof Ambassade, ii. 50; Remusat, 147.

them, they conceal, under a humble guise and squalid exterior, the pride of unbounded influence and the desire for sensual gratification. All the three religions live in perfect harmony with each other, are equally tolerated by the State, and each is considered by the others as alike true, and leading to salvation. Hence the Chinese proverb, "The three religions in reality are only one."

17. State of education among the Chinese.

To those who consider universal education and reading, coupled with the general use of printing, as an infallible security against the abuses of despotism, the example of China is in an especial manner worthy of attention. There is no country in which learning has so long prevailed, or been so generally diffused. At a period long anterior to the literary celebrity even of the Greeks and Romans, the Chinese were far advanced in several branches of knowledge, and institutions to bring it home to the great body of the people were generally established. A collection was begun, in the last century, of their "chosen works," and it soon reached 180,000 volumes. Encyclopædias, popular libraries, and general collections, have been established among them from time immemorial; and nowhere does this possession of education so immediately and exclusively tend to elevation and success in life. The use of gunpowder, the compass, and the art of printing, were common in China long before they were known in Europe. In the year 932 of our era, before the Norman Conquest, a beautiful edition of the best Chinese authors was printed at Pekin for the use of the students at the imperial college. Artesian wells, balloons, artificial fireworks of the finest description, have been familiar to them from time immemorial. Education and the power of reading and writing are diffused to an extent scarcely known in any country of Europe;[1] and the multitudes of the lettered class who have not been able to pass the examinations for public offices, spread themselves over every province, town, and village, and earn a livelihood by teaching the young, which alone opens to all the career of success

[1] Nouveaux Mélanges Asiat.; De Guignes, i. 377; St Croix, iii. 156; Malte-Brun, ix. 403-407.

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in life. Yet, with all this, China is the most despotic country in the world, and the one in which the absolute authority of the Emperor and his inferior functionaries is most universally and willingly obeyed, and in which the spirit of the people seems most thoroughly and irrecoverably broken by a long course of servitude.

18. Cautious management of their trade by the East India Company.

Commercial intercourse with this singular people, on the part of any of the European nations, was necessarily subject to very considerable risks, from the peculiar habits of the people, their jealousy of foreigners, and the immense extent of the empire, which rendered any foreign trade, how considerable soever in the eyes of European powers, an object of comparative indifference to a government resting on such vast territorial possessions. As long as the trade remained in the hands of the East India Company, however, the traffic was carried on with prudence and circumspection; it was conducted by a few persons, who became acquainted with the native character, and, by seasonable *douceurs*, allayed the jealousies or restrained the complaints of the local authorities. Thus any considerable collision was prevented, and if any disputes did occur, they were in general sopited by a bribe to the mandarins, or the concession, on the part of the Company's agents, of the point in dispute. But although this mode of carrying on the business prevented a rupture, and was extremely advantageous to the East India Company so far as their commercial interests were concerned, yet it was eminently prejudicial to the national character with the inhabitants and government of the country. It naturally gave rise to the belief, which soon became universal in the celestial empire, that Great Britain was a country wholly set upon mercantile profit, destitute alike of public spirit and the means of enforcing any national object, and the traders of which would submit to any indignity, provided they were allowed to retain possession of their lucrative traffic.

It was in part foreseen, what the event soon more than verified, that when the Chinese trade was thrown open, in pursuance of the Act of 1833, there would be a great increase in the trade to China,[1] and therefore an augmented risk of collisions with the inhabitants or official persons of that empire. The bill opening the trade accordingly contained a clause authorising the appointment of certain superintendents of the trade to Canton, where alone it was permitted by former custom, and conferring on them considerable power over all engaged in the trade. Lord Napier was the first commissioner appointed, and he arrived at Macao on the 15th July, from whence he proceeded to Canton, where he arrived on the 25th of the same month. According to custom, the Andromache, a vessel of war on board of which he had come, anchored below the *Bocca Tigris*, being the principal fortified pass on the river leading to Canton. From thence he proceeded in a cutter to the neighbourhood of Canton, where he sent a holograph letter to the governor of the town, announcing his arrival, and requesting permission to enter the city. This, however, was peremptorily refused on a variety of frivolous grounds, and the viceroy declined to recognise Lord Napier's diplomatic character. At the same time the Hong-Kong merchants, seeing he had not come in the supplicatory attitude to which they had been accustomed, threatened to stop the trade. Shortly after, Lord Napier, in his residence outside Canton at Whampoa, was subjected to a variety of petty annoyances, descriptive of the determination of the Chinese authorities to drive him from the neighbourhood of the city. His baggage was broken open, though the keys were at hand; his supply of provisions cut off, and his residence surrounded by soldiers. At the same time the viceroy refused to sanction any transactions involving British property subsequent to the 16th August. Under these circumstances Lord Napier, who was a sailor, and possessed all the spirited feelings

Change when the China trade was thrown open.

[1] Ante, c. xxxi. § 69.

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of his profession, requested the officers of the Andromache and Imogene to furnish him with a guard of marines, and to bring their vessels to anchor at Whampoa for the protection of the merchant vessels there assembled. To do this they required to pass the Bocca Tigris, the passage of which had been hitherto forbidden to vessels of war; and this brought on the first collision between Great Britain and the Chinese empire.[1]

[1] Davis's China; Ann. Reg. 1840, 242, 243.

20. Passage of the Bocca Tigris and Tiger Island. Sept. 7.

Early on the morning of the 7th September the two frigates passed the batteries of the Bocca Tigris, working up against a northerly wind. The guns all opened upon them, but they were so ill-directed that only one man was hurt by a splinter, and a few ropes shot away. The wind having then failed, and there being no steam-tugs in the squadron, they were obliged to anchor below Tiger Island, a little farther up the river. On the 9th they weighed anchor, and proudly passed within pistol-shot of the batteries, which they speedily laid in ruins, though with the loss of two killed and several wounded. Adverse winds again retarded their progress till the 11th, when they again set sail, and anchored off Whampoa in a situation to protect the merchant vessels, which to the number of forty-six were there assembled. Upon this the viceroy at Canton agreed to reopen the trade, provided the British commissioner withdrew from Whampoa to Macao. Lord Napier, to avoid coming to extremities, agreed to this; but he fell a victim soon after to the climate, and was succeeded by Mr Davis as chief superintendent.[2]

[2] Davis; Ann. Reg. 1840, 243.

21. Pacific state of affairs in 1835 and 1836.

After Lord Napier's death, and a brief interregnum during which the government was conducted by Mr Davis with great prudence, Sir George Robinson became chief superintendent, and was assisted by Captain Elliot as a second commissioner. Sir George conducted the administration intrusted to him during 1835 and 1836 with much judgment, and no collision between the two nations occurred during this period. But a foundation was laid of a very serious difference at a future time, in

the immense increase which took place in the smuggling trade in opium, not only in the river of Canton, but all along the coast as far as Chusan. The Chinese Government, partly alarmed at the immense quantities of this dangerous and intoxicating drug which were introduced, and also displeased at being deprived of the import duties which would be paid on the introduction of the same article by the regular trader, passed several severe edicts against the contraband trade, which Sir George regularly transmitted to the Foreign Office, with an urgent request for instructions how to act, which, however, were never furnished. The truth is that vast pecuniary interests were involved in the continuance of the contraband traffic; and Government, aware of this, and fearful of bringing on a collision which might injure them if they took any decided step in the matter, thought it best to do nothing, and leave the commissioners to act as they deemed expedient, and on their own responsibility. Immense fortunes were in course of being made by the English merchants engaged in the trade; and the export of it from India became so immense that the East India Company enjoyed a revenue from the monopoly of that article of £4,000,000 a-year. Both Mr Davis and Sir George Robinson, however, warned the Government in the most emphatic terms of the impending danger; but the latter declined taking any steps to abate it.[1]

[1] Davis, 172-77; Ann. Reg. 1840, 244, 245.

22. Vast increase of the smuggling trade in 1836 and 1837.

The more rigid enforcing of the edicts against the smuggling in opium, by the Chinese Government, led not only to an extension of it to Chusan, but also, what was far more dangerous, to its being conducted, not as heretofore in Chinese junks, but in British boats by British seamen, in the river of Canton itself, as far up as Whampoa. The demand for the intoxicating drug was so great among the Chinese, and the profits arising from its contraband introduction to the English merchants engaged in the traffic so immense, that their combined action

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overcame all obstacles. Captain Elliot, in November 1837, represented the extreme danger of this state of things, when British seamen were daily engaged in the open violation of the Chinese laws; but Lord Palmerston declined to interfere. Sensible, however, that this anomalous state of things could not long endure without an open collision between the two countries, the Cabinet took some steps to be prepared for the danger, and sent Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland in the Wellesley, 74, with the brig Algerine, into the Chinese waters, and they arrived in the Canton river on 12th July 1838. Sir Frederick in vain endeavoured to open a pacific communication with the viceroy at Canton: the letters he sent were returned unopened; and a British man-of-war boat, having passed the Bocca Tigris, was fired upon by the batteries. For this insult, however, an adequate apology was tendered and accepted. Soon after, a quantity of opium, the property of a British trader, was seized in Canton by the Chinese officers, the vessel which brought it ordered out of the river, and the native merchant who was the owner of the vessel subjected to a severe and degrading punishment.[1]

[1] Davis, 184-192; Ann. Reg. 1840, 245.

23. Vigorous measures of the Viceroy Lin.

The Chinese Government at length resolved to take effectual measures to stop this contraband traffic, which they regarded as not less derogatory to the majesty of the empire than injurious to the health and morals of their subjects. In January 1839, a new Viceroy, named Lin, was appointed for Canton, and he arrived there in the middle of March following. His arrival was immediately signalised by the most vigorous measures. He demanded that the whole opium in the factories should instantly be delivered up to him, and a bond taken from every merchant that they would never again attempt to introduce it; and in the event of any such being thereafter brought, it should be confiscated, and the importer put to death. Should the foreigners fail to comply with these requisitions, they were to be forth-

with overwhelmed by numbers and destroyed. Mr Dent, one of the most respectable English merchants, was required to attend before the tribunal of Lin, in Canton, to answer some charges against him, Lin thus claiming a direct jurisdiction over the foreign factories. At the same time, the factories were rigorously blockaded by a large body of troops, and all supplies from every quarter cut off. Under these circumstances, Captain Elliot required all the opium then in Canton to be delivered up to the Chinese authorities, and in pursuance of it, 20,283 chests of that article, worth about £1,000,000, were, on 3d April, given over to the persons authorised by Lin to receive it. Meanwhile every effort was made to get the blockaded merchants to surrender and subscribe the bond required of them; but this demand was evaded. This imprisonment and blockade continued till 4th May, when, all the opium having been delivered, the merchants were allowed to depart, and Captain Elliot withdrew the last, on the 25th, under an edict from the governor never again to return. Such was "the course of violence and spoliation," which, in Captain Elliot's words, "had broken up the foundations of this great trade, perhaps for ever."[1]

May 4.

[1] Davis, 203-212; Ann. Reg. 1839, 428; 1840, 246, 247.

The feelings of exasperation produced on both sides by these violent proceedings, were increased in August following by an affray which took place between some English sailors and Chinese villagers, in which one of the latter was unfortunately killed. A demand was immediately made to have the homicide given up, which was of course refused. This was followed by an edict, prohibiting the Chinese to furnish provisions to the British, and soon after a British schooner, the "Black Joke," was boarded by several Chinese junks, several Lascars on board cut down and thrown overboard, and Mr Moss, a young Englishman, cruelly wounded. Towards the end of the year, Lin, in conjunction with Tang, the Viceroy of Wantung, issued an edict against the importation of any English goods, though transhipped on board the vessels of

24. Further violent proceedings of the Chinese.

Aug. 16, 1839.

Aug. 20.

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any other nation; requiring a bond to be entered into by the masters of such foreign vessel, to the effect that he had no British effects on board, under the penalty of confiscation if any such were discovered. So much distressed were the British merchants by these proceedings, that Captain Elliot condescended so far as to petition Lin for a restoration of the commerce in the mean time, in terms little calculated to convey an impression of the dignity of the British empire.* But to this it was replied, that till the murderer of the Chinese was given up there could be no intercourse between the two nations, and the port would remain closed. A certain amount of commerce, however, was afterwards permitted below the Bocca Tigris, when it was again interrupted in consequence of the captain of a British merchant-vessel, Mr Warner, having signed the bond required by Lin, and passed the Bocca Tigris in order to unload his cargo at Whampoa. This concession made the Chinese authorities rise in their demands, and it was then insisted that the captains of all vessels should sign the bond in the same manner as Warner had done. The British refused, and this led to the first commencement of serious hostilities.[1]

[1] Parliamentary Paper Additional, p. 8; Capt. Elliot to Lord Palmerston, Nov. 5, 1840; Davis, i. 138-143; Ann. Reg. 1840, 248, 249.

25. Commencement of hostilities. Oct. 28.

The British forces in the river of Canton consisted of the Volage and Hyacinth frigates, and were anchored about a mile below the first battery; the Chinese squadron consisted of twenty-nine vessels of various sizes, including several fire-ships. After a fruitless correspondence, in which Lin peremptorily demanded that the man who had killed the Chinese should be given up, the flotilla weighed anchor and approached the English frigates, which had assumed a position, at the request of

* "England having already enjoyed commercial intercourse with the heavenly dynasty for about 200 years, all that I now beg at this time is the continuance of our former legal commerce as of old, and that everything be done in respectful submission to the statutes of the great pure dynasty, while at the same time the laws of my native country be not opposed, thus causing that both may exist and remain together."—Captain Elliot to Commissioner Lin, September 4, 1840; *Ann. Reg.* 1840, 248.

the Chinese, a little further down, but still covering the merchant vessels. As the Chinese flotilla, however, continued to advance, and appeared determined to pass inside the ships of war, so as to be able to carry into effect their threats of destroying the merchant vessels, Captain Elliot, about noon, gave the signal to engage. Then, for the first time in their long annals, the Chinese were brought into serious collision with the Europeans, and felt the force of an English broadside. The ships bore away ahead in close order, having the wind on the starboard beam. In this way, under easy sail, they ran down the Chinese line, pouring in a quick and well-sustained fire. The wind being a side one, they were able to veer about and run along the line from its other extremity, with their port broadsides bearing on the enemy. The Chinese returned the fire for some time with vigour; but their guns, ill directed, did little mischief, and were no match for the British artillery. In less than an hour one war-junk blew up within pistol-shot of the Volage, three were sunk, and several water-logged. The Chinese admiral, who had personally displayed much courage, upon this withdrew in great disorder to his former anchorage, and the English, in obedience to their orders not to act on the offensive, suffered them to retire unmolested. Shortly after, the Volage made sail for Macao, to protect the British merchant-vessels that were embarking cargoes there, and the Hyacinth remained in the river of Canton.[1]

[1] Captain Elliot's Despatch, Oct. 28, 1840; Davis, i. 143-145; Ann. Reg. 1840, 249, 250.

26. Further hostilities with a larger squadron.

It soon appeared how ill-judged it was to have stopped midway in the career of victory, and how incapable the Asiatics are of appreciating moderation or yielding to any other argument but force. Two hundred years of submissive policy at Canton, dictated to preserve the profits of trade at any hazard to national reputation, had engendered the idea that the British would submit to any indignity rather than incur the risk of losing their lucrative commerce, and it had become indispensable to make a vigorous effort to undeceive the Chinese. In the outset

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of the altercation the British Government were obliged to temporise, for they were in Europe on the verge of a war with France, and in the East involved in a desperate strife with the Affghans. But now circumstances had changed; the treaty of July 1840 had coerced French ambition in the Levant; and the first and deceitful success in Central Asia had permitted a considerable part of the forces destined for its invasion to return to Hindostan. A powerful armament accordingly was fitted out and despatched to the Chinese waters, consisting of the Wellesley, 74, and several lesser vessels and brigs, which, with those already there, formed a respectable squadron of one line-of-battle ship, two frigates, five brigs, and two armed steamers, with several troop-ships having some military on board. So little were the Chinese aware of the quality of the new adversaries with whom they had to deal, that, hearing of the arrival of a large vessel on the coast, the Governor of Canton issued a proclamation, offering a reward of 20,000 Spanish dollars "to whomsoever might capture an English great ship carrying 80 guns, and deliver the same to the Government, and 5000 dollars for every mandarin or officer slain." Several attempts to burn the British squadron were afterwards made by means of fire-ships, though happily without effect, the danger having been averted by the vigilance of the boats of the fleet. But, meanwhile, an expedition was prepared against Chusan, a valuable and important island lying off the east coast, and the chief of a group of lesser isles bearing the same name, which, after a show of resistance, was abandoned to the British. Then, for the first time in history, was the British flag hoisted on a Chinese town.[1]

June 9.

[1] Davis, i. 147; Ann. Reg. 1840, 252, 253.

27. Ineffectual negotiations. Capture of the forts of Canton.

This success to a certain degree opened the eyes of the Chinese to the dangers of the contest into which they had so unnecessarily plunged; and Lin was in consequence recalled, and a new governor, named Koshen, sent to Canton, who declared that he had full power

to treat for the settlement of all the questions in dispute. Negotiations were opened accordingly by Captain Elliot at Macao. It was soon evident, however, that the Chinese were only negotiating to gain time. "We must adopt other methods," said Koshen, in a letter to the Emperor, "which will be easy, as they have opened negotiations." In the midst of the most pacific professions, a secret edict came to the knowledge of the British, detailing the means of destroying every British vessel and subject, which were all doomed to destruction. At the same time it was learned that every preparation had been made for barring passage up the river by sinking vessels laden with stones in one channel, and strengthening the batteries on the sides. Hostilities were immediately resumed, and on the 7th January an attack was made on the forts of Bocca Tigris, which were soon laid in ruins; and a body of marines having landed, they were stormed, and the British flag hoisted on the ramparts. No less than 173 heavy guns were taken on this occasion; and preparations having been made to renew the attack next day on the principal fort of Anunghoy, which was the last defence remaining to Canton, Koshen feigned submission, and Captain Elliot agreed to an armistice on conditions eminently favourable to the British. These were—that the island of Hong-Kong, situated some way down the river, should be ceded to the British; six millions of dollars (£1,500,000) paid as an indemnity to the merchants whose opium had been confiscated, of which 1,000,000 was to be paid at once; and trade opened on equal terms with the Chinese, and to be commenced at Canton on the 2d February following.[1]

Jan. 7.

[1] Captain Elliot's Desp. Jan. 8, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1841, 277-279; Davis, i. 147, 148.

28. The treaty is disavowed on both sides, though partially executed.

This treaty proved the ruin of the governor who had negotiated it. So entirely had the court of Pekin been kept in the dark by their agents in Canton as to the real state of affairs, that, at the very time it was concluded, the Emperor sent an order to his viceroy, "to send the heads of the rebellious barbarians to the capital in bas-

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kets;" and Koshen, in terror for his life, wrote to Pekin, on the conclusion of the treaty, representing it as entirely favourable to the Chinese, and the result of abject submission on the part of the British. No sooner, however, did the real nature of the treaty become known to the government at Pekin, and in particular that money was to be paid, than they issued a violent manifesto against Koshen, who was deprived of his office, and his property, which was enormous, confiscated to the imperial treasury. The British Government, on their part, were hardly less dissatisfied with the treaty, both for its containing the cession of the fine island of Chusan—having stipulated nothing about the opium trade, the ostensible cause of the war, and stopped the British in the career of victory, when its real object—the taming the insufferable arrogance of the Chinese authorities—had not been attained. In pursuance of these views, Captain Elliot was recalled by the home Government, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed plenipotentiary in his stead. In the mean time, however, Hong-Kong had been formally taken possession of by the British troops, and orders had been despatched to Chusan to restore that island to the Chinese authorities.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. May 6, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1841, 278, 279.

29. Storming of the forts, Feb. 26.

When such was the temper of the governments on both sides, it was not likely that the suspension of hostilities could be of very long duration; it soon, accordingly, came to an end. On 19th February a hostile shot was fired by north Quang-tong batteries on the Canton River at a boat of the Nemesis; and the squadron under the command of Sir Gordon Bremer immediately advanced to avenge the insult. The fleet was forming into two divisions: the first, under Sir H. Fleming Lowhouse, consisting of the Blenheim, 74, with the Melville and Queen steamers, with four rocket-boats, proceeded to attack Anunghoy; while the second, under Sir G. Bremer in person, laid themselves alongside of the batteries on the south-west of Quang-tong. Both attacks proved entirely

successful; in less than an hour the batteries of Quang-tong were silenced, and a body of troops, under Major Pratt of the 26th Cameronians, having landed, the fort, with the whole island, was captured, with 1300 Chinese soldiers, without the loss of a man. At the same time the Anunghoy batteries were silenced by the steady, well-directed fire of the Blenheim, Melville, and Queen; and Sir H. Lowhouse having landed at the head of a body of marines, the whole batteries on that side also were stormed, and the British colours hoisted on the forts, with the loss only of five killed and wounded. Next day the light squadron of the fleet proceeded farther up the river, and commenced a fire upon a mass of forty-nine junks, which, with an old East Indiaman, were stationed to bar the passage near Whampoa. After a smart fire of an hour, Feb. 27. the junks and batteries were silenced, and the marines, with a body of seamen, being landed, the Chinese, 2000 in number, were driven out of the works, with the loss of 300 slain. Pursuing their success, the British light vessels approached Howqua Fort, the last defence of Canton; and preparations were making for attacking it, when the March 2. Chinese again made offers of accommodation. Captain Elliot a second time fell into the snare, and a suspension of hostilities with these arrogant barbarians was agreed to, when all the external defences of their city had been captured, and decisive success was within his power.[1]

[1] Sir G. Bremer's Despatch, March 3, 1841; Ann. Reg. 279, 280.

30. Farther hostilities, a fresh armistice, and renewed war.

It was foreseen at the time, by the naval and military commanders of the expedition, that this "forbearance would be misunderstood, and that a further punishment must be resorted to before this perfidious and arrogant government is brought to reason." The event proved that Sir G. Bremer's anticipations were too well founded. On 17th March, a flag of truce sent by Captain Elliot was again fired upon by the Chinese, and, in consequence, the light squadron, under Captain Herbert, advanced next March 18. day to the Howqua Fort, which it soon silenced, burnt or sunk the whole flotilla assembled under its walls; and

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moving up within sight of Canton, hoisted the Union Jack on the walls of the British Factory, while the guns of the squadron commanded the whole approaches by water to the city. Upon this the Chinese governor again had recourse to the artifice of negotiation, and again the British plenipotentiary was deceived. On the 20th March, a circular by Captain Elliot announced to the British merchants that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed to, and, in consequence, trade was partially resumed during the next six weeks. Fortunately the British commanders were more alive to the method of carrying on war with Asiatics. Sir G. Bremer repaired to Calcutta to explain to the Government there the necessity of sending reinforcements, which was promptly done ; and in the interval, a hero destined to future fame, Major-General Sir H. Gough, arrived, and took the command of the land forces. Meanwhile four imperial edicts were issued, breathing the most fierce defiance to the English. "They are," said the Emperor, "like dogs and sheep in their dispositions. It is difficult for heaven and earth to bear any longer with the English ; and both gods and men are indignant at their conduct." By the same decree, Koshen, for having consented to an armistice, was ordered to be delivered over to the board of punishment ; and as the hostile preparations of the Chinese continued unabated, and the constant arrival of hardy Tartar soldiers from the north was every day rendering them more formidable, while an attack by fire-rafts had already been made, on the 21st, on the merchant vessels, it was resolved to anticipate their hostile movements, and make an immediate attack upon Canton.[1]

March 20.

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp. May 25, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1841, 280, 281; Davis, i. 149, 150.

31. Plan for storming of the forts of Canton.

Canton at this time was garrisoned by about 20,000 men, including a great many Tartar soldiers, who had inherited all the courage and daring which had so often rendered them formidable to the greatest empires of Europe and Asia. It was surrounded by brick walls from twenty to thirty feet high, flanked

by massy projecting towers, lined by a plentiful array of heavy artillery. The attempt to reduce by force such a city so defended, was a serious undertaking; but Sir H. Gough, having obtained considerable reinforcements from India, resolved, with his characteristic daring, to make the attempt. For this purpose he determined to land the troops, and attack the city on the north-west face, where it was probable an assault would not be expected. The walls in that quarter run along a range of low heights, and are flanked by four strong forts, the approach to which lies through a level marshy country, in some places slightly undulated, and closely intersected by a network of canals and streams for irrigation. While the main assault, with the bulk of the land forces, was to be directed against these forts, the attention of the enemy was to be distracted by an attack on the factories, which had been again ceded to the Chinese, and the whole river defences.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's 2d Desp., May 25, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1841, 281; Davis, i. 150, 151.

32. Storming of the forts. May 24.

Seen from a distance, the fortifications of these Chinese cities seem very formidable, and scarcely capable of being carried by a *coup-de-main*. But a nearer approach generally takes much from the terrors of the undertaking. The armed crowd at the top cannot withstand a well-directed fire; the ramparts are speedily thinned when the shot begins to fall, and as there is always a landing-place at their foot, and generally a few boats to be got, it is no difficult matter for a few brave men to push themselves across, and, by means of scaling-ladders, reach the summit. This done, the victory is gained: the defenders of the rampart speedily take to flight. So it proved on the present occasion. A well-directed fire of rockets and shells was kept up on the two western forts; and the 49th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, and the 18th under Major-General Barrett, by a sudden rush crossed the ditch, scaled the rampart, and won the forts. The posts thus carried, looked down on Canton within 100 paces, and several attempts were in con-

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sequence made to dislodge the British by side-attacks from an intrenched camp situated at a little distance. These, however, were all repulsed, though not without loss, by the 49th, who were exposed in flank to a heavy fire from the city wall. The troops remained in possession of the external forts they had won that night, which was spent in bringing up guns to aid in the assault of the city itself, ordered for the following morning. It was prevented from taking place, however, by a flag of truce, which at ten o'clock was hoisted on the walls.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., May 24, 1841; Ann Reg. 1841, 281, 282.

33. Terms of accommodation with the Canton government.

The terms proposed by the Chinese, and acceded to by Captain Elliot, were: 1. That the Imperial troops, other than those of the province, should quit the city within six days, and remove to a distance of sixty miles; 2. That 6,000,000 dollars should be paid in one week for the use of the Crown of England, of which 1,000,000 were to be forthcoming before the evening of the following day; 3. That the British troops should retain their present position, but the ships of war retire below the Bocca Tigris, and the troops withdraw as soon as the whole was paid; 4. Indemnity to be paid in a week for the burning of the Factories. Thus did the British plenipotentiary, with the defences of Canton in his possession, and the city itself at his mercy, agree to terms nearly identical with those to which the Chinese had formerly agreed before the Fort Anunghoy had ever been passed—an instance of moderation in success, which might have been praiseworthy in Europe, but was to the last degree injudicious in the East, where obedience is never yielded but to force, and moderation is never ascribed except to terror. The bad effects of this concession were soon apparent. Before the ink of this treaty was well dry, a dispute arose with the Chinese, in consequence of some of the camp-followers of the British army having injured some tombs in the vicinity of Canton. A mob of several thousand persons immediately assembled in a menacing manner in the rear

of the British position; and it was only by threatening instantly to recommence hostilities if the assemblage was not dispersed that the mob withdrew within the walls, and tranquillity was restored. But the consequences of this hostile popular demonstration going unpunished were extremely pernicious. They fostered the idea among the Canton rabble that the "outer barbarians" were, after all, not invincible; that their successes heretofore had been owing to the timidity of their rulers, not their own want of courage or prowess; and to the effects of this ignorant delusion a long series of subsequent insolent acts and aggressions, which led to a renewal of the war in 1857, are in a great measure to be ascribed.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., May 27, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1841, 283, 285; Davis, i. 150, 151.

34. Storming of Amoy. Aug. 27.

The British Government disapproved, as well they might, of this pacification. Captain Elliot was recalled, and Sir H. Pottinger was despatched to succeed him. The troops were largely reinforced; and in the end of August a formidable expedition, consisting of the Wellesley and Blenheim ships of the line, with the Blonde and Druid frigates, a number of sloops and armed steamers, with twenty-one transports, stood to the northwards, with a view to operations against parts of the country nearer the seat of the Imperial power. The first point against which operations were directed was Amoy, a considerable town strongly fortified, situated to the north of Hong-Kong. A wall, several hundred yards in length, and crowded with seventy-six guns, had been erected to defend the harbour. On the whole walls of the city were mounted 500 guns, and on the strength of these, and their granite fortifications, the place was deemed impregnable. So it proved to the attack on the sea side. Though the fire of the ships was poured in with the utmost vigour, not one facing was injured. But Sir H. Gough landed the Royal Irish, with himself at their head, and, rapidly forming on the beach, advanced to the walls. These were quickly escaladed, with very little resistance on the part of the Chinese; and the summit

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of the rampart having been gained, the walls were cleared, and the city taken. In this action the cowardice of the Chinese troops stood forth in strange contrast to the resolution of their Tartar officers; for while the former fled at the first onset, after discharging a few muskets and arrows, two of the latter killed themselves, the one at the head of his men when they ran away, the other by walking into the sea when the place was taken. At the same time the island of Koolangtoo, situated opposite the harbour, and entirely commanding it, was carried by the 26th Regiment and a body of marines, though defended by fifty guns. The town was abandoned after its capture, as, being of great extent, it would have required a larger garrison than could be spared; but the island of Koolangtoo was garrisoned by 500 men, and the Druid frigate and Pylades sloop left there, which effectually blockaded the harbour, and from which the city might be bombarded at pleasure.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Aug. 30, 1842; Ann. Reg. 265, 266; Davis, i. 152.

35. Second capture of Chusan.

Chusan was the next object of attack. This island had been restored to the Chinese authorities under the first convention concluded by Captain Elliot, and on this occasion the resistance was much more resolute than it had been on the former. Extensive works had been erected to guard the harbour of Chusan and the town of Tinghae, in addition to its old walls. Nothing, however, could withstand the assault of the British soldiers and marines. The fleet entered the Chusan group of islands on the 21st September; and on the 1st October, having completed their reconnoitring, the attack was made. The Chinese had erected a sea-wall along the shore, armed with heavy cannon; but this was easily overcome by landing the troops at its extremity, storming the work there, and driving the Chinese along the rampart. This done, they pushed on to the hill above the city on the west; and the walls having been surmounted by escalade, the town fell a second time into their possession, and they retained it for five years, to the unbounded satisfaction

Sept. 21. Oct. 1.

of the inhabitants, who still look back to it as the happiest period they had ever known. The island had been considered as very unhealthy during the first occupation, and nearly half of the force left there had perished by disease; but this was chiefly owing to the excessive indulgence of the troops in ardent spirits, and inattention to the water which the soldiers drank, which was of the worst description. On this occasion perfect discipline was maintained: the men were kept to regular habits; and the consequence was, that the island proved as salubrious as it was fertile and commodious for the purposes either of war or commerce.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Oct. 2, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1841, 266, 267; Davis, i. 153.

36. Storming of Chinghae. Oct. 7.

Having secured this important acquisition, and left such a garrison in it as defied all the efforts of the Chinese for its expulsion, the expedition proceeded still farther north to Chinghae, a strong fortress commanding the entrance of the Ningpo river. Here they arrived on the 7th October; and the two line-of-battle ships were towed, in a perfect calm, into their positions, under the guns of the citadel and the eastern part of the city walls. At the same time the military force, about 2200 strong, landed on the opposite side of the river, and attacked the Chinese intrenched camp, which was guarded by 5000 soldiers, who were quickly put to the rout, and the camp taken, with very little loss to the victors. The wall of the citadel was shortly after breached by the fire of the Wellesley and Blenheim, and a large part of it came down with a tremendous crash. Not an instant was now lost in landing the seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Herbert of the Blenheim, on the ruined rampart; and the troops, having surmounted the rocks and stones, rushed up the breach, and in a few moments the summit was won. At the same time the Oct. 10. citadel gate was blown open by a petard and powder-bag; and the Chinese having fled in dismay, the pass was won, and the union-jack hoisted on the outer works. The inner wall, twenty-six feet high, was immediately

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after scaled by the seamen and marines; and ere long this strong fortress, completely commanding the entrance of the river, and deemed impregnable, was entirely in the hands of the British land and sea forces. The governor, Yukien, who had boasted to the Emperor he would send him the heads of the "outer barbarians," was seized with such dismay at his defeat, that next day he destroyed himself by poison.[1]

[1] Sir W. Parker's Desp., Oct. 11, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1842, 266, 267; Davis, i. 154.

37. And of Ningpo. Oct. 13.

The capture of Ningpo, a large city containing 300,000 souls, the walls of which are five miles in circumference, was next effected, and with very little resistance. Having provided for the safety of their conquests, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker proceeded with the remainder of the forces, consisting of 750 bayonets, with the Sappers and Artillery, against that city, which it was expected would offer an obstinate resistance. It proved, however, just the reverse. The troops having been landed near the gates, the walls on either side were speedily carried by escalade; and the Chinese themselves removed the obstructions at the gates, and admitted the 18th, the band of which soon played "God save the Queen" on the ramparts. The inhabitants received the victorious troops, by whom the strictest discipline was observed, in the kindest manner. Their wishes were openly expressed to be taken under the protection of the British, and liberated from the oppression of their Tartar governors.[2]

[2] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Oct. 14, 1841; Ann. Reg. 268; Davis, i. 154-155.

38. Defeats of the Chinese around Ningpo.

The advanced period of the year, and the approach of the autumnal storms, rendered farther operations by the combined land and sea forces impossible, and the British remained in quiet possession of their conquests. Encouraged by the accounts which they received during the winter of the small number of the forces, the Chinese secretly assembled a body of 14,000 men in the neighbourhood of Ningpo, and at daylight of March 10 attacked the city. So complete was the surprise that they got over the walls and into the marketplace, in the centre of the town, with scarcely any opposition; but when

March 10.

there, they were attacked by the British with artillery and the bayonet, and driven out with the loss of 250 killed. On the same day an attack on the gates of Chinghae was also repulsed with great loss. After these checks the Chinese altered their plan of operations, and endeavoured to make the position of the British untenable by obstructing their supply of provisions; and for this purpose they stationed a body of 4000 men at Tse-kee, eleven miles to the westward of Ningpo. This force was attacked by Sir H. Gough on the 15th; and after a smart action, in which the Chinese displayed more courage than they had yet done during the war, they were again defeated, with the loss of 900 men. The troops who fought on this occasion were Tartars, composed of the élite of the Imperial army, and embracing 500 of the Guard. They were a fine muscular body of men, very different from the effeminate hordes the British had hitherto encountered, and bespoke the descendants of the ancient conquerors of the empire.[1]

March 15.

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Mar. 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 269, 270; Davis, i. 155, 156.

39. Capture of Chapoo. May 17.

Chapoo was the next object of attack—a considerable town still farther to the north, the principal mart for the trade with Japan, and situated at the mouth of the great river Tshen-tang. The fleet and army appeared off it on the 17th May, having previously, in order to concentrate the troops, evacuated Ningpo. The recent defeats they had experienced on land had opened the eyes of the Chinese to the quality of the enemy with whom they had to deal, and they had made extraordinary efforts for the defence of the place. When the ships approached it, the works and hills around the town seemed covered with soldiers, who were 10,000 strong, a third of the number being Tartars. The Cornwallis, Blonde, and Modeste, however, anchored abreast of the principal batteries, upon which they opened a heavy fire, which was very feebly returned; and when the attention of the enemy was fixed on that side, the troops under Gough disembarked on the east of the town, and, driving the enemy before

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them, soon formed a junction with the naval brigade, which had landed at the west side of the same range of heights in the rear; and the two, united, advanced against the city. Its walls were speedily carried by escalade, the Chinese troops flying in all directions. A body of 300 Tartars, however, threw themselves into an old temple, where they defended themselves with desperate resolution, till the building fell from the bursting of shells within its walls, which crushed them all except forty, who were extricated alive. The astonishment of the survivors was great when, instead of being put to death as they expected, they were dismissed with praises and rewards for their distinguished valour.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., May 18, 1842; Ann. Reg, 1842, 270, 271; Davis, i. 156.

40. Operations against the Yang-tze-Kiang river. Its importance.

These repeated successes, which were all gained in one way, by landing a body of troops in the rear of the towns, and assailing them in a quarter where they were not expected, had a powerful effect in impressing the Chinese Government with a respect for the British arms. In a military point of view, however, they were of no greater importance than the desultory attacks of the Baltic sea-kings, in former days, were on the British Islands. But a decisive operation was now in contemplation, which would at once strike at the heart of the enemy's power, and, by threatening the supplies of the capital, ere long compel submission. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that the great river Yang-tze-Kiang descends from the mountains in the west of the empire, and runs in an easterly direction along its whole breadth, till it falls into the sea, in several branches, near Woosung. In this way it intersects at right angles the great canal of China, which, as already mentioned, forms the principal artery by which the capital is supplied with the necessaries of life. The point where the canal crossed the river was Chin-Kiang-foo, which, from its importance, was strongly fortified. The entrances of the river from the sea were protected by immense works, and no less than 253 guns were mounted on the batteries command-

ing the straits. So confident were the Chinese that these works were impregnable, and that any fleet which attempted to force them would rush upon its own destruction, that they permitted, without firing, a close reconnoissance, on the evening of the 14th June, by the two commanders-in-chief, and even cheered loudly the boats sent in the same night to lay buoys to guide the vessels in the positions they were to take up for the attack.[1]

1842.

[1] Sir H. Pottinger's Desp., June 24, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 172; Davis, i. 156.

They were not long, however, in discovering their mistake. At daybreak on the morning of the 16th, the ships weighed anchor, and took up their stations opposite to the batteries. The cannonade immediately began, and was kept up with great spirit for some time. By degrees the enemy's fire slackened, and at the end of two hours the marines were landed in boats, under cover of the ships' guns, and by a sudden rush they carried the whole batteries before the land troops could be brought up in support, with a loss of only two killed and twenty-five wounded. This great success opened the mouth of the Yang-tze-Kiang, and it was followed next day by the advance of the light vessels of the squadron up the Woosung river. A battery of fifty-five guns was abandoned as they approached, and on the day following, two more batteries, mounting forty-eight guns, were taken, after receiving two broadsides; and the ships approached the great city of Shanghai, which was occupied without resistance. In these two days were taken no less than 364 pieces of cannon, of which seventy-six were brass guns of heavy calibre, and of exquisite workmanship. On several of these were cast, in Chinese characters, the words, "Tamer and subduer of the barbarians." [2]

41. Forcing of the entrance of the Yang-tze-Kiang and Woosung rivers. June 16.

June 17.

[2] Sir H. Pottinger's Desp., June 26, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 272; Davis, i. 156, 157.

Great was the astonishment of the Imperial Government when they learned that the entrance of the great river had been forced, Shanghai occupied, and all their stupendous batteries carried, with little delay, and scarcely any loss to the "outer barbarians." A commissioner, named Elipoo, was despatched from Pekin on the usual

42. Failure of negotiations, and advance of the British fleet to Chin-Kiang-foo. July 6.

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mission to stop the invaders' progress by feigned submission and elusory negotiations. The terms proposed, however, were justly deemed inadmissible by the British commanders; and as they had now become aware of the artifices of their opponents, they resolved to pursue their operations without intermission, and strike at the heart of the enemy's power before they had time to recover from their consternation. Accordingly, on the 6th July, the fleet sailed from its anchorage off Woosung, and made sail for Chin-Kiang-foo. It consisted of seventy-five sail, of which fifteen were vessels of war, and ten armed steamers, with fifty transports, having on board 9000 land troops, and made a magnificent show as it advanced up the great river, not deigning to fire a shot at the numerous towns and villages which lay along its banks. A few broadsides knocked to pieces the batteries at Suy-than, where alone resistance was offered; and on the 28th, the whole fleet anchored before Chin-Kiang-foo.[1]

[1] Sir H. Pottinger's Desp., July 26, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 273; Davis, i. 157.

43. Description and storming of Chin-Kiang-foo.

This city, the walls of which were in excellent repair, stands within half a mile of the river, its northern and eastern faces upon a range of steep hills, its southern and western on low ground, with the imperial canal, which encircles its walls, serving as a wet-ditch to the fortifications. Sir Hugh Gough resolved instantly to storm it, and for this purpose the troops, early in the morning, were landed in three brigades, consisting in all of about 4500 effective men. The first, under Lord Saltoun, was destined to attack the enemy's intrenched camp; the second, under General Bartley, to force an entrance at the south gate; and the third, under General Schoedde, to escalade the walls at the northern angle. All the three attacks proved successful; but the resistance of the garrison, which was directed by a renowned chief, Haeling, was most obstinate, and great slaughter ensued before the place was carried. Lord Saltoun's brigade speedily carried the intrenched camp, driving the enemy before him; and General Bartley's advanced-guard blew open the

July 21.

southern gates by the explosion of powder-bags, and the column rushed in. It was found, however, that this did not lead into the city, but only into an outwork of considerable size, which, though important, was not of itself decisive of the assault. But meanwhile General Schoedde's men had escaladed the walls at the north angle, and, after clearing the whole walls to the westward, had with great difficulty made themselves masters of the inner gate leading from the outwork which had been carried to the interior of the city. The Tartars here fought desperately, and the heat was so overpowering that several of the soldiers on both sides died under sun-strokes, and a sort of forced truce took place till six in the evening. Then the two columns, uniting together, pushed forward into the streets, and the place was at length carried after a bloody contest of two hours' duration. The Tartars fought to the last, with a courage worthy of their race and their fame; and their heroic commander, Haeling, finding the day irrecoverably lost, retired to his own house, to which he deliberately set fire, consuming himself and his family in the flames. Several of his leading officers did the same; and in every garden which the soldiers entered were found wells nearly choked with the bodies of women and children, who had been slain and thrown in by their own husbands and fathers.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., July 25, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1843, 505; Sir H. Pottinger's Desp., July 26, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 273, 274; Davis, i. 157, 158.

44. Arrival of the British before Nankin, and preparations to storm it. Aug. 9.

This victory was in reality decisive of the fate of the war, because, by giving the British the command of the great canal, it enabled them at pleasure to cut off the supplies of grain to the capital. But still further to improve their advantages, the British commanders, without the delay of a day, continued their advance up the great river, and on the 9th August cast anchor before NANKIN. This great town, the ancient capital and second city in the empire, containing 514,000 inhabitants, is strongly fortified. The Tartar city, which is separated by strong fortifications from the Chinese, forms a sort of citadel, the approach to which is by paved roads running

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through deep morasses, and commanded by the guns of the place. Not deterred by these formidable appearances, Sir H. Gough no sooner arrived before the city than he made preparations for storming it, and the troops were in the act of getting into the boats with a view to that undertaking, when hostilities were suspended by a request from Sir H. Pottinger, as he was in terms of pacification with the Chinese Government.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Aug. 20, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 274; Davis, i. 153.

45. Terms of the Treaty. Aug. 17, 1842.

Never was a more marked contrast exhibited than appeared in the demeanour of the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the present, to what it had been on every prior occasion. All was now civility and condescension to the British commissioner; and although in their despatches to the Emperor the Chinese envoys still spoke of the "outer barbarians" with hatred and contempt, yet in their intercourse with them they evinced that studied politeness which the Asiatics know so well how to assume when circumstances render it necessary. After some difficulty, especially as to the money payment, which was first stated at 30,000,000 dollars, the terms were agreed on as follows:—1. The payment by the Chinese of 21,000,000 dollars at stipulated periods, to run over a period of three years. 2. The cession in perpetuity of the island of Hong-Kong in the Canton River to the British Government. 3. The opening of a right to trade under a tariff of moderate amount, and on a footing of perfect equality, at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Foo-choo, and Ningpo. 4. The island of Chusan to be held by the British till the last of the money payments had been made, and then restored to the Chinese. On these conditions, a formal treaty of peace was signed by Sir H. Pottinger and the Chinese plenipotentiaries, on the 29th August. It is remarkable that the opium trade, the original cause of discord, was never once mentioned in this treaty; a clear proof either that it was the ostensible, not the real, cause of the war, or that the question itself was involved in such difficulties that, by mutual consent, it was passed over in silence.[2]

Aug. 29.

[2] See the Treaty in Ann. Reg. 1842, 275; Sir H. Gough's Desp., Aug. 21, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1843, 523, 524.

Begun as all other wars in which the empire at this period was engaged, without any adequate preparation or information as to the enemy whom they were to attack, the Chinese war was protracted for double the period, and cost more than twice the sum at which, if commenced with a sufficient force and vigorously followed up, it might have been brought to a successful termination. Twice over the civil commissioner interfered, and prevented the defences of Canton from being carried, when about to fall into our hands; and as the contest at this period was more a local than a national one, it is probable that such a decisive success in the outset would at once have brought about a pacification. But if this, the inherent weakness of a popular community, blasted the efforts of Great Britain in the outset, there never was a more glorious proof afforded of the strength of such a community in the end than the issue of the same contest exhibited. Roused at length to the necessity of putting forth her giant strength, Great Britain, under the vigorous direction of LORD ELLENBOROUGH, with the right hand revenged, by a triumphant advance, our Affghanistan disaster, while with the left she carried the war into the heart of China, and dictated a glorious peace under the walls of the ancient capital of the empire. The expedition up the great river, and the storming of the fortress which commanded the crossing of the imperial canal with its waters, was conceived and executed with an ability and vigour worthy of Napoleon himself. The successful attainment of this object with such limited means, at the very moment when an arduous contest was going on in the heart of Asia, forms one of the most glorious eras in the history of Great Britain.

46. Reflections on this treaty.

And in truth the contest in central Asia was of such magnitude as might well absorb the whole resources of a powerful state, and involved in such peril as seemed instantly to threaten its dissolution. The disastrous tidings of the entire destruction of the army which had

47. Disastrous state of India after the Affghanistan defeat.

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retired from Cabul, had spread far and wide throughout India, and for the first time awakened the Council at Calcutta to a sense of the enormous risk they had incurred in pushing forward a column unsupported so far into a hostile country, and the danger of immediate overthrow to our Indian Empire from its destruction. The East India Company had from the very outset disapproved of the expedition to Affghanistan, and advised either the abandonment of the country, or a large augmentation of the military force in it. The Indian treasury was exhausted by the enormous expenses with which the war had been attended, which had already exceeded £10,000,000; and now that the principal army in the occupation of the country had been destroyed, it was more than doubtful whether the two lesser ones which remained at Candahar and Jellalabad would not speedily share the same fate, and in that case it might with confidence be anticipated that a general revolt of the native powers in the whole peninsula would take place, and Mahommedan ambition again endeavour to regain its lost dominion over the whole of Hindostan.[1] *

[1] Directors to Lord Auckland, Dec. 31, 1840, and June 2, 1841; Kaye, ii. 57.

48. Collection of a new army at Peshawur.

Overwhelmed as he was with this terrible calamity, Lord Auckland did his utmost to stem the torrent of disaster which had burst upon the empire under his direction. The first thing to be done was to collect a force at Peshawur, both to stop any incursion which the victorious Affghans might make from the Khyber Pass into the northern provinces of India, and to form the nucleus of a new army, which might advance to bring off the garrisons left in Jellalabad and Candahar, if they should prove able to hold out till succour could reach them. The only forces at hand for this purpose were

* As the history of the Affghanistan war is now to be resumed, the Author thinks it right to say that the chief authority relied on, where others are not quoted, is Mr Kaye's graphic and admirable narrative of that memorable contest. He is uniformly referred to when this is done, as was also in the former part of the narrative, at the end of each paragraph. The passages referred to are, however, not in general inserted as quotations with inverted

four regiments of native infantry, which were hurried across the Punjaub when the disasters were beginning, and reached the left bank of the Indus on the 28th December 1841. But though there were a few artillerymen in this force, there were no guns; and a few pieces of ordnance, which the Sikhs, with great difficulty, were persuaded to lend them, proved so crazy that, the moment it was attempted to put them in motion, they went to pieces. Forces of other kinds, however, gradually came up, and on the 4th January the new brigade, consisting of 3034 effective men, crossed the Indus, and reached Peshawur. Fortunately for the interests of Great Britain in the East, the choice of the Commander-in-Chief, after some difficulty, fell upon Major-General POLLOCK, then commandant of Agra, to direct this force, one of the most illustrious of the many illustrious men who have founded or preserved our empire in the East.[1]

Jan. 4, 1842.

[1] Kaye, ii. 264-272.

49. Character of General Pollock.

Instructed in the rudiments of the military art at Woolwich Academy, young Pollock entered the Company's service as a lieutenant of artillery in 1803, that stirring period when Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley were prosecuting the war against fearful odds on the side of the Mahrattas. He was present at the storming of Dieg in 1803, and in the terrible siege of Bhurtpore in 1805. In the pursuit of Holkar in the close of the same year, he again distinguished himself by his courage and activity. He was engaged in the Nepaul war as commander of the artillery under General Wood, and having been made brigade-major for his services on that occasion, he was appointed to command the Bengal Artillery in the Burmese war, and for his services in that arduous contest he received the honour of C.B.

commas, because they are almost all so much abridged, the Author being obliged, in a chapter and a half, to condense the matter of two large volumes. But he is the first to acknowledge his great obligations to that accurate and fascinating work, which, like Livy's narrative of the Second Punic war, or Ségur's of the Moscow campaign, will always form the groundwork of subsequent histories on the subject.

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He was afterwards obliged to revisit England for the recovery of his health; but having returned to India, he was selected by Sir Jasper Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief, to take the command of the troops proceeding to Peshawur, and directed to join them with the utmost expedition. His appointment gave universal satisfaction. Quiet in manner, unobtrusive in disposition, correct in conduct, he concealed under these modest qualities a moral courage which nothing could shake, a fertility in resources which rose superior to every difficulty. Called to the arduous task of organising a new army at Peshawur, and avenging our disasters in Affghanistan, with troops few in number, and whose *morale* had been grievously shaken by the disasters which had occurred, he executed it with the most distinguished ability, the most unshaken firmness; and to him, jointly with General Nott, who was in command at Candahar, and General Sale, who yet held Jellalabad, history must award the glory of having saved, in its most dangerous crisis, the British empire in the East.[1]

[1] Kaye, ii. 270, 275.

50. Character of General Nott.

If ever two men stood, in respect of character, in decided contrast to each other, it was Pollock and Nott. The latter general, who, when the catastrophe occurred, was in command of the forces at Candahar, was as fiery and irritable as the former was mild though resolute. Possessed of distinguished military abilities, he from the first clearly perceived the dangers with which the advance to Cabul was threatened, and expressed his opinion in no measured terms to the Government on the subject. He received, in consequence, the reward which so often attends the communication to persons in authority of truth at variance with their preconceived opinions. He was disliked at headquarters, coldly regarded by the Governor-General, for a time superseded in his command, and only restored when the necessities of the campaign made it impossible to dispense with his abilities. Though sagacious and far-seeing as to future danger, and urgent

to make preparations against it while it might yet be averted, no man faced peril more gallantly when it was present, or exerted the resources of an intrepid mind more energetically to ward it off. When the treaty at Cabul was concluded, which stipulated for the removal of the British troops from the whole of Cabul, he refused to abide by it as soon as he learned that the Affghans, instead of observing, were daily violating its conditions in the most essential particulars, and maintained his ground till the advance of Pollock again enabled him to resume the offensive. Ardent in character, fearless in language, intrepid in action, his whole mind, like that of Nelson, was wrapped up in the honour and glory of his country; while, like Collingwood, his heart at the same time expanded in the amenities and affections of domestic life. His character is fully displayed in his published correspondence, a work which, like the Wellington Despatches, will remain an enduring monument of the patriotism and lofty feelings which at that period inspired the officers of the British army.[1]

[1] Nott's Correspondence, passim.

51. Different opinions in Government as to the course to be pursued regarding Affghanistan.

Opinions were much divided in the Supreme Council at Calcutta, as to the course to be hereafter pursued in regard to Affghanistan. Some, among whom was Sir Jasper Nicolls, urged the expediency of withdrawing altogether, without farther effort, behind the Indus. They represented that the great diminution which would thus be effected in the space to be occupied by, and expenditure required for the army, would so strengthen our military position as to enable the British forces summarily to chastise any native power which might attempt to take advantage of the consternation produced by the Affghanistan disaster to insult our dominions. On the other hand, any attempt to renew our invasion of that savage region would so scatter our forces, and embarrass our finances, as to render it difficult to put down any combination of native powers in Hindostan against us. The only wise course, therefore,

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seemed to be, after providing for the safe retreat of the forces still left in Affghanistan, to retire behind the Indus. On the other hand, it was strongly urged by Mr Clerk, the Governor-General's agent on the north-western frontier, that the greatest danger at such a crisis was to be found in inactivity; that the British dominion in India being mainly founded on opinion, the prestige of its arms must be restored, or it would speedily perish; that it was not enough to withdraw our garrisons from Jellalabad and Candahar—it was necessary, by pushing forward reinforcements to these points, to enable Sale and Nott to chastise the enemy on the theatre of his recent victories, and then withdraw with dignity and unsullied honour from Affghanistan. Sometimes the Governor-General seemed inclined to pursue the bolder, sometimes the more timid policy; but meanwhile forces were directed with all possible expedition to Peshawur, in order, at all events, to attempt the extrication of Sale and the garrison of Jellalabad from their hazardous situation.[1]

[1] Sir Jasper Nicolls to Government, Jan. 24, 1842; Kaye, ii. 274-276; Lord Auckland to Sir J. Nicolls, Jan. 3, 1842; Ibid. 278, and Feb. 2, 1842; Ibid. 276.

52. Extreme and general despondence over India.

The situation of things, meanwhile, at Calcutta, and over all India, was gloomy in the extreme. It has been thus eloquently described by an eyewitness: "There was not in that great palaced city, or in any one of the smaller stations or cantonments in India, an Englishman whose heart did not beat, and whose hand did not tremble, for the fate of the Cabul force when he opened the letters and papers which brought him intelligence from beyond the frontier. No one who dwelt in any part of India during the early months of 1842 will ever forget the anxious faces and thick voices with which tidings were sought, questions and opinions asked and interchanged, hopes and fears expressed, rumours sifted, probabilities weighed, and how, as the tragedy deepened in solemn interest, even the most timid and desponding felt that the ascertained reality far exceeded in misery and horror all that their excited imaginations had darkly

foretold. There was a weight in the social atmosphere as of dense superincumbent thunder-clouds. The festivities of the cold season were arrested—gaiety and hospitality were not. There were few families in the country which did not look on with apprehension for the fate of some beloved relation or friend; while unconnected men, in whom the national overlaid the personal feeling in this conjuncture, sighed over the tarnished reputation of their country, and burned to avenge the insults that had been heaped upon their country." [1]

[1] Kaye, i. 277.

53. Agitation and incipient confederacy among the native powers.

When such were the feelings and apprehensions of the European part of the inhabitants of the country, it may readily be believed how deep was the impression made upon, how vehement the agitation among, the native part of the population. Among the Mahommedan princes in particular, and their descendants, who, till the coming of the English, had long been the rulers of the country, the excitement was peculiarly strong. The time seemed to many of them to have come when a great disaster had shaken the British power to its foundation, and when by a vigorous united effort the yoke of the stranger might be thrown off, and the thrones and power which they formerly enjoyed be restored to them. The rajahs began to make preparations; secret messages were interchanged between them. It was well known that the question had come to this—not whether Affghanistan was to be reoccupied, but whether India was to be preserved. Again, as on occasion of Monson's retreat in 1804, it was known that a secret understanding to take advantage of our distresses existed among a large part at least of the native chiefs, and any fresh disaster would occasion a general outbreak from the Himalaya snows to Cape Comorin.[2]

[2] Kaye, ii. 261; Governor-General's Proclamation, Jan. 31, 1842.

54. Depressed state of the troops at Peshawur.

The crisis, however, in the first instance, was to be met by the troops at Peshawur; and the native portion of that force was in the worst possible state to meet it. There were four regiments of infantry there, in

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great part composed of young soldiers, and all in the most demoralised state. The Sikhs, among whom they had for long been living, had inspired them with that dread of the Affghan with which they themselves and all the inhabitants of Hindostan had long been inspired. The total destruction of the noble army which the British had lately led into the country increased these feelings of alarm, and led the troops to anticipate nothing but death if they ventured within the terrific pass. It was evident that nothing was to be expected from the Sikh soldiers. Their feelings of jealousy towards the stranger, scarcely suppressed, left no hope of any cordial co-operation, and, on the contrary, begat a well-founded apprehension that they might any day rise in arms against us, and entirely cut off the communications of the army which was engaged in such a desperate enterprise in front. Meanwhile, Akbar Khan and the Affghan chiefs did their utmost to induce the Afreedis, who inhabited the rugged jaws of the Khyber, to close the pass against the British, and with such success that any attempt to force it would be strenuously resisted. Nevertheless, the distressed condition of the garrison at Jellalabad, which was much straitened for provisions, made it indispensable, without delay, to make a forward movement, even with the small force in hand, in order if possible to extricate them from their perilous situation.[1]

[1] Kaye, ii. 288, 290; Ann. Reg. 1842, 283.

55. Failure of the attempt to force the pass. Jan. 15.

This enterprise was attempted on the 15th January with two sepoy regiments, with which Brigadier Wild attempted to reach and strongly garrison the fort of Ali-Musjid, which lies at the entrance of the pass, about twenty-five miles above Peshawur. This fort, which is situated on a conical rock within the Khyber, has always been regarded as the key of the pass, and it was garrisoned by a small native force in the British interest, which had withstood alike the seductions and the arms of the Afredis. Being now hard pressed for provisions, two regiments, with a large convoy of bullocks, were sent to reinforce

them ; but they were unable to reach the fortress, though they got, with little opposition, to the foot of the rock on which it stood. Two other regiments of sepoys, sent up to assist them a few days after, refused to follow their officers when they came into action, and fled disgracefully ; the Sikh soldiers openly mutinied, and refused to enter the pass, and the Sikh guns broke down, and one of them had to be abandoned to the Affghans. The two regiments around Ali-Musjid at length got into the fort ; but the convoy, on which they depended for food, had been unable to penetrate, except to a small extent ; and although Captain Thomas of the 64th Native Infantry volunteered to hold it with 150 men, for whom there were provisions, not a man would remain with him. Thus, on the 23d, it became necessary to abandon the post, and the four sepoy regiments returned to Peshawur.[1]

Jan. 19.

Jan. 23.

[1] Mackeson to Government, Jan. 27, 1842; Affghanistan Papers; Kaye, ii. 283-296.

56. Bad state of the troops when Pollock arrived. Feb. 5.

It was now evident that there was no hope of forcing the pass till the arrival of Pollock's brigade, which was hurrying up through the Punjaub. It consisted of three regiments, and three guns, with a few cavalry. Such, however, had been the depressing effect of defeat and inactivity on the health of the troops, that the entire force, after Pollock's arrival, hardly exceeded what Wild alone had commanded a few weeks before. The hospitals were full of sick ; the troops still on duty were to the last degree depressed and disheartened ; and such was the disaffection which prevailed, that not only were the regiments which had been defeated averse to enter the Khyber themselves, but they sent emissaries to the new regiments which came up, to endeavour to persuade them also to refuse to advance. So general was the demoralisation, that even some officers declared it would be better to sacrifice Sale's brigade than risk the loss of 12,000 men in the attempt to rescue it. In these circumstances it was utterly impossible to make an immediate advance towards Jellalabad ; and the first duty of the general in command was to use his utmost efforts to restore the health,

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confirm the loyalty, and reanimate the spirits of his soldiers. For this task, happily for his country, Pollock stood pre-eminent. His mild manner and kind acts won the heart of the sepoys; by incessant vigilance he restored their health, and by an equable, cheerful demeanour, he succeeded at length in reviving their spirits. Sale and M'Gregor at Jellalabad kept incessantly urging him to move forward; but well aware that a premature attempt would prove ineffectual and lead to their ruin, he stood firm, magnanimously sacrificing to a sense of public duty the desire most dear to a soldier, that of instantly hastening to the relief of a comrade in distress.[1]

[1] Kaye, ii. 304, 305; Sale to Pollock, Feb. 14, 1842; Affghanistan Papers.

57. Courage and fortitude of the garrison of Jellalabad.

But although left in this manner to their own resources, the garrison of Jellalabad found, in their own indomitable fortitude and perseverance, and the courage and capacity of their leaders, means of defence, which, in the circumstances, would otherwise have seemed unattainable. When Sale first found himself reduced to his own forces after the Cabul disaster, he had just 2500 men, of whom, in the middle of February, only 2273 were effective: of these, 838 were sepoys. The place, though nominally a fortress, had in reality very little means of defence. The ramparts were on all sides in a ruinous state, in some actually fallen down; yawning breaches, in many places, would admit a company of foot-soldiers abreast; the ditch, in others, was so filled up that a half-troop might trot in in line. With indefatigable vigour and perseverance, Sale, aided by his gifted engineer Broadfoot, set himself to work, the moment he got possession in November, to repair the fortifications; and with such success were his exertions attended, that, before the end of January, the breaches and ruined places in the walls were all repaired, a ditch ten feet deep, and fourteen broad, everywhere cleared out round the works, and the whole buildings within point-blank range of the works levelled. They were thus secure against a *coup-de-main* or siege operations from any Asiatic army without cannon;

but this afforded no safeguard against the approaches of famine, which were seriously to be apprehended, as, on the 19th February, they had only provisions for the men for seventy, for the horses for twenty-five days. Forage and food in abundance were to be had in the neighbouring villages, but they were of no use to the besieged, as they had neither money to buy them, nor cavalry to forage in presence of Akbar Khan, who, with a large body of horse, lay within a few miles distant. The garrison, however, were in good heart, and confidently looked forward to being delivered by Pollock; and their courage received an additional stimulus by the heroic conduct of Lady Sale, who, before being made prisoner by the Affghans, wrote to her husband to allow no consideration of her danger to interfere with his performing his duty, and defending the place to the last extremity.[1]

[1] Sale's Report, Feb. 19, 1842, and Letter to Pollock, Feb. 14, 1842; Parl. Papers regarding Affghanistan; Kaye, ii. 305, 307.

53. Earthquake at Jellalabad. Feb. 19.

But at the very time when this brave garrison were, with reason, congratulating themselves on the security which their indefatigable efforts had gained for them, a terrible calamity ensued. On the 19th February, at the very moment when Sale and M'Gregor were writing to Pollock, urging his early advance to their relief, an earthquake of fearful severity was felt at Jellalabad. The shocks were so violent that the ramparts suddenly yawned, and in many places were thrown down, and great part of the buildings in the town fell with a sudden and awful crash. In the first moments of alarm, the garrison instinctively ran to arms, thinking that a mine had been sprung, and that an immediate assault might be expected. Fortunately most of them, from doing so, got out of the buildings safe; but Colonel Monteith, the field-officer of the day, was overwhelmed by the fall of his house, and dug out of the ruins, buried up to the neck in rubbish. No less than an hundred shocks succeeded the first great one, which tended still to extend the devastation, and, while they continued, rendered impossible all attempts to arrest the mischief.[2]

[2] Captain Broadfoot's Report, April 16, 1842; Sale to Pollock, Feb. 19, 1842; Kaye, ii. 307-310.

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59. Efforts of the garrison to repair the disaster.

Many governors, in the circumstances in which he was now placed, with his fortifications in a great measure ruined, and a superior and victorious enemy in the vicinity, would have deemed the post no longer tenable, and made the best of his way down to Peshawur. Not so Sale, Broadfoot, and their heroic followers. What they did has been recounted in the simple words of the latter. "No time," says Captain Broadfoot, "was lost. The shocks had scarcely ceased when the whole garrison was told off in working-parties; and *before night* the breaches were scarped, the rubbish below cleared out, and the ditches below them dug out, while the great one on the Peshawur side was surrounded by a new gabion parapet. Another parapet was erected on the remains of the north-west bastion, with embrasures allowing the guns to flank the approach to the ruined gate; while that gate itself was rendered inaccessible by a trench in front of it; and in every bastion round the place a temporary parapet was raised. From the following day all the troops off duty were continually at work; and such was their energy and perseverance, that, by the end of the month, the parapets were entirely restored, or the curtains filled in where restoration was impracticable, and every battery re-established. The breaches had been built up, with the rampart doubled in thickness, and the whole of the gates re-trenched." [1]

[1] Captain Broadfoot's Report, April 16, 1842; Kaye, ii. 310, 311.

60. Continuance of the blockade, and arrival of reinforcements at Peshawur. March 30.

The spirits of the garrison after this were much raised by the receipt of Lord Auckland's proclamation, declaring that the misfortune that had occurred afforded only a fresh opportunity for displaying the power and resources of the British empire. They now looked forward confidently to being relieved. It was long, however, before the relief came. Meanwhile, such was the respect with which the garrison of Jellalabad had inspired the blockading force, that though Akbar Khan, with a body of 7000 men, lay in the close vicinity, and more than once actually approached the walls, he never

ventured to engage the British who went out to meet him, and the blockade was kept up at a distance only. But still the position of the garrison was extremely precarious, and becoming more so every day. Provisions were growing very scarce. By the middle of March the men were put on short rations, the draught cattle, camels, and artillery horses began to be killed, and Sale's applications to Pollock for relief became daily more urgent. Still the terrors and mutinous temper of the sepoys was such that no advance was practicable till the European troops arrived. At length the numerous obstacles which had opposed their advance were removed. The English dragoons (3d) and horse-artillery reached the camp at Peshawur on the 30th, and next day Pollock gave orders to commence the march towards Jellalabad. The 33d, however—Wellington's old regiment—which was anxiously expected, did not come up for some days afterwards, and the march did not begin till the 5th of April.[1]

[1] March 30. Sale to Pollock, March 8, 1842; Pollock to Sale, March 12, 1842; Affghanistan Papers; Sale to Pollock, March 23, 1842; Kaye, ii. 312-318.

Taught by the disastrous issue of the former attack, Pollock had skilfully arranged his plan of operations, and fully explained it to his commanding officers. The assaulting force was divided into three columns—the first to follow the direct road from Peshawur up the pass at the bottom of the defile, the two others to scale the rugged eminences on either side, and turn the enemy's works at the bottom by their flanks. Every preparation had been made by the enemy to resist the attack. The road at the bottom was strengthened by a stout barricade, composed of felled trees and large stones, which ran right across the pass from the one precipice to the other; and the heights on either side, which consisted of lofty bare crags, terminating in sharp peaks, were apparently inaccessible from below, and, wherever men could find a footing, were covered by strong bodies of mountaineers, second to none in Asia in the skill with which they used the musket.[2] This was the first time in the annals of the world that the forcing of this terrible defile had been

61. Plan of attack on the Khyber. April 5.

[2] Pollock's Despatch, April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 475, 476; Kaye, ii. 331, 332, 336.

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attempted by armed men. Timour himself, at the head of 200,000 men, had recoiled from its terrors, and purchased a passage through by a large payment to the Afredi tribes which held its sides; and Nadir Shah, the great Persian conqueror, a century before the British advance, had done the same.

62. Storming of the Pass.

Before commencing his arduous undertaking, Pollock addressed a noble proclamation to his troops, in which, without disguising the dangers of the enterprise, he appealed to their feelings of honour cheerfully to undertake it. One great object was to reduce to the lowest point the baggage of the army. The general set a good example by reducing his own baggage-cattle to one camel and two mules. The spirit of the troops had been much elevated by the arrival of so many reinforcements, especially the European cavalry and artillery; and having completed his arrangements, and visited all his commanding officers the evening before, to see that they thoroughly understood the duties assigned to them respectively on the following day, and finding all things in readiness, the signal to march was given at three in the morning of the 5th. Silently and steadily the soldiers moved over the plain towards the mountains, which rose like an awful barrier before them when the twilight began to dawn. Before, however, they reached the foot of the rocks the enemy were aware of their approach, and every eminence where footing could be found was covered with their musketeers. The Affghans were so confident in the strength of their position, that they made no attempt to obstruct the advance of the British till they were already at the entrance of the pass. The assault then began with the two wings destined to carry the heights on either side, and that on the left, under Colonel Moseley, was soon closely engaged with the enemy; but in spite of the extremely steep and rugged nature of the ascent, they made sensible progress, and were to be seen springing from rock to rock, and emerging out of thickets, but still

advancing up the heights. The right column under Colonel Taylor advanced up the steep ascent with equal determination, but the precipices near the top were so high as to be absolutely inaccessible; and Pollock, seeing this, detached the grenadiers of the 9th and a body of sepoys to their assistance; but they too were stopped by the precipices at the summit, and suffered severely by stones hurled down upon them. At length Taylor, by a circuitous path, reached the top, and the heights on either side being now won, the Affghans, who found themselves exposed to a severe dropping fire from above, gradually withdrew from the pass.[1]

[1] Pollock's Despatch, April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 475, 476; Kaye, ii. 335, 336.

63. Great effect of this victory, and advance to Jellalabad.

Seldom was a victory more seasonable, or attended with more important results. The forcing of the Khyber Pass resounded through all Asia, and went far to obliterate the impression produced by the Affghanistan disaster. The sepoys in particular, whose spirit had been thoroughly subdued by that catastrophe, now felt that their character was regained, and that they were capable again to enter on the career of victory. The Sikhs, recently so dubious, were now all civility, and offered to garrison Ali-Musjid as soon as it was taken, and keep open all communications in the rear. This fort was evacuated in the night by the Affghans, and no farther opposition was made to the advance. On the 9th the advanced guard reached Lundu-khanu, at the northern extremity of the defile, and on the 14th the whole troops, with the immense convoy they were conducting, was clear of the pass. On the morning of the 16th the advanced guard came in sight of Jellalabad. The sight filled the garrison with the most enthusiastic joy: the soldiers thronged the walls; the bands of every regiment went out to meet the conquerors, and struck up "God save the Queen" as they passed by; and cheers which made the very welkin ring resounded through the air, as, in proud array and with erect heads, they entered the gates of the fortress.[2]

April 9.

April 14.

April 16.

[2] Ann. Reg. 1842, 244, 245; Sir R. Sale's Report, April 16, 1842; Kaye, ii. 338, 340.

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64. Glorious defence of Jellalabad.

If the garrison of Jellalabad had good cause to welcome these conquerors of the Khyber with these military honours, they in their turn had as good reason to salute the garrison with equal distinction, for never had a defence been conducted with more fortitude and constancy. Great as were the efforts made by Pollock to disengage them, the aid would have come too late had it not been for their own indomitable spirit and resolution. On the

April 1.

1st April, when almost at the last extremity for provisions, they made a sortie, and carried off, in the very teeth of the enemy's covering parties, five hundred sheep and goats. This supply was of inestimable importance, for it gave them the means of subsistence till the probable period of their relief. Some days after, reports were spread by the blockading force of a great disaster sustained by Pollock in attempting to force the Khyber Pass; and on the 6th their whole guns fired a royal salute in honour of the supposed victory. In these circumstances, a council of war in the garrison decided that nothing could save them but a sudden irruption, which might drive the enemy to a distance, and enable them to aid Pollock's advance, and sweep the country to some distance for additional supplies. It was resolved, accordingly, to make a general sally, which was fixed for daybreak on the morning of the 6th.[1]

[1] Sale's Desp., April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 245.

65. Total defeat of the Affghans. April 7.

Sale divided his troops into three columns: the centre, consisting of the 13th, 500 strong, was under the command of Colonel Dennie; the left, of the same strength, composed of sepoys, was under the orders of Colonel Monteith; and the right, consisting of one company of the 13th, and one of the 35th, was led by Captain Havelock, an officer destined to deathless fame. A few guns and horsemen accompanied the sally, which was made by the Cabul and Peshawur gates at daybreak on the morning of the 7th. Akbar Khan had drawn up his troops, 6000 strong, in order of battle to defend his camp—his right resting on a fort, his left on the

Cabul river, and some ruined works within eight hundred yards of the place being filled with Ghilzye marksmen. The attack was led by Havelock at the head of the skirmishers of the 13th, who forced their way, in spite of a stout resistance, through the ruined works, and then, pushing on, assailed the main line. Meanwhile Dennie, while nobly leading the central column to attack the fort, received a ball in the breast, of which he soon after expired. The assault of the fort, however, went on, and after an obstinate resistance, it was carried; while at the same time Monteith forced back the enemy's right. Sale now directed a general assault upon the Affghan camp. The artillery advanced at the gallop, and directed a heavy fire on the enemy's centre, while the infantry pressed forward in splendid style to complete their victory. The attacks all proved successful. Two of the columns penetrated the line near the same point; while the third, in spite of a heavy fire from three guns under cover, and repeated charges from the horse, drove the forces opposed to them headlong into the river. By seven in the morning the victory was complete. The enemy was driven off in great disorder towards Lughman and Cabul, their camp captured, all the tents burnt, the blockade raised, and two cavalry standards taken, with four guns which had been captured from the British during the Cabul retreat. This recovery gave unbounded joy to the troops; but the victory, important as it was, was dearly purchased by the loss of Colonel Dennie, one of the brightest ornaments of the British army.[1]

[1] Sale's Desp., April 7, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 248, 249.

66. Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation to the garrison of Jellalabad. April 21.

These glorious successes diffused universal joy in India, the more so as they immediately succeeded such a long series of disasters. To none did they give more satisfaction than to the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, who had arrived at Calcutta on the 28th February, and immediately with a firm hand assumed the direction of affairs. Honours and distinctions were worthily bestowed, in great but not undeserved profusion,

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on the troops who, by their constancy and valour, had won such glorious triumphs, and done so much to restore the lustre of the British arms in the East; and the men all received a gratuity of six months' batta. Lord Ellenborough stated, in an animated proclamation on the subject, "The *illustrious garrison* which, by its constancy in enduring privation, and by its valour in action, has already obtained for itself the sympathy and respect of every true soldier, has now, sallying forth from its walls under the command of its gallant leader, Major-General Sir R. Sale, thoroughly beaten in open field an enemy more than three times its numbers, taken the standards of their boasted cavalry, destroyed their camp, and recaptured four guns which, under circumstances which can never again occur, had during the last winter fallen into their hands. The Governor-General cordially congratulates the army upon the return of victory to its ranks. He is convinced that there, as in all former times, it will be found, while, as at Jellalabad, the European and native troops, mutually supporting each other, and evincing equal discipline and valour, are led into action by officers in whom they justly confide."[1]

[1] Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation, April 21, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 439.

67. Character of Lord Ellenborough.

EDWARD LAW, EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH, who now succeeded to the government of India in the most critical and arduous period of its history, was born on 8th September 1790. The grandson of Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, the author of many remarkable works on science and religion, he was the son of the still more celebrated barrister, who is so well known under the title of Lord Ellenborough. The future Governor-General of India inherited all the talents, both forensic and of action, of his father and grandfather. A powerful speaker, and ever listened to with respect in the House of Lords, he possessed the still rarer and more valuable qualities of courage in council and determination in conduct. Never were those qualities more imperatively required than when he was called to the direction of Indian affairs.

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His predecessor's career had been distinguished by a rashness in forming designs, and a vacillation when the dangers predicted from them arose, which had brought the British Empire in the East to the verge of ruin. Lord Ellenborough was as much distinguished by caution and foresight in forming his plans, as by constancy and vigour in carrying them into execution. Intrepid and far-seeing, he calmly contemplated danger when yet distant, and made anxious preparations to resist it when it should arrive, and was equally instant and vigorous when the moment for action came.

68. What led to his early recall.

Had Lord Ellenborough united to these great and commanding qualities the prudence in language and knowledge of mankind, which are not less indispensable to any durable tenure of power by a statesman, he might long have retained the reins in India, and produced beneficial effects as great as the outset of his career was fortunate and glorious. But, unfortunately, he was distinguished at the same time by that occasional warmth and impetuosity of language which is so often the accompaniment of powerful intellect and strong internal conviction. A few casual expressions were eagerly seized on by a powerful party, both at home and in India, to run down the new Governor-General; and the "wild elephant" became a byword, as the "ignorant impatience of taxation" of Lord Castlereagh had been. This powerful party was the East India Directors and their numerous *civil* servants in both hemispheres, and the secret of their ceaseless hostility to Lord Ellenborough was as follows.

69. Lord Ellenborough's preference of the military authorities to the civil.

The peculiar circumstances of the East India Company had, from the earliest period when their territorial sovereignty commenced, induced them to keep their military commanders in a constant state of subjection to their civil officials. From this subjection of military to civil authority, even in conducting the operations of war, there had arisen various disputes between the two classes

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of the Company's officers, which had often marred their brightest conquests, and more than once brought the British empire in the East to the verge of ruin. Lord Wellesley, whose powerful and ardent mind was very much akin to Lord Ellenborough's, inclined strongly to the military side; and that veteran statesman had, on the eve of Lord Ellenborough's departure for India, written to him a very remarkable letter, strongly recommending, in war at least, the placing the civil as well as military authority in the hands of the commanders of the armies, subject, of course, to the general control of the supreme government at Calcutta. In pursuance of this advice, which entirely coincided with his own ideas, Lord Ellenborough, as soon as he arrived in India, vested the entire political as well as military power of their respective provinces in Pollock and Nott. This change excited no small consternation at Calcutta and Leadenhall Street, and contributed in some degree to the early recall of Lord Ellenborough.[1]

[1] Kaye, ii. 345, 346.

70. Lord Ellenborough's views regarding Affghanistan. March 15.

When Lord Ellenborough landed at Calcutta in the end of February, he came with a strong conviction that the vindication of the honour of our arms in Affghanistan was a point of paramount importance, upon which the existence of our Indian empire was essentially dependent. One of his first acts, accordingly, was to issue a proclamation on the subject, in which the intention to do this was distinctly and manfully asserted; and the intention to withdraw from Affghanistan rested on its true ground—viz. the unpopularity of the King, whom in an evil hour we had been induced to put upon the throne. But how strong soever this conviction may have been, it necessarily underwent, in process of time, a considerable modification. The failure of Wild's attempt to penetrate the Khyber, the fall of Ghuznee, and repulse of General England in an attempt, to be immediately noticed, to get through the Kojuk Pass with a brigade coming from Scinde to reinforce Nott's forces at Canda-

har, necessarily imposed caution, and suggested the painful doubt whether more serious risk might not be run by a second campaign in Affghanistan than advantage gained, and whether our entire dominion in India might not be lost in the effort to re-establish its military renown. It was the disasters sustained on the side of Candahar which first suggested this doubt, and they were of a kind to awaken the most painful reflections.[1]

[1] Kaye, ii. 457, 458; Parl. Papers regarding Affghanistan, No. 42.

71. Position of the British in Candahar.

Candahar, Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and Ghuznee, were the chief strongholds in the possession of the English in Western Affghanistan, and their communications to the rear were all with Scinde through the Bolan and Kojuk passes, not with the Punjaub through the Khyber. The first was perfectly safe. It was in the hands of General Nott, who had a large force under his command, though among them was only one British regiment, and he was alike without the means of transport or money to purchase it; so that though he could hold his own, he could not be relied on for any effective aid to the other stations. Nott had strenuously opposed and fearlessly pointed out the extreme dangers of the advance into Affghanistan, and the reckless diminution of the force by which it was to be held; but now that the disaster had come, he was equally resolute, like a good soldier, to hold his post, and not withdraw from the country till the captives were delivered, and the honour of the British arms avenged. The order despatched from Cabul for the evacuation of Candahar did not arrive, by some accident, for two months after it had been written; and when it did come, as the violation of the treaty by the Affghans in every respect was notorious, Nott refused to comply with it till the pleasure of the Governor-General was taken on the subject.[2]

[2] Nott to W. Maddock, May 21, 1842; Nott's Corresp. ii. 29, 33; Kaye, ii. 441.

The disaster at Cabul, as might have been expected, produced great excitement in Candahar and the whole of Western Affghanistan. The Douranee tribes were all

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72. Commencement of the Candahar revolt. Dec. 8.

in commotion when the intelligence arrived of the insurrection; and so threatening did affairs appear at that time, that when, in obedience to positive orders, Nott sent M'Laren with three regiments towards the capital, he said to the commanding officer, "The despatch of this brigade to Cabul is not my doing. I am compelled to defer to superior authority; but, in my own private opinion, I am sending you all to destruction." No sooner was the retreat of this brigade known than symptoms of insurrection appeared in every part of the province, and Mahommed Atta Khan, who had been sent from Cabul specially to stimulate and organise it, soon gave it consistency and unity. Major Rawlinson exerted himself with vigour, and with partial success at first, to arrest the movement; but when the extent of the Affghanistan disaster became fully known, it could no longer be restrained. Insurrections broke out in several places at once, and several detached parties of the British were cut off, one of which, under Captain Woodburn, after heroically defending itself for two days in a small fort, was destroyed almost to a man. A considerable convoy, under Lieutenant Golding, which was to escort some treasure from Candahar to Ghirisk, was treacherously assailed by a party of Affghan horse in our service and forming part of the escort, the treasure plundered, and officers cut down. The principal force of the enemy was stationed at Dehli, about forty miles from Candahar, under Atta Mahommed, whither the disaffected from all quarters, and even that city itself, were daily joining him. Rawlinson was clear to send a brigade to attack him, while Nott was equally decided that it would be unwise to hazard a force in the depth of winter at so considerable a distance, for the object of dispersing 1000 or 1500 men; but ere long the point was decided by the approach of the Affghan chief so near to Candahar that it became absolutely necessary to attack him.[1]

Dec. 27.

[1] Rawlinson to Nott, Jan. 7, 1842, and Nott to Rawlinson, Jan. 8, 1842; Kaye, ii. 399, 403.

The Affghan force, being swelled by reinforcements

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from all quarters to 9000 men, took post on the river Urghundaub, within five miles from Candahar, in such a position as to cut off all foraging parties or supplies from that quarter to the city. Thither Nott advanced to attack him on the 12th January, with five regiments of infantry, a few of the Shah's cavalry, and sixteen guns. The success of the British was so rapid that it could hardly be called a battle. The infantry advanced in columns and battalions, with the artillery in their intervals, the fire of which told with such effect upon the unwieldy masses of the enemy that in less than half an hour they broke and fled. A village where Atta Mahommed tried to make a stand was carried by storm, and the cavalry and horse-artillery having come up, the Affghan force again broke and fled in wild confusion, some in one direction, some in another. This victory was the more important that it was the first success gained since the Cabul disaster, and secured ample supplies of forage for some time to the horses, which was much wanted. Rawlinson was on the field, and acted as Nott's aid-de-camp.[1]

73. Battle of the Urghundaub. Jan. 12, 1842.

[1] Nott's Corresp. i. 404, 405; Neill's Four Years in the East, 175; Kaye, ii. 403, 404.

Although Nott's military position was much improved by this achievement, yet it was still full of difficulty, and future disaster was looming in the distance. The Douranees were still in strength in the neighbourhood, although the excessive severity of the weather, and the snow, which lay on the ground for six weeks, rendered operations in the field impossible. The cold was intense, fuel extremely scarce, medicines almost wholly exhausted; and though food for the soldiers was not awanting, the provender for cattle was so scanty that the horses could scarcely draw, and the sheep were so lean that they were scarcely worth killing. Money Nott had none, and thus he found himself at the distance of two thousand miles from the seat of government, in the midst of a hostile country, surrounded by enemies, and unable, from want of the means of transport, to render any aid to the garrison

74. Great difficulties of Nott's situation.

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of Khelat-i-Ghilzye, now closely blockaded, and reduced to great straits from want of provisions. Impressed with these considerations, Nott wrote repeatedly, in the most urgent terms, for reinforcements, without which all attempts to resume offensive operations were out of the question. But, though fully alive to the necessities of his situation, Government were so hard pressed at this time with similar requisitions from Pollock for the relief of the Jellalabad garrison, that they were for long unable to comply with his request. February and March passed without any succour being received; and Nott and Rawlinson became convinced that vigorous measures were indispensable to save them from destruction. Accordingly, between the 3d and the 7th March, they expelled the suspected citizens, about 6000 in number, with all the humanity which circumstances would admit, from the city; and having thus secured, as he thought, his rear, Nott, on the 7th March, set out with the 40th Queen's regiment, four sepoy regiments, all his cavalry, and sixteen guns, to attack the enemy. A sepoy regiment, and two of the Shah's, were left behind with Rawlinson to guard the city during the absence of the principal force, and all its gates were walled up, except the Herat and half of the Shikarpoor ones.[1]

[1] Nott to England, April 2, 1842; Corresp. ii. 14, 15; Rawlinson's Journal, MS.; Kaye, ii. 412, 415.

75. Able plans of the Affghans. March 9.

It was now proved that, however rude and barbarous in some respects, the Affghan chiefs were by no means deficient in genius for war. As Nott advanced with his imposing force, the Affghans retired, keeping carefully out of the range of the British guns. On the 9th, however, the light companies of the 40th, with those of the 16th Native Infantry, got within range, and speedily drove the enemy from the heights which they occupied on each side of the valley, where the main body of their force, chiefly cavalry, was drawn up. But they retired when the heights were forced, and all attempts to bring them to a general action failed. But meanwhile Meerza Ahmed, the Affghan general, was playing a deep and

able game, which brought Candahar into the greatest possible jeopardy. While the army in the field was retiring before Nott, and drawing him farther and farther from the city, a large part of it doubled about, and returned by unseen paths to the neighbourhood of Candahar, which was soon beset by a large and hourly-increasing force. Rawlinson immediately despatched repeated messengers to Nott to inform him of the danger, and that he was hourly threatened with an attack. They arrived too late, however, to enable Nott to return; and meanwhile the Affghan marksmen were swarming up close to the walls, and at eight o'clock, when it was quite dark, they commenced an attack.[1]

March 10.

[1] Kaye, ii. 415-417; Ann. Reg. 1842, 253; Nott's Corresp. i. 456, 457.

76. Glorious defence of Candahar by Rawlinson and Lane.

The forces in the city, consisting of two weak native battalions, were wholly inadequate to manning the long circuit of its walls; and the risk was serious that the enemy, though they had no artillery, would get in, either by escalade or by forcing one of the two gates. Huge bags of grain were piled up inside the Herat gate, against which the principal attack was directed, and as many infantry as could be collected, with two guns, were placed so as to command the entrance. Hardly were these preparations made, when the enemy advanced in dense masses, and with loud cries, up to the gate. The musketry rang fiercely on both sides — for the assailants fired incessantly at the line of defenders on the top of the walls, who, on their side, replied with fearful effect on the crowded bands below. During the din of this strife the Affghans piled up faggots on the outside, which soon burnt up fiercely, and the gate, which was of wood, took fire and fell inwards. With loud shouts the Affghans rushed in, and eight or ten of the most daring of them were seen waving their scimitars on the top of the pile, but they were soon all shot down. Their fate, and the rapid fire kept up from the walls, deterred the assailants, who at length, after a contest of four hours' duration, drew off.[2] A similar onset took place at the Shikarpoor

[2] Lane's Desp., Mar. 12, 1842; Nott's Corresp. i. 456, 457; Kaye, ii. 416, 418.

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gate, and was repelled in a similar manner; and a division at the Cabul gate was repulsed without difficulty. By midnight the enemy drew off at all points in the deepest dejection, having lost 1000 men in this fruitless assault.*

77. Reinforcements prepared in Scinde.

Nott re-entered the city which had been the theatre of this glorious exploit on the 12th March. This repulse sensibly improved Nott's situation ; but still his position was extremely precarious, and he urged Government, in the strongest terms, to send him the reinforcements now become indispensable for his existence, as well as the ultimate fate of the war. Lord Ellenborough and Mr Clerk, the political agent in the Punjaub, strenuously exerted themselves to second his representations, and at length powerful reinforcements were prepared in that province to proceed to his relief. These were formed into three divisions : the first, under General England, 1200 strong, with 2000 camels laden with supplies, headed the convoy ; the second, of equal strength, with 2000 camels, under the command of Major Simmons, came next ; the third under Major Reid, 1100 strong, with 2600 camels, brought up the rear. The three divisions were to proceed at a considerable distance from each other—and the first division under England in person reached Quettah, having surmounted the Bolan Pass, on the 12th March, but with the loss of 300 of his camels in getting through that arduous defile.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1842, 259; Nott's Corresp. ii. 2, 12.

* A very curious incident conspired with the courage and decision of the brave commanders and their garrison to save Candahar on this occasion. "The enemy's plan was to have fired the gates at once, and made a simultaneous attack on them, and that this was not carried into effect was the result of a fortunate accident. Mr Phillips, quartermaster of the 40th, who had been left behind sick, was intrusted with the charge of the Citadel gate. Before fastening it for the evening, something fortunately induced him to look outside, and on opening it he saw two or three faggots laid against it. Immediately it occured to him that they could have been placed there for no good purpose, and he brought them inside. But for this, the gate, of which he had charge, would in all probability have been fired, and an equally spirited attack made on it, as on the Herat gate, in which event I cannot doubt for a moment that the city of Candahar would have fallen, and the enemy have become possessed of all our stores and ammunition, besides two 18-pounders."—NEILL'S *Narrative*, p. 244.

England, with the leading column of the convoy, moved forward to the southern entrance of the Kojuk Pass, which lay between Quettah and Candahar. The Affghans were posted at the entrance of a defile leading to the village of Hykulzie. Rawlinson had earnestly pressed Nott to send some troops to the northern extremity of the pass, to aid in getting England, with his convoy, through. Nott, however, did not deem himself in sufficient strength to do so, and the troops were not sent. England, after reconnoitring the enemy's position, resolved on an attack. The Horse Artillery under Leslie was ordered to advance, and open on the heights on the left, while the light companies of the 41st British and 20th Native Infantry ascended the hill on the right. At first they were unopposed; but suddenly, when they were half-way up, the enemy started up from behind coverts, poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that Major Apthorp of the Native Infantry was desperately wounded, and Captain May of the 41st fell dead; and the whole column was thrown back in disorder, with the loss of 100 out of 500 assailants. The British soon rallied, and prayed to be allowed to return to the charge, and Colonel Stacy volunteered with 100 men to storm the heights; but England despaired of success, and ordered a retreat, which was continued to Quettah. He seems to have lost all confidence in the native troops, and to have conceived an exaggerated opinion of the strength of the enemy.[1]

78. Defeat of General England. March 26.

[1] Kaye, ii. 435, 439.

It generally happens in the affairs of nations, as in those of individuals, that misfortunes do not come single. Simultaneously with the intelligence of England's repulse, came also the stunning news of the fall of Ghuznee. This important fortress, commanding the roads from Candahar to Cabul, is situated 7500 feet above the sea, or about the height of the convent of the Great St Bernard in Switzerland. It had been blockaded ever since the 28th January, when the insurrection broke out in Cabul. The garrison consisted entirely of sepoys, ill-

79. Fall of Ghuznee.

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qualified to bear the rigours of winter in those elevated regions, and was so weak in numbers as to be barely adequate, even when in health, to man the walls. The consequence was that a conspiracy was successfully got up in the town to admit the enemy, which was done on

Dec. 7.

the 7th December, by means of a mine secretly run under the walls. The British garrison were now compelled to take refuge in the citadel, which they held with great constancy during the long and dreary months of winter, when the thermometer was generally below zero. To add to their sufferings, fuel became so scarce that the portion allotted to each man was only two pounds a-day, and the whole, including the officers, were, from the middle of January, put on half rations. Still they

March 6.

struggled on till the beginning of March, when the remnants, emaciated and frost-bitten, agreed to capitulate, on condition of being conducted to Peshawur with their arms, and fifty rounds of ammunition to each man. Want of water reduced them to this dire alternative; but it soon appeared that the Affghans had no intention from the first of observing the capitulation. Instead of being sent to Peshawur, the troops were shut up in a few houses in Ghuznee, where they were soon surrounded by a ferocious crowd, calling aloud for their blood if they did not at once surrender. The British officers, seeing escape impossible, laid down their arms, and were conducted to Cabul; but most of the sepoys broke loose, and, amidst a heavy fall of snow, set out, without guides, for *Peshawur*, as they thought, and soon perished miserably amidst the severities of that terrible arctic region.[1]

[1] Kaye, ii. 426, 427; Crawford's Narrative; Nott's Corresp. ii. 45, 53.

80. Heroic defence of Khelat-i-Ghilzye.

More fortunate, or possibly more constant, the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzye still held out gallantly against the enemy. "Situated between Ghuznee and Candahar, about eighty miles from the latter city, this isolated city," says Kaye, "stands at the elevation of 6000 feet above the sea, on a barren eminence, exposed in winter to the biting winds, and in summer to the driving dust-storm,

one of the dreariest and bleakest spots in the whole country of Affghanistan." Its strength, however, was such that it all but defied the whole efforts of the Emperor Baber. The garrison consisted of a regiment of the Shah's, 250 sepoys, and 60 English artillerymen and sappers, under Captain Craigie, an officer worthy of the post. The chief enemy with whom, in the first instance, the garrison had to contend, was the cold, which was extreme. There was abundance of wheat, but a great scarcity of fuel, and a great difficulty in grinding the grain; but at length they succeeded in constructing hand-mills. The blockade was kept up during the winter; in spring the besiegers' trenches were pushed up close to the walls, and on 21st May the assault took place. It was made in three columns, each of 2000 men, and they advanced in the most resolute manner, each being provided with thirty scaling-ladders, up which the Affghans swarmed with the utmost impetuosity; while their marksmen, with their long jezails, kept up an incessant fire on the summit of the battlements. But the defence was not less determined. Craigie had infused a portion of his heroic spirit into every officer and man of his garrison; as fast as one was shot down another stepped into his place, and at length, after an obstinate conflict of nine hours' duration, the enemy drew off at all points, leaving the defenders in possession of the ramparts. They continued to hold it with not less constancy, and the British colours still waved on the fortress when it was relieved by a detachment sent under Wymer from Candahar a few days after, who brought away the garrison and blew up the works.[1]

[1] Craigie's Report, May 21, 1842; Nott, ii. 43, 44, and App. ii. 381; Kaye, ii. 430, 431.

Lord Ellenborough has since said in his place in Parliament, during the terrible sepoy revolt of 1857, that when he arrived in India in March 1842, he found the country divided into two parties, one of which strongly urged the necessity, at all hazards, of advancing to Cabul, and avenging the tarnished honour of our arms in the very place where the disasters had been incurred; while the

31. Lord Ellenborough abandons the idea of an advance to Cabul. April and May 1843.

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second as strenuously maintained that to do so would be attended with the utmost possible hazard, and imperil our Indian empire in the pursuit of the vain phantom of military glory. The Governor-General's own disposition and heroic turn of mind strongly inclined him to the first opinion, to which expression was given in the proclamation of 15th March, already noticed, issued from Calcutta shortly after his arrival. But when he went up the country in the succeeding month, and became more thoroughly acquainted with the perils of such an undertaking, he became more doubtful of the policy of pursuing such a course. The Government of the East India Company had from the beginning been strongly opposed to the expedition; and circumstances had occurred since he landed in India which had, in still more striking colours, revealed its dangers. The first repulse at the Khyber had been redeemed, it is true, by the subsequent triumph and the deliverance of Jellalabad; but Ghuznee had been lost; Khelat-i-Ghilzye was beleaguered and isolated; Candahar had narrowly escaped being taken as yet; and the great convoy and expedition, collected with so much difficulty in Scinde for the reinforcement of Nott, had been beat back from the entrance of the Kojuk Pass. Impressed with these facts, Lord Ellenborough deemed the risk of a farther advance into Affghanistan too great to be hazarded for all its advantages, and formal orders were sent to Pollock and Nott to abandon Jellalabad, Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and Candahar, and retire with their garrisons by the Khyber and Bolan passes to Peshawur and Scinde.[1]*

March 15.

[1] Nott's Corresp. ii. 59-61; Nott to Lord Ellenborough, July 26, 1842.

The determination to abandon all thoughts of a second advance to Cabul was strengthened by a tragic event

* "You will perceive from the substance of the letters I enclose, that I adhere absolutely to my original intention of withdrawing the whole army from Affghanistan, and that I have in the most emphatic manner repeated the order formerly given for that withdrawal. I have, however, communicated to Major-General Nott the option of returning by Ghuznee and Cabul instead of Quettah. Some risk I deem it justifiable to incur for the recovery of the guns

1842.

which occurred at that period in that capital. On the 4th April, as the king, Shah Soojah, was proceeding in a chair of state to review some troops in the neighbourhood of Cabul, he was assassinated by a discharge of musketry from a body of jezailchees placed in ambush for the purpose. The author of the bloody deed was Soojah-ool-Dowlah, a son of the old Newab, who had ever been faithful to the British. After some delay, Futteh Jung, the second son of the late king, was proclaimed his successor, and for a brief space enjoyed the phantom of royalty. But it was the phantom only. The heart of the nation was neither with him nor with any of his family, but with Dost Mahommed, a prisoner in the hands of the British in India. This important event made an essential change, in a political point of view, in our relations with Affghanistan. The hated monarch, to place whom on the throne we had made such efforts and sustained such reverses, was no more; the unpopularity of his family was so evident that it was plain no security beyond the Indus could be gained by upholding them; and the British had in their own hands the means of restoring amicable relations with Affghanistan by simply releasing Dost Mahommed, and permitting these wild tribes to resume their hereditary system of intestine war, treachery, and murder.[1]

82. Murder of Shah Soojah. April 4.

[1] Prince Timour to Gov.-Gen. April 29, 1842; Nott, ii. 95; Kaye, ii. 377, 381; Nott's Corresp. ii. 99.

But whatever weight was justly due to these considerations in a political point of view, they were as nothing to those brave men who, on the frontier of the British empire, were in the face of danger, and therefore prepared to meet its terrors. To their bold and chivalrous hearts everything seemed preferable to sheathing the sword before the disasters which had been sustained were avenged,

83. Strong opinions of Pollock, Nott, and Outram, in favour of an advance to Cabul.

and the prisoners, and with the view of exhibiting the triumphant march of a British army over the ground on which it once suffered defeat; but I consider the preservation of the army in Affghanistan essential to the preservation of our army in India; and however the world might applaud or forgive me, I should never forgive myself if I exposed that army to any material and serious danger for the possible accomplishment of any object now to be attained in Affghanistan."—Lord ELLENBOROUGH to the Secret Committee, Allahabad, 16th August 1842, No. 29; *Ann. Reg.* 1842, p. 443.

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and the honour of the British arms restored. An immediate advance to Cabul, even if followed by a subsequent withdrawal from the country, was recommended by every consideration of sound policy, not less than military honour. They had no doubts of the result; for they had seen how incapable the Affghans were of resisting the British in the open field. Strongly moved by these considerations, Pollock, Nott, and OUTRAM made the most energetic remonstrances against a retreat before victory had been again chained to the British standards ;* and the voice of the press, and the great major-

* "With regard to our withdrawal at the present moment, I fear it would have the very worst effect. It would be construed into a defeat, and our character as a powerful nation would be entirely lost in this part of the world. It is true the garrison of Jellalabad has been saved, which it would not have been had not a force been sent for its relief. But the relief of that garrison is only one object; there still remain others which we cannot disregard: I allude to the release of the prisoners."—GENERAL POLLOCK to the Secretary to the Government, May 13, 1842; KAYE, ii. 57.

"As this is not a time to mince matters, no sooner did I see the orders of Government to General Pollock to withdraw the Jellalabad garrison and retire into India under any circumstances, except the Sikhs turning against us (which, by the by, that measure would have brought about most probably), than I wrote in the most earnest manner I was capable of, pointing out that our bitterest foe could not have devised a more injurious measure, whether viewed politically or in a military light, but expressing my trust that Pollock would act on the responsibility vested in him to prevent so ruinous a step. My mind is now set at rest by General Pollock's determination, now gleaned from your letters. I honour the General, therefore; and should he be allowed to carry out his views, we shall have mainly to thank him, not only for retrieving our honour in Affghanistan, *but for saving India to us*, the loss of which would ultimately result from disgracefully succumbing to the Affghans. Nothing is easier than to retrieve our honour in Affghanistan previously to finally withdrawing, should the Government so determine; and I pray God, Lord Ellenborough may at once see the damnable consequences of shirking the undertaking, and order accordingly; otherwise the disaster at Cabul will be but the commencement of our misfortunes."—MAJOR OUTRAM to SIR RICHMOND SHAKESPEARE, March 15, 1842; KAYE, ii. 432, note.

"Had not the Government bound me hand and foot, I should now have been in Cabul, without asking the aid of Pollock. The game was in our hands, and we would not play it. Pollock ought to have marched sharply upon Cabul; had he done so, not a shot would have been fired. Mark me, my children: had I been in his place, with that beautiful army, I would have struck such a blow that the whole world would have resounded with it. I am ordered to do nothing. Well, our nation is disgraced. How strange that Englishmen should be so paralysed! I am ordered away, though, with my beautiful regiments, I could plant the British banner on the banks of the Caspian."—GENERAL NOTT to his Daughters, June 5, 1842. *Corresp.* ii. 65.

ity of the British in India, strongly supported the same views. With such effect were these representations attended, that Lord Ellenborough first agreed to a prolonged stay of our troops in Jellalabad and Candahar, and at length gave his consent to an advance to Ghuznee and Cabul, if the military commanders were of opinion that such a measure might be hazarded with a reasonable prospect of success. He accompanied this permission, however, with the observation, that if they decided for the bolder course and failed, they must recollect that there was no longer a reserve to fall back upon, and that defeat would be irreparable ruin to the British empire in the East. Warned of this danger, and charged with this responsibility, Pollock and Nott unhesitatingly and joyfully undertook the perilous mission; and to their moral courage, joined to that of the Governor-General, the triumphs which shed such lustre over the conclusion of the war, and re-established the British reputation in the East, are mainly to be ascribed.*

* "Nothing has induced me to change my first opinion, that the measure recommended by considerations of military and political prudence is to bring back the armies now in Affghanistan, at the earliest period at which their retirement can be effected consistently with the health and efficiency of the troops, into positions where they may have easy and certain communications with India; and to this extent the instructions you have received remain unaltered. But the improved condition of your army, with sufficient means of carriage for so large a force as it is necessary to move in Affghanistan, induce me now *to leave to your option the time by which you will withdraw your troops from that country.* I must desire, however, that in forming a decision upon this most important question, you will attend to the following considerations: —In the direction of Quettah and Sukhur there is no enemy to oppose you. At such places occupied by detachments you will find provisions, and probably as you descend the passes you will have increased means of carriage. This operation is one admitting of no doubt as to its success. If you determine upon moving upon Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad, you will require for the transport of provisions a much larger amount of carriage, and you will be practically without communications from the time of your leaving Candahar, dependent entirely upon the courage of your army for the opening of a communication by an ultimate junction with General Pollock.

"Now, if everything depended upon the courage of your army and your own ability in conducting it, should I have any doubt as to the success of the operation? But whether you would be able to procure provisions for your troops during the whole march, and forage for your animals, may be a matter of reasonable doubt. Yet upon this your success will turn. You must remember that it was not the superior courage of the Affghans, but want and

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84. Circumstances which rendered the advance more feasible.

Before this bold resolution could be carried into effect, various circumstances had occurred which had materially changed for the better the position of both the British armies in Affghanistan. Pressed by reiterated requests from Nott, and reinforced, by the indefatigable zeal and activity of Major Outram, with an additional supply of animals of transport, General England had again set out from Quettah at the head of 4000 men, including the 40th Queen's, and a large convoy of provisions; and this time he met with better success than on the former occa-

April 26. sion. Keeping his troops as much as possible together and well in hand, he approached the southern entrance

April 28. of the Kojuk Pass on the 28th April. The Affghans, encouraged by their late success, were posted on the

the inclemency of the season, which led to the destruction of the army at Cabul; and you must feel, as I do, that the *loss of another army, from whatever cause it might arise, might be fatal to our government in India.*

"I do not undervalue the aid which our Government in India would receive from the successful execution of a march by your army through Ghuznee and Cabul over the scenes of our late disasters. I know all the effect which it would have upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of enemies in Asia, of our countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition, *which no one would rejoice more than myself to see effected.* But I see that failure in the attempt is *certain and irretrievable ruin;* and I would endeavour to inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be attained by success, the risk is great also.

"If you should be enabled by a *coup-de-main* to get possession of Ghuznee and Cabul, you will act as you see fit, and leave decisive proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its humanity. You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee his club which hangs over it, and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the temple of Somnauth. These will be fresh trophies of your successful march."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH to GENERAL NOTT, July 4, 1842. *Corresp.*, ii. 82-84. (A copy of this letter was sent to General Pollock, and formed his instructions also.)

Nott replied: "Having well considered the subject of your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant, having looked at the difficulties in every point of view, and reflected on the advantages which would attend a successful accomplishment of such a move, and the moral influence it would have through Asia, I have come to the determination *to retire a portion of the army under my command* viâ *Ghuznee and Cabul.* I shall take with me a large but a compact and well-tried force, on which I can rely. Your Lordship may rest assured that all prudence and every military precaution shall be observed. There shall be no unnecessary risk; and if expedient, I will mask Ghuznee, and even Cabul; but should an opportunity offer, I will endeavour to strike a decisive blow for the honour of our arms."—GENERAL NOTT to LORD ELLENBOROUGH, July 26, 1842, *Corresp.*, ii. 86.

ground which had been the scene of their former victory, and, confident of success, calmly awaited the approach of the British troops. But they soon found that they had different adversaries to deal with from those whom they had last encountered. The British ascended the hill under a heavy fire; and when within a hundred yards, delivered a volley, and rushed forward with levelled bayonets. The enemy broke and fled, abandoning all their defences, and scrambling in haste up the hills on the right and left. This was soon followed by a successful attack, by a brigade detached by Nott from Candahar, on the heights which crowned the northern extremity of the pass; and the road being open, the reinforcements and convoy moved forward and entered Candahar on the 10th May.[1]

April 30.

[1] Kaye, ii. 444-450; Nott to Pollock, May 6, 1842; Ibid. 447.

85. Improved condition of both Pollock's and Nott's armies.

By this reinforcement the troops there were raised to 12,000 men, a force equal to that with which Pollock held Jellalabad. Each of these armies was adequate, taken separately, to defeat any force which the Affghans could oppose to them; and what was of still greater importance, they were at length, by the efforts of Mr Clerk in the Punjaub and Major Outram in Scinde, adequately provided with the requisite draught animals, indispensable to a march through these inhospitable regions. The spirit of both armies was exalted, the gloomy presentiments arising from the disasters of the preceding winter had been entirely dissipated by recent victories, and the whole troops, British as well as native, were burning with desire to avenge their comrades treacherously slaughtered in defiance of a capitulation, restore the tarnished honour of their arms, and deliver the captives. The health of the men had greatly improved; and the approach of the cool months presented the most favourable time for military operations. Everything, therefore, favoured an advance, by which the lustre of the British arms and the prestige of the British power might be restored;[2] and happily both armies were com-

[2] Nott, ii. 113-120; Kaye, ii. 555-560.

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posed of men, and headed by generals, worthy of undertaking the glorious task.

86. Successful expedition into the Shinwarree Valley.

Pollock turned to good account the delay necessarily incurred in getting up the supplies and baggage animals. An expedition was resolved on into the Shinwarree Valley, not far from Jellalabad, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly active in their attacks on the British during their retreat, and still held in their possession one of the guns taken on that calamitous occasion. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Brigadier Monteith, who had so much distinguished himself in the successful sortie from Jellalabad in the beginning of April.

June 20. He set out on the 20th June, and moved upon Goolai, which, on restitution of the captured gun and treasure being refused, was burnt to the ground. Proceeding in this manner up the valley for some days, the gun and part of the treasures were given up. But as the Shinwarries had always been a refractory set, and had taken an active part in the destruction of the force retreating from Cabul, it was thought necessary to let them feel what the power of Britain was, to punish even in that wild and sequestered district. Proceeding up the glen, Monteith set fire to all the hill-forts it contained, the seats of the licentious soldiery who had violated the capitula-

July 26. tion. Some resistance was attempted on the 26th July at Mazeena, but was speedily overcome. Monteith returned to Jellalabad loaded with provisions and stores of all kinds, having completely accomplished the objects of the expedition, which were to punish the most guilty of the Affghanistan tribes, and spread a dread of British power in the farthest recesses of its secluded mountains. It is always a matter of regret when vengeance is taken on an entire district by military execution on its inhabitants, for it is scarce possible then to separate the innocent from the guilty.[1] But in this instance the punishment fell on the really guilty and treacherous parties; and if their innocent families also suffered, that is no more

[1] Monteith's Report, July 27, 1842; Parl. Pap.; Kaye, ii. 560-563.

than was proclaimed as the destiny of man three thousand years ago, amidst the thunders of Mount Sinai.

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All things being at length in readiness, and the cool healthy weather having set in, Pollock broke up from Jellalabad on the 20th August with 8000 men of all arms. This does not seem a large force to undertake the conquest of so difficult and warlike a country; but its composition rendered it efficient in the very highest degree. It embraced the 3d English Dragoons, the 31st Queen's, and several of the best native regiments, particularly the 33d, with the whole of Sale's and Tulloch's brigades, both European and native, with seventeen guns. The advancing columns first came in contact with the enemy on the 23d at the village of Mammo-khail, where they were strongly posted, crowning the heights on either side. They were speedily carried, Pollock, at the head of a wing of the 9th Queen's, himself forcing the village amidst the cheers of the whole army, which hailed with transport the auspicious commencement of their glorious march. The universal joy was wrought up to the highest pitch by the announcement, which had hitherto been kept a profound secret, that they were marching UPON CABUL, not any intermediate point. With such transport was this intelligence received, that the troops, officers and men, European and native, offered to make any sacrifices to facilitate the advance of the army; while the satisfaction of the General was rendered complete soon after by intelligence that Nott had broken up from Candahar, and was advancing towards Cabul by Ghuznee. The troops remained at Gundamuck till the 7th September, enjoying rest in a cool delightful climate, and confident of success in the adventurous march on which they had entered.[1] *

Advance of Pollock towards Cabul. Aug. 20.

Aug. 23.

[1] Sale to Pollock, Aug. 16, 1842; Kaye, ii. 568-571.

* While lying at Gundamuck, a poor man, apparently of the meanest caste, presented himself at the outposts, and was recognised as Futteh Jung, second son of the late king, Shah Soojah, and who for a few weeks had been placed on the throne after the murder of his father. He had been placed there as a wretched puppet by Akbar Khan, the real ruler of the country, until he had extorted from him all his wealth, which proved to be considerable, and made

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88. Victory of Pollock at Jugdulluck. Sept. 8.

The march was resumed early on the morning of the 7th of September on the road to Cabul. No resistance was experienced till they came to the entrance of the Jugdulluck Pass, the theatre of such disaster in the retreat.[1] On approaching the hills which overhang that defile, it was perceived that they were occupied by large bodies of the enemy, in positions singularly strong and difficult of access, the fire from which commanded the road, while all approach to the enemy from whom it issued seemed impossible. The British artillery opened on them ; but the Affghans stood their ground bravely, and their fire was so violent, that all progress through the pass was impossible till the heights were cleared. Upon this Pollock sent forward columns to the right and left, to crown the heights on either side. "Then was seen the decisive superiority of the European over the Asiatic troops, even when every natural advantage lay on the side of the latter. The sharp rattle of the musketry issuing from the rocks and thickets was drowned in the loud cheers of the British as they approached the enemy, and the enthusiastic shouts from below when they saw them break and fly in confusion, closely followed by the British bayonets, and their standards seized by the victors. But though driven from their first ground, the Ghilzyes were not entirely defeated. They took refuge on a rocky height, apparently inaccessible save by a narrow path in the rear. Thither they were, however, followed in hot haste by the assailants. Abbot's and Backhouse's guns kept up a powerful fire on the crowded heights, which did terrible execution, and under cover of it Broadfoot and Wilkinson again led their men to the assault."[1] "Sel-

[1] Vide ante, c. xl. § 123.

[1] Pollock's Desp., Sept. 18, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 252; Greenwood's War in Affghanistan, 117-120; Kaye, ii. 573-575.

him sign all papers necessary to transfer authority of every sort to the Wuzeer. Finding himself a real prisoner, though nominally on the throne, the prince resolved to flee ; but his design being suspected, he was seized and thrown into prison by Akbar Khan, in the Bala-Hissar, from whence he escaped by cutting a hole in the roof ; and after wandering about some weeks in disguise and the utmost misery, and being often fired upon by the Affghans, he at length reached the British camp.—See Kaye, ii. 571, 572.

dom," said Pollock in his official despatch, "have soldiers had a more arduous task to perform, and never was an undertaking of the kind surpassed in execution." The Affghans were panic-struck by the impetuosity of the assault, and fled in confusion, leaving their standards in the hands of the British.

89. Description of the pass beyond Jugdulluck.

By this brilliant victory, which was achieved with very little loss, and mainly by the old Jellalabad garrison, the entrance of the pass was won. But the pass itself, in all its terrific proportions, remained behind, and it required to be surmounted before the troops could emerge into the valley of Cabul. It has thus been described by the eloquent pen of an eyewitness: "Rugged ascents and descents, water-courses, ravines, and narrow valleys, form the constant features of the country from Jugdulluck to the end of the Coord Cabul Pass, a distance of forty miles. The defiles through which the road leads are so narrow and difficult, that no words can convey an idea of them. The Duree Pass, which is three miles long, is extremely narrow, and turns repeatedly as the torrent which roars in its bottom meets impenetrable masses of rock at right angles. Its average width is *about forty yards*, but there are three places in which it *is less than ten feet, and one only six*; so that, if an animal fell, the road would be stopped till it could be removed. The almost perpendicular cliffs on either side appear as if threatening destruction, and they rise to the height of several thousand feet.[1]

[1] Greenwood's Affghan War, 124-127; Ann. Reg. 1842, 252.

90. Position chosen by Akbar Khan. Sept. 12.

Akbar Khan, now awakened to a sense of the dangers of his situation, had resolved to make his last stand about six miles to the south of Cabul, at Begramee. Preparing for the worst, he sent the prisoners and women off to the Hindoo Coosh, and, by advice of his council of chiefs, despatched messengers to the British headquarters offering any terms of submission, so as they would not advance on the capital—a decisive proof of the wisdom of the move thus so long the subject of doubt in the

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British councils. Meanwhile Pollock had advanced seven miles up the pass without opposition, and reached the valley of Tezeen, a little oval space encircled by lofty and almost impassable mountains. Here the Affghan chief now resolved to make his stand, the opening of the valley enabling him to take advantage of his superiority of force. Every height and eminence was occupied by marksmen, and nothing had been omitted which could enhance the natural difficulties of the position. Akbar Khan, and his most renowned chiefs and best troops, were there to the number of 16,000 men, rather more than double of the British. Nevertheless, the chief had no confidence in the result. "I know that I have everything to lose; but it is too late to recede: the people would never hear of submission."[1]

[1] Pollock's Desp., Sept. 14, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 478; Official Document; Kaye, ii. 577, 578.

91. Glorious victory of Pollock. Sept. 13.

To rest his men, Pollock halted the advanced guard at Tezeen. This delay was ascribed by the Affghans to fear, and they advanced to the encounter during the night, and on the morning of the 13th hemmed in the British camp on every side. But they had to deal with men whose courage, always great, had been wrought up to the highest point by the sight of the skeletons of their slaughtered comrades. Attracted by the hope of plunder, the Affghan horse entered the little plain, but they were speedily met by four squadrons of the 3d Dragoons, followed by some native horse and irregular cavalry, who hurled them back with great loss. The columns of foot now ascended the heights on either side; the light companies of the 13th leading on the right, those of the 9th and 31st, led by Captain Lushington, on the left. The Affghans, confident of victory, poured on them a close and destructive fire, and even advanced with loud shouts to the attack. But without firing a shot the British pressed upward, and when they neared the foe, charged, with loud cheers, with the bayonet. The Affghans broke and fled before the terrible onset, and hurried to still higher and more rugged ground formed by the rocky

ridges of the Huft-Kotul, when they rallied and prepared to make a last stand. Here, however, they were speedily attacked by the heroic British, supported by their gallant allies. Sale headed the advanced guard, which emulated its own former deeds; M'Caskill led on another column; Broadfoot with his sappers was again at the head of the stormers; Monteith followed with his brigade; and after a desperate contest, the summits of the Huft-Kotul were won, the Affghan guns and standards were taken, and amidst cheers which made the very welkin ring, the British colours were planted on the highest pinnacles of the mountain.[1]

[1] Pollock's Desp., Sept. 14, 1842; Ann. Reg. 478, 479; Kaye, ii. 577-581.

92. Spectacle of the bones of the former army.

After this signal defeat, the Affghans offered no farther resistance to the march of the victorious army, which advanced without opposition through the entire length of the Coord Cabul Pass. But what a spectacle here met their eyes at every step! how calculated to rouse, almost to madness, every feeling of the victorious soldiery! Literally strewed with the skeletons of the thousands who had perished in the massacre of the preceding winter, they could not tread but on the bones of their fallen comrades. Nothing can do justice to the scene but the far-famed and eloquent description by the immortal Roman annalist, of the discovery of the remains of Varus's legions by the army under the command of Germanicus Cæsar: "The desire seized Cæsar of rendering the last funeral-rites to the army and its general; the whole troops being moved with commiseration for their lost relations and friends, the fate of war, and the destiny of man. Having sent forward Cæcina that he might examine the recesses of the woods, and place bridges and mounds on the marshy places, he approached with his troops the places alike sad from the sight and the recollection. First the camp of Varus, of vast dimensions, showed the labours of the hands of three legions; then in the humble ditch on the half-filled-up rampart, the remains of those who had fallen were discovered: in the

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middle of the plain, the whitening bones, here in heaps, there scattered, showed where they had fled, or made a last stand together. On all sides were seen the fragments of arms, the limbs of horses, human heads nailed to the trees; in the neighbouring groves, the altars of the barbarians, before which they had sacrificed the tribunes and centurions of the first rank. Those who had survived the massacre, and escaped from their bonds, related that here the lieutenant had fallen, there the eagles had been seized; here Varus was struck by the first wound, there he fell by his own hand; in what assembly of the tribunes Armenius had ordered indignities and tortures to the captives, what insults to the standards and the eagles. Therefore the Roman army, which now approached in the sixth year after the slaughter, committed to the earth the remains of three legions, no one knowing whether he was interring the remains of a friend or a stranger, but all, being animated alike with wrath against the enemy, sad and unconscious, performed the funeral obsequies as to a friend and a blood relation."[1] Thus sad as the Roman legions after the lapse of eighteen centuries, but yet observing in their anger the strictest discipline, the British troops pursued their victorious and now unresisted march over the uninterred bones of their comrades to the capital. On the 15th September the army encamped on the Cabul race-course, and next day ascending the Royal Hill in triumph, they hoisted the British standard on the battlements of the Bala-Hissar amidst a royal salute, followed by "God save the Queen" from the bands of all the regiments, and three enthusiastic cheers from the whole troops.[2]

[1] Tacitus, Annal. i. § 61.

[2] Pollock to ——, Sept. 23, 1842; Kaye, ii. 530, 581; Ann. Reg. 1842, 481; Pollock to Lauder, Sept. 16, 1842.

93. Operations of Nott's troops against Ghuznee and Cabul. Aug. 7.

While Pollock was conducting to a glorious issue these important operations in the defiles leading from Jellalabad direct to Cabul, Nott was engaged in corresponding movements, ending in as triumphant a result, on the road converging to the same place from Candahar. Having made his election to retire from Candahar by Ghuznee

and Cabul, he set about carrying his design into execution in the most regular and systematic manner. On the 7th of August the city was evacuated, Nott taking with him the British regiments and more than half the force; the remainder, composed entirely of natives under England, retiring towards Quettah by the Kojuk Pass. The latter was threatened with resistance when entering the jaws of that defile; but England, by a rapid advance, after a night-march of twenty-four miles, succeeded in seizing the heights on either side before they were fully occupied by the enemy, and got his column, with its immense convoy of 10,000 beasts of burden, with all the guns and ammunition-waggons, safely through, from whence they proceeded on their march unmolested, and reached Quettah without any loss.[1]

Aug. 9.

[1] England to Maddock, Aug. 19, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 468.

94. Check of Nott's advanced guard. Aug. 28.

Nott experienced no resistance till he left Mookoor, on 28th August, about half-way to Ghuznee, when the enemy was seen occupying the heights which commanded the road, and in the valley beneath horsemen were discerned. Delamain, who commanded the advanced guard, attacked them with his troopers, and cut down twenty; but pursuing his advantage too far, he got surrounded by large bodies of cavalry, by whom, after a sanguinary fight, he was defeated with considerable loss. Upon learning this disaster, Nott moved out his whole army, 7000 strong, but before they could reach the ground the enemy had retired. A terrible vengeance was taken on a village from which shots had been fired on our troops: the women and children were spared, but a hundred men fell under the avenging sabres of the infuriated cavalry. This was an inauspicious beginning, and inspired some apprehensions even in the intrepid breast of Rawlinson; but it was soon redeemed by a glorious victory.[2]

[2] Rawlinson's Journal, MS.; Rawlinson to Outram, Sept. 7, 1842; Kaye, ii. 596-601.

95. Nott's victory at Ghoaine. Aug. 30.

Rendered cautious by this check, Nott moved forward, with his men well in hand, on the succeeding day. The Governor of Ghuznee, Shumshoodeen, with ten thousand men, moved parallel to him on the heights, and at three

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in the afternoon, seeing the opportunity favourable, he descended with all his men to the attack. Nott advanced to meet him with half his force, consisting of the 40th Queen's, two regiments of sepoys, and four guns. The enemy opened a fire from two guns, and that of the infantry was extremely well sustained; but when the British got near, they delivered a volley, and instantly charged, with loud cheers, with the bayonet. The enemy upon this broke and fled, closely pursued by Christie's dragoons, who sabred the gunners and captured the guns. The Governor fled towards Ghuznee, but his followers dispersed in utter confusion, leaving tents, magazines, and stores of every description, to the victors. After this success, Nott halted a day, and resuming his march on the one following, appeared before Ghuznee. The enemy had been strongly reinforced; the ramparts were crowded with armed men, the adjacent heights were strongly occupied by troops, and everything betokened a vigorous struggle. But these appearances were fallacious. Before nightfall, Nott carried the heights occupied by the enemy, in the most gallant style, and drove them headlong into the city. There no preparations for a defence had been made, and the hill-tribes began to depart when they saw preparations made for constructing batteries; and Shumshoodeen, despairing of success, withdrew in the night. Next morning the troops entered without resistance, and soon the British flag was seen waving on the fortress.[1]

[1] Nott to Maddock, Aug. 30, and Sept. 6, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 469-471; Nott's Corr. ii. 121-123; Kaye, ii. 600-605.

96. Removal of the gates of Somnauth.

There remained, however, something yet to be done at Ghuznee before the victorious legions proceeded on their march towards Cabul. At the village of Rosa, near Ghuznee, is situated the tomb of Sultan Mahmoud, the Mahommedan conqueror of India, who is said to have carried off the gates of the sepulchre as a trophy from Somnauth in Hindostan, eight hundred years ago. Whether this were so or not, this much at least is certain, that they are of high antiquity, and regarded with

superstitious veneration, as trophies of the great conqueror, by the inhabitants of the country. In obedience to Lord Ellenborough's orders, the gates were brought away, with as much delicacy and forbearance as possible, and no profanation of the tomb took place. The Mollahs who had charge of the tomb wept bitterly, and prostrated themselves before the shrine when the gates were carried away; but the bulk of the people were too much concerned with present events to be much affected by it. The Mussulman officers in the British army thronged to the tomb with profound devotion.[1]

[1] Rawlinson's MS.; Kaye, ii. 605, 606; Nott, ii. 131, 132.

97. Triumphant march of Nott to Cabul. Sept. 16.

After leaving Ghuznee, Nott continued his march, like Pollock, over the scenes of former disasters. On the 12th he passed Sydeabad, the scene of Woodburn's betrayal and death: on the 14th he attacked the enemy, 1200 in number, who were strongly posted on heights near Mydan, barring the approach to the capital, and, after a sharp action, the heights in front were carried; but they were subsequently abandoned, as the fatigue of the beasts of burden disabled them from following the troops any farther. Preparations were made for renewing the attack on the following day, but in the night the enemy decamped, and took post at Urghundeh, half a day's march nearer the capital. There they were defeated at all points, and fled in confusion towards Cabul, abandoning their guns and baggage. The Mydanees upon this tendered their submission; but they had taken an active part in the insurrection and subsequent massacre, and the British set fire to all their forts. Next day Nott hurried on, without further resistance, to Cabul, only, however, to find it already in the hands of Pollock, who had arrived the day before.[2]

[2] Nott to Pollock, Sept. 16, 1842; Corr. ii. 136-138; Rawlinson's Journal, MS.; Kaye, ii. 608, 609.

98. Destruction of the Bazaar of Cabul.

Thus did the two British divisions unite in the heart of Affghanistan, and avenge, on the theatre on which they had been incurred, their former disasters. Fifteen thousand troops in the English uniform were now assembled at Cabul—a force amply sufficient to subdue and

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retain in subjection the whole of Affghanistan, if it had been deemed an object by the British Government to retain the country. The most perfect discipline had hitherto been observed by the troops; not a man was wounded, not a woman insulted, not a house broken into or fired by the victors. But a terrible retribution was preparing by the generals, which should sink deep in the minds of the Orientals, and leave in the heart of Asia indelible traces of the British conquest and power. The Bazaar was the most celebrated building in Central Asia. Its halls had long been the resort of merchants from every quarter, and its beauty had rendered it the great object of pride to the whole inhabitants of Affghanistan. It was here that Sir William Macnaghten's body had been exposed to the insults of a fanatical Mussulman rabble; and it was here that a lasting retribution was to be inflicted, and a durable monument of British justice, and yet mercy, to be exhibited. The great Bazaar was to be destroyed, and the preparations to level it were begun on the 9th October. So massive, however, was the structure, that it defied all ordinary methods of demolition, and it was found necessary to employ mining and gunpowder to bring it down. By their aid the work of ruin was accomplished; and Affghanistan, like France, was taught, in Wellington's words, "a great moral lesson" by being deprived of its chief ornament and just object of national pride. The explosions were so managed by the skilful engineers employed, that no mischief was done to other buildings; but all the efforts of Colonel Richmond, who was intrusted with the guard of the gates of the city, were unable to arrest an unruly mob of camp-followers and soldiers, who, to the number of several thousands, broke in, and began plundering and committing every species of excess.[1] It is to be regretted that such scenes should have accompanied the last sojourn of the British legions on the theatre of their victories; but when the enormous provocation they

[1] Kaye, ii. 639, 640; Nott, ii. 147, 161; Ann. Reg. 1843, 344.

had received from the Affghans is considered, it can hardly excite surprise that some such outrage should have occurred.

99. M'Caskill's expedition to Istaliff.

One other warlike movement, which proved entirely successful, took place before the British finally withdrew from Affghanistan. M'Caskill, who, as already mentioned, commanded a brigade in Pollock's army, was despatched by that officer in the end of September to disperse a hostile assemblage which was forming in the Kohistan, under their khan, Ameen Oollah. The expedition proved entirely successful. By a rapid march M'Caskill reached Istaliff, the chief place of the district, where the Affghans had deposited their baggage, treasures, and women, before the enemy were aware of his approach. As the troops entered the town, the jezails of the enemy opened a desultory fire; but the light company of the 9th and Broadfoot's Sappers soon cooled their ardour, and ere long nothing was seen of the enemy but a confused stream of men, women, children, and beasts of burden, which rushed up the hill above the town to avoid destruction. Pursuit was humanely forbidden, to give the women and children an opportunity of escaping, but the booty in the town, with two guns, was taken; and after this victory the troops went on and fired Charekar, where the gallant Ghoorka regiment had been treacherously destroyed in the former campaign.[1] They then faced about, and reached Cabul on the 7th October, having spread terror far and wide in the northern regions of Affghanistan.[2]

Sept. 30.

[1] Ante, c. xl. § 114.

[2] M'Caskill to Pollock, Sept. 30, 1842; Nott, ii. 154; Kaye, ii. 634, 635.

100. General submission of Affghanistan.

The Affghans were now thoroughly subdued, their armies defeated, their chiefs disunited, their arrogance tamed, their *Io pæans* turned into lamentation. Everywhere they had encountered disaster; everywhere the traces of British power and invincibility had been left. They had avenged their defeats on the very scenes where these had been incurred, and left in the capital of the enemy indelible traces at once of their power

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and their moderation. The Affghans—prone, like all Asiatics, to sudden impressions—were strongly affected with this long train of disasters, and evinced it in the entire change of their policy and measures. Bending to the victories of the Feringhees as to the stroke of fate, they hastened to make their submission as rapidly as they had formerly crowded to their rallying-points to take up arms. On all sides the hostile chiefs made overtures for accommodation. Ameen Oollah Khan, who had been the last to suffer under their arms, secretly sent in proposals, saying he had acted against the British under compulsion, and had all along been their friend. Akbar Khan himself sent in one of his last remaining prisoners, Captain Bygrave, with a letter to Pollock, expressing his anxious desire to enter into amicable relations with the Governor-General. So general was the submission of the hostile chiefs, that for a brief period it was thought that Futteh Jung, the second son of the late king, might resume the reins of power; and for a few days he actually held them in impotent sovereignty at the Bala-Hissar. But they soon slipped from his feeble grasp; and the British generals, having no intention of imposing a king upon the Affghans, made preparations for their departure from the scene of their conquest, their disasters, and their triumphs.[1]

[1] Pollock to Lord Ellenborough, Oct. 7, 1842; Kaye, ii. 635, 636.

101. Steps for the recovery of the captives.

But another task awaited the British general, in the highest degree interesting to all India, and indeed to the whole civilised world. The prisoners were still in the hands of the Affghans; and their fate, especially that of Lady Sale and the other heroic ladies who shared her captivity, excited the warmest feelings of interest and commiseration. It was universally felt that our triumph would be incomplete if they were not restored to their relations and their country. The fate of these prisoners forms an interesting episode in the Affghan war, and their release a fitting termination to that tale of mingled horror and glory. Separated from the army, as already

mentioned,[1] during the retreat through the Coord Cabul Pass, they had been sent towards the inhospitable regions of the Bamian Pass in the depth of winter, under an escort of Affghan horse. During the weary months of their captivity the time passed more pleasantly than could have been expected; nay, they were sometimes happy. A few packs of cards, which had found their way into that frozen wilderness, were a great resource. They had a prayer-book, from which they daily read the morning and evening service; and in the winter nights they were far from despising a game at blind-man's-buff with the children. And although they experienced great suffering during their removals, and were often lodged in noisome damp apartments, they experienced no bad usage of any kind, and often received the most touching proofs of kindness and sympathy from the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed. As summer came on they perceived, from unmistakable symptoms, that their guards were uneasy; and in the end of August they received intimation that they must prepare for being sent off to Bamian, over the snows of the Hindoo Coosh, accompanied by not obscure hints that their ultimate destination was Turkestan, where they would be sold as slaves.[2]

[1] Ante, c. xl. § 131.

[2] Lady Sale's Journal, 364; Johnson's Narrative; Thornton, vi. 386-388; Kaye.

102. Treaty for their deliverance.

From this terrible misfortune they were delivered, partly by the skill and address of Captain Johnson, who shared their captivity, partly by the vigour and activity of the detachment which Pollock sent forward to effect their liberation. This party consisted of 700 Kuzilbash horse, under the command of an officer, who had already earned his spurs in this desperate war, and had evinced equal courage and capacity in every duty—many of which had been most arduous—committed to his charge. This party of hardy and experienced horsemen set out on the 12th September for the Hindoo Coosh, and such was the spirit with which they were animated that they marched ninety miles the first day. To support them,

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Pollock, four days after, despatched a strong force under Sir R. Sale to occupy the Urghundeh Pass, by which they would have to return. Meanwhile, Johnson and Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, made good use of the reports which had reached them of the successes of Pollock and Sale, and to their representations Saleh Mahommed, who had charge of the party, with the usual disposition of the Asiatics to yield at once to victory, at length came to lend a willing ear. Deeming the authority of the Affghans approaching its fall, he agreed, on condition of receiving 20,000 rupees down, and a pension of 1000 rupees per month for life, to conduct the captives, not to Turkestan, but to the British camp in the pass of Urghundeh. This change was announced to the

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captives on the 11th September, and the whole officers present, with the exception of two, who conceived themselves bound in honour to Akbar Khan, agreed to the proposal, and volunteered, if necessary, to master the guard, and hold the fort in which they were till succour arrived, and the agreement could be carried into effect. But there was no occasion to resort to so desperate an alternative. Saleh Mahommed proved faithful to his engagement, which was subscribed by Pottinger, Johnson, Mackenzie, and Lawrence, as well as Lady Sale and the other ladies. Both parties immediately set about carrying the design into execution. Trusting to the reports circulating of the victories of the British, Pottinger, though still a prisoner, issued proclamations from the fort in which they were detained, promising forgiveness and remission of revenue to the chiefs in insurrection around them, and some of them actually came in in consequence, and made their salaam. The garrison of the fort, 250 strong, agreed,

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for a gratuity of four months' pay on reaching Cabul, to defend the prisoners on the way thither. Matters were in this state when intelligence arrived of Pollock's victory in the valley of Tezeen. Upon this there was no longer any hesitation ; it was at once unanimously resolved to set out next morning for Cabul.[1]

[1] Johnson's Narrative; Kaye, ii. 623, 624; Thornton, vi. 386-388.

While this was passing with the captives, the detachment of Kuzilbashes, with Sir Richard Shakespear at their head, were toiling indefatigably up the steeps on their noble mission. The scanty intelligence they received on the day of the departure of the captives for the Bamian Pass and Turkestan, only roused them to increased efforts to effect their deliverance before the fatal barrier of the Hindoo Coosh was passed, and they were delivered over to hopeless captivity. As they were advancing in this manner, and had just surmounted a high ridge which commanded a view of an extensive valley stretching up the mountains, at their feet they beheld with surprise a lofty pillar, an unexpected sight in that deep solitude. It proved to be a monument erected in honour of Alexander the Great, in commemoration of his having, first of the Europeans, surmounted the great Caucasian range, and bent his way towards the plains of India!

103. Shakespear passes Alexander's column. Sept. 16.

At daybreak on the 17th the captives were awakened by a messenger who brought the joyful intelligence from Sir R. Shakespear that he was approaching with a body of Kuzilbash horse. They instantly set out, and, with increased rapidity, pursued their way to the southward. They saw or heard nothing till three in the afternoon, when horsemen were seen descending a mountain-pass before them. No English uniforms were visible among them—they might be enemies! Every preparation was made to meet the expected attack. The hearts of the captives sank within them with anxiety; they had been discovered, and these were the cavalry whom Akbar Khan had despatched to reconduct them over the Bamian into Turkestan. Joy! joy!—an English officer emerges from the ranks and gallops forward, waving a white handkerchief. It was Sir R. Shakespear, at the head of his faithful Kuzilbashes, who were soon in the midst of them, announcing deliverance, safety, and a speedy return to their relations and country.[1]

104. Deliverance of Lady Sale and the captives. Sept. 17.

[1] Johnson's Narrative, MS.; Lady Sale, 432, 435; Kaye, ii. 624, 625; Thornton, vi. 387, 389.

Wearied with their long journey, but no longer anxious, Lady Sale and the prisoners remained at rest that day,

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105. Meeting of Lady Sale and her husband.

devouring the intelligence which Shakespear gave in answer to their reiterated questions. On the 18th and 19th they pursued their journey, and on the 20th, when they were approaching Urghundeh, they were met by the column under Sale, which Pollock had sent out to support Shakespear. In a few minutes Sale, amidst the cheers and tears of his men, embraced his wife and daughter. The meeting of the delivered captives with Sale's veterans must be given in Lady Sale's words:—"It is impossible to express our feelings on Sale's approach. To my daughter and myself, happiness, so long delayed as to be almost unexpected, was actually painful, and accompanied by a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears. When we arrived where the infantry were posted, they cheered all the captives as they passed them; and the men of the 13th, Sir R. Sale's own regiment, pressed forward to welcome us individually. Most of the men had a few words of hearty congratulation to offer, each in his own style, on the restoration of their colonel's wife and daughter; and then my highly-wrought feelings found the desired relief, and I could actually speak to thank the soldiers for their sympathy, while the long-withheld tears now found their course. On arriving at the camp, Captain Backhouse fired a royal salute from his mountain-train guns; and not only our own friends, but all the officers in the party, came to offer congratulations, and welcome us on our release from captivity."[1]

[1] Lady Sale's Journal, 436, 437; Johnson's MS.; Thornton, vi. 389; Kaye, ii. 625.

106. Final retirement of the British from Affghanistan.

All was now accomplished. The honour of the British arms had been avenged, the captives delivered, and the treachery of the enemy punished in a signal and enduring manner. Nothing more remained to be done: there was no longer any cause of discord or hostility with the Affghans. The king whom, in an evil hour, and misled by a false opinion of his popularity, we had put on the throne, had been murdered by his subjects; his son, a boy of eighteen, was invested with only the shadow of

royalty, and Russian ambition had been turned into another channel; the catastrophe of Khiva had chilled their ardour for conquests in Central Asia. It was resolved, therefore, to retire within the Indus while it could yet be done with credit and safety; and on the 1st October a proclamation to this effect was issued by the Governor-General from Simla. On the 11th of the same month the family of Shah Soojah found refuge in Pollock's quarters; the British colours were lowered on the Bala-Hissar, and the British troops began their departure from the theatre of their unjust conquests, their terrible punishment, their restored glory.[1]

[1] Kaye, ii. 640, 641; Thornton, vi. 389.

107. Universal joy in India on these successes.

The army retired by Gundamuck, Jellalabad, and the Khyber, without any other molestation than a few desultory attacks from the predatory tribes which hung on the sides of the defiles through which they passed, and reached Peshawur in the beginning of November. The fortifications of Ghuznee and Jellalabad were blown up; those far-famed fortresses were left "as the abode only of owls and jackals." Never was joy more sincere than was now felt in every European breast in India. "There was," says the eloquent annalist of this memorable war, "one general shout of triumphant congratulation, caught up from station to station along the whole line of country from Sirhind to Tinnevelly. Suspense and anxiety now died away in the European breast; and in the words of one of the ablest Indian statesmen, 'it was a comfort again to be able to look a native in the face.'" By an extraordinary coincidence the same Delhi Gazette which announced the second capture of Cabul, contained the glorious treaty of peace with the Chinese, dictated by the British under the walls of Nankin. Immense was the effect of this double victory upon the public mind through the whole of Hindostan. The movement which had begun so strongly to stir the minds of the natives throughout the whole peninsula was stayed;[2] and the Asiatics, according to their usual custom,

[2] Kaye, ii. 644, 645; Thornton, vi. 389, 390.

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resigned themselves to victory as the stroke of fate, and ceased to entertain thoughts of further resisting a power which had shown itself capable at the same time of conquering the bravest warriors of central, and the most powerful empire of eastern, Asia.

108. Liberation of Dost Mahommed, and conclusion of the war.

Having vindicated our military honour and retired from Affghanistan, there was no longer either a motive or a pretext for detaining Dost Mahommed in captivity, or withholding from the Affghans the sovereign of their choice—the chief who had offered, if we would support him, to put the whole resources of the country at our disposal as a barrier against Russia. He was accordingly liberated, and his enlargement announced as an earnest of the altered policy of the British Government. Dost Mahommed accordingly set out from Loodianah, and after being detained some time by the ostentatious and somewhat suspicious hospitality of the Rajah of Lahore, he reached the Khyber, and regained the land of his fathers, where, ere long, he was, by the great majority of the people, placed on the throne. And the arms of England, after having undergone an unparalleled disaster, and all but lost India in the attempt to displace him, finally left Affghanistan to the sovereign of its choice, to its solitude, its passions, and its divisions.[1] *

[1] Thornton, vi. 389, 390.

* "The Government of India directed its army to pass the Indus, in order to expel from Affghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign believed to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects. The chief believed to be hostile became a prisoner, and the sovereign believed to be popular was replaced upon the throne; but after events which brought into question his fidelity to the Government by which he was restored, he lost by the hands of an assassin the throne he had only held amidst insurrection, and his death was preceded and followed by still existing anarchy.

"Disasters unparalleled in their extent, unless by the errors in which they originated, and the treachery by which they were completed, have, in one short campaign, been revenged upon every scene of past misfortune; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the citadels and cities of Ghuznee and Cabul, have again attached the opinion of invincibility to the British arms.

"The British army in possession of Affghanistan will now be withdrawn to the Sutlej. The Governor-General will leave it to the Affghans themselves to create a government amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes. To force a sovereign upon a reluctant people would be as inconsistent

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109. Restoration of the gates of Somnauth, and its object.

No man in India was so sincerely rejoiced at the glorious victories in China and Affghanistan, as Lord Ellenborough. His ardent mind, passionately enamoured of martial renown, and eagerly susceptible of strong impressions, had been roused to the uttermost by the ever-memorable events which had taken place under his direction, which had raised the British empire in the East from the verge of ruin to an unexampled pitch of prosperity and glory. But still he had great cause for secret anxiety. Sought as it had been to veil the withdrawal from Affghanistan under the guise of a triumph, it was still a retreat; the fact could not be concealed that the British standards had retired. To diminish the effect of this obvious retrograde movement on the native mind, and also to overawe the powers through whose territories the retreat was to be made, it was resolved to keep the army together, and also to greet its approach with all the pomp and magnificence which is ever so grateful to the Eastern mind. Magnificent pageants, rivalling those by which, four years before,

with the policy as it is with the principles of the British Government, tending to place the arms and resources of that people at the disposal of the first invader, and to impose the burden of supporting a sovereign without the prospect of benefit from his alliance. The Governor-General will willingly recognise any government approved by the Affghans themselves, which shall appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states.

"The rivers of the Punjaub and Indus, and the mountainous passes and the barbarous tribes of Affghanistan, will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the west, if, indeed, such an enemy there can be, and no longer between the army and its supplies.

"The combined army of England and India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any which can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and honour. The Governor-General cannot fear the misconstruction of his motives in thus frankly announcing to the surrounding states the pacific and conservative policy of his Government. Affghanistan and China have at once seen the forces at his disposal, and the effect with which they can be applied. Sincerely attached to peace for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole powers of the British Government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed."—*Proclamation of Governor-General*, Simla, 1st Oct. 1842.

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the march of the British army through the Punjaub had been celebrated, were now enacted on their return: the troops of all arms were turned out to salute them as they passed. The gates of Somnauth, the proud trophy of Mahommedan conquest, were conducted with great pomp, attended by a long array of captured guns, across the whole of India; and honours, medals, and military distinctions of every sort were awarded to the brave officers and soldiers by whom the triumphs had been won.[1] *

Nov. 16.

[1] Thornton, vi. 393-395; Kaye, ii. 650-654.

110. Reflections on this step of Lord Ellenborough.

No act of Lord Ellenborough has been the subject of so much criticism and discussion as this restoration of the gates of Somnauth. Not only was it objected to in England as a vainglorious act, savouring more of the boastful style of Napoleon's bulletins than the modest record of British achievement, but it was the subject of more serious blame by a large and respectable party in Great Britain, which, sincerely desirous of making the British empire in the East the means of converting its inhabitants to the Christian faith, were seized with perfect horror at seeing the triumph of the Christian arms terminating in homage to a heathen temple. Yet is it now evident that both objections were founded on mistake, and on that disposition to judge of the feelings of other nations by our own, which is the most prolific cause of error in forming an opinion of human affairs. Viewed with European eyes, and regarded as

* "Our victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph from Affghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmoud looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory, the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I commit the glorious trophy of successful war. I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to the British Government. You see how worthy it proves itself of your love, when, regarding your honour as its own, it exerts the power of its arms to restore to you the gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your subjection to the Affghans."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH to the PRINCES and PEOPLE of INDIA, 16th November 1842; KAYE, ii. 650.

addressed to civilised and well-informed nations, the triumphal procession of the gates of Somnauth will no doubt appear suitable rather to French grandiloquence than British simplicity; viewed as addressed to the Asiatics, who expect such effusions after victory, and consider them as the evidence of its reality, it must be regarded in a very different light, and as important, as conveying to the ignorant and credulous Asiatic mind proof of the glory of conquest. In truth, much more was made of this act than its real importance, either in a religious or political point of view, deserved; for such is the ignorance which prevails in India, that the memory of even the most important events is much more quickly lost than in the European world. The loss of the gates of Somnauth was bitterly lamented by the priests of Ghuznee, to whom they were a source of profit; but not one in a thousand in Hindostan had ever heard of them; and their restoration excited even less sensation, in a religious point of view, than the recovery of the wood of the true cross, taken at the battle of Tiberias by Saladin, would occasion to good Catholics, or that of some relics of our Saxon kings from the successors of Canute would to the English people.

111. Moral lessons from the Affghanistan war.

The Affghanistan expedition, conceived in injustice, undertaken in ignorance, executed by incapacity, affords a memorable example at once of the weakness and strength of democratic societies. Like all the contests in which Great Britain has been engaged during the last century and a half, it was commenced without any adequate preparation for its dangers, or any knowledge even of what they were. At a time when the army on foot by Great Britain had been reduced to 81,000 men,[1] and the European troops in India were only 31,500, we commenced at the same time two distant and costly wars with China and Affghanistan, and sent an army of 9500 men, with one European regiment in its ranks, to achieve the conquest of a warlike people, inhabiting a remote and

[1] Sidney Herbert's Return, Jan. 5, 1857.

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mountainous country. Never was a more striking instance of the combined arrogance in diplomatic demand with the determined resistance to military preparations, which are the invariable characteristics in the outset of multitudinous rule, when it is really, and not in name merely, established. Disasters great and unexampled followed, and punished the extravagant and ill-judged undertaking. But mark the end of these things, and see how popular vigour and energy, when danger is present, at length surmount all difficulties. The nation, instead of being deterred, was roused by its misfortunes. Sir R. Peel nobly took the lead, the House of Commons evinced similar constancy, the British army was raised to 101,000 men, that in India to 42,000 ; the officers and soldiers engaged in the contest displayed all the fortitude, courage, and energy of their race ; and at length the disasters which had been sustained were avenged, both wars were brought to a successful termination, and the British empire in the East, so recently threatened with dissolution, was raised to an unprecedented pitch of power, influence, and glory.

CHAPTER XLIX.

INDIA FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE AFFGHANISTAN WAR IN 1842, TO THE END OF LORD DALHOUSIE'S GOVERNMENT IN 1856.

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1. Physical description of Scinde.

RISING in Little Thibet at the foot of Mount Kailas, the INDUS, in its downward course, makes its way through the gigantic barrier of the Himalaya, and, swollen by the streams which descend from its snowy summits, descends, after it leaves the mountains, nearly in a straight line running south-west during a course of seventeen hundred miles to the Indian Ocean. Its chief tributaries, the Cabul, and the five streams which traverse the Punjaub, render it, before it reaches the sea, a mighty river. Like the Nile, it flows through sandy deserts on either side, and the rich lands which adjoin its banks are mainly formed by the aid of its fertilising waters. Like the Nile, it reaches the sea by several mouths, and between the branches which find their passage by them, is situated a delta of considerable extent and great richness. The strip of rich land formed by the river Indus is the country of SCINDE, a territory unsurpassed by any in the East in fertility and natural advantages.[1] It lies between the 23d and 29th degrees of north latitude, and the 67th and 70th degrees of east longitude, and is bounded on the north by the mountains of Affghanistan, on the south and south-west by the Indian Ocean, on the east by a

[1] Malte-Brun, iv. 508, 554; Ann. Reg. 1843, 345; Report on Indian Territories, June 1852; Pottinger's Scinde, 12-15.

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sandy desert, and on the west and north-west by Beloochistan, for the most part consisting of an arid wilderness. This territory is inhabited by about a million of souls, of warlike habits and restless disposition.

2. The Ameers of Scinde.

Like all the other people of India, the inhabitants of this eastern Egypt have long been subject to foreign government. The ruling power at this period were the Ameers, a body of nobles who had acquired the sovereignty of the country by conquest, and held it with an iron grasp. Those to the north had formerly paid tribute to the Affghan monarchs; but during the troubles which ended in the dethronement of Shah Soojah in 1809, they had not only combined to shake off that burden, but had succeeded in considerably extending their dominions. The Indus, which flows through the whole extent of their country, affords at once the means of nourishing a splendid agriculture, and opens the way to a vast and profitable commerce. But all these natural advantages had been neglected, or rendered nugatory, by the Ameers. Passionately fond of hunting, they knew no enjoyments but fighting and carousing and the chase, and valued the rich fields on the borders of the river, not on account of their agricultural capabilities, but for their "shikargahs," or thick jungles, overhanging the water's edge, which afforded a shelter to wild beasts and game. The Belooches, who were the original inhabitants of the country, were cruelly oppressed by these taskmasters, who, idle themselves, lived only by squeezing the fruits of their toil out of the unhappy peasants who cultivated the soil. But their complaints were stifled and obedience insured by a powerful army of mercenaries, detachments of which were stationed in Hyderabad, Tattah, and Khyrpore, the principal towns of the country, the largest of which did not contain twenty thousand inhabitants, so entirely had military despotism exhausted the resources of the country.[1]

[1] Burnes, 147; Ann. Reg. 1843, 346; Malte-Brun, iv. 554.

Sensible of the importance of the Indus, it had long been an object of ambition to the British Government to

enter into pacific commercial relations with the rulers of this important territory. But the Ameers had a superstitious dread of the approach of the white man; they had heard of his encroachments on the Ganges, and they desired only to keep him off from the Indus, and for long they succeeded in repelling his advances. At length, in 1832, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General, by the offer to recognise the children of Meer Moorad Ali, the chief Ameer of Scinde, as his successors in the government of the country, succeeded in concluding a treaty, by which British merchants were secured a free passage, for moderate duties, up the Indus, and through the other rivers and roads of the country, upon the express condition that no military stores were to be introduced by those rivers or roads; that no armed vessels should come up the Indus; and that no English merchants should on any pretext settle in the country. The first article of the treaty bore, "The two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with an eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." But although the government of Scinde, influenced by the aggrandising views of Meer Moorad Ali, entered into this treaty, the more far-seeing of the nobles viewed it with the deepest regret; and when the first English vessel entered the Indus in consequence of its provisions, they said, "Alas! Scinde is gone; the English have seen the river."[1]

3. British intercourse with Scinde.

April 20, 1832.

[1] See the Treaty in Ann. Reg. 1843, 347; Thornton, ix. 397, 398.

By this treaty it was further provided, that in the event of the duties on the transit of goods appearing to be too high, the government of Hyderabad, on a representation to that effect, was to lower them. This was accordingly done, by a supplementary treaty concluded in 1834, and permission was given to a British agent to reside at Kurrachee, at the mouth of the river. In 1836, the Ameers were threatened by Runjeet Singh, and this was deemed a favourable opportunity by the British Government for drawing closer their relations with Scinde, and establish-

4. Farther treaties with the Ameers in 1834 and 1838.

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ing a preponderating influence in that country. With this view they offered protection against the Sikhs, provided the Ameers would consent to a body of British troops, at their expense, being stationed in their capital. To this the Ameers would not consent, but after some difficulty they agreed in 1838 to admit of the residence of a British agent at Hyderabad, on condition of the British mediating between them and Runjeet Singh. But matters were soon after much complicated by the conclusion of the tripartite treaty between the British, Runjeet Singh, and Shah Soojah, which preceded the first invasion of Affghanistan. By this treaty Shah Soojah renounced all ulterior claims upon Scinde, provided the arrears claimed by him were discharged ; and the British Government was to determine what sum was to be paid in name of these arrears. The Ameers had been no party to this agreement, and had never been consulted regarding it ; and when Shah Soojah preferred his claim, they at once produced a release from him for the whole sum. The British Government, however, declined to pay any regard to that release, and insisted that their envoy at the court of Scinde should proceed to arbitrate on the sum to be awarded to the Affghan monarch ; a demand which was not very likely to improve the relations between the two powers.[1]

[1] British Resident to Gov.-Gen., Oct. 25, 1838, and Nov. 19, 1838; Scinde Papers, 80-117; Gov.-Gen. to Secret Committee, Nov. 17, 1843.

5. Passage of Keane's army through Scinde. Dec. 1838.

Serious as this cause of difference between the British Government and the rulers of Scinde was, it was soon thrown into the shade by more important and pressing demands. As already mentioned, the main body of the British forces for Affghanistan was to pass through Scinde toward the Bolan Pass ; and Sir John Keane, with ten thousand men, actually took this route. The Ameers evinced, as well they might, the greatest aversion to the passage of any troops through their territories, either by land or water. As to the idea of a British force being ever permanently stationed in them, the thing never entered into their contemplation ;[2] and both were so

[2] Pottinger to Government, Dec. 15, 1838; Scinde Papers, 133; Thornton, vi. 409, 410; Ante, c. xl. § 61.

completely contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1832, that it was no easy matter to see how their objections could be evaded. But necessity has no law; the Affghanistan expedition had been resolved on; it was deemed expedient to lead the greater part of the force through Scinde; and, partly by force, partly by the obvious inability to resist, the opposition of the Ameers was overcome, and the passage of the troops was agreed to.

6. Treaty of 1838 forced upon the Ameers.

But the mere passage of the army did not satisfy the British Government. Having now got irresistible force on their side, they resolved to carry things with a high hand, and to force upon the Ameers, not merely the required liberty of transit, but also such a stipulation in regard to the permanent stationing of a British force as might secure the rear and communications of the army, and insure the lasting influence of the British Government over the country. In pursuance of these views, a treaty was presented to the Ameers for signature, which provided that a cantonment and military force were to be stationed at Tattah, the strength of which was to be fixed by the Governor-General; while the Ameers were to contribute a sum yearly towards the maintenance of the force, "in consideration of the advantages they would derive from it." When the draft of the treaty was laid before them, Noor Mahommed, one of the Ameers, taking the former treaties out of a box, said, "What is to become of all these? Since the day that Scinde has been covenanted with the English, there has always been something new: your Government is never satisfied. We are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given you and your troops a passage through our territories, and now you wish to remain." But resistance was in vain. Sir John Keane was rapidly marching on Hyderabad, Kurrachee was already in the hands of the reserve, and the Ameer of Khyrpore had concluded a treaty ceding possession of that place, to which Sir Willoughby

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Cotton was marching. Thus the Ameers had no alternative but, in their own language, to become "our humblest slaves," and the treaty was accepted. Before it was ratified by the Governor-General, its conditions were rendered still more humiliating; for, instead of the station for the subsidiary force being fixed at Tattah, it was stipulated that it might be located anywhere west of the Indus the Governor-General might select; and the annual payment of the Ameers towards its maintenance was fixed at three lacs of rupees.[1]

[1] Treaty in Thornton, vi. 410, 411; Ann. Reg. 1842, 349.

7. Lord Ellenborough's views as to Scinde.

While the occupation of Affghanistan lasted, this treaty continued to regulate the relations of the two powers; and Major Outram, who had succeeded Pottinger as political agent at the court of Hyderabad, succeeded in extracting considerable resources from them, as already seen, for the use of Nott's army at Candahar. During this period, Outram was so far imposed upon by the deep dissimulation which forms so remarkable a feature in the Asiatic character, that he reported to Government that "such changeable, puerile, and divided chieftains were not likely to enter into any deep and consequently dangerous conspiracy, and that nothing of the sort would be persevered in so long as no further disaster befell our arms in Affghanistan." But after the termination of the second Affghanistan campaign, Lord Ellenborough determined to take advantage of the first opportunity to reduce Scinde into the condition of a regular province of the British empire. With this view he withdrew the political administration of the country from Major Outram, and vested it, as well as the military command, in SIR CHARLES NAPIER, an officer already signalised in the Peninsular War, and whose bold and fearless disposition, as well as ardent mind, peculiarly qualified him for the duties with which he was intrusted.[2] His instructions were, to collect and communicate to the Governor-General all that Major Outram or the other political agents had to allege against any of the

[2] Lord Ellenborough to Major Outram, April 10, 1842, and to Sir Charles Napier, Sept. 28, 1842; Thornton, vi. 411-414; Ann. Reg. 1842, 348-350.

Ameers, taking care the information was to be depended on, as, if it revealed hostile intentions or acts, it was the determination of Government to inflict such punishment as should effectually deter others from engaging in similar designs.*

8. New treaty proposed. Dec. 6.

When governments issue instructions to their officers to make inquiries with a view to establish certain desired points, it is seldom that such evidence is awanting. In this instance, however, there could be no difficulty about the matter. Sir Charles Napier reported, with truth, that the rulers of Scinde had levied tolls on the Indus contrary to the treaty; and certain letters were transmitted, purporting to be from Meer Nussur Khan, Ameer of Hyderabad, and Meer Roostam Khan of Khyrpore, inviting the other chiefs to join in common measures of defence. The authenticity of these letters was never fully established; and considering how easy it is everywhere, and especially in India, to fabricate such evidence to suit a purpose, nothing can be more dangerous than to proceed on such proof without the corroboration of overt acts. The British Government, however, were determined to make out a case against the Ameers, and they took the most effectual means to do so. On the 6th December a new treaty was tendered to them for signature, containing clauses of the most humiliating description. By it, certain places in the territory of

* "Your first political duty will be, to hear what Major Outram and the other political agents may have to allege against the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore, tending to prove hostile designs against the British Government, or to act hostilely against the British army. That they may have had such hostile feelings there can be no doubt. It would be impossible to suppose that they could entertain friendly feelings; but we should not be justified in inflicting punishment upon these thoughts. Should any Ameer or chief with whom we have a treaty of friendship and alliance have evinced hostile designs against us during the late events, which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally or friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct. But the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most ample and convincing evidence of the guilt of the person accused."—Lord Ellenborough *to* Sir Charles Napier, *Simla*, 28th Sept. 1842; *Ann. Reg.* 1840, 350.

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Scinde were to be fixed as centres, round which a portion of territory was to be assigned to the British Government; another portion was to be assigned to the Khan of Bhawlpore, as a reward for his fidelity; the Ameers were to provide fuel to the steamers navigating the Indus, and in default of their doing so, the servants of the British Government were to be at liberty to fell wood within a hundred yards of the banks of the river within the territory of the Ameers; finally, the right of coining money — the well-known badge of independent sovereignty—was to be given up by the Ameers; the British Government was to coin for them, and on one side of the coin was to be the effigy of the *Sovereign of England*.[1]

[1] See proposed treaty, Thornton, vi. 416.

9. Which is forced on the Ameers. Feb. 12.

When terms such as these were proposed to sovereigns to whom the shadow of independence had hitherto been allowed, it was evident that it was merely a question of time when hostilities were to commence, and immaterial which party was in form the aggressor. The Ameers evinced the utmost reluctance to affix their signatures to an instrument which deprived them of the last vestige of independent sovereignty; but at last, partly by terror, partly by persuasion, they were brought to yield, and on the 12th February they affixed their names to the hated treaty. But long before they had done so, the initiative of hostilities had been taken by Sir Charles Napier. On the 18th December he issued a proclamation, stating, "The Governor-General of India has ordered me to take possession of the districts of Sedzeel Kote and of Bhang-bara, and to reannex the said districts to the territories of his Highness the Nawab of Bhawlpore, to whom they will immediately be made over;" and intimating that, "if the Ameers levied any revenue in advance after the 1st January 1843, they should be amerced in the like sum in arranging the new treaty." The territories proposed to be exacted of the Ameers were taken possession of before the treaty itself had been agreed to, and

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Napier's troops continued to advance towards Khyrpore, the capital of Meer Roostum, the chief of the refractory Ameers, though well aware that such an invasion was equivalent to a declaration of war. His determination cannot be so well given as in his own words: "I had discovered long ago that the Ameers put implicit faith in their deserts, and feel confident we can never reach them there. Therefore, when negotiations, and delays, and lying, and intrigues of all kinds fail, they can at last declare their entire obedience, innocence, and humility, and retire beyond our reach to their deserts, and from thence launch their wild bands against us, so as to cut off all our communications, and render Scinde more hot than nature has already done. So circumstanced, and after drawing all I could from Ali Moorad, whom I saw last night at Khyrpore, I made up my mind that, although war was not declared, nor is it necessary to declare it, I would at once march upon Emaun-Ghur, and prove to the whole Talpoor family, both of Khyrpore and Hyderabad, that neither their deserts nor their negotiations could protect them from the British troops. While they imagine they can fly with security, they never will be quiet." [1]

[1] Sir Chas. Napier's Proclamation, Dec. 18, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1843, 473; Napier's Conquest of Scinde, ii. 229; Sir C. Napier to Lord Ellenborough, Dec. 27, 1842.

10. Expedition against Emaun-Ghur. Dec. 5. Jan. 1843.

Having determined to commence hostilities by an expedition against Emaun-Ghur, Sir Charles Napier's measures were taken with equal boldness and skill. This singular stronghold, which no European eye had yet beheld, is situated fully eight days' journey in the desert of Beloochistan. The wells on the way to it were all dried up, and water for the troops required to be carried on camels' backs. To this stronghold in this dry and untrodden solitude, the Beloochee forces were reported by the scouts to have retired, to the number of 20,000 men, and there, surrounded by the desert, and protected by its hardships, to be prepared to make their stand. Napier, however, was not to be deterred, either by the magnitude of the enemy's force, or the all but insuperable difficulties of approach by which they were environed. His

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first design was to march against Emaun-Ghur with his whole disposable force, 3000 strong, and fight a decisive battle with the forces of the enemy, seven times as numerous, at its gates. On a nearer approach, however, he received intelligence which induced him to alter this design. It turned out that, though the Ameers had retired from Dingee towards Emaun-Ghur, the greater part of their troops had mutinied and turned back upon reaching the wilderness; and that such was the want of water in the desert, that it was utterly impossible to approach it with a large army. Modifying his original design according to this change of circumstances, the British General mounted 360 of the 22d Queen's regiment on camels, selected 200 of the best-mounted and hardy of the irregular cavalry, loaded ten camels with provisions, eighty with water, and set out on his perilous and extraordinary enterprise.[1]

[1] Napier's Conquest of Scinde, ii. 234, 237; Napier's Mem. ii. 281-283.

11. Capture and destruction of it. Jan. 15.

The march began on the evening of the 5th January; and the dangers and difficulties with which it was beset were such as would have deterred a less resolute commander, and stopped a less enduring army. The Ameers, under Roostum, the most determined of their opponents, hung on their flank with 6000 men. After the first two days, water was not to be found; and the troops plunged into a desert, untrod even by the wildest animals of nature. The camels became weak under their unparalleled hardships, and could no longer draw the howitzers. Their place was supplied, or their sinking strength aided, by the indefatigable Irish soldiers, who, with surpassing fortitude and unshrinking constancy, held on their weary and dangerous way. Such fortitude at length met with its reward. The arid and steep sandhills were all passed; and at length, on the evening of the 14th, the square tower of Emaun-Ghur was discerned, rising on the distant horizon in solitary grandeur in that profound solitude. The troops, of whom fifty only were on horseback, the remainder of the cavalry having been constrained to

return, were soon at its gates; but it was found to be deserted. Mahommed Khan, the governor, though at the head of a force five times that which now approached him, had evacuated the fortress with his treasure the night before, leaving all his powder and grain behind him. It was resolved to blow it up, and this was effected with a daring and intrepidity forming a fit termination to this tale of heroism. Four-and-twenty mines were run under different parts of the fortress, and charged with ten thousand pounds of powder—so vast were the stores of ammunition which the Ameers had provided in this distant stronghold. The other mines were all fired, when the chief engineer, Major Waddington, was seen bending over the train of one which he was to fire himself. The assistant called out, "The other mines are going to burst." — "That may be," replied Waddington, "but mine must burst also;" and, with these words, set fire to the fusee with his own hands, and then walked calmly away. The fort was blown to atoms, but, as if by a miracle, the heroic Waddington escaped unhurt.[1] *

[1] Napier, ii. 241, 243; Sir C. Napier's Mem. ii. 288, 290.

12. Napier returns to the Indus, and fresh negotiations.

The destruction of Emaun-Ghur having been effected, it was not deemed safe to attempt that of Shah-Ghur, a similar fortress of the Belooches in the desert, situated at a great distance, till the forces which were assembling at Hyderabad, in the centre of their power, had been either overawed or disposed of. Thither accordingly Napier returned on the 16th by a different route, but encountering the same hardships—the infantry drawing the guns, and the troops of all arms living on the scantiest fare, and having, on the evening of the third day, nearly exhausted their supplies of water. At length, on the fourth day, water and forage were found; and on the 23d January, after having been eighteen days in the desert, Jan. 23.

* Napier wrote next day in his journal: "I had permission from the Governor-General to assemble *an immense force to impose his final treaty.* I told him it could be done with the troops under my command, without bloodshed. It seems to me I have done so, and proved my head sufficient for command in Scinde."—NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, ii. 290.

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he rejoined his main army at Peor-Abu-Bekr, near Hyderabad. He found the Ameers there overawed and undecided, insomuch that he has recorded in his journal his apprehension that the blowing-up of Emaun-Ghur would hinder him from gratifying Lord Ellenborough's wish "for a fight with the Ameers." In this apprehension, however, he was destined to be disappointed. After the return of Napier to the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, Outram was so far blinded by the profound dissimulation which the Asiatics know so well how to employ when they have an object to gain by it, that he persisted in the belief that the Ameers were inclined to make peace, and that no hostile measures were to be apprehended from them. On the other hand, the old General, judging more correctly of their real dispositions, and estimating them by what all brave men would do when the independence of their country was threatened, as strenuously maintained that they were unchangeably bent on war, and that their pacific professions were only so many artifices to gain time to complete their preparations. Meanwhile, as the hot season was approaching, Napier put his troops in motion, and approached slowly towards the south, where the strength of the Ameers lay. Outram continued to transmit reports of the pacific intentions of the Ameers; and appearances were certainly in his favour, for, after having exhausted every artifice to procure delay, they at length, with the exception of the Ameer of Khyrpore, actually signed the final and hated treaty. Napier, however, was not deceived: he knew well they were endeavouring only to protract the conferences till the hot season rendered military operations impossible. He continued to advance, accordingly, declaring to the Ameers, both of Upper and Lower Scinde, that they could only stop his march by dispersing their armed bands. Instead of doing this, the Ameers collected a large force, exceeding 20,000 men, at Hyderabad;[1] and while they amused Outram by the artifice of signing the treaty, they were boasting "that every man,

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[1] Napier, ii. 266-268, 279; Nap. Mem. ii. 315-318.

woman, and child belonging to the British army in Scinde should be collected on the field of battle, and have their throats cut, except the General, that they might put a ring in his nose and lead him with a chain in triumph to their Dhurbar."

13. Attack on Outram in the Residency. Feb. 13.

Napier, however, was neither intimidated by their numbers, nor deceived by their feigned submission. He continued steadily to advance, until the light companies were in the close vicinity of Hyderabad. Outram still continued to give assurances of their pacific disposition, when on the very day after the treaty had been signed he was awakened from his dream of security in a violent manner. Shouts expressive of detestation of the British had already been heard in the streets of Hyderabad. Still Outram continued to trust them, though the officers of his suite clearly foresaw the approaching storm; and he even carried his reliance on their good faith the length of recommending Napier to come alone to Hyderabad, and send his army to Meerpoor! But Napier judged otherwise, and continued to advance, and meanwhile six thousand Belooches were collecting round the Residency preparing to attack. Outram had a garrison of only a hundred foot-soldiers, with forty rounds of ammunition each, so that a prolonged resistance was impossible; there were, however, two armed steamers in the river, which promised the means of retreat. But Indian warfare, more than any other, shows what may be effected by even a small body of resolute men, ably led against apparently overwhelming odds. The Ameers had eight thousand men and six guns; and with this armed multitude they soon closed in on three sides of the Residency, and commenced a heavy fire, the fourth being open to the river. But Outram disposed his men under the wall of the Residency garden, which was only five feet high, under officers as determined as himself; and they kept up so well-directed and sustained a fire as effectually repelled the enemy as long as their ammunition

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lasted. When it was exhausted they slowly retreated, turning and facing the assailants every twenty yards, towards the steamers; and so skilfully was the fire of those vessels directed by Captain Brown of the Bengal Engineers, who was on board, that it effectually swept their flanks; and the retreating column itself causing its rear to be respected, they got safe on board, with the loss only of three killed and two wounded.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1843, 351; Nap. ii. 294-299; Nap. Mem. ii. 320, 321; Thornton, vi. 428-436.

14. Preparations for an attack on the enemy, and force on both sides.

Nothing but the sword could now terminate the quarrel between the British and the Ameers. Outram having reached Napier's camp in safety, the latter wisely resolved to march forthwith to attack the enemy, despite the formidable odds which stood against him even then; for he was well aware that these odds would in a few days be augmented by 20,000 more, who were collecting on his flanks and rear. He moved forward, accordingly, with his little army to attack the Ameers, who were posted at MEANEE. Napier had only 400 Europeans of the 22d, and 2200 sepoys and Belooches, whose valour and fidelity were abundantly proved in the battle which ensued. The enemy were strongly posted behind the bed of the river Fulailee, chiefly dry, but interspersed in some places by deep stagnant pools. They were fully 22,000 men, of whom 5000 were horse, with fifteen guns. These were placed on the top of the slope, rising upwards from the bed of the river, and behind them the main body of the enemy was posted in dense masses, extending about twelve hundred yards in front, and a long way to the rear. On either flank of this plateau were thick jungles, intersected by deep watercourses, which were in most places scarped so as to render them wholly impassable for artillery, and very difficult of passage even to the best horsemen. Notwithstanding these desperate odds, and strong position of the enemy, Napier resolved to attack them. "It is," said he in his journal, "my first battle as a commander: it may be my last.[2] At sixty that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be *do or*

[2] Napier's Desp., Feb. 18, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 351; Nap. ii. 304-307; Nap. Mem. ii. 322-323.

die. To fall will be to leave many I love best, to go to many loved, and my home—and that, in any case, must be soon."

15. Preparations for the battle of Meanee. Feb. 16.

Napier's little army was still further reduced by a detachment of 200 sepoys, whom, at Outram's request, he detached under that officer to occupy the shikargahs near the Indus, in order to deprive the Ameers, in case of defeat, of the cover these might afford for their troops. Before attacking, he made the best dispositions that circumstances would admit for defending his baggage, arranging it, after the manner of the ancient Germans, in a circle, surrounded by the camels laid down with their heads turned inward, and the bales between them, over which the defenders might fire. On the right were twelve guns under Major Lloyd, flanked by fifty sappers and miners under Captain Henderson; next them stood the brave 22d, led by their worthy commander, Colonel Pennefather;* next to them were the 25th Sepoys under Colonel Teesdale, yet a little behind, so as to make the attack in echelon, the right leading. Then, also in echelon, came the 12th Native Infantry under Colonel Reid, and next to them the Bengal Engineers under Major Clibborne. The extreme left was formed by the 9th Bengal Horse under Colonel Pattle. The Poonah Horse, 250 strong, under Captain Tait, with 400 sepoy infantry, formed a guard for the General and disposable reserve, ready to be thrown in wherever the fortune of the day might call for their support. The plain between the two armies was about a thousand yards broad, interspersed with low jungle-bushes, which for some way impeded the march of the troops, but for the last seven hundred yards it had been cleared away by the Belooches, to render the plain like a great glacis open for their fire.[1]

[1] Napier's Desp., Feb. 18, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 352; Napier. ii. 308, 309.

The distance between the two armies was rapidly passed over, the General himself with his staff lead-

* Since so distinguished as a general of division at Inkermann and in the Crimean war.

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16. Battle of Meanee. Feb. 16, 1843.

ing. The Belooches themselves were concealed by the front of the eminence; but the discharges of guns and the rapid fire of musketry, when they got within range, showed where they stood. The jungle on their left was covered by a wall ten feet high, not loopholed, and with a single opening. Into that opening Napier immediately led the grenadiers of the 22d, under Captain Ford, bidding him maintain his post to death, if necessary. Ford obeyed his orders, for he died at his post; but he held the opening, and by so doing paralysed six thousand men, who were behind the wall, by eighty. Meanwhile the other troops advanced to the attack, the 22d first, and the guns took position and began to play on the dense masses of the enemy. When they reached the river, they crossed its bed, and with a shout ran up the slope, the steepness of which caused the Beloochee shots for the most part to go over their heads. But when they reached the summit, what met their eyes might have appalled the stoutest hearts. "Thick," says Napier, "as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Belooches in their many-coloured garments and dresses: they clustered on the bank of the Fulailee, they covered the plains beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beaming in the sun; their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they, with demoniac strength and ferocity, dashed against the front of the 22d. But with shouts as loud, and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, and hearts as big and arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons, the bayonet, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood." Meanwhile the native infantry came successively up and engaged, and the artillery, from the commanding position they had taken, sent a storm of round-shot and canister among the enemy's masses, occasioning a terrible carnage.[1]

[1] Napier's Desp., Feb. 18, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 352; Napier, ii. 311, 312.

The Belooches stood their ground manfully on the

top of the bank, and even rushed half-way down at times, to meet and close with their antagonists. But the British and sepoys were not less resolute to force their way upward; and the combat which ensued between their front rank and the "thin red line" of English and their auxiliaries, resembled rather the conflicts immortalised in the *Iliad*, than those which ensue when the disciplined battalions of Europe meet each other. The boldest on each side here singled out his antagonist; and for three mortal hours these dauntless foes stood as on the deadly breach, the European unable to force on, the Asiatic resolute not to recede. In vain Lloyd's guns, from their position on the right, raked the living mass, and with every discharge cut huge gaps in the stern array; others closed in as their comrades fell, and filled every chasm made by the cannon and the bayonet. So vehement was the resistance, so strong the pressure, that for some time the British front rank was by sheer weight of numbers forced back, and Napier even was doubtful of the result. Pennefather, desperately wounded, fell at the top of the bank; Teesdale gloriously died while riding over the ridge at the head of his men; Jackson, when leading the 12th Native Infantry, was struck down on the slope, not before several of the Belooches had fallen under his stroke; M'Murdo was down;—nearly all the European officers were killed or wounded. The General-in-Chief himself was for some time enveloped by enemies, and extricated himself as if by a miracle. But at this critical moment, his experienced eye told him where the decisive blow was to be struck. He sent orders to Colonel Pattle, the second in command, to charge instantly with the 9th Bengal Cavalry and Scinde Irregular Horse. On went these horsemen at the gallop, right through the jungle which covered the enemy's right. Fifty of the troopers were thrown in leaping the nullahs; but those who kept their seats dashed on, swept through the Beloochee guns on the top of the ridge, fell with irresistible

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fury on the masses of infantry, and, scattering them, never drew bridle till they had gained and traversed the enemy's camp. Then the front line of the Belooches on the Fulailee began to shake; the 22d and sepoys raised the shout of victory, and, pressing on, drove them over the ridge, and the battle was gained. Though their whole guns, ammunition-waggons, and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, the infantry retired in good order, leaving their track marked by a long line of killed and wounded, who fell under the deadly volleys of the British.[1]

[1] Napier's Desp., Feb. 18, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 352; Nap. ii. 311-319; Nap. Mem. ii. 326-327.

18. Results of the battle.

Such was the battle of Meanee, one of the most glorious in the British annals, and which at once stamped Napier a great general; for, despite all the valour of his men, the day would have been lost but for his courage and decision. The loss of the Belooches was estimated at 5000: 1000 dead bodies were gathered in the bed of the Fulailee alone, and the field of battle was strewn with corpses; while the loss of the victors was only 6 officers and 54 privates killed, and 14 officers and 190 privates wounded! It appears almost inconceivable how so desperate a fight could have gone on so long, with so little loss to the victors; but the same thing is frequently to be met with in the annals of antiquity. The Ameers committed a capital mistake, which mainly led to their defeat, in fighting with a narrow front, and their army drawn up in close column behind. Such masses present a mark for cannon and musketry, on which every shot takes effect; while the only part of the array that can make any resistance is the first and second rank, which do not exceed in number those opposed to them. Solid columns are very good to resist cavalry, and, *when in motion*, they are formidable in a charge; but standing still, and assailed by fire, they are little better than an armed mob, and all the advantages of numbers are thrown away.[2]

[2] Napier's Desp., Feb. 18, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 353.

Early on the day following, Napier sent a message into

Hyderabad that he would immediately storm the city if it did not surrender. Upon this the Ameers came out to the number of six, and laid their swords at the English General's feet. They were highly ornamented weapons, worth several thousand pounds, and a prize, as his eloquent biographer justly remarks, which any English gentleman might be proud to possess; but in a magnanimous spirit he returned them, saying, "Their misfortunes are of their own creation; but as they were great, I give them back their swords." On the 19th the army took possession of Hyderabad; and the greater part of the Belooches, ashamed of the surrender, went off and joined Shere Mahommed, who in the north still maintained the standard of independence. The walls of the city were found to be of great strength, so that Napier had good reason to congratulate himself on his easy conquest. Though the Ameers had surrendered at discretion, their palaces and property were untouched, and the sanctity of the harems was religiously observed.[1]

19. Fall of Hyderabad. Feb. 19.

[1] Nap. ii. 321-327; Nap. Mem. ii. 333-335.

Had the English General possessed double the force which he had at his command, he might, by marching on Shere Mahommed immediately after the battle of Meanee, have perhaps terminated the war without any further struggle. But the small force at his disposal forbade any such attempt, the more especially as the hot season was approaching. The troops under his command were less than 2000 effective men, and with these he had to guard a large hostile city, and maintain an intrenched camp outside, in presence of 20,000 Belooches, under Shere Mahommed. In these circumstances, necessity prescribed a cautious policy until the requisite reinforcements for active operations had been obtained. These had been already prepared by Lord Ellenborough, who instantly, on hearing of the battle of Meanee, ordered three regiments of native infantry, 350 irregular horse, and a camel battery, to be marched down from the Sutlej to Scinde; and to these were afterwards added Leslie's

20. Position of Napier after the battle.

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and Blood's batteries of horse-artillery, and the 3d Bombay Cavalry under Major Stark. Meanwhile Napier, with not less judgment, strengthened his intrenched camp on the banks of the Indus below Hyderabad, both to cover the navigation up to that place, and to serve as a place of security for his hospitals and stores. Thither accordingly they were all conveyed, and placed in safety; while Napier awaited behind his intrenchments the reinforcements despatched by Lord Ellenborough. As the Beloochee army lay between Napier and the reinforcements coming down the Indus, it was no easy matter to get them in safety to the British camp; but this was at length happily effected; and the succours despatched by water also arrived in safety. Napier now found himself at the head of 5000 good troops, most of them hardy veterans; and deeming it no longer necessary to delay fighting, he sent the captive Ameers, who were intriguing against him in Hyderabad, on board ship, and marched out to attack Shere Mahommed, who, confident of victory, had come to within five miles of the British camp.[1]

[1] Nap. ii. 343-359; Nap. Mem. ii. 341-349.

21. Annexation of Scinde to the British dominions. March 12.

Meantime the Governor-General was taking the most decisive measures to follow up his aggressive policy towards Scinde, and turn to the best account the glorious victory of his lieutenant. Skilfully availing himself of the enormous error in policy, as well as crime in faith, on the part of the Ameers, in attacking the British Residency the very day after they had signed the treaty, he represented the war as entirely one of aggression on their part, and the punishment which was to follow upon it as the deserved consequence of their perfidy. In announcing Napier's victory by proclamation, dated Agra, March 5, 1843, he formally intimated the annexation of Scinde to the British dominions, with the exception of such portions of it as belonged to princes who had remained faithful to the British alliance.*

March 5.

* "The Ameers having signed the new treaty proposed to them on the 14th February, attacked on the following day, with a large force, the residence of the British Commissioner. In this treacherous attack they were repulsed. On

Thus did the Ameers of Scinde, who really were combating in a good cause—for it was that of their national independence, violently assailed by the encroachments of the British power—entirely throw away their advantages, and allow that cause to be stigmatised in the eyes of the world as that of perfidy and aggression, by yielding to that propensity to double-dealing and treachery which seems to be an inherent and ineradicable feature in the Asiatic character.

22. Shere Mahommed's summons to Napier to surrender. March 23.

The reinforcements had just completed their arrival at the British camp on the evening of the 23d, and were drawn up in line to be inspected, when heralds from Shere Mahommed made their appearance, nominally with a summons to surrender, really to spy out and report the British forces, when all assembled. Napier led them along the whole front, and at midnight dismissed them with the following letter to the Scinde chief: "If the Ameer Shere Mahommed chooses to meet me to-morrow as I march to attack him at the head of my army, and will surrender himself a prisoner, with no other condition than that his life shall be safe, I will receive him. If the Beloochee chiefs choose to accompany him, I will receive them, on condition that they swear obedience to the

the 17th, Major-General Sir Charles Napier gained a decisive victory over their whole army, and on the 20th the British army occupied Hyderabad. Six of the Ameers delivered their swords to the British General on the field of battle; all their guns, ammunition, and treasure were taken, together with their camp. Thus has victory placed at the disposal of the British Government the country on both banks of the Indus from Sukkur to the sea, with the exception of such portions thereof as may belong to Meer Ali Moorad of Khyrpore, and to any other of the Ameers who may have remained faithful to his engagement.

"The Governor-General cannot forgive a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government, nor can he forgive hostile aggression by those who were in the act of signing a treaty. It will be the first object of the Governor-General to use the power victory has placed in his hands, in the manner most conducive to the freedom of trade and to the prosperity of the people of Scinde, so long misgoverned. To reward the fidelity of allies with signal marks of favour, and to punish the crime of treachery in such a manner as to deter all others from its commission, are further objects which the Governor-General will not fail to effect."—Proclamation, Agra, 5th March 1843; *Ann. Reg.*, 1843, p. 357.

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Governor-General, and then they may return to their villages with their followers, and all their rights and possessions shall be secured to them." Five thousand men, of whom eleven hundred were cavalry, with nineteen guns, of which five were horse-artillery, stood in front of the camp,—a splendid body of troops, animated with the best spirit, and containing that intermixture of veteran with new troops which is so effective in war. But it contained only one British regiment, the 22d, already seriously weakened by its glorious victory; and it was not a fourth part of the enemy's force, which was fully twenty thousand strong.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1843, 353; Nap. ii. 373-375; Nap. Mem. ii. 348-353.

23. Position of the Ameers.

In marching out to attack the enemy, letters arrived from the Governor-General, thanking the troops in the warmest terms for their conduct at Meanee. These Sir Charles Napier immediately caused to be read to the troops, who received the communication with a shout which already presaged victory. At the distance of ten miles from the camp the Beloochee army was first discovered, fully 20,000 strong, with fifteen guns, occupying a strong position, with its right resting on the bed of the Fulailee, at that point forming a large and deep pool impassable for troops; and their whole front covered by a nullah, twenty feet wide and eight deep, but dry, with its front scarped. The left of the position rested on a thick wood, which could scarcely be passed by horsemen; the infantry were drawn up in two lines about two miles long. The right was further strengthened by the village of Dubba, the houses of which were loopholed, and by a nullah at right angles to the former, forty feet wide and seventeen deep, with its sides scarped. The bulk of the enemy's cavalry was massed behind the left, where an attack was chiefly apprehended; but the plain in front swarmed with light horse and matchlockmen, to impede the British advance.[2] The great bulk of the troops were armed either with a sword and shield or a matchlock; but though the former were very formi-

[2] Nap. ii. 375-379; Sir Charles Napier's Desp., Mar. 24, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 353.

dable, the latter were no match for the European musket. From this it appears that the Beloochee army was arranged with considerable skill; their chief had taken a good position, and availed himself of every advantage which the ground afforded, and he had avoided the deep formation which had proved so fatal at Meanee.

24. Battle of Hyderabad. March 23.

When the British army approached the enemy, they had at first considerable difficulty in discovering where they were, from the thick jungles and deep nullahs on the ground. The troops marched in echelon, the left in front, which brought the leading column first in contact with the right of the enemy. The line was immediately drawn up in the same oblique order, the artillery in the intervals between the regiments. Napier pressed rapidly forward, himself in front of the line, exposed to the artillery and matchlock fire of the enemy, a shot from which grazed his face as he rode forward waving the men on. Dreading a sudden rush from the wood on the enemy's left, he stationed Major Stark, with the Scinde Irregular Horse and the 3d Bombay Cavalry, opposite to it, with orders to charge instantly any body of men which might issue from it, designing, with the 22d Queen's, horse-artillery, and cavalry of the left, to make the real attack on their right. In pursuance of this plan, Leslie's horse-artillery was pushed to the front on the British right, and, rapidly firing as it moved forward, soon turned the enemy's left, led by the brave Lieutenant Smith, who fell while exploring a nullah for his artillery to cross. The fire was already producing unsteadiness in the enemy's right, when the 22d, supported by the Poonah horse under Tait, and the Bengal cavalry, led by the General in person, were upon them. Unable to bear the cross fire of the advancing British batteries, the Belooches fell back, but still in good order, and keeping their formation in line so as now to present an oblique front to the assailants.[1] The 22d Queen's suffered severely as they neared the line, but the brave men still pressed forward;

[1] Napier, ii. 382-385; Nap. Desp., March 24, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 354.

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and the retrograde movement producing disorder in the rear, the whole of the enemy's centre appeared to be giving way.

25. Napier's victory.

Seeing this, Stark, in command of the horse on the right, judged the opportunity favourable for an attack in flank to complete the defeat of the centre, and he bore down accordingly with his whole force on the retreating columns. The movement was a hazardous one, for it left the British right uncovered, and altered the Commander-in-Chief's entire plan of attack. The charge, however, was a most brilliant one, and attended with the most decisive success ; the victorious horse, sweeping everything before them, pursued the fugitives for several miles, carrying confusion and dismay into the rear of the enemy's centre. Skilfully availing himself of this gallant onset, though he had not ordered it, Napier instantly put himself at the head of the 22d Queen's, and led them to the storm of the first nullah in the centre. The fire of the enemy was heavy, the resistance stout; but at length the scarp was mounted, the summit won—Lieutenant Coote being the first who fell, severely wounded, as he seized a Beloochee standard and waved it in triumph on the edge of the slope. The second nullah still remained, into which the battle rolled with desperate din and effort, the 22d, with the 25th Sepoys, struggling up the bank, the Beloochee swordsmen with desperate resolution defending it. At length it too was stormed, and the enemy forced back into the village of Dubba, which, after a vigorous resistance, was also carried with great slaughter. At this time the second brigade, under Major Woodburn, came up into action; while Henderson's sappers gained a position from which they sent a terrific fire into the retreating masses of the enemy. The battle was gained ;[1] and the victory was completed by the Bengal Horse under Major Storey, and the Poonah Irregulars under Captain Tait, which turned the enemy's right flank, and pursued the fugitives across the

[1] Napier's Desp., Mar. 24, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 354; Nap. ii. 386-390; Nap. Mem. ii. 351, 352.

plain to the distance of several miles from the field of battle.

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26. Results of the victory.

Such was the battle of Hyderabad, in which 5000 men defeated 20,000, strongly posted, and directed by remarkable military capacity. The loss of the victors was only 270, of whom no less than 147 belonged to the 22d Queen's—a clear proof upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and with whom its principal glory should rest: that of the enemy was computed at 5000. Two thousand *archers* were on their march to join Shere Mahommed when the action took place, and dispersed when they heard of his defeat. As at Meanee, several personal encounters took place between British officers and Beloochee chiefs: seventeen standards were wrested from the enemy in fair fight, and fifteen guns, being all they had, added to the trophies of the combat.[1]

[1] Nap. ii. 389, 390; Desp., Mar. 24, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 354.

27. Capture of Meerpoor and Omercote. March 25.

The comparatively large force which Napier had at his disposal after this victory, enabled him to render it more decisive than that of Meanee had been. He followed it up with the utmost vigour. Having despatched the wounded to Hyderabad in his rear, he rapidly advanced, though the heat was so great that the thermometer stood at 110° in the shade; and by the evening of the next day the Poonah Horse were before Meerpoor, the capital of Shere Mahommed, and distant *forty miles* from the field of battle. The chief fled to Omercote on the borders of the desert, and his capital, strongly fortified, with vast stores of all kinds, fell into the hands of the victors. The indefatigable Scinde horsemen, under Jacob, with the camel battery, continued their pursuit of the Ameer, while Napier took possession of his capital. The rapid rise of the Indus, however, at this period of the year, owing to the melting of the snows in the mountains in which it took its rise, rendered the advance to Omercote very hazardous; and the accounts the General received of the inundations were so alarming, that he sent orders

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to his advanced guard to halt, and not attempt to reach Omercote. This order reached Captain Whitlie, who commanded the light horse in front, when he was only twenty miles from the place, and when intelligence had just arrived that it had been abandoned. Uncertain what to do between a positive order on the one hand, and an important advantage almost within his grasp on the other, he despatched Lieutenant Brown, with a message to Napier, requesting farther instructions. The extraordinary endurance of that officer extricated him from his difficulty. He rode back to Meerpoor, a distance of forty miles, without stopping, and having got his orders, returned on the same horse after an hour's rest, the thermometer standing at 130° in the shade. As he passed the sepoys coming up in support, but which had all halted, he gave them orders to advance. The whole army moved forward. The Ameer fled with a few horsemen into the desert, and a few rounds of artillery caused the guards who were left to lower their colours, and on the 4th April the British standard waved on the towers of Omercote.[1] *

April 4.

[1] Nap. ii. 395-397; Ann. Reg. 1843, 356.

28. Final defeat of Shere Mahommed.

In his despatch announcing these successes to the Governor-General, Napier said, "I think I may venture to say that Scinde is now subdued. The Scindian population everywhere expresses their satisfaction at the change of masters." Sir Charles Napier was perfectly correct in the latter part of this statement. The joy of

* An incident occurred at this time of the most touching kind, and which the atrocious crimes of the sepoys in 1857 should not make us forget. It is thus recorded by Napier: "On one of those long marches, which were almost continual, the 25th Sepoys, being nearly maddened by thirst and heat, saw one of their water-carriers approaching with full skins of water. They rushed towards him in crowds, tearing away the skins, with loud cries of 'Water, water!' At that moment some half-dozen straggling soldiers of the 22d came up, apparently exhausted, and asked for some. At once the generous Indians withdrew their own hands from the skins, forgot their own sufferings, and gave the fainting Europeans to drink. Then they all moved on, the sepoys carrying the 22d's muskets for them, patting them on the shoulders, and encouraging them to hold out. It was in vain: they did so for a short time, but soon fell. It was then discovered that these noble fellows were all wounded,

the native Scinde peasantry at being liberated from the tyrannical strangers by whom they had so long been oppressed, was universal and loudly expressed. But in indulging the hope that the war was at an end, the British General was premature, and did not sufficiently take into account the indomitable character and energy of the Beloochee horsemen. Before many months had elapsed, Shere Mahommed emerged from the desert at the head of some thousand intrepid followers, and their numbers gradually swelled to ten thousand men. What rendered this apparition the more formidable was, that it occurred at the very height of the hot season, when it was in the highest degree dangerous for all but the natives of the country to attempt to face the heat. Sir Charles Napier divided his army into several columns, in the hope that some of them might meet with the enemy; but for a considerable time he escaped pursuit. But Napier's vigilance and combinations at length proved victorious. Forming a circle of troops—beginning at Sukkur, Omercote, Shah-Ghur, and Dussa—he gradually narrowed it, till at length the intrepid Ameer had no longer the means of escape. After searching in vain for him during several weeks, Captain Roberts, with 1500 men, June 13. approached his camp, and defeated and made prisoner Shere Mahommed's brother, who had collected 2000 men. Soon after, Jacobs, with a similar force, approached the Ameer himself. The latter resolved to

some deeply; but thinking there was to be another fight, they had concealed their hurts, and forced nature to sustain the loss of blood, the pain of wounds, the burning sun, the long marches, and the sandy desert, that their last moments might be given to their country on another field of battle. Their names have been recorded by their grateful General."—NAPIER, ii. 398. They shall not be here forgotten: they were, "John Drew, John Maldowney, Robert Young, Henry Sims, Patrick Gill, James Andrews—slightly; Sergeant Honey, Thomas Middleton, James Malony, Silvester Day—severely wounded in the legs; the last *a ball in the foot*."—NAPIER'S *Despatches*, 28th March 1843; NAPIER, ii. 520. What a picture of heroism on both sides! Here is self-denial rivalling that of Alexander on the same deserts two thousand years before, and heroism equal to any recorded of the Spartan youths, occurring in a lonely desert of Scinde, on the part of common sepoy and Irish soldiers!

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strike a last blow for independence, and attacked Jacobs suddenly at daybreak on the following morning; but Jacobs had notice of his approach, and was on his guard. The Beloochee infantry, intimidated by former defeats, dispersed at the first fire; the cavalry made a single charge, and disappeared. The victory was complete, with a loss to the British of only sixty men, most of whom died of sun-stroke, not the sword of the enemy.[1]

[1] Nap. ii. 421-438; Nap. Mem. ii. 388-390; Ann. Reg. 1843, 356.

29. Honours to the victors, and Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation. April 11, 1843.

Lord Ellenborough was highly gratified, as well he might, with these victories, which completed the subjugation of Scinde. Honours and military decorations were showered upon the troops of all grades, from the General downwards. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were, after a short delay arising from factious misrepresentation, voted to Sir Charles Napier and the brave troops under his command; and on this occasion the Duke of Wellington spoke in the highest terms of that General's vigour and capacity.* In a proclamation which announced the annexation of Scinde, the Governor-General spoke of the exploits of the General and his army in terms which, if they savoured a little of the grandiloquent style of Napoleon's bulletins, might well be forgiven, for they recorded deeds of equal lustre. "The army of Scinde," said he, "has twice beaten the bravest enemy in Asia, under circumstances which would equally

April 11, 1843.

* "He manifested at all times entire discretion and prudence in the formation of his plans, great activity in the preparations which were necessary to insure their success, and, finally, great zeal and gallantry and science in carrying his plans into execution. His march upon Emaun-Ghur was one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of, in the course of his life. After retiring from this successful operation, he collected all his troops, and made those preparations for future defence which were necessary to the completion of his success. He made the most of this extraordinary attack, which was completely successful. He gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a new position where he was not liable to be attacked. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations; and these gallant and successful efforts led to a second victory, in which the General showed all the qualities of an excellent general officer, and in which the army displayed all the best qualities of the bravest troops."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON, Feb. 12, 1844; *Parl. Deb.*

have obtained for it the victory over the best troops in Europe. The Governor-General regards with delight the new proofs which the army has given of its prominent qualities in the field, and of its desire to mitigate the necessary calamities of war by mercy to the vanquished. The ordinary expressions of thanks would ill convey the extent of the debt of gratitude which the Governor-General feels to be due to his Excellency Major-General Sir Charles Napier on the part of the Government, the army, and the people of Hindostan. To have punished the treachery of protected princes; to have liberated a nation from its oppressors; to have added a province fertile as Egypt to the British empire; and to have effected these objects by actions in war unsurpassed in brilliancy, whereof a grateful army assigns the success to the ability and valour of its General, are deeds to which the ordinary language of praise cannot convey their deserved reward."[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1843, 355.

30. Reflections on the conquest of Scinde.

That the conquest and annexation of Scinde was an act of aggression on the part of the British Government is sufficiently proved, and the brilliant success with which it was attended cannot throw a gloss over the morality of its political origin. Whether it was a necessary measure, indispensable to steady the British empire in North-western India, after the terrible shock of the Affghanistan disaster, is a different question. One thing, however, is perfectly clear, that never was conquest attended by greater advantages to the people of the conquered territory, or the fault of the conquerors redeemed by more beneficent acts. The very first act of the Governor-General, in the exercise of supreme power, was to issue a proclamation from Agra, ordering the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in every part of the newly-occupied dominions, abolishing duties of every sort on the navigation of every part of the Indus, and declaring it free to the vessels of all nations.[2] Sir Charles Napier, in his civil administration, in a liberal and

March 13, Agra.

[2] Ann. Reg. 1843, 358; Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation, Mar. 13, 1843.

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worthy spirit carried out these beneficent intentions of the Supreme Government. After the battle of Hyderabad, he received the swords of sixty Ameers, worth from one hundred to two hundred guineas each; and immediately returned them to the conquered. He enjoined, in the civil administration of the province, as little deviation as possible from the laws and customs of the country.

31. Napier's civil administration.

The annalist of the Scinde war has thus summed up the effects of Sir Charles Napier's administration of the conquered territories,—and after making every allowance for exaggeration, his observations in this instance seem to be arrayed, not in the colours of fiction, but in the sober tints of historic truth: "He raised up the sinking Scindian labourer, and abated the pride and violence of the fierce Belooche by the force of order and wholesome control; he protected trade and commerce, and handicraftsmen have been encouraged to return to the country. The great natural resources of Scinde have been explored in part, and measures taken to profit by them. Public works, some of them very expensive and costly, have been commenced and carried on—some from his own designs, some from Lord Ellenborough's. Among them is the reopening the great branch of the Indus to restore the fertility of Cutch, and a gigantic pier at Kurrachee, which, besides its land-construction, runs two miles into the water, forming a secure harbour. Large and healthful stone barracks for the troops have been erected, the police amount to more than two thousand zealous and courageous men, and a battalion of native troops has been raised and disciplined. Were it not for the disturbed state of the Punjaub, the generals could undertake to hold Scinde without a sepoy or European soldier. A camel force of the most efficient kind has been organised under Fitzgerald, who has made marches of eighty miles at once, and thus surprised robber-bands from the hills. Finally, though the revenue is drawn from territory less by Ali Moorad's share than the Ameers possessed, the

British revenue, under the rigid and economical system established by Sir Charles Napier, exceeds the whole amount received by the Talpoor rulers. Every part of the civil and political administration is paid from the receipts; the police corps is entirely paid from it, and £90,000 of overplus was, in 1844, paid over to the Calcutta treasury, which, with the prize-money, makes £500,000 in a single year. The Scindian labourer cultivates in security his land; the handicraftsman, no longer dreading mutilation of his nose or ears for demanding remuneration for his work, is returning from the countries to which he had fled, allured back by good wages and employment. Young girls are no longer torn from their families to fill the zenanas of the great, or sold into distant slavery. The Hindoo merchant and Parsee trafficker pursue their vocation with safety and confidence; and even the proud Beloochee warrior, not incapable of noble sentiments, though harsh and savage, remains content with a Government which has not meddled with his right of subsistence, but only changed his feudal ties into a peaceful instead of a warlike dependence. He has, moreover, become personally attached to a conqueror whose prowess he has felt in battle, and whose justice and generosity he has experienced in peace." [1] To this it may be added, that the inhabitants of Scinde gave the most convincing proof of the reality of these advantages, and their appreciation of them, by steadily adhering to the British Government during the terrible revolt of 1857, when so many of the other states of Hindostan, which had tasted most largely of the benefits of British rule, treacherously turned their arms against us.

[1] Nap. ii. 415-447.

32. Distracted state of the Punjaub after Runjeet Singh's death.

The terrible disaster in Affghanistan, which had in a manner rendered unavoidable the Scinde war in order to escape the appearance of a general retreat, was felt not less strongly in the PUNJAUB and GWALIOR states. The former of these, which had been moulded into a

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powerful monarchy by the vigour and capacity of Runjeet Singh, possessed, at the death of that prince, a regular well-disciplined army of seventy-three thousand men. The disposition of this formidable force was well known to be decidedly hostile to the British Government; and although the vigour of Runjeet Singh had retained them in subjection, and his sagacity had led him to adhere to the British alliance as long as he lived, yet on his death in 1839 this auspicious state of things came to a termination, and it soon became more than doubtful whether the army would not force the nominal government into a war with Great Britain. To the instability and changes which almost invariably in Asia succeed the death of a powerful monarch, had been superadded in the kingdom of Lahore a variety of catastrophes, which had completely disorganised the frame of government, and left the sovereignty a prey to the most daring of the royal blood, the most strongly supported among the unruly soldiery. Kurruck Singh, the heir of Runjeet Singh, died at Lahore on the 5th November 1840, not without suspicion of having had his days shortened by poison. His son Nou-Schal-Schal Singh, the next heir to the throne, was killed a few days after by an accident. Upon this Shere Singh, whose legitimacy was more than suspected, succeeded; but he was a weak young man, enervated by the pleasures of the seraglio, and fell entirely under the government of Dhyan Singh, his prime-minister, who possessed vast estates and great influence in the portion of the Punjaub adjoining the mountains of Lower Thibet, where he ruled with a high reputation for mildness and justice.[1]

Nov. 5, 1840.

Nov. 9.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1841, 276; and for 1843, 359; Osborne's Court of Runjeet Singh, 174.

33. Murder of the Maharajah and his sons. Sept. 14.

It soon appeared, however, that this character was but the veil assumed to conceal the most ambitious and flagitious designs. A conspiracy was formed between Dhyan Singh and Ajeet Singh, his general, to murder their sovereign and share his power, and it fell to the lot of the latter to carry the design into execution. It was consummated on the 14th September 1843, by the murder of the

Maharajah, who was shot by Ajeet Singh when inspecting his troops. Soon after he met Purtab Singh, the eldest son and heir of Shere Singh, whom he also murdered, and sent his head to his brother, Sordut Singh, and his son Heera Singh. They, however, were not so easily disposed of. Collecting a body of troops which remained faithful, they surrounded the capital, forced their way into the citadel, seized Ajeet Singh and his fellow-conspirators, cut off their heads, which they exposed on the gates of the fort, and proclaimed Dhulup Singh, the only surviving son of Runjeet Singh, Maharajah. The new sovereign was a boy ten years of age, so that the whole authority and power was centred in his prime-minister, Heera Singh. His inclination to reopen good terms with the British Government was doubtful, and at any rate the hostility of the Sikh army, the real rulers of the State, was well known. During these repeated changes of the government, the discipline of the powerful force which Runjeet Singh had reared up with such care had been entirely lost. The soldiers no longer obeyed their officers, the officers were at variance with their generals; the disorganisation of the army was complete, and those formidable battalions had turned into armed bands, which lived at free quarters upon the unhappy villagers, whom they plundered in every direction without mercy.[1]

Sept. 16.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1843, 361; and 1841, 276.

34. Affairs of Gwalior.

This calamitous state of things rendered it more than probable that the British Government at no distant period would, as a matter of necessity, and in self-defence, be involved in a formidable war with the Punjaub. In contemplation of such an event, it was of the utmost importance to secure the rear of the position which would require to be taken by the British, and to keep open their communications with Delhi, Agra, and Calcutta, where their arsenals were, and their base of operations would necessarily be placed. To effect this object, it was necessary to make sure of GWALIOR,

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a powerful Mahratta state in Central India, enjoying the advantages of a well-disciplined army, and a capital which, perched on inaccessible rocks, seemed to defy assault. The position of this state rendered it of the utmost moment in any contest which might ensue between the British and the Sikhs, for it lay directly on the flank of the former's line of communication with Allahabad, Benares, and Calcutta ; and any well-organised force descending from Central India by Calpee might make itself master of Cawnpore on the great trunk-road, and thus endanger, if not ruin, every military operation which might be going on in the Punjaub or North-western India. This importance was clearly perceived by Lord Ellenborough, who, in contemplation of a contest at no distant period with the Sikhs, deemed it indispensable to secure in the outset the communications of the army on the side of Gwalior.

35. Distracted and dangerous condition of that State.

The state of things at this period in Gwalior was such as amply to vindicate the serious attention which at this period was bestowed on it by the Governor-General. Dowlat Rao Scindia, with whom treaties had been concluded by the British Government and the Marquess of Hastings in 1804 and 1817,[1] died in 1827, leaving no legitimate son. His widow, after vainly endeavouring to place a relative of her own on the throne, adopted a relation of her deceased husband, a boy still in pupilarity according to the laws of India, which, like the Roman, permit such a mode of renovating a worn-out race ; and he was solemnly recognised as sovereign by the chiefs of the country. During his minority the office of regent was bestowed on Mama Sahib, whose authority was approved and recognised by the British Government. Upon the young Maharajah, however, coming of age, which he did, by the Indian law, at seventeen, he aspired to the entire sovereignty, to which, after a struggle, he succeeded, the regent retiring to Agra. The settlements and provisions to be made on

[1] Ante, c. xxxix. § 46; History of Europe, c. xlix. § 94.

the widow were hardly arranged, when the young sovereign died on 7th February 1843, childless, and without having made any provision for the succession to the throne. His widow, who was only thirteen years of age, upon this assumed, as his heir, Bhaqurut Rao, a boy of *eight*, reputed to be the nearest male relative of the deceased Maharajah, who was forthwith placed on the throne, the maternal uncle of the late sovereign, Mama Sahib, being at the same time installed in the office of regent, with the entire concurrence of the British Government. The regent, however, proved distasteful to the Gwalior chiefs, and he was soon virtually dispossessed of power by the malcontents, who acquired a predominant influence over the mind both of the young royal widow and the still younger boy-sovereign. The Dada Kergu-walla acquired the ascendancy over both, and his feelings appeared from various acts to be so hostile to the British Government, that the Resident was instructed to require the surrender of the person of the Dada to the British, and with this demand the Maharanee at length complied.[1]

1843. Feb. 7.

[1] Governor-General's Proclamation, Dec. 20, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 363; Thornton. vi. 468-470.

36. Dismissal of Mama Sahib, and rupture with Britain.

But this compliance was far from meeting the whole views of the Council of Calcutta. What they desired was not merely a nominal and forced compliance with a particular requisition on the part of the regent or his minister, but the establishment of a really friendly government in Gwalior, which might render its military force and important position a source of strength rather than weakness in the evidently approaching contest with the Sikhs. Matters were ere long brought to a crisis by the proceedings of the chiefs hostile to the British alliance in Gwalior itself. The regent, Mama Sahib, who enjoyed the confidence and was supported by the power of the British Government, was summarily dismissed by the opposite party; and although the Governor-General at first positively refused to allow any military aid to be sent from the British stations in the neighbourhood to restore the regent to power, yet it soon became evident that the

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state of things in Gwalior could not, with any regard to the interests of Great Britain or of the adjoining states, be allowed to continue. The army, taking advantage of the divisions among the nobles and weakness of the government, abandoned themselves to habits of insubordination and plunder, not only within their own territory, but along the British frontier, which, from Cawnpore to Agra, was kept in a continual state of alarm. The real power resided with the army, which was forty thousand strong; and in consequence of this state of anarchy the revenues of the State had declined from ninety-five lacs of rupees a-year to sixty-five lacs. In these circumstances, Lord Ellenborough conceived that it was necessary, as the ally of Scindia, to interpose, and recover the country from the state of anarchy and ruin into which it had fallen; and he was not sorry of a pretext for invading Gwalior, and establishing a friendly government on the throne. A proclamation accordingly was issued, stating that the British armies were about to enter the state of Gwalior, not as enemies but as friends, to support the infant sovereign against his rebellious subjects; and on the 25th December the frontier was crossed, and the army advanced to Hingona, within twenty miles of Gwalior.[1] *

[1] Proclamations of Gov.-Gen., Dec. 20, 25, 27, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 362-365; Thornton, vi. 475-479; Further Papers as to Gwalior, No. 106, p. 86.

37. Invasion of Gwalior. Dec. 25.

As the Gwalior troops were numerous and well disciplined, this war was not undertaken without preparation for a serious contest. A large force had for some months before been assembled at Agra, which advanced direct on Gwalior, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, who had succeeded Sir Jasper Nicolls as Com-

* Lord Ellenborough's real motives for this war were thus stated in a minute to the Court of Directors :—"Were we to recede from our present high position of a paramount authority in India, we should not only endanger our own existence, but bring upon all the states now dependent upon us the most afflicting calamities; the withdrawal of our restraining hand would let loose all the elements of confusion. Redress for the daily-occurring grievances of the several states against each other would again be sought, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured; and bad ambition, availing itself of the love of plunder and of war which pervades so large a portion of the population of India,

mander-in-Chief in India. This army consisted of 14,000 men, with 40 pieces of artillery, and was accompanied by the Governor-General in person. Another force of 2000 men at the same time entered the Gwalior territory from the side of Bundelcund, under Major-General Grey. The Mahratta troops opposed to them were much more numerous—those against which Gough advanced were 18,000 strong, including 3000 horse, with 100 guns. Opposed to Grey was a force of 10,000 men; but the best part of the troops were in the main army, which covered Gwalior.[1]

[1] Thornton, vi. 505-508; Ann. Reg. 1843, 366.

38. Battle of Maharajpore. Dec. 29.

The country which lay between the Mahratta position and the British army was one of extreme difficulty, being repeatedly intersected by deep ravines, which were only rendered practicable for artillery by the unremitting labours of the sappers under Major Smith. In addition to this, the Roharee river had to be crossed, which was done in three divisions at daybreak on the morning of the 29th. Gough expected to have found the enemy at Chonda, where they had been on the preceding evening; but they had altered their position, and taken post in front of Maharajpore during the night, and were already strongly intrenched in their new ground. An alteration of the plan of attack, therefore, became necessary to meet the new position of the enemy, and the disposition finally adopted was as follows: General Littler's column, which was directly opposite to Maharajpore, was ordered to attack it in front, while General Vaillant's brigade took it in flank and rear; and General Dennis's column was in the rear, ready to support either

would again expose to devastation countries which, under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace. To maintain, therefore, unimpaired the position we now hold, is a duty, not to ourselves alone, but to humanity. The adoption of new views of policy, weakness under the name of moderation, and pusillanimity under that of forbearance, would not avert from our own subjects and from our own territories the evils we let loose upon India; and the only result of false measures would be to remove the scene of a contest altogether inevitable from Gwalior to Allahabad, there to be carried on with determined force, a disheartened army, and a disaffected people."—GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S *Minute*, Nov. 1843; THORNTON, vi. 481.

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attack which might seem to require it. The centre under Littler advanced in echelon, the 39th Queen's leading, followed by the 56th Native Infantry. The troops advanced with their wonted intrepidity, and by a sudden dash got possession of the enemy's guns in front of the village. The Mahrattas, however, resisted bravely, and the artillerymen were bayoneted at their guns; and the infantry being driven into the village, a most sanguinary conflict ensued in the streets. Meanwhile Vaillant's column assaulted the village in rear, and after a desperate resistance forced their way in. Eight-and-twenty guns were the trophies of this hard-fought contest, which put the British in possession of the key of the enemy's position, and compelled him to continue the contest on different and less advantageous ground.

39. Victory of the British.

While this conflict was going on in the centre, Brigadier Scott, on the extreme British left, was engaged with a body of the enemy's horse, and by a brilliant charge of the 10th Light Horse, supported by Captain Grant's horse-artillery, several guns were taken, and two standards captured. By this success the extreme right of the enemy was uncovered and threatened; and this, coupled with the advantage gained in the centre, induced the Commander-in-Chief to order a general advance upon the position the enemy had fallen back to. Here, however, a desperate resistance awaited them. General Vaillant, who, with the 40th Queen's, headed the advance against the enemy's right flank, had to storm successively three strong positions, in each of which the enemy made a stand, and which they defended with determined resolution. In these attacks Major Stopford and Captain Coddington fell severely wounded at the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, which their heroic followers captured, with four regimental standards. The 40th was supported by the 2d Native Infantry Grenadiers under Colonel Hamilton, and the 10th under Colonel M'Laren, who captured two more

regimental standards. Meanwhile Littler, with the centre, after his success at Maharajpore, attacked the main position at Chonda in front, while Grant's horse-artillery and the 1st Light Cavalry supported him. The fire from the enemy's batteries was very severe when they approached the position, and numbers fell at every step; but nothing could withstand the rush of the 39th Queen's under Major Bray, supported by the 56th under Major Dick, who carried the lines, and took two more standards. A last stand was made by the enemy in a small intrenchment, mounted by four guns, but it was at length stormed by the grenadiers of the 39th under Captain Campbell, supported by a wing of the 56th Native Infantry under Major Phillips; and the enemy were driven from all their intrenchments in utter confusion, with the loss of nine standards and sixty-four guns.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp., Jan. 4, 1844; Ann. Reg. 1843, 366; Thornton, vi. 511, 512.

40. Loss on both sides.

The victory was complete, but it had been achieved with heavy loss. Seven officers were killed on the field of battle, or subsequently died of their wounds; and the total loss was 106 killed, 684 wounded, and 7 missing —in all, 797; a loss so heavy and unusual in Indian warfare, that it induced the Commander-in-Chief to say in his official despatch, "I regret to say that our loss has been very severe, infinitely beyond what I calculated upon. Indeed, I did not do justice to the gallantry of my opponents." The loss of the Mahrattas was not exactly known, but it was estimated at 3000 men. This battle was attended by one circumstance unprecedented in Indian warfare, that the Governor-General was present on the field, and actually under fire with his suite during part of the engagement.[2]

[2] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Jan. 11, 1844; Ann. Reg. 1843, 367; Thornton, vi. 512.

41. General Grey's victory. Dec. 28, 1843.

On the same day on which this decisive victory was gained, another defeat was inflicted on the Mahrattas by the force under the command of Major-General Grey. This gallant officer had under his command only 2000 men, and he was opposed by no less than 12,000 of the enemy, who occupied a strong position on a line

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of rugged heights, running from the fortified village of Mangore, about twelve miles from Gwalior. The attack was made in echelon, headed by the Buffs, supported by a company of sappers, intended to clear the obstacles with which the ground was encumbered; and such was the vigour of this assault, which was directed against the enemy's centre, that it was at once carried, with the loss of seven guns. Meanwhile, a wing of the 39th Native Infantry, under Brigadier Yates, got possession of a hill commanding the enemy's left, from whence he opened a heavy fire on the troops in that quarter, who soon began to shake, and were driven from their ground, with the loss of two guns. The victory was completed by a splendid charge of the 56th Queen's, headed by Brigadier Anderson, who was wounded, in the course of which the whole remainder of the enemy's artillery was taken. The loss of the victors was very heavy, being 215 men out of 2000, or above a tenth of their number, a proportion nearly double of that sustained by Gough in the great battle on the same day, and nearly equal to Napier's at Meanee.[1]

[1] General Grey's Desp., Dec. 30, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 307; Thornton, vi. 514, 515.

42. Treaty with the Gwalior Government. Jan. 13, 1844.

These repeated victories convinced the advisers of the Gwalior Maharanee that it was no longer possible to maintain the contest, and that their only resource was in submission. They solicited, accordingly, and obtained, an audience of the Governor-General, at which a preliminary armistice was agreed to, and it was arranged that the British army should, on January 2, advance to and occupy Gwalior. They did so, accordingly, and a treaty of peace was soon concluded, satisfactory to both parties. The British had no cessions of territory to exact, or rigorous terms to enforce; the establishment of a friendly government, so as to secure the rear of the force which might soon become opposed to the Sikhs, was the real object, and this was attained by a change in the form of government, and disbanding of the army. The supreme authority was committed to a

council composed of persons in the British interest, the president of which was the channel of communication with the British Resident. The disbanding of the army was a much more serious matter, and promised fresh difficulties; nevertheless, it was effected without resistance, and finished by the 17th January. Part of the men were enlisted in the new contingent, the remainder received a gratuity of three months' pay, and went to seek their fortune elsewhere. Most of them repaired to the Sikhs, who, it was well known, were preparing to hoist the standard of hostility. The new contingent was fixed at seven regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, to be maintained by the Gwalior government; and it was provided that the other forces maintained by them should not exceed 9000 men, of whom only 3000 were to be infantry, with 32 guns. The minority of the reigning prince was declared to terminate when he attained the age of eighteen, and, "in the mean time, the administrators of the government were to act upon the British Resident's advice, not only generally, or on important points, but in all matters wherein such advice shall be offered." The military force thus authorised to be kept on foot was admirably organised and disciplined, and proved not the least formidable enemy with whom the British had to deal during the terrible rebellion of 1857. The establishment of peace was notified by the Governor-General, five days after it was signed, by a proclamation, in which he somewhat injudiciously boasted of his successes, and spoke of the Gwalior army as a conquered enemy; not the most likely way to secure it as an ally in the field.[1]

Jan. 18.

[1] Treaty, Jan. 13, 1844; Thornton, vi. 522-525.

43. Brilliant results of Lord Ellenborough's administration.

The brilliant victories which have now been detailed in Affghanistan, Scinde, and Gwalior, had not only effaced the stains of the preceding disasters in Cabul, but they had restored the prestige of the British arms in the East, and placed their empire in Hindostan on a securer basis than it had ever yet attained. The extraordinary circum-

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stance of two great wars being brought to a glorious termination at the same time, and an unheard-of disaster being succeeded by a transcendant triumph, was enough to have fixed the attention of any people less prone than the Orientals to the influence of imagination, and less willing to yield to the supposed decree of destiny. But when these successes were followed by the conquest of Scinde and subjugation of Gwalior in the course of one year, the ancient supremacy of opinion in favour of Britain was at once re-established throughout the East. These were in themselves inappreciable advantages; but they became doubly so when the position of the British in India at that time was considered, and the formidable position of the Mahratta states on the flank of the British line of communication was taken into view. It was known to all that a serious war was impending with the Sikhs, who would call to their standard all the bold and desperate characters in the north of Hindostan; and he is a bold man who ventures to affirm that the issue of such a war could be contemplated without apprehension, if, when the main strength of Britain was combating on the Sutlej, their left flank had been threatened by the Scinde horse, and their communications cut off by the battalions of Gwalior.

44. Credit due to Lord Ellenborough himself.

Conceding to the generals, officers, and soldiers employed in these brilliant operations all the glory and credit justly due to them for their heroic efforts, it is evident that a large part of the praise must be awarded to the Governor-General. To him it belonged to form great designs, and supply to his lieutenants the means of performing them; to them, the duty of carrying them into execution. Neither the Scinde nor the Gwalior wars found Lord Ellenborough unprepared. Foreseen and calculated upon, everything had been provided for carrying them on, and thus, from the very outset, success, great and decisive, attended the British arms. The means of transport had been collected, and reserves of troops were in readiness to support those

first brought into action long before hostilities were commenced. Thus that dismal period of disaster, which in British wars generally intervenes between first hostilities and ultimate victory, was avoided. The wars in which he engaged, though of aggression in appearance, were in reality in self-defence ; they were unavoidable, to obviate the consequences of the Cabul disaster ; they only anticipated the blow in preparation by his enemies. His administration, though one of the shortest, was one of the most glorious in the annals of the British empire in the East. He found it shaking under the effects of an unparalleled disaster ; he rendered it in less than two years victorious in every quarter, and resplendent with glory. It might naturally be supposed that such a career of success would have secured for the Governor-General a long tenure of office, and the warm gratitude of Government and the country. It was quite the reverse ; it procured for him nothing but distrust and envy ; and on the 26th April it was announced by Sir R. Peel, in answer to a question by Mr (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, that the East India Directors had recalled Lord Ellenborough.[1]

April 26.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1844, 280; Parl. Deb. April 26, 1844.

45. Real causes of the recall.

"Nec minus periculi," says Tacitus, "ex magna fama quam ex mala"—"Nor is there less danger from great fame than bad." When interrogated by Lord Colchester, in the House of Peers, whether the recall of Lord Ellenborough met with the sanction and approbation of the Government, Lord Ripon answered that it had not. It was, however, strictly within the legal and constitutional powers of the Company ; for, by a strange anomaly, they had, while liable to be controlled in so many other respects, full power to recall the Governor-General whenever they thought proper. The motives which led to this strong step on the part of the Directors may be easily divined from the tenor of Lord Ellenborough's administration, and the collision which has more than once occurred between their prudential views and the bold policy dictated by necessity to their servants abroad.

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The East India Company had taken fright at the military propensities of the Governor-General; he himself confessed them at a public dinner in Calcutta, with more truth and candour than prudence or self-regard.* He had left Calcutta, and made a long sojourn in the North-west Provinces, near the seat of war; he had himself been with the army, and under fire in the last action near Gwalior. Worse than all, he had in many places displaced the political agents, and conferred supreme civil authority in disturbed districts on the military commanders,—a course recommended by its obvious necessity, but so hostile to the interests of a large and influential class of civil persons around the seat of government, that it scarce ever fails to prove fatal to those who adventure upon it. Weighty, however, as these considerations were, they were yet surpassed by the terrors inspired by the military propensities of the Governor-General, and the preparations he was making to meet the war with the Sikhs, which every sensible person in India saw could not much longer be averted. If it be true, as is commonly said, that the alarm excited in the minds of the Directors by the wars of Scinde and Gwalior was brought to a climax, and made the ground of dismissal, by the purchase in Australia of thirteen hundred draught-horses soon after the termination of the Gwalior contest, it affords an additional confirmation of the old remark, that so entirely are the great majority of men governed by present events, that, though timeous preparations for future danger have often proved the salvation of empires, they have seldom failed to ruin those who, in the first instance, engaged in them. For those wars it was which cleared the flank and rear of the British army, which so soon was engaged in a strife for life or death on the banks of the Sutlej,[1] and those horses

[1] Ann. Reg. 1844, 282.

* "The only regret I feel on leaving India is that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable, the most interesting period of my life, has been that which I have passed here in cantonments and camps."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S words at a farewell dinner at Calcutta; *Ann. Reg.*, 1844, p. 282.

which dragged up the heavy guns that broke down the intrenchments of Sobraon, and saved the British empire in the East.

Upon the dismissal of Lord Ellenborough, Sir R. Peel suggested Sir Henry Hardinge to the Court of Directors as his successor, and the appointment was cordially and unanimously acquiesced in by the latter body. Many motives concurred to produce this unanimity on the part of the two powers, so often rival, in whom was jointly vested the government of India. In addition to the high character for prudence and wisdom which his career in troubled times as Secretary to the Government in Ireland had acquired for him, his great reputation and glorious career as a soldier seemed to recommend him in a peculiar manner to a government desirous, above all things, of cultivating a pacific policy. Satiated with glory in the field of European fame, he had no need to go to the East in search of fresh laurels; and the man who had stood beside the dying Moore at Corunna,[1] who had turned disaster into victory at Albuera,[2] and lost an arm beside Blucher at Ligny, was not likely to be seduced by the phantom of Oriental glory into scenes of doubtful expedience or hazardous result. It cannot be denied that these views were in themselves plausible; yet how widely different did they prove from the real events which were approaching, and how completely has the result proved the wisdom of the precautionary measures which occasioned Lord Ellenborough's recall! Within a year and a half after Sir Henry Hardinge's landing in India, he was involved, despite the utmost efforts to avoid it, in a desperate contest with the Sikhs, against whom his predecessor's preparations had been directed.

46. Appointment of Sir H. Hardinge as Governor-General.

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. lv. § 57.

[2] Ibid. c. lxv. § 56.

The able address delivered by the Chairman of the East India Company to Sir Henry Hardinge, previous to his departure for Hindostan, contains at once a luminous exposition of the views at that period enter-

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47. Policy recommended to Sir H. Hardinge by the Court of Directors.

tained by the government for the direction of Indian affairs, and throws light on the causes which had led to his predecessor's recall.* Existing discontents were alluded to in the sepoy army; but the magnitude of the danger thence arising was as little anticipated as were the terrible fields of Ferozeshah or Chillianwallah. Yet was the symptom to which the Directors alluded on this occasion of so serious a kind as to awaken the utmost solicitude, and such as might well have aroused the attention of Government to the impending danger. In March 1844, several regiments of the Bengal army, under orders for Scinde, gave unequivocal symptoms of a disposition to mutiny, from an idea that it was a foreign service, not

* "You will not fail to recollect that the members of the civil service are educated, not only with particular care, but with a special view to the important duties of civil administration, upon the upright and intelligent performance of which so much of the happiness of the people depends. I doubt not that your experience will coincide with that of the great men who, in former times, have filled the office of Governor-General, in enabling you to appreciate justly *the eminent qualities of the civil servants of India;* and I feel persuaded that your confidence in them will be returned by the most zealous exertions on their part to promote the success of your administration.

"At the present moment, difficulties have arisen in our native army requiring to be met by prompt and decisive measures. We trust that when you arrive in India you may find that the difficulties have passed away; but should you find them still existing, we trust that you will act *towards the sepoy with every degree of consideration and indulgence* compatible with the maintenance of order and obedience, the first and paramount duty of a soldier.

"By our latest intelligence we are induced to hope that peace prevails throughout India. I need not say that it is our anxious wish that it should be preserved. You, sir, well know what are the evils of war; and we feel confident that, while ever ready to maintain unimpaired the honour of our country and the supremacy of our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific. Peace, apart from its other advantages, is desirable, with a view to the prosperity of our finances, and the development of the internal resources of the country. From a natural desire on the part of our Government to render the public service as efficient as possible, there is always a tendency to an increase of establishments. A steady and vigilant attention will be, therefore, necessary to enforce the strictest economy consistent with the efficiency of the service. This duty is rendered the more urgent by the existing state of the finances of India; but it is at all times necessary, from the difficulty experienced in that country in devising new sources of revenue, or rendering those already existing more productive and more commensurate with the exigencies of the State. I feel assured, therefore, that your early and anxious attention will be turned to the best means of averting financial embarrassments, and for placing the public finances upon a sound and satisfactory footing."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1844, p. 283-285.

within the limits of their engagement, which was to serve in any part of India. Ultimately, however, they were all persuaded to withdraw their opposition, and march for Scinde across the Sutlej, except the 34th Native Infantry, which persisted in resistance, and was publicly broken and disbanded in consequence at Meerut in presence of the whole troops at the station. The Government at Calcutta made as light as they could of it, and passed the mutiny over with as little severe punishment as possible; but Sir Charles Napier was fully alive to its importance, and transmitted the most energetic representations on the subject.[1]

March 26.

[1] Napier's Mem. iii. 64,65; Ann. Reg. 1844, 286.

48. Hardinge's arrival in India, and early pacific measures.

Sir Henry Hardinge had been offered the command of the Indian army immediately after the disasters in Affghanistan; but he had generously declined to come between the Indian officers and the glory which he felt assured they would regain for their country and themselves. Now, however, that this was done, and victory again chained by their efforts to the British standard, he did not hesitate to accept the office of Governor-General, and set out for Calcutta, resolved to carry out to the very letter the pacific and economical ideas of the East India Directors. When he arrived there in September 1844, he found the whole of the Indian peninsula in a state of profound tranquillity, disturbed only by some insurrections of the robber chieftains on the frontier of the desert in Scinde, which were, after some resistance, suppressed by the prudent foresight of Napier, and Bija, the chieftain who had been most instrumental in promoting the disturbance, was taken. In this mountain warfare the deeds of heroism performed by the British soldiery, both European and native, never were surpassed.* Sir Henry went out,

March 17, 1845.

* "At once Beatson and his stern veterans climbed the rock which was crowned by the enemy. As they leapt, ten in number, on the platform, the enemy, eighty strong, fell upon them sword in hand, and the fight was desperate. Seventeen hill-men were slain, six of the soldiers; and the rest, wounded and overborne, were dashed over the edge and rolled down! Such are British soldiers! where mortal man can stand in fight, they will. Every

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not only with public recommendations to a pacific policy, but with the most stringent private instructions to the same effect. With the Sikhs in particular, he was specially enjoined to remain to the last extremity on pacific terms. Not only any hostile act towards that warlike and powerful nation, but any act which could, however remotely, be construed into an intention of a warlike character, was to be sedulously avoided. Upon the strict and literal conformity with these instructions, he was given unequivocally to understand his term of office would entirely depend.[1]

[1] Napier's Mem. iii. 256-272; Quarterly Review, lxxviii. 187; Neuman, Geschichte des Englischen Reiches in Asien, ii. 618.

49. Importance of railways in India, in a military as well as a civil point of view.

One of the first duties, and certainly not the least important, which awaited the new Governor-General on his arrival in India, was the laying out and formation of RAILWAYS. Momentous in all countries, this matter was an affair of vital importance in Hindostan. Not gifted by Nature with the network of navigable rivers which, in the basin of the Mississippi, has brought the means of water-carriage so near every man's door, the plains of Bengal were yet as well qualified by climate, soil, and the means of irrigation, as the fields of Louisiana for the raising of cotton. But to render them profitable, and open up to their inhabitants the English market for that species of produce, a vast internal system of communication was indispensable. Once established, however, and in full operation, such a system would at once double the productive resources of India, and halve the expense of guarding it from the numerous enemies by whom it was surrounded; for *distance* is the bane of the British empire in the East. Troops require to be moved for distances often of a thousand and fifteen hundred miles. From Calcutta to Delhi is 1173 miles; from thence to Peshawur, at the mouth of the Khyber, 580 miles. Hence it is that,

man of them had a medal, two of them had three on their breasts. They died gloriously, but uselessly, on that sad cliff in the Cutchee Hills; never was the Douranee so honoured. Their enemies did them due honour; they interred them with a red string on both wrists, their most distinguished mark of honour." —NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, iii. 272.

though wielding the resources of an empire immeasurably more powerful than any of the native states, the British Government has been invariably and seriously outnumbered, by comparatively inconsiderable opponents, at the commencement of every war. Impressed with these ideas, the East India Directors, in May 1845, addressed an enlightened and well-informed letter to the Governor-General, earnestly recommending the formation of a system of railway communication in India. Sir Henry Hardinge cordially entered into their views, and he was actively engaged in devising means to carry them out, and at the same time improve the system of native education in India, when the trumpet of war sounded in the north, and he was called from his peaceful labours to a conflict more terrible than the strife of Ligny or the death-struggle of Albuera.[1]*

May 7, 1845.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1845, 328, 329, 331.

50. Origin of the Sikhs.

The SIKHS, by far the bravest and most powerful nation which at this time existed in an independent state in India, owe their origin, like most other Oriental states, to a religious belief. The word "Sikh" signifies "disciple," and the founder of their faith was a Hindoo named *Nanek*, who was born in the village of Talwundi, in the province of Lahore, in 1469. He was destined by his

* In this letter, which was a very luminous and able one, the East India Directors observe: "According to the experience of Great Britain, by far the largest returns from railways are procured from passengers, the least from the traffic of goods. The condition of India is in this respect directly the reverse of that of England. Instead of a dense and wealthy population, the people of India are poor, and in many parts thinly scattered over extensive tracts of country. But, on the other hand, India is rich in valuable products of nature, which are in a great measure deprived of a profitable market by the want of cheap and expeditious means of transport."—EAST INDIA DIRECTORS to GOVERNOR-GENERAL, May 7, 1845; *Ann. Reg.*, 1845, p. 329.

The East India Directors were by no means so well aware then as all the world now is of another effect of railway communication, if established on even a few great lines in Hindostan, in facilitating the movement of troops, and thereby at once enlarging the means of defence and diminishing the standing force which must be kept on foot to secure it. This is the great lesson which the Crimean war has taught to Russia, and the wars in the Punjaub and Indian revolt to England. Had the Russians possessed a railroad from Moscow to Odessa, Sebastopol would never have been taken: had India enjoyed one from Calcutta to Delhi, the revolt of 1857 would have been suppressed at its first outbreak.

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father to commerce, but an irresistible impulse prompted him to theological pursuits, and he soon became alike dissatisfied with the Hindoo, the Mahommedan, and the Bhuddhist worship. The code of this extraordinary man, both in religion and morality, was very remarkable. He taught the unity of God, the equality of all in the sight of Heaven, and inculcated universal kindness, charity, and forbearance among men. His religion consisted in a pure theism, apart from all the superstitions with which the faith of Brama and Budh, and Mahomet had become disfigured. Thus he rejected the distinctions of caste, the burning of widows, and all the other peculiarities of the Hindoo worship, equally with the sensual paradise and devout observances of the followers of the Prophet. So identical were his precepts with those communicated to man by the Jewish lawgiver, that many fanciful observers have thought they discovered in the modern Sikhs the descendants of one of the lost tribes of the children of Israel.[1]

[1] Malte-Brun, ix. 537-539; Elphinstone's India, i. 227-231; Quarterly Rev. lxxviii. 177.

51. Description of the Sikhs, and their power.

The Sikh confederacy, held together by the strong bond of unity of religious belief, contended, with various fortune, with the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded for four centuries, during which their power was gradually extended over the adjoining states, and the military spirit and qualities of their own members proportionally increased. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, when they all yielded to the valour and capacity of RUNJEET SINGH, surnamed the "Lion of the Punjaub," the confederacy contained 7,000,000 of inhabitants, of whom 4,000,000 were in the province of Lahore, 1,400,000 in that of Mooltan, 1,000,000 in that of Affghanistan, and 600,000 in Cashmere. The inhabitants of these varied provinces were tall, robust, and animated at once by religious fervour and military ardour. Their forces consisted for the most part of cavalry, the horses of which were of extraordinary swiftness and hardihood. But, in addition to this, their infantry, which had

been disciplined by Runjeet Singh by the aid of French and Italian officers, and largely recruited by the sepoys so imprudently disbanded under Lord William Bentinck's government, had now acquired the most formidable consistency; it amounted to 73,000 men, with 200 pieces of cannon. These were the regular troops; but the whole country was peopled by warriors; and if its entire strength was called out, it could bring into the field 260,000 men, and the force under arms had, at no remote period, actually amounted to that number.[1]

[1] Malte-Brun, ix. 539-553.

52. Geographical description of the country.

The chief seat of the Sikhs is in the Punjaub—a country celebrated for its riches and fertility from the most remote antiquity. It takes its name from the five rivers by which it is watered, and which, descending from the great snowy range, give the means of irrigation and the blessings of fertility to the level plain which they intersect in their progress towards the ocean. These are the Indus, the Jhelum, the Ravee, the Chenab, and the Sutlej; and these great rivers, with their numerous tributary streams, are available for the purposes of agriculture to the extent of nearly two thousand miles, and afford the means of irrigation to a vast area of the richest alluvial soil. This is the main source of the strength of the Sikhs; and the Punjaub accordingly contains the capital, Lahore, and chief city Umritzur. But the Sikh dominion extends also over other, and some of them very different regions, in particular Mooltan, Affghanistan East, and Cashmere. The first of these is very populous, containing 1,400,000 souls, with a strong fortress of the same name, standing on the Chenab, for its capital; the second includes the sandy deserts and arid mountains to the east of the Indus; while the last, a beautiful elevated valley of a circular form, three thousand feet above the sea, and surrounded by the summits of the Himalayas, has been celebrated from the earliest ages over the whole of Asia as the almost fabled abode of industry, innocence, and rural felicity.[2] It contains 600,000 inhabitants, a large

[2] Bernier's Voyage de Kachemir, ii. 171, 316; Fonta's Travels in Cashmere, i. 293; Malte-Brun, ix. 540, 541.

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part of whom make their bread by the manufacture of the beautiful shawls so prized over all the world. But the chief distinction and ancient fame of Cashmere have arisen from the incomparable charm of its scenery and climate, in which nature has combined everything which the world can exhibit most seductive to the senses and fascinating to the imagination.

53. Character of Runjeet Singh.

RUNJEET SINGH, who had since the commencement of the present century brought the tribes comprising this empire under subjection, was one of those remarkable men who occasionally appear in the East, and acquire an irresistible sway over the minds of men, so as to mould out of the discordant elements of Oriental society a powerful, though fleeting dominion. Rude and forbidding in aspect, with only one eye, and a visage furrowed by the small-pox, he yet, from his energy and courage, acquired such an ascendancy as to be the object of respect to the bravest men, and terror to the fairest women, in the north-west of India. His grandfather was an inconsiderable feudal chief, whose quota was only 2500 men, but he was an able man ; his son, Runjeet's father, was still more so ; and they gradually extended their influence and possessions, so that in 1802, when Runjeet succeeded to the inheritance, he was already one of the first nobles in the Punjaub. Such were the additions which, though entirely uneducated, he made to the family power, by his talent and unscrupulous perseverance, that soon he was in possession of Lahore and all the fertile territory around it, and began a friendly intercourse, as a powerful potentate, with the Government at Calcutta. The knowledge of this intercourse went far to establish his credit and influence ; and it continued uninterrupted, though without any personal intercourse, till 1831, when Lord William Bentinck visited "the Lion of the Punjaub" in Lahore, and 1838, when Lord Auckland waited on him, at the head of all the majesty of the British empire. Meanwhile Runjeet overran the whole Punjaub

undisturbed by Great Britain, the Government of which was sufficiently occupied with its own conquests. Sensible of the advantages he derived from the friendship of Great Britain, and justly afraid of its power, Runjeet long cultivated the connection, and at length concluded the triple alliance with that power and Shah Soojah, which was the precursor of the Affghanistan expedition. During this period he was incessantly engaged in organising and disciplining, by the aid of General Ventura and other French officers, his already formidable army; and such was the perfection to which his diligence brought it, that it stood the comparison with the British at the great reviews near Lahore in 1838;[1] and Lord Auckland had good reason to congratulate himself that the Sikh government preserved its faith inviolate during the dreadful catastrophe which ensued. As long as Runjeet lived, the alliance was maintained inviolate, and the loud clamour of the army for a war with the English was disregarded; but during the weak and distracted rule which ensued upon his death, their demands became more formidable; and Lord Ellenborough was engaged in active measures to provide against the impending conflict when he was recalled by the Directors.[2]

[1] Ante, c. xl. § 58.

[2] Quarterly Review, lxxviii. 181-183; Elphinstone's Cabul, vol. i.; Burnes' Cabul, vol. i.

54. Character of Lord Hardinge.

Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, who was soon called to oppose, not this redoubtable chieftain, for he was gathered to his fathers, but the army which he had created, was one of the most remarkable men which the age in which he lived, so fertile in statesmen and heroes, had produced. Born of an ancient and highly respectable family in the county of Derby, he yet owed nothing to aristocratic influence or connection; for he had already risen to eminence both as a soldier and a statesman before he married, in 1821, the daughter of the Marquess of Londonderry. He was born in 1785, entered the service in 1801 as ensign in a regiment of foot, and was present at nearly all the battles under Moore and Wellington in the Peninsula. Including the

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actions on the Sutlej, to be immediately recounted, he had been in sixteen pitched battles, for which medals had been granted, when he was raised to the peerage in 1846. He was the architect of his own fortune, and cut his way with his good sword to the offices of Governor-General of India, and Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain. Without the great and commanding qualities which in a manner forced Marlborough and Wellington to the lead in civil as well as military life, he possessed in high degree those best suited to enable him to follow out the views, or correct the mistakes, of others. A good soldier, he faithfully obeyed the orders he received, and by his indomitable resolution retrieved many errors in the direction, by superior officers or Government, of the affairs with the execution of which he was intrusted. Heroic courage and unconquerable resolution were his great characteristics. Never did any one more thoroughly act up to his family motto, "*Mens æqua in rebus arduis.*" Kindly in his manner, affectionate in private life, he was exemplary in every domestic duty, and beloved by an extensive circle of friends. It was his happiness, or the consequence of his enduring constancy, three times to influence the fortunes of his country; for on the field of Albuera, in circumstances all but desperate, he retrieved the day; on the banks of the Sutlej he stemmed the flood of disaster, and saved the empire of India; and by his indefatigable efforts on his return to England, he raised up the train of artillery which tore down the ramparts of Sebastopol.[1]

[1] Burke's Peerage, voce Hardinge; Personal knowledge.

55. Of Lord Gough.

Hugh Gough (afterwards Lord Gough) was descended from an ancient family in Devonshire, a scion of which was transferred to Ireland by being created Bishop of Limerick in 1626. Hugh, the fourth son of one of his descendants, was born in the county of Tipperary on 3d November 1779, and entered the army in 1794. Like Lord Hardinge, he was present at the principal actions in the Peninsular War, commanded the 87th Regiment at

Talavera, and was distinguished in the battles of Barossa and Vittoria, and at the siege of Tarifa. In 1837 he was sent to India in command of a division, from whence he was translated to China when the war broke out in 1839. It will be immediately seen how nobly he supported the high character, which his achievements there won for him, in the Sikh war. Daring in disposition, ardent in temperament, decided in conduct, he combined the resolution of the country of his ancestors with the fire of that of his birth: so bold was his character, so impetuous his courage, that it has earned for him the reputation rather of a brilliant general of division than a consummate commander-in-chief; yet on many occasions, especially in the operations against Nankin, and the battles of Sobraon and Goojerat, he displayed military conduct of a high order; and it was his unconquerable firmness, joined to that of Lord Hardinge, which, in the last extremity, again chained victory to the British standard on the banks of the Sutlej. Generous and warm-hearted, he has all the affection of disposition which characterises the land of his birth, and his personal influence is much enhanced by a figure which, tall and commanding even in advanced years, and with the snows of age on his brow, bespeaks the hero in every feature and movement.[1]

[1] Burke's Peerage, voce Gough; Personal knowledge.

56. Of Sir C. Napier.

Sir Charles Napier, also a most remarkable man, differed essentially from either of the preceding heroes of Eastern war. Descended from the ancient and noble family of the Napiers of Merchiston in Scotland, which numbers the illustrious inventor of logarithms among its members, he had also the blood of Henry IV. of France, and of the Stuarts, by his mother's side, in his veins. He had the intellect of the Napiers, and the military talent of the founder of the Bourbons; but he had also the vehemence of temper and obstinate self-will which occasioned the downfall of the Stuarts. His mind was essentially heroic: he was an idol-worshipper, but his

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idols were all surrounded by the halo of military glory. His talents for war were of the very highest order. Had he been born on a throne, and favoured by fortune, he might have rivalled the fame of Cæsar or Frederick. Unfortunately, his irritability of temper, and unbounded confidence in his own opinion, rendered him little capable of acting in obedience to commands, or in conjunction on equal terms with others. The Duke of Wellington had the highest opinion of his military talents, and he gave a decisive proof of it by selecting him for the command-in-chief in India after the dubious issue of the fight of Chillianwallah. His administrative talents, when undisturbed, and his temper unruffled, were equal to his military abilities. On the field of battle, or in the strategic movements of a campaign, his quickness of eye and decision of mind were invaluable; he seldom failed to judge rightly, and never to execute quickly; and his mind was of that far-seeing kind which descries and provides against danger when it is yet distant. Were we to judge of him by his public actions only, he would occupy a very high pedestal in the gallery of contemporary greatness; but this judgment has been somewhat lowered by the indiscreet zeal of a partial biographer, who has brought out in his memoir numerous proofs of violence of temper and harshness of judgment, which a more prudent reserve would have suffered to remain in oblivion.

57. Position of the British troops before the Sikh war.

When Lord Ellenborough was recalled, he was, as already noticed, engaged in preparations for war with the Sikhs; and it was to clear his flank and rear of dubious friends or open enemies that he engaged in the wars of Scinde and Gwalior. As Sir Henry Hardinge was sent out to stop these warlike preparations, and preserve, if possible, the peace of the peninsula, he did not conceive himself at liberty to make the military arrangements requisite to arrest a vigorous onslaught of the enemy, and he yielded to the representations of Major

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Broadfoot, the political agent at the court of Lahore, and the secretary to the Government at Calcutta, that no serious contest was to be apprehended. Influenced by these considerations, and by "his extreme anxiety to avoid hostilities," he took no steps towards concentrating troops on the Punjaub frontier, even when the approach of the cool season, in the end of 1845, rendered it probable that military operations, if undertaken at all by the Sikhs, would speedily be attempted. He did not indeed withdraw the troops which Lord Ellenborough had collected in the towns from Delhi to Kurnaul to guard the north-western frontier, but he allowed them to remain scattered at great distances from each other, in situations offering the greatest advantages to an enterprising and concentrated enemy. Umballa was the frontier town in that direction of the British territory, but Loodianah and Ferozepore, lying near the Sutlej, were stations at which the British by treaty were permitted to have garrisons. Sir Henry strengthened both of these places with additional fortifications, so as to place them beyond the risk of a *coup-de-main*, and stationed 6000 men in the former place, and 7000 in the latter. The reserve lay at Umballa, consisting of 7500 men, under the Commander-in-Chief in person; but the two frontier stations were an hundred miles distant from each other, and Umballa an hundred and fifty from both; while the Sikhs were stationed between Lahore and the Sutlej to the number of 60,000, within two marches of the river, and two more would bring them to either of the frontier stations.*



Meantime the situation of affairs in Lahore was daily becoming more threatening. The Government was over-

* *Quarterly Review*, lxxviii. 188.—The Author with pleasure acknowledges his obligations to the very able author of this article on the war in the Punjaub, which comes down to the battle of Sobraon in February 1846. His name is as yet unknown, but the narrative is not only singularly distinct and accurate, but evidently founded on original documents, especially those of the Gough family.

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58. Position of affairs in Lahore. Nov. 1845.

awed and rendered powerless by two factions—the one British, the other anti-British. At the head of the former was Gholab Singh, a hoary intriguer, who was, or professed to be, favourable to the British alliance; at the head of the latter was the Ranee, who, by the facility and charm of her manners, had enlisted many of the chief nobles in deadly hostility to the British. The latter, being the more popular with the troops and populace, had prevailed, and Gholab Singh, as a measure of precaution, had withdrawn to his fortress of Jarnoo. But this triumph was far from satisfying the Sikh soldiery, who soon after his departure surrounded the royal palace, clamorously demanding immediate payment of their arrears, or to be led against the English, in order that they might enrich themselves by the plunder of Delhi and the Doab. The Ranee, alarmed for her own life, as well as those of her lovers, Tigh Singh and Lal Singh, willingly yielded to their demands, and orders were given for the whole disposable force to march down to the frontier and cross the river. They did so accordingly, and encamped on its banks.[1]

Nov. 15.

[1] Quarterly Review, lxxviii. 189, 190.

59. Hardinge resists the concentration of the army.

Sir Hugh Gough, apprehensive of an immediate attack on Ferozepore, where there was only one European regiment, though the entire garrison was 7000 strong, ordered up from Meerut two regiments of European cavalry and three of infantry, and directed the troops to close up towards Ferozepore. The Governor-General, however, constrained by his home instructions from doing anything which could by possibility be construed into a hostile demonstration, countermanded the order. Fortunately the attack of the Sikhs at that moment, though undoubtedly intended, was prevented by the astrologers, who declared that the first auspicious day on which they could march was the 28th. Thus things reverted apparently to their former state; but the Governor-General, now seriously alarmed at the aspect of affairs, left Calcutta, and proceeded by rapid journeys to

Kurnaul, which he reached on the 26th November, and where he met the Commander-in-Chief. Still no concentration of troops took place. Hardinge conceived that the garrison of Ferozepore, under Sir John Littler, would be able to repel any sudden attack, and that no serious inroad was in contemplation. But preparations were made for the campaign which might be apprehended. A magazine of provisions was formed at Bussean, a plain midway between Umballa and Ferozepore, which proved of the utmost service in the operations that succeeded; and the Governor-General sacrificed his whole elephants and camel-train to the public service.[1] *

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Nov. 28, 1845; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 192.

60. Hostile movements of the Sikhs, and of the British.

Meanwhile the Sikh soldiery, to whom, as to all Asiatics, moderation is unknown, and a pacific policy is never ascribed to anything but fear, were in such a state of exultation that it almost amounted to mutiny. In the pride of their hearts they asserted that the English would never venture to face their unconquerable battalions. To such a length did these ideas go, that on

* Sir Henry Hardinge's views at this juncture are contained in the following passage of his despatch to the Secret Committee of Dec. 2, 1845: "In common with the most experienced officers of the Indian Government, I was not of opinion that the Sikh army would cross the Sutlej with its infantry and artillery. I considered it probable that some act of aggression would be committed by parties of plunderers for the purpose of compelling the British army to interfere, to which course the Sikh chiefs knew I was most averse; but I considered with the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary to the Government, as well as my political agent, Major Broadfoot, that offensive operations on a large scale would not be resorted to. Exclusive of political reasons, which induced me to carry my forbearance as far as possible, I was confident, from the opinions given by the Commander-in-Chief and Sir John Littler, in command at Ferozepore, that that post could resist any attack from the Sikh army as long as its provisions lasted, and that I could at any time relieve it under the ordinary circumstances of an Asiatic army making an irruption into our territories, provided it had not the means of laying siege to the fort and the intrenched camp. The Sikh army up to this period had committed no act of aggression. It had, in 1843 and 1844, moved down upon the river from Lahore, and after remaining there encamped a few weeks, had returned to the capital. These reasons, *and, above all, my extreme anxiety to avoid hostilities*, induced me not to make any hasty movement with our army, which, when the two armies came into each other's presence, might bring about a collision. The army, however, had orders to be in readiness to move on the shortest notice."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1845, p. 332.

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1845. Nov. 24. the 24th November two brigades, despite all the predictions of the astrologers, broke up without orders from Lahore, and marched down to the banks of the Sutlej, and the remainder of the army were preparing to follow their example. Intelligence of those movements reached

Nov. 25. the Governor-General on the 25th from Major Broadfoot, and he immediately wrote to the Lahore government to demand an explanation of them. No answer was received even on the 4th December, and Hardinge did not think he was as yet at liberty to give orders for any counter-demonstration or concentration of troops on his side. On the night of the 9th, however, Captain Nicolson, the assistant political agent at Ferozepore, reported that a portion of the Sikh army had approached within three miles of the Sutlej ; while Major Broadfoot had announced on the 7th and 8th that preparations were making on a large scale for the movement

Dec. 11. of infantry, artillery, and stores, from Lahore. Upon this the Governor-General wrote to the Commander-in-Chief to order up the whole reserves from Meerut and Umballa to the front, while he himself rode on to Loodianah, and directed every disposable man to move to Bussean, the point intended for the concentration of the troops coming up from Umballa and the rear. A thousand men only were left for the defence of the intrenched camp at Loodianah, which were thought to be sufficient, as no serious attack was anticipated in that direction. These anticipations proved correct. On the 12th the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, and concentrated in great force on the left or British bank of the river ; while the whole British reserves were in motion, having begun their march on the 10th from all the stations from Meerut to Bussean.[1]

[1] Sir H. Hardinge to the Secret Committee ; Ann. Reg. 1845, 332, 333; Quarterly Rev. lxxviii. 192, 193.

A great game now was open to the Sikhs if they had been directed by men capable of taking advantage of the circumstances, or commanding troops who could be relied on to execute with vigour and decision

sudden resolutions. The surprise was complete. The stringent orders of the East India Directors, and the Governor-General's perhaps too literal compliance with them, had brought the British army into a position of the greatest danger. The peril which Lord Ellenborough had foreseen and was providing against, had now fallen like a thunderbolt on his successor. Ferozepore, with its garrison of 7500 men, lay exposed to the attacks of 60,000 troops, brave, disciplined, inured to victory, perfectly concentrated, and amply provided with both heavy and field artillery, amounting to 100 pieces. The British troops coming up in support were still, for the most part, an hundred miles distant, for the reserve had only begun to move from Umballa, an hundred and fifty miles, on the 10th, 11th, and 12th; and the foremost of them had not reached Bussean, half-way to Ferozepore, when the Sikhs on the 12th crossed the river in force, and were already close upon that town.[1] *

61. Immense advantages on the side of the Sikhs.

[1] Hardinge's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 332; Quart. Review, lxxviii. 194.

Fortunately the Sikh generals, either from being ignorant of the inestimable prize within their grasp, or from not knowing the distance at which the British supports lay, took no advantage of this, to them, eminently propitious state of things. Instead of massing their forces all together, and assailing Ferozepore with the troops and heavy guns already in hand, they *intrenched* one part of their army at the Nuggur-Ghaut in a situation to observe merely that fort; and the other, consisting of

62. Movements of both parties before the collision. Dec. 16, 17.

* "The Sikhs have crossed the river, and probably an action was fought on the 14th December, as Hardinge was in full march on the 13th from Loodianah to aid General Littler, who has only 6000 men to oppose 24,000, who had crossed, and, as I make out, cut off Littler from Hardinge. Bussean is sixty miles from Ferozepore. Hardinge is a good and brave soldier, and probably knows what he is about, yet that he has been surprised is plain. 6000 men are assailed by 20,000, and if the 6000 flinch! Hardinge on the field seems to have shown the same decision which saved the day at Albuera. This is very fine, and gives him glory as a brave man; but it is not enough to repair the error of the Governor-General in letting 60,000 men and 100 guns of large calibre pass such a river unmolested. With Napoleon or one of his marshals in front, he would have been lost. The courage of his troops has carried him through. He ought to have known where the Sikh army was assembling, its

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20,000 men, with 40 guns, pushed forward in hopes of falling in with and intercepting either the corps advancing crossways from Loodianah to Bussean, or some of the reserves hastening up from Umballa. Thus they came forward, as it were, to meet the British half-way, and voluntarily threw away the immense advantage of being in a position to attack Ferozepore with an overwhelming force. At the same time, having thrown a bridge over

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the Sutlej on the 16th and 17th, their whole army, including the heavy artillery and reserves, passed over. But, meanwhile, the British were not idle. Hardinge, recovering his energy by the dropping of the political fetters which had hitherto bound his hands, showed himself every way equal to the crisis. Fortunately the corps detached from Loodianah came up in time to join the leading column of the reserve before the enemy appeared in sight, and Hardinge and Gough, knowing that the reinforcements from the rear were rapidly closing up, put themselves at the head of the advanced guard, and rode on to meet the enemy. The most pressing orders were despatched to the generals in command of the reserve to send forward every man and gun with the utmost possible expedition; and with such spirit were these orders obeyed by the troops that they marched on an average *six-and-twenty miles a-day* under an Indian sun; and this was accomplished, too, when the men were in heavy marching order.[1] The sufferings of the troops, particularly the sepoys, who are not pos-

[1] Gough's Desp., Dec. 21, 1845; Ann. Reg. 1845, 335, 336; Quart. Review, lxxviii. 195, 196.

composition, and movements, and the construction of the Sikh bridge on the 16th or 17th. They ought to have been met on the bank when only half over, or not allowed to pass. But they were allowed to pass, and even to intrench. It is evident he unduly despised his enemy. I do not think history will let him off without a reprimand."—NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 363-370. There can be no doubt that, in a military point of view, these observations are well founded, and probably no one knew their truth better than Sir Henry Hardinge; but in censuring him so strongly, Napier was not aware of the stringent orders which the East India Directors had given to him to avoid any measure—even the concentration of troops—which would afford the Sikhs a pretext for commencing hostilities. They form Hardinge's true vindication for what would otherwise have been a military error.

sessed of the physical strength of Europeans, were extreme during these forced marches; yet did their spirit never fail under this terrible trial; and when sheer exhaustion compelled them to rest for a time, upon being told that the next march would bring them to the enemy, they answered with a cheer, and moved on.

63. Battle of Moodkee. Dec. 17.

Early on the morning of the 17th a spy brought in intelligence that the enemy were moving towards the British, and would soon come in sight. Gough and Hardinge were at the head of 14,000 men, as good troops, both European and native, as had yet been engaged in the conquest of the Indian empire, and they held on their way undaunted. Soon after noon on the same day, when the troops, after their long morning march, were just lying down extremely fatigued to rest, information was received that the Sikh army was advancing. Instantly the bugles sounded the *assemblée*, and the men sprang to their arms with the utmost alacrity. Hardinge and Gough rode from regiment to regiment encouraging their men, and the latter rode forward and put himself at the head of the advanced guard, while the former arranged the troops behind in echelon of brigades. The advanced guard had not proceeded above two miles beyond MOODKEE when they came upon the enemy, 20,000 strong, in position, with 40 guns secured behind sandy hillocks and jungle, which concealed them from the British till their presence became known by their fire being opened. Seeing this, Gough hurried his horse-artillery and cavalry under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, to the front, which opened a spirited fire upon the enemy, while the infantry deployed so as to be ready to commence the attack when their formation was completed and the guns were withdrawn to the flanks.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 336; Quart. Review, lxxviii. 196.

The field of battle was a level plain, interspersed with low brushwood and small sandy elevations. In consequence of this peculiarity, the armies came, in most places, almost close together before they could see each

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Desperate nature of the fight, and victory of the British.

other. The cannonade, however, soon became extremely warm on both sides; and in this encounter, the British artillery, though of lighter calibre, soon acquired a superiority over that of the enemy. While this was going on with the guns, Gough prepared a grand attack of cavalry on the enemy's left. This attack, led by Brigadiers White and Gough, proved eminently successful. The column of horse, headed by the 3d Light Dragoons, followed by the whole body-guard, the 5th Light Cavalry, and 4th Lancers, made so fierce a charge on the Sikh cavalry, which were pushed forward to stop them, that the latter were entirely overthrown, and the victorious horse, following up their success, swept along the rear of the whole enemy's line, chasing the gunners from their pieces, and for a time silencing the fire of their artillery. At the same time the 9th Irregulars, under Mactier, threatened their right, and, though the thickness of the jungle impeded their charge, seriously disturbed the enemy in that quarter. Hardly were these brilliant charges executed, when the infantry, under Sir Harry Smith, General Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill, came into action. The resistance of the Sikhs was obstinate; but, after a murderous fire had gone on for some time, a general charge was made with loud cheers by the whole force, British and sepoy, and attended with entire success, the enemy being driven from their ground with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, for the most part of very heavy calibre. The coming on of night alone saved their army from still greater disaster; but as it was, the pursuit was continued an hour and a half by starlight, and amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which almost as much as the darkness obscured every object.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 337; Hardinge's Desp. p. 177.

The victory was gained, but it had been dearly purchased. The killed were 215; the wounded, 657; in all, 872. Among those who fell were Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad; Sir John M'Caskill, a brave and

experienced officer, whose loss was severely felt, with several other young officers of the highest promise. The enemy, though defeated and driven from the field, were not routed or dispersed; they had abated little of their confidence and haughty bearing, and retreated to the intrenched camp they had formed at FEROZESHAH, near Ferozepore, defended by a most formidable train of artillery, still determined to dispute with the British the empire of India. Expecting a new attack, Gough and Hardinge remained two days under arms; and the enemy's horse hovered about the camp so closely that an action was hourly expected. They did not make any forward movement, however; and during these two days two European regiments, the 29th Queen's and 1st Bengal Light Infantry, came up. Their arrival was hailed with joy, as it more than compensated the loss which had been sustained; and thus reinforced, the army broke up, and on the morning of the 21st advanced to the intrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozeshah. Before doing so, Sir Henry Hardinge, with generous devotion, waved his superior rank as Governor-General, and tendered his services to Sir Hugh Gough to serve under him as second in command! The offer, as well it might, was joyfully accepted; and these two noble veterans set out together to seek the enemy in their formidable intrenchments.[1]

65. March of the British army to Ferozeshah. Dec. 21.

[1] Gough's Desp., Dec. 23, 1845; Ann. Reg. 1845, 337; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 199.

Towards the success of their projected attack on the Sikh position, it was indispensable that a junction should be formed with Littler's division, consisting of 5000 disposable men, who lay in Ferozepore; for the Sikhs had all withdrawn into their intrenched camp at Ferozeshah, where there were now 30,000 good troops assembled, with 100 pieces of artillery, many of them of very heavy calibre. Orders accordingly were sent on the evening of the 20th to General Littler, to move out with every disposable man at daybreak on the 21st, and be at a point designated, which was nearly abreast

66. Position of the Sikhs, and junction of Littler with Gough.

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of the camp at Ferozeshah, but out of the range of the enemy's guns, at noon. Thither also the Commander-in-Chief hastened with the whole disposable force from the camp in front of Moodkee. Precisely at twelve, Gough and Hardinge were at the appointed place of rendezvous, and hardly had they halted when heavy clouds of dust were seen to rise in the direction of Ferozepore. It was Littler's division, which, punctual to its orders, had made the perilous march from Ferozepore with its flank exposed to the enemy, and almost within reach of his guns, without firing a shot or suffering any molestation. By this junction the army was raised to 17,000 effective men; a great object of the campaign was gained by the extrication of the garrison of Ferozepore from its perilous advanced position; and the whole British force was at length assembled in one battle-field.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1845, 337; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 201.

67. An attack is resolved on. Dec. 21.

Opinions were now divided at the British headquarters as to the course which should be pursued. Some thought that, as Littler's corps was extricated, any hazardous movement should be avoided, and time given for the arrival of the reinforcements from Meerut. But Gough judged differently. He knew that the army in his front at Ferozeshah was little more than half the Sikh force, the remainder being still in position observing Ferozepore; but as it was only a single march distant, it would to a certainty come up on the day following, and either double the force to be attacked in the intrenched camp, or fall on the British flank while engaged in assaulting it, or burn the camp and cut off his communications. For these reasons he determined on an immediate attack, before the second army came up to swell the enemy's ranks. The attempt, however, was hazardous, and, but for the necessity of the case, would have been foolhardy; for the enemy, strongly intrenched, and double the number of their opponents, were amply supplied with provisions, and had enjoyed two days' rest; whereas the

British, but scantily provided with food, were exhausted by a march of ten miles on that very morning. The intrenched camp proved even stronger than had been anticipated, for it was armed like a regular fortification, with numerous salient angles, which exposed the assaulting columns to a flanking fire. The village of Ferozeshah, which was loopholed and intrenched, lay within the circuit of the lines, and the numerous artillery was skilfully disposed, so as to command every approach to the intrenchments.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 338; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 201, 202.

68. Battle of Ferozeshah. Dec. 21.

An immediate attack being resolved on, the bugles sounded just as the wearied soldiers, oppressed with heat and thirst, had lain down to enjoy the much-wished-for repose, and called them to one of the most desperate battles of modern times. Gough in person commanded the right wing, having under him Wallace's (late M'Caskill's) and Gilbert's divisions; Hardinge directed the left, composed of Littler's corps. The second line was formed by Sir Harry Smith's division, with the whole cavalry of the army. The horse-artillery was stationed on either flank, and the foot-artillery grouped in the centre, where the principal assault was intended to be made. This was directed against the side *averted* from Moodkee, on which the least attention had been bestowed by the enemy, as they naturally expected to be assailed on the front next to Moodkee, from whence the British advanced. The attack, however, was made on more than one face, as the assailants had overlapped each of the extreme corners of the enemy's works.[2]

[2] Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 338; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 202.

69. Continued.

The troops advanced to the assault in the best order and with unshrinking spirit, and as soon as they came within range, they were received by a tremendous fire, which tore down whole ranks at once, and made vast chasms in others. They recoiled, in some instances, before the storm; for the Sikh artillery, of much heavier calibre than the British, and partially sheltered by the embrasures, fired with great precision of aim, to which the

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European gunners could make no adequate reply. Such was the slaughter, that the 62d regiment, which commenced the attack in the most gallant manner, was fairly forced back, after losing two-thirds of their number; and several sepoy regiments broke and fled the moment they entered the fire. The whole left wing, under Hardinge, after incredible efforts, and carrying part of the works, were driven out again by the heavy fire of the Sikhs, who steadily held the interior of the intrenchments. Gough on the right was more fortunate. Though the resistance there was also most obstinate, the European regiments forced their way in through the embrasures. Following up this advantage, Gough brought up the reserve under Sir Harry Smith, and an entrance having been made by the sappers for horse and artillery, several guns were brought in, and opened fire at point-blank range on the enemy; while the 3d Queen's Dragoons, by several gallant charges inside the ramparts, captured several batteries, and made the British masters of great part of the intrenched quadrangle. But the Sikhs still held the remainder, including the village of Ferozeshah, which was strongly occupied; and till darkness closed the scene, the gallant antagonists interchanged volleys of musketry and grape at each other without either gaining any sensible advantage, mutually aiming at the flash after the gloom had rendered the figures no longer visible.[1]

[1] Gough and Hardinge's Desp., Dec. 23, 1845; Ann. Reg. 1845, 338; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 202, 203.

70. Terrible night which ensued.

Night came, but with it no relief to the wounded, no food to the wearied, no respite to the combatants. Side by side with the dying and the dead, the living lay down. The bodies of the Sikhs were intermingled with those of the British. The darkness was illuminated only at intervals by the streak of a bomb traversing the sky, the occasional explosion of an ammunition-waggon, the burning of huts, or the volleys of musketry. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief both took post, surrounded by their wearied troops, on the bloody battlefield, within the intrenchment which they had so hardly

won. With them was a gallant foreign prince, of a house illustrious in the annals of war, PRINCE WALDEMAR OF PRUSSIA, who had hastened to the banks of the Sutlej, and brought to the theatre of Eastern war the courage and the spirit of the great Frederick.* Sleep, despite all the fatigue they had undergone, there was none in that gallant band; the frequent discharges of cannon and musketry, as well as the groans of the wounded and their cries for water, constantly caused eyelids to open which had begun to close. On one occasion, the fire of a Sikh eighteen-pounder, which had been brought to bear on the Governor-General's bivouac, was so annoying that he was obliged to order the two regiments nearest, the 80th Queen's and 1st Bengal Europeans, to rise up and attack the gun, which was immediately taken with the utmost gallantry.[1]

[1] Personal knowledge; Ann. Reg. 1845, 398; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 203.

71. Gloomy feelings of the army, and heroic conduct of Hardinge and Gough.

Despite all their resolution, there were many, during that terrible night, who began to entertain the most sinister presentiments. It was known that the last reserves had been engaged on the side of the British, while 30,000 Sikhs were yet to come up who had never fired a shot. Worst of all, it was whispered that the artillery had fired away nearly all their ammunition. The men, wearied by a long march and then a battle, with little food, were yet unable to sleep from the rattle of the musketry and constant bursting of bombs; the horses were unable to strike into a trot. Some, in these disastrous circumstances, thought it would be best to cut their way through to Ferozepore, where they would at least find the shelter of an intrenched camp. On this opinion being expressed to Sir Hugh Gough, he said, "The thing is impos-

* This brave, amiable, and highly accomplished prince survived all the dangers of the Indian campaign, and returned to Europe. In the course of a tour in Scotland two years after, he did the Author the honour of paying him a visit of several days at his residence of Possil House, in Lanarkshire, accompanied by his able staff-officers, Count Oriola and Count Greuben. The conversation naturally turned very much on the interesting events recorded in this chapter, and several of the incidents and anecdotes are mentioned on their authority.

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sible. My mind is made up. If we must perish, it is better that our bones should bleach honourably at Ferozeshah than rot at Ferozepore: but they shall do neither the one nor the other." "The Commander-in-Chief thinks," said another officer to Sir H. Hardinge, "that it will be fatal to renew the fight to-morrow."—"Don't you believe a word of it," replied Sir Henry; "the Commander-in-Chief knows as well as anybody that it will not do for a British army to be foiled; and foiled this army shall not be. We must fight it out as soon as there is light enough to see the enemy." Yet, though they were thus resolute in their determination, both generals knew well the perilous position in which they were placed: indeed, it was evident to all. Hardinge sent orders to burn all his private papers, which was accordingly done, and compelled Mr Hardinge, his private secretary, a civilian, but with his father's spirit in his bosom, sorely against his will, to quit the field. "What think you," said Gough to Hardinge, when they could converse in private, "of our prospects?"—"Think," replied Hardinge, "that we must live or die where we stand."—"That is exactly my opinion," replied Gough; "so we understand each other." They pressed hands and parted in silence.[1]

[1] Quart. Review. lxxviii. 203, 204; Personal knowledge; Ann. Reg. 1845, 336.

72. Renewed action on the 22d.

At length the sun rose on the 22d on this scene of carnage, and the long night came to an end. The wearied troops, most of whom had neither tasted food nor slept since the morning of the preceding day, were again arranged in line in the same order as before, with the heavy artillery in the centre, the infantry on each side of it, the horse-artillery and cavalry on the flanks. It was soon found, however, that the guns on the British side were entirely overmatched by those of the enemy. This unequal contest could not be suffered to continue; the artillery were wasting their few remaining charges without any result, while that of the enemy was abundantly supplied. "We must try the bayonet once more," said Lord Gough; and the order to charge was given.

Wearied as they were, the troops ran forward with a cheer; but when they came within range of the grape, the fire was so heavy that a part of the line staggered and reeled under the weight of metal thrown upon them. Soon recovering, the men rushed forward with a cheer such as British troops alone can give, and in a few moments the redoubt which was attacked, with all its guns, was in their possession. Meanwhile Hardinge, who led the left, by a rapid charge drove the enemy out of the village of Ferozeshah; and immediately the whole troops brought up their right shoulders, and wheeling to the left in the interior of the now won quadrangle, pressed forward in a splendid line, driving everything before them, and captured the whole artillery on the works. Conspicuous in front rode the two leaders, Gough and Hardinge, with the captured banners displayed, and were received by the whole line with a shout which caused the welkin to ring again.[1]*

[1] Personal knowledge; Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 339; Quart. Review, lxxviii. 205.

73. Fresh dangers of the British.

The battle was gained. The whole of the enemy's camp-equipage and military stores, with seventy-three guns and seventeen standards, were taken; the intrenched camp, the theatre of so desperate a conflict, was in the hands of the British. But though the Sikh army which had fought these two battles was defeated, another of equal strength remained behind, with its artillery, cavalry, and whole resources untouched. It soon made its appearance on the field, and it was difficult to see how this

* The Indian wars are, beyond any other in European history, the scene of such glorious personal instances of heroism in the generals-in-chief, which recall rather the heroic exploits of antiquity than the ordinary more distant direction of modern commanders of armies. The incidents of the text will recall to the readers of this age the still more recent achievements of a yet greater general, Sir Colin Campbell, in cheering on, along with his personal staff, under one of the most tremendous fires ever known, the 93d Highlanders in the assault of the Shah Nujeef's mosque in Lucknow, on the 16th November 1857—an operation not less decisive than this of Sir Hugh Gough of that memorable campaign, in which the Commander-in-Chief himself was struck; and the Author is proud to say his two sons—Major Alison, Sir Colin's military secretary, and Captain Alison, his aide-de-camp—were at his side. They were both wounded, the former most severely, close under the walls.

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fresh enemy was to be resisted. Nevertheless the attempt was made; but the wearied troopers could scarcely get their horses to move; and the artillery, obliged to husband their ammunition, were speedily crushed by the superior fire of the enemy. The infantry, however, when drawn up in line, showed so bold a front that the enemy declined the attack, and drew back. This was only done, however, to gain time; and shortly they reappeared with the whole Sikh reserves, thirty thousand strong, the greater part of whom had not yet fired a shot. Then indeed the stout heart of the Commander-in-Chief for a moment sank within him; and despairing of the issue, yet determined not to yield, he rode slowly along the front, hoping that every shot which fell around him would prove his last.* The cannonade on the Sikh side was soon extremely violent, and a change of the whole front to the right was rendered necessary, to prevent the captured village from again falling into the enemy's hands. On the British side not a shot was returned from the artillery, their ammunition being totally exhausted. At this critical moment, when there no longer seemed any hope, the cavalry and horse-artillery were seen to move off from the flanks, taking the road to Ferozepore. Great was the indignation in the British infantry when they saw themselves thus left in presence of the enemy at such a moment wholly unsupported. It resulted from an order given by a staff-officer, who was afterwards found to have had no authority to give it. Nevertheless it proved the salvation of the army.[1] The Sikhs, already disheartened by the loss of so many guns, and ignorant of the exhausted state of their antagonists, thought it was a movement to seize the fords in their rear, and cut off their retreat, and

[1] Personal knowledge; Gough's Desp., and Hardinge's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 339-341; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 206, 207.

* "The only time I felt a doubt was towards the evening of the 22d, when the fresh enemy advanced with heavy columns of infantry, cavalry, and guns, and our cavalry horses were so thoroughly done up that they could not even command a trot. For a moment then I felt regret (and I deeply deplore my want of confidence in Him who never failed me or forsook me) as each passing shot left me on horseback; but it was only for a moment."—SIR H. GOUGH to———, Dec. 27, 1845.

first wavered, then began to retreat. The British saw their advantage, gave a loud cheer, and, by a sudden rush forward, seized the guns which had given them so much annoyance, which were instantly spiked. Upon this the whole Sikh army fled to the rear; and such was their consternation, that they never stopped till they had got the Sutlej between them and their enemies.

74. Results of the battle.

The loss of the British in these desperate battles was very severe, and on a scale hitherto unprecedented in Indian warfare. It amounted to 694 killed and 1721 wounded—in all 2415, being a sixth of the troops engaged, who were about 15,500. The soldiers passed an anxious time on the night of the 22d, for they were every moment uncertain whether the attack would not be renewed. But morning broke without any alarm, and the scouts brought in intelligence that the whole Sikh army were crossing the Sutlej. Among the slain were Major Broadfoot, the zealous and able political agent in the North-Western Provinces; Colonel Wallace, and Major Somerset, son of Lord Fitzroy Somerset (afterwards LORD RAGLAN), a worthy descendant of John of Gaunt. On the afternoon of the 23d, seeing the battle was not about to be renewed, the Governor-General issued a general order, which, after recounting in deserved terms of eulogy their glorious exploits, invited the survivors of these bloody fights to assemble near the Governor-General's tent, to return thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the victory. The service was solemnly and reverently performed, and joined in with fervent devotion by all present, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief setting the example. The terrible scenes they had recently witnessed, the thinned ranks, the dead and the dying by whom they were surrounded, had impressed even the most volatile with serious sentiments;[1] and many knees were then for the first time bent in prayer, and many lips, unused to religious services,

[1] Quart. Review, lxxviii. 207; Personal knowledge.

——"Faltered thanks for life
Redeemed, unhoped, from desperate strife."

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75. Preparations on both sides to renew the conflict.

After this desperate shock both armies remained for a time quiescent; the losses on either side had been so serious that they required to be replaced before the contest could be renewed. The delay, however, turned chiefly to the benefit of the British. The Sikhs at first enjoyed the immense advantage of attacking suddenly, with their whole force concentrated, an army widely scattered. But when the first onset was over, and the contest came to depend on the comparative amount of the forces which the contending parties could bring up to reinforce their ranks, the superior resources of the British Government came to tell with decisive effect on the future fortunes of the campaign. The Governor-General ordered up, from Meerut, Cawnpore, Delhi, and Agra, every disposable man and gun to the front; and though a large number, of course, required to be left behind to keep up the communications, yet considerable reinforcements reached the army. Before the end of January 1846, the forces under his command consisted of thirty-one battalions of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and a full proportion of artillery and irregulars—in all, in round numbers, thirty thousand combatants of all arms. The troops were so disposed that they could, on the shortest notice, converge to any point where an attack might be made or assistance required, while all the roads in the rear, from Sirhind to Bussean, were covered with convoys bringing up stores of all sorts for the use of the army, or reinforcements hurrying on to the scene of danger and glory in the front. Meanwhile the Sikhs were not idle. Though defeated and discouraged, they were not yet subdued; and taking heart from the prolonged inactivity of the British after the battle, rendered necessary by the exhaustion of their ammunition, they again threw a bridge of boats over the Sutlej, and passed a portion of their army over to the left bank, and fortified the *tête-du-pont*. The situation of their intrenched camp was admirably chosen; it was situated on a bend of the stream, which

enabled the artillery on one side to command the other; and placing their field-artillery on the left bank on the *tête-du-pont*, they ranged their heavy guns, commanding them on the right bank, which was higher, in the rear. Thus, if the *tête-du-pont* were carried, the victors would find themselves exposed to a plunging fire from the opposite side, from batteries which they had no means of reaching but by a bridge of boats, liable at a moment's warning to be broken down.[1]

[1] Quart. Review, lxxviii. 208, 209; Ann. Reg. 1846, 356, 357; Personal knowledge.

76. Subsequent operations on both sides.

During these operations a considerable part of the supplies for the Sikh army were drawn from the chiefs under British protection on the left bank, whose secret leaning to the native side was clearly evinced in their actions, though in words they professed fidelity to the British. For this purpose they had established a considerable magazine at Dhurum-Kote, a fortified village on the road from Ferozepore to Loodianah, under the protection of a considerable force. Deeming himself strong enough to resume the offensive, Sir Hugh Gough determined to attack this post, which was done by Sir Harry Smith, with the brigade under his orders. But while this movement was in course of being executed, Sirdar Runjus Singh, with a powerful force, was sent by the Sikh generals across the Sutlej by the ford of Philour to threaten Loodianah and cut Smith off. The movement was ably conceived, and had very nearly proved successful. When Smith was advancing towards Loodianah, whither his orders directed him, after his success at Dhurum-Kote, he was suddenly assailed by the Sirdar, who fell perpendicularly on his line of march, and opened a heavy fire of artillery on the long line of baggage which encumbers the march of every considerable Indian army. The head of the column extricated itself from the danger, and moving steadily on by echelons of battalions, fired, when assailed by the enemy's horse, with the precision of a field-day; but the baggage was cut off, and almost entirely fell into the hands of the enemy.[2] Smith, however, with the

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[2] Gough's Desp., Feb. 1, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 357; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 210.

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soldiers, got through, and effected a junction with Godby near Loodianah.

77. Movements which led to the battle.

By this junction Sir Harry Smith's disposable force was doubled, but the movement of the Sirdar on his flank had cut him off from Cureton, who was following him up in support, and the loss of his baggage, which contained a considerable portion of his ammunition, rendered his situation very precarious. The Sikhs first took up an intrenched position at a place called Buddawul, between Smith and Wheeler. After remaining there for some days, however, they decamped, and moved towards the Sutlej to effect a junction with a reinforcement of 4000 regular troops, with 12 guns and a large body of cavalry. Having accomplished this, the Sirdar resumed the offensive, and marched to ALIWAL so as to threaten Smith's communications. Meanwhile that general had joined Wheeler; and finding himself now at the head of three brigades of infantry, besides an admirable body of cavalry, he resolved to attack the enemy, who were about six miles distant, occupying a ridge close to Aliwal. The ground on the British right being a short hard grass, eminently favourable for the movements of cavalry, Smith wisely concentrated the greater part of his horse in that quarter, the remainder being sent to the left, and the cannon placed in the centre. Between the bodies of horse, the infantry moved up in echelon, and deployed with beautiful precision when they came to the ground. The sight was most imposing when the British approached within cannon-shot. Right before them, drawn up in admirable array, lay the army of the Sikhs, full 20,000 strong, with 70 guns; the British were only 9000, with 32 pieces of artillery. But the spirit of the troops was excellent; they advanced as to certain victory, and the glancing of the sun on the swords and bayonets as they deployed, formed a spectacle at once martial and imposing.[1]

[1] Sir H. Gough's Desp., Feb. 1, 1846; Sir H. Smith's Desp., Jan. 28, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 357-359.

When the British had advanced to within cannon-

shot, the fire opened upon them from the Sikh artillery was so violent that it became necessary to halt the men, though still under fire, till the village of Aliwal, on the enemy's left, was carried. Brigadier Godby, who was on the extreme British right, was directed to advance as quickly as possible against the village, supported by Hick's brigade. They made a splendid charge, and took the village, with two guns of heavy calibre, which had proved extremely annoying, by a rapid rush. Once established there, the centre and whole line were ordered again to advance, which they did with the utmost spirit, the 31st Queen's and native regiments contending who should be first to reach the enemy. While the battle was raging with the utmost fury in the centre and left, Brigadier Cureton executed a brilliant charge against a large body of horse on the enemy's left, which was driven back in great disorder upon the reserves of their infantry. At the same time Brigadiers Wilson and Wheeler had advanced in the centre at the head of their brigades against the line opposite them, and driven them back, taking several guns. Seeing this, and to secure the victory, which was now declaring for the British at all points, Sir Harry Smith moved forward Godby's brigade from Aliwal, so as to threaten the enemy's rear and their line of retreat to the fords of the Sutlej by which they had crossed over. Upon this the Sikhs fell back on all sides, and to cover their retreat occupied in strength the village of Bhoondee and the ground to its right. There they were charged in the most gallant manner by the 16th Lancers and 3d Light Cavalry, the Lancers leading, who broke into the enemy's square, and totally routed them. At the same time the 53d Queen's, supported by the 30th Native Infantry, stormed the village of Bhoondee, and drove the enemy successively from every position which they strove to take up between it and the river. It was now no longer a battle, but a rout. A general rush ensued to the

78. Battle of Aliwal. Jan. 28.

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ford and the boats, in endeavouring to reach which the British guns and howitzers played with fatal effect on the multitude contending with each other to get over. Nine guns were taken on the edge of the river, and two more stuck in the quicksands, and fell into the hands of the victors. In the ardour of pursuit several of the British horsemen followed the other guns into the middle of the stream, and spiked them, with the water up to the axles of the carriages.[1]

[1] Sir H. Smith's Desp., Jan. 28, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 358, 359; Personal knowledge.

79. Great results of the victory.

This victory completely restored the prestige of the British, which had been somewhat dimmed by the calamitous loss sustained in the desperate shock at Ferozeshah. The Governor-General, in a proclamation addressed to the troops, recounted with just pride that fifty-two guns had been taken in this splendid battle, making, with those captured at Moodkee and Ferozeshah, 143 reft from the Sikhs since they had crossed the Sutlej two months before, while they had been driven everywhere back to their own side of the river. The loss of the Sikhs in this battle was not less than 3000, chiefly incurred in the crossing of the Sutlej; the British were only weakened by 673 killed and wounded.[2]

[2] Sir H. Hardinge's Proclamation, Feb. 1, 1846; Smith's Desp., Jan. 29, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 359.

80. Relative position of the two armies.

Still the Sikhs held the intrenched camp, bridge of boats, and *tête-du-pont* of SOBRAON, which enabled them at pleasure to direct their forces to either bank of the river, and kept the long line of the British communications in constant danger from sudden irruptions. It was of the utmost moment to dispossess them of this stronghold, but the attack on it was no light matter, for it was defended by 30,000 of the best Sikh troops, supported by an immense train of artillery, for the most part of heavy calibre. Many reasons concurred to recommend delay: the Sikhs had no farther resources to look to, whereas those of the British were daily coming forward, and Sir Charles Napier, with 15,000 men from Scinde, was in full march upon Mooltan, which he would shortly reach, and thereby effect a diversion in the rear of the

enemy to the relief of the Commander-in-Chief. On the other hand, all Asia expected the British speedily to crush the Sikhs, and prove the reality of their boasted victories by their capture; and formidable as the intrenchments were, it had been found at Ferozeshah that they might be carried by British courage and resolution: above all, a heavy train of guns and mortars had come up from Delhi. Thus reinforced, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, after duly weighing all the circumstances of their own and the enemy's position, resolved on an immediate attack on the intrenched camp, and it was fixed for the 10th February.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp., Feb. 12, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 359-364; Personal knowledge.

81. Forces on both sides, and dispositions for the attack.

Previous to this grand attack on the now concentrated forces of the enemy, Sir Harry Smith's division had been called up from Loodianah. The Sikhs were confident in the strength of their intrenched camp, extending over both sides of the river, with a strong well-constructed bridge of boats between them. The British guns, which now amounted to 100 pieces, of which a considerable part were of heavy calibre, were arranged in the form of a semicircle round the camp on the left bank of the river, so as to be able to concentrate a cross fire upon any part of the enemy's works. The Sikh intrenchments were armed by 130 pieces of artillery, of which 70 were heavy; and the whole country round, by which approaches required to be made, was perfectly level, without cover of any kind, and swept by their artillery. It was evident, therefore, that the attack could not be made without a very great loss of life; for the practice of the Sikh gunners was excellent, and they stood steadily to their pieces. It was for some time discussed at headquarters whether in these circumstances it would not be the more advisable course to give up all thoughts of attacking Sobraon, and instead move down the Sutlej to the neighbourhood of Ferozepore, where there was a large island unoccupied by the enemy, and attempt a passage there, so as to take the intrenched camp in rear.[2] After mature delibera-

[2] Quart. Review, lxxviii. 212; Gough's Desp., Feb. 13, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 360; Personal knowledge.

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tion, however, this plan was abandoned as too hazardous, requiring the dividing of the army in presence of the concentrated Sikh forces having command of both banks of the river, and it was determined to make a direct attack upon the intrenchments in front.

82. Battle of Sobraon. Feb. 10.

It was the plan of the British commander to shake the enemy by a fire of uncommon severity of some hours' duration, and then suddenly let the troops loose for the storm. The fire was to have commenced at daybreak, but the mist rising from the river was so thick that it was necessary to wait an hour till the sun had dispelled the vapour. Meanwhile the troops were arranged in the order in which they were to proceed to the assault. On the extreme left, two brigades, composing Sir Robert Dick's division, stood close to the margin of the river. His attack was to be headed by the 10th Queen's, supported by the 53d Queen's, led by Brigadier Stacey. In reserve on this wing were Wilkinson's and Ashburnham's brigades, composed of native troops; in the centre, Major-General Gilbert's division was formed close to and partly in the village of Sobraon; while on the right Sir Harry Smith's division extended round to the edge of the Sutlej on the other side. Thus the British troops formed an immense semicircle, each end of which touched the Sutlej, while in its centre was the village of Sobraon, which gave its name to the battle. Brigadier Cureton's horse threatened the ford of Hurreekee, opposite to which the enemy had stationed large bodies of cavalry. The Sikhs, consisting of thirty-two regular battalions, occupied the interior of the intrenchments, which consisted of a triple line of works, one within another, flanked by formidable redoubts, the fire from which swept every part of the plain by which alone they could be approached.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp., Feb. 13, 1846; Sir Henry Hardinge's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1846, 360.

When the fire of the British artillery, which was kept up with uncommon vigour and precision, and was admirably replied to by the Sikhs, had lasted three hours, the troops

were moved up to the assault. The infantry marched steadily forward in line; the guns came up at the gallop, taking successive positions as they advanced, until they were within 300 yards of the front line of the Sikh works, when they halted, and poured in a concentrated fire on those parts of the works intended to be assaulted. Then the infantry rushed forward with a run, the 10th leading, supported by the 53d Queen's, and 43d and 59th Native Infantry. Such, however, was the vigour of the defence, that the bravest of the Europeans recoiled from the shock, and the stormers were repulsed with terrible slaughter. Then the Ghoorkas were brought forward, and these brave little men, in their dark-green uniforms, running over the intervening space strewn with dead, reached the foot of the rampart. A *little Ghoorka*, lifted upon the shoulders of a huge grenadier of the 10th, who had rushed on again along with them, was the first who got into an embrasure. Speedily a desperate conflict ensued around him, the Sikhs striving to bayonet those who came pressing up to protect him. At last the latter prevailed, a portion of the works was carried, and the whole division, headed by the gallant Stacey, came pouring rapidly in, followed by Wilkinson with his men, and both brigades were soon engaged in a desperate close fight with the enemy in the interior of their works.[1]

83. Desperate strife which ensued.

[1] Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1846, 361; Personal knowledge.

No sooner did the Sikh generals see this advantage gained on the left, than they directed their whole force against the division which had thus penetrated into their intrenchments; and the danger was imminent that it would be crushed by superior numbers on the very ground which it had with such difficulty won. To meet this danger, Ashburnham's and Gilbert's brigades were hurried forward in the centre, Smith's division was directed against the right, and the fire from the whole artillery was redoubled. Long and desperate was the conflict, for the Sikhs fought with the utmost resolution; their gunners

84. The victory is at last gained.

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stood to their pieces to the last, and even when the British, at particular spots, had broken in through gaps opened by the artillery, their masses rushed on with undaunted valour, and again and again expelled the stormers from the intrenchments. At length, the sappers on the left centre having cleared out openings in the works sufficiently wide to admit horsemen in single file, the 3d Queen's Dragoons, headed by Sir Joseph Thackwell, penetrated in, and, forming inside the works, galloped along, taking the batteries in the rear and cutting down the gunners, who, with unconquerable valour, continued to discharge their pieces. Gough immediately sent in the whole three divisions in the centre and right to support and follow up this advantage. Long and desperate, however, was the conflict within the works; the Sikhs fought with heroic resolution, refusing alike to give or receive quarter; and it was not till the entire British reserves had been brought into action that victory finally declared for them. Gradually the Sikh columns were forced back towards the bridge and fords in their rear; the fire from their rearmost ranks at first lessened, and at last altogether ceased; and the whole mass, abandoning their guns, rushed in a tumultuous body to the water's edge.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1846, 361, 362; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 214; Personal knowledge.

85. Dreadful slaughter of the Sikhs in crossing the bridge.

Sir Hugh Gough had anxiously looked for the arrival of the period when the rising of the Sutlej, by rendering impassable the fords on either side of the bridge of boats, might enable him to attack the enemy in the hazardous predicament of having no line of retreat but a broad river, traversed by a single narrow bridge, in their rear.*

* "The enemy have intrenched themselves on the very brink of the river, at a bend where the guns from the opposite side enfilade not only the position itself, but the advance of it. I have done everything to draw them out of it, but in vain. I now want only some lucky opportunity; but the ford is so good that the whole guns and men may pass over any night without my knowing of it. *A good fall of rain*, or an accidental thaw of snow upon the hills, *may enable me, when they have no other means than the bridge, to attack them.* Were I to do so now, I could not push on to Lahore, for my battering-train is not up."—SIR HUGH GOUGH to ——, 2d February 1846 (MS.)

This immense advantage, the counterpart of that enjoyed by the Archduke Charles in the second day of the battle of Aspern, now seconded his efforts.[1] During the night preceding the battle, and while it was raging, the Sutlej rose seven inches, and this rendered the fords hardly passable for foot-soldiers. This circumstance drove the whole fugitives to the bridge, the entrance of which was soon choked up. The British horse-artillery advanced at the gallop to the edge of the river, and opened a tremendous fire of round-shot and canister on the living mass of fugitives. So terrible was the slaughter that the victorious troops felt for the sufferers, and would have recoiled from continuing it, had not the recollection of the cruelty with which the Sikhs had, in the commencement of the action, slaughtered the wounded British who fell into their hands steeled every heart of the conquerors against pity.[2] *

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. lvii. § 58.

[2] Gough's Desp.; Ann. Reg. 1846, 362; Hardinge's Proclamation, ibid.; Personal knowledge.

86. Results of the battle.

Such was the battle of Sobraon, in which it is difficult to decide whether to admire most the desperate valour of the conquered, or the heroic prowess of the conquerors. It was now evident the British had come into contact with very different races of men from those who yielded to the prowess of Clive. Equally plain was it that the sepoys could no longer be relied on in battle with the rude and hardy inhabitants of the north; experience had abundantly proved that, unless preceded and supported by European troops, they were no match, in the general case, either for the Sikhs, the Ghoorkas, or the Affghans. The loss in the battle was very severe; it amounted to 320 killed and 2063 wounded—in all, 2383. Among the former was Major-General Sir Robert

* The personal valour of the Sikhs was strongly spoken of in all the private letters which appeared in the newspapers of the day. "I saw one fellow dash out of the batteries, sword in hand, and before he was bayoneted he had cut down two Europeans. We stopped one man who was levelling his musket at a dying Sikh in the river, to whom we promised protection if he would come ashore. The dying man shook his head, as much as to say he would never give in to the Feringhees, and floated down the stream."—Letter of a Staff Officer, 14th February 1846; *Quart. Rev.* lxxviii. 214.

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Dick, a gallant officer, who had won his spurs in command of the 42d at Quatre-Bras; Brigadier Taylor, and General M'Laren. No less than 13 European officers were killed, and 101 wounded; while of the native there were only 3 of the former and 39 of the latter. The extraordinary valour and prowess of the Ghoorka regiments attracted universal admiration, and were deservedly noticed by the Commander-in-Chief. Sixty-seven pieces of cannon and 200 camel-swivels, besides 19 standards, were taken, and immense stores of ammunition. The loss of the Sikhs was prodigious, chiefly during the terrible flight over the bridge, or in trying to cross the fords: it amounted to at least 10,000 men.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp., Feb. 13, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 361-363; Hardinge's Proclamation, Feb. 14, 1846; Ibid. 363.

87. The British army approaches Lahore, and the Sikhs sue for peace. Feb. 14.

Sir Henry Hardinge, who in this battle, as in that of Ferozeshah, maintained his chivalrous place as second in command in the army, was foremost, as was the Commander-in-Chief, wherever the fire was hottest and the danger greatest. He was with Stacey's brigade, which first got into the intrenchments; and it was his indomitable firmness which encouraged the troops to keep the ground they had won with so much difficulty. Sir Hugh Gough displayed not only the *coup-d'œil* of an experienced general, but the vigour and elasticity of a young officer. On horseback from morning to night, he wore out the strongest of his staff without seeming to feel fatigue himself, and was among the first of the horsemen who penetrated in single file into the intrenchments on the right. As soon as the battle was gained, Sir Henry hastened to a spot some miles farther down, where preparations for crossing over had been made; and four brigades, which had been kept in hand for that purpose, were passed. The whole army soon followed, and advanced in great strength towards Lahore. At the same time the Governor-General issued a proclamation, which, after recounting the wanton and unprovoked incursion of the Sikh soldiery, and the signal chastisement which they had experienced, concluded with declaring that the British Government

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did not desire any acquisition of territory, but only security for the future, indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the establishment of a government at Lahore which should afford a guarantee against such aggressions in time to come. Brought to reason by the approach of the victorious army, the Ranee and her Durbar or council resolved on submission, and despatched plenipotentiaries to the British camp to arrange terms of accommodation. They were courteously received by Sir Henry Hardinge, and the blame of the war being by common consent laid on the rebellious soldiers whom the Government were unable to control, no difficulty was experienced in coming to terms, which were arranged in a formal treaty, signed on the 15th February at Kussoor.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp., Feb. 13, 1846; Sir H. Hardinge's Proclamation, Feb. 14, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 363-365.

88. Terms of the treaty.

By this treaty the whole territory, hill and plain, lying between the river Beas, the former frontier, and the Sutlej, was ceded to the British Government. A crore and a half of rupees (£1,500,000) were to be paid as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; the whole guns which had been pointed against the British were to be given up, and the entire Sikh army re-formed on the system which prevailed in the time of Runjeet Singh, and on a scale to be arranged in connection with the British Government. The entire control of the Sutlej, with the country betwixt it and the Beas, was surrendered to the British. Gholab Singh, who had adhered to the British during the contest, received in return a tract of hilly country between the Indus and the Ravee, including Chumba and Cashmere. In consideration of this gift, he agreed to pay them 75 lacs of rupees (£750,000), and to acknowledge himself a tributary of the British Government. At the earnest entreaty of the Sikh Durbar, it was agreed that a British subsidiary force should occupy Lahore till the end of the year. These terms being agreed to, the young Maharajah, Dhuleep Singh, was received with great pomp by the Governor-General, submission having been previously

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made, and pardon awarded by the Government; and a week after, the British army made their triumphal entry into Lahore, and were put in possession of the gates of the citadel, the residence of the Maharajah. From thence the Governor-General issued a proclamation, recounting in terms of just eulogy the glorious achievements of his troops, which in sixty days had defeated in four pitched battles the bravest army in Asia, taken 220 guns in fair fight, and subdued a martial kingdom's vast array.[1] *

[1] Treaty, Feb. 15, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 365.

89. General joy at these victories, and honours bestowed on the Generals.

The glorious and speedy termination of this bloody and terrible war gave the greatest satisfaction both in India and Great Britain. Its great and memorable events, the heroism displayed by the chiefs and soldiers on both sides, the fearful chances of the conflict, and the mighty stake which was played for by the contending armies, strongly moved the British mind in both hemispheres. The moderation shown by the British, both in the outset in striving to avert the conflict, and in the end in sparing the vanquished, was the subject of frequent and warm eulogy in both Houses of Parliament and by the press. The anticipation was now generally expressed that lasting peace had at length been secured in India,

* "The army of the Sutlej has now brought its operations in the field to a close, by the dispersion of the Sikh army and the military occupation of Lahore, preceded by a series of the most triumphant successes ever recorded in the military history of India. The British Government, trusting to the faith of treaties, and to the long-subsisting friendship between the two states, had limited military operations to the defence of its own frontier. Compelled suddenly to assume the offensive by the unprovoked invasion of its territories, the British army, under its distinguished leader, has in sixty days defeated the Sikh forces in four general actions, captured 220 pieces of field-artillery, and is now at the capital, dictating to the Lahore Durbar the terms of a treaty the conditions of which will tend to secure the British provinces from the repetition of a similar outrage. The Governor-General, however, being determined to mark with reprobation the perfidious character of the war, has required and will exact that every remaining piece which has been pointed against the British army during the campaign shall be surrendered; and the Sikh army, whose insubordinate conduct is one of the chief causes of the anarchy and misrule which have brought the Sikh state to the brink of ruin, is about to be disbanded."—Sir H. Hardinge's Proclamation, Lahore, Feb. 22, 1846; *Ann. Reg.*, 1846, p. 367.

the fidelity of the sepoys thoroughly tested, and our empire in the East established on a firm foundation. Honours were, with great and deserved profusion, showered down on the chiefs and officers and men who had been engaged in these memorable conflicts: Sir Henry Hardinge was made a viscount with the cordial approbation of the country, and a large pension settled on him by the East India Company; Sir Hugh Gough was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Gough; numerous officers engaged were decorated with military orders, and a gratuity of twelve months' batta bestowed, without exception, on the whole soldiers engaged in the campaign.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1846, 370-374; Quart. Review, lxxviii. 215.

90. Hostile appearances after these successes.

Judging by the European standard, and relying on the vast effect of a noble display of moderation in the hour of victory, there can be no doubt that the anticipations of a long peace were well founded. But there never was a greater mistake than was committed in applying that standard to the Eastern world. Destitute of all ideas of moderation or any power of self-control in the career of ambition themselves, the Asiatics have no conception of these virtues, and utterly discredit their existence in others. If they see moderation and abandonment of conquests in a victorious power, they invariably ascribe it, not to humanity or a sense of justice, but to a secret dread of the enemy, or the consciousness of inability to continue the contest in the party heretofore successful. It is considered, therefore, as a certain proof that the contest may, on the first convenient opportunity, be renewed. So it proved in the present instance; so it proved in the sparing of Canton in 1841, which rendered unavoidable its capture in 1858; and so it has proved on every occasion, whether in Asia or Africa, when the Europeans have been brought in contact with the more savage nations of the earth.

Even before the year during which the occupation of Lahore had expired, it had become evident that the Sikh

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91. Renewed disturbances in the Punjaub, and fresh treaty with the Sikh Government.

soldiery were far from being thoroughly subdued, and that a renewal of the contest at no distant period might with confidence be anticipated. When Gholab Singh attempted to take possession of the principality carved for him out of the dominion of the Sikhs, he experienced such opposition from the son of the late governor that he was driven out of the country, and only regained his footing in it by the assistance of General Wheeler, with a brigade of British troops. It was discovered ere long that this resistance had been secretly encouraged, and in fact enjoined, by the vizier and some ministers of the Durbar at Lahore. It thus became evident that the British influence in Lahore would only be secured by the permanent presence of a subsidiary force. The other members of the Durbar of that capital accordingly applied to the British Government to conclude a fresh treaty, stipulating for the assistance of a permanent force; and this was agreed to. Its amount was left to the decision of the Governor-General, but it was stipulated that the Sikh government was to pay 22 lacs of rupees (£220,000) annually for its maintenance.[1] *

[1] Treaty, Dec. 16, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 370, 371.

92. Tranquillity during 1847, and resignation of Lord Hardinge. Oct. 14, 1847.

It was not to be expected that a state of things which reduced them to the rank of a protected State, could be very agreeable to so proud and martial a people as the Sikhs. Such, however, had been the violence of the shock on the Sutlej, that, in spite of the ill humours which were afloat, especially among the soldiery, they remained perfectly quiet—stunned, as it were,—during the whole of 1847. The Ranee, who was found to be intriguing against the Government, and was of a very restless ambitious disposition, was sent off under a military escort to Sharpoora, where she remained under surveillance. Lord Hardinge employed this period of repose in visiting various parts of India, everywhere organising schools and the means of extending public instruction. He was busily engaged also in directing surveys for the formation

* See *ante*, § 6.

of railways and canals, which were set on foot, and in great part carried into execution, by his successor. Akbar Khan, the persevering and inveterate enemy of the British in the Affghanistan war, died in the early part of the year; and in the latter, Sir Charles Napier, whose health had suffered severely from the climate, fatigue, and anxiety, and an incipient disease, which proved in the end mortal, resigned the command in Scinde; and his merits were acknowledged in handsome and well-deserved terms by the Governor-General.* Lord Hardinge did not long remain in India after the retirement of his gallant lieutenant. His health was so severely affected by the climate, and the extreme fatigues and anxiety he had undergone, that he too was obliged to resign; and he set sail for England in November, to enter upon duties and render services, as Master-General of the Ordnance and Commander-in-Chief, not less important than those he had conferred upon his country on the banks of the Sutlej.[1]

Oct. 10.



[1] Ann. Reg. 1847, 434, 435.

93. He is succeeded by Lord Dalhousie: his character.

He was succeeded as Governor-General of India by LORD DALHOUSIE, a nobleman whose administration lasted nearly eight years, and was eminently prosperous; but it has acquired an additional interest from having so closely preceded, and in many respects been connected with, the terrible revolt of 1857. He is of very ancient descent, for his maternal ancestor, Sir Thomas Maule, defended the Castle of Brechin against the forces of Edward I. during that monarch's invasion of Scotland in 1295; and his direct paternal ancestor, Ramsay of Dalwolsey, distinguished himself by his defence of Dalhousie Castle, and at the battle of Roslin, in the wars

* "The Governor-General most cordially acknowledges the sense he entertains of the just, firm, and able manner in which his Excellency has conducted the civil administration of the province intrusted to his charge. This important and difficult duty has been performed with an ability which justifies the unlimited confidence which his Lordship has reposed in Sir Charles Napier—a name pre-eminently glorious as the leader of the forces which achieved the victories of Meanee and Hyderabad."—Proclamation of Lord Hardinge, 10th October 1847; *Ann. Reg.*, 1847, p. 435.

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of Wallace and Bruce. The present Earl, who was born in 1812, the son of one of the bravest and most distinguished of Wellington's lieutenants, inherited all the talents, energy, and patriotic spirit of his ancestors, but they were more directed than theirs to pacific pursuits. His mind was essentially pacific; he had remarkable administrative talents, which were directed, not to organising the means of war, but to developing the resources and stimulating the industry of peace. Though the younger branch of the family, which inherited the vast family estates in the county of Angus, had always adopted Whig principles, he himself, as his father had been before him, was a Tory, but of that liberal kind which Sir Robert Peel loved to collect around himself, in order to form the nucleus of a Conservative party in harmony with the lights and intelligence of the age. His administrative talents early attracted the notice of that sagacious observer; and when he was called to the helm in 1841, he at once gave Lord Dalhousie an important situation in the Board of Trade. While there, the latter's sagacity soon discovered the perilous nature of the railway mania, which was spreading such an excitement through the country; and the lowering of the deposit required on such undertakings, from ten to five per cent, was made against his decided remonstrances. The reputation of financial and administrative ability which his career at the Board of Trade earned for him, pointed him out to the succeeding Government and the East India Directors as the most suitable person to administer the Indian Empire, now delivered, it was hoped, by Lord Hardinge's victories, from all risk of external aggression; and with great liberality, though not of their own party, the Whig Ministry appointed him Governor-General. He received his appointment in November 1847, and immediately set sail for India.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1847, 434; Personal knowledge.

When the new Governor-General arrived at Calcutta on 10th January 1848, he found affairs by no means

wearing the prosperous aspect which was anticipated. The Punjaub had again become the theatre of disturbances, only the more difficult to deal with that they originated in the widespread and ineradicable hostility of the soldiery and the people. It was in Mooltan that the hostility to British influence earliest broke out into open acts of hostility. This important fortress had been one of the last conquests of Runjeet Singh; and the governor whom the Lion of the Punjaub had placed in it had been killed in a popular tumult, soon after the latter's death. He was succeeded by his son Moolraj, who was governor when Lord Hardinge occupied Lahore. Disputes, however, ensued between the government of the Sikhs and Moolraj after the former fell under British influence; and as it was well known that the people took part with their governor, the Durbar resolved to dispossess him and substitute in his place Sirdar Khan, in whom they had confidence. The change was effected without violence, and the new governor seemed to be quietly installed in his office, when an event occurred which demonstrated how strong were the feelings of hostility to the British on the part of the inhabitants. On the very day after, the British resident, Mr Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army, who had been appointed to attend the new governor to the seat of his authority, were treacherously set upon by a body of armed Sikhs, and both desperately wounded. They were carried by Sirdar Khan to a small fort outside the fortress, and beyond the reach of its guns, where it was thought they would be in safety; but this expectation proved fallacious. The Sikh garrison immediately rose in arms, and let in the assailants, by whom both the Englishmen were barbarously murdered, and the entire fortress of Mooltan, as well as the fort where the crime had been committed, fell into the hands of the insurgents.[1]

94. Disturbances in the Punjaub.

April 17.

April 18.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 428, 429; A Year in the Punjaub Frontier, i. 242-250.

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95. First operation of Edwardes and Colonel Cortlandt against the insurgents. May 20.

June 18.

July 1.

Lahore, it was resolved to take instant steps to avenge the majesty of the British name. LIEUTENANT EDWARDES, a gallant and enterprising officer, who had a small detachment under his command on the banks of the Indus, effected a junction with a body of Sikh horse, under Colonel Cortlandt, and the united force attacked the revolted Sikhs, three thousand strong, and defeated them with great slaughter. A second battle, which was very obstinately contested, ensued a month after, in which the Mooltan insurgents were again defeated with the loss of six guns; and a third on July 1, in front of the fortress, in which they were totally routed, and shut up within its walls. Edwardes immediately advanced to observe the town, being too weak as yet either to complete its investment or undertake its siege; and meanwhile the utmost efforts were made to collect a siege-train and assemble forces adequate to so serious an undertaking. By great exertions a large army, with all the *materiel* necessary, was collected, consisting of twenty-six thousand men, of whom six thousand were British soldiers, the whole under the command of General Whish; and the investment was completed in the beginning of September. Before, however, any progress could be made in the siege, it became evident that the revolt was not an isolated outbreak, but part of a general movement of the whole Sikh nation to expel the British, and recover their independence. Early in September an insurrection took place in the north-west of the Punjaub, headed by Chuttur Singh, the governor of the province, who approached Peshawur at the head of a large force, and obliged Major Lawrence to evacuate that station and seek refuge at Kohat, under the protection of Mahommed Khan.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 430, 431.

96. Defection of Shere Singh, and raising of the siege.

A general assault took place on the outworks of Mooltan on 12th September, which, after an obstinate resistance, were carried with considerable loss on the part of the British, but terrible slaughter to the enemy. A sortie was attempted next day to retake them, which

was repulsed. But at this critical juncture, Shere Singh, son of Chuttur Singh, who commanded a body of 5000 Sikh auxiliaries, suddenly went over to the enemy with his whole troops. In consequence of this defection the siege was raised, and Whish retired to a few miles' distance, where he took up a position observing the fortress. Meanwhile the insurrection headed by Chuttur Singh in the north-western provinces of the Punjaub was making rapid progress, and the two chiefs, Chuttur Singh and his son Shere Singh, emboldened by the raising of the siege, converged from Mooltan on the one side and Peshawur on the other, and effected a junction at Wuzeerabad on the 21st October. They then openly set up the standard of independence, and declared war against the British Government; and so popular was the cause, that in a few weeks they had 30,000 men around their standards. Meanwhile the Governor-General, now seriously alarmed, was making the utmost efforts to collect a respectable force at Ferozepore to meet the danger. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, hastened to the spot, and on the 21st November took the command of the army, which had advanced to the Chenab, in the centre of the Punjaub, and mustered twenty thousand combatants.[1]

Oct. 20.

Nov. 21.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 431, 432.

97. Position of the Sikhs at Ramnuggur. Nov. 22.

No sooner had the veteran Commander-in-Chief assumed the command than he signalised his presence by the commencement of vigorous operations. The united Sikh force, 30,000 strong, was posted at RAMNUGGUR, about a mile and a half from the Chenab, about midway between the source of that river and its junction with the Indus. The Chenab here takes a bend, and its breadth admitted of a small island, consisting of two acres, about the centre of the channel. This island was occupied by 4000 Sikhs with six guns; the main body of their army was posted on the right bank, the channel between which and the island was so deep as to be passable only in boats;[2] while that between it and the left bank was only a sandy

[2] Gough's Desp., Nov. 25, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 432, 433.

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watercourse, thirty yards wide, partially filled up. The position of the enemy's army, divided in this manner by a deep river, appeared with reason to the Commander-in-Chief to invite an attack, and orders for this purpose were issued to the troops to be in readiness to march at two in the morning of the 22d.

98. Bloody repulse of the British. Nov. 22.

The troops marched at the appointed hour, and passing Ramnuggur, moved swiftly towards the bank of the river opposite the island, where it was hoped a surprise would be made. Their outposts soon drove in the Sikh patrols and detachments across the narrow channel into the island; and the horse-artillery, coming down to the water's edge, opened fire upon it. They soon, however, found themselves overmatched by the fire from the enemy's heavy guns in position on the opposite bank. Seeing this, a body of 3000 horse issued from the island, thinking to make an easy prey of the guns; and orders were given to the 14th Queen's Dragoons, led by Havelock, with the 5th Native Light Cavalry, to charge them as soon as they reached the left bank. The charge was most gallantly made, though unfortunately with too decisive effect; for the Sikh horsemen, driven back, or feigning a retreat, drew the victorious British to the edge of the watercourse, which was a precipitous bank, four or five feet deep, down which men and horses rolled and lay in wild confusion at the bottom, while the Sikh batteries from the opposite shore were playing with fatal effect on the defenceless throng. They re-formed, however, and a second time charged the enemy, when their brave commander, Havelock, fell, and the horsemen were again repulsed. Colonel King, the next in command, was forming his men for a third charge, when General Cureton rode up with orders from the Commander-in-Chief to withdraw, and terminate the useless butchery. Scarcely were the words out of his mouth when the brave general was struck by two musket-balls, and fell dead from his horse.[1] Colonel King now drew

[1] Gough's Desp., Nov. 25, 1848; Ann. Reg. 432, 433.

off his men, and the combat ceased. The enemy had been driven from the posts he occupied on the left bank of the river, but he still held Ramnuggur and the right bank; and three distinguished officers and many brave men had fallen in a disastrous nocturnal combat, without any adequate result.

99. Operations of Lord Gough and Shere Singh. Dec. 2.

After this repulse both armies remained for some days quiescent. On the 30th November, Lord Gough detached General Thackwell with a strong body of troops across the river above Ramnuggur, to threaten the Sikh army in rear, while he himself attacked them in front. To counteract this movement Shere Singh, who commanded there, moved forward to attack him. It resulted only in a heavy cannonade, attended with little loss on either side. The Sikhs did not venture, as yet, to measure their strength with the British in the open field, and they retreated in the night in the direction of the Jhelum. Upon learning this movement, Lord Gough immediately despatched Sir Walter Gilbert, with the 9th Lancers and 14th Light Dragoons, across the river to pursue them; and it was hoped the campaign was over, and that the enemy would disperse. In this expectation, however, he was mistaken. The Sikh general was only waiting for the reduction of the fortress of Attock on the Indus, which had been long besieged by his father, Chuttur Singh, when he knew he would be reinforced. On 10th January intelligence was received that the place had fallen, and that Chuttur Singh was in full march to join his son. Lord Gough now saw that there was no time to be lost, for Shere Singh's forces already amounted to forty thousand men, with sixty-two guns, and they would be raised to half as much more by the arrival of Chuttur Singh.[1] He resolved, therefore, to bring him to action before the junction took place, and for this purpose marched at daylight on 12th January to attack the Sikh army, which lay intrenched in a very strong position, broken by copsewood and jungle, and inter-

[1] Gough's Desp., Jan. 14, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1848, 433; 1849, 377.

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sected by deep ravines, near the village of CHILLIANWALLAH.

100. Preparations on both sides for the battle. Jan. 12.

Lord Gough approached this formidable position about noon, and found the enemy drawn up in battle array, prepared to engage. A skirmish of horse-artillery soon ensued between the advanced posts, which led to Gough bringing up some heavy pieces, and these soon silenced the light guns the enemy had pushed forward; but seeing this, they immediately opened with their whole guns from right to left. Some of the balls fell among the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, who had gone forward to reconnoitre. It was now evident that they would advance their guns so as to reach the British encampment before night, and Lord Gough therefore resolved to anticipate them by an immediate attack, even before their position had been fully ascertained. Hastily the troops, though wearied with a long march, were drawn up in order of battle—Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Pope's brigade of cavalry, with three troops of horse-artillery. The heavy guns were stationed in the centre, and the field-batteries were with the infantry. Campbell's division, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and Colonel Brind's horse-artillery, were on the left. The Sikhs were drawn up in the interstices of thick jungle, which were occupied by sharpshooters, who, themselves concealed, kept up a heavy fire on the advancing columns. They were fully forty thousand strong, with sixty-two guns, and very strong in cavalry, which was chiefly massed on their extreme left, where the ground was favourable to the action of that arm. The entire British force was under twenty thousand combatants.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp. Feb. 14, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 378, 379.

101. Battle of Chillianwallah.

The battle began with a cannonade, which lasted nearly two hours. A forward movement was then ordered by the British left, and Campbell's men advanced with great steadiness to the charge. But when they approached the enemy, they were received with

such a tremendous fire from the batteries in position, aided by a cross-fire of musketry from the enemy in the thickets, that they were forced to retire, after sustaining a very severe loss. To support this attack Brigadier Mountain, with the fifth brigade, advanced against the enemy's centre, and his men charged with such vigour, that the whole guns opposed to them were taken and spiked; but they could not be held, owing to the terrible fire of musketry from the woods, and the brigade was obliged to retire, which it did with the utmost steadiness. But while the combat thus raged on the left and in the centre, a fearful disaster had been incurred on the right. The infantry under Gilbert and Godby had there advanced, forcing their way through dense jungle, and soon found themselves exposed to a desperate fire from the thickets. The advanced battalions were obliged to fall back, which they did with surprising regularity. At this juncture, the artillery under Dawes came up, and instantly opened on the enemy, who in their turn were forced back, and several guns taken. At the same time, the cavalry under White, on the extreme left, by a brilliant charge, routed the horse opposed to them. The battle seemed gained, or nearly so, when a sudden cry was heard on the right, followed by a cloud of dust and general confusion in that quarter. This arose from the 14th Light Dragoons, which, on being ordered to charge, dreading an ambuscade similar to that which had proved so fatal to them at Ramnuggur, turned about, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of their officers, retreated to the rear, driving, in their flight, right through Huish and Christie's horse-artillery. Several of the horses and a gun were upset in the shock, and the Sikh cavalry, taking advantage of the confusion, charged rapidly, cut down seventy of the gunners, and took six guns, four of which, with five colours, remained in their hands.[1] The other guns, however, opened upon the advancing

[1] Gough's Desp., Jan. 13, 1848; Ann Reg. 1849, 379, 380; Napier's Mem. iv. 151.

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Sikhs with such vigour that they retired; and with the approach of night the battle ceased.

102. Loud clamours in England, and appointment of Sir C. Napier Commander-in-Chief.

The intelligence of this untoward engagement, which was, in truth, a drawn battle, excited a strong feeling of alarm in Great Britain. The loss had been very severe. No less than 27 officers and 731 men were killed, and 66 officers and 1446 wounded—in all, 2269; and the Sikhs could point to the unusual trophies of four guns and five standards taken. Aided by the darkness of the night, the enemy contrived to remove nearly the whole of the guns which had been wrested from them during the fight. The whole blame of the untoward result was laid on Lord Gough, and the clamour soon became loud for his recall, never reflecting that the affair, at the worst, had been a drawn battle. As it was, the outcry was so violent that Government deemed it best to yield to it; and, much against the will of the East India Directors and the partisans of the political agents both in India and this country, determined on sending out Sir Charles Napier. "If you don't go," said the Duke of Wellington to Sir Charles Napier, "I must." There was no resisting this appeal. Though labouring under a mortal malady, the veteran accepted the proffered command, and on 6th May embarked for India.[1]*

[1] Napier's Mem. iv. 152-157; Ann. Reg. 1849, 380.

103. Retreat of the Sikhs towards Goojerat, and their junction with Chuttur Singh. Feb. 12.

But however loud may have at the moment been the outcry against the veteran General, he was not long of showing that he was still worthy of the supreme command. For about a month after the battle both armies remained quiescent, during which Lord Gough was incessantly engaged in repairing his losses and strengthening the artillery, the want of which had been so severely felt

* Sir Charles Napier judged the affair of Chillianwallah with the candour and allowances which one brave man owes to another. "Lord Gough was a noble soldier of fifty years' service, and had always been victorious, whether obeying or commanding. No man heard, because no man dared to say, that personal comfort, or idleness, or fear, had induced him to shrink from danger, or responsibility, or labour. What, then, was his crime? He had fought a drawn battle; the enemy was not crushed. For that only his destruction was called for."—NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 151.

in the preceding battle. He was soon reinforced. The troops engaged in the siege of Mooltan, with the noble train of artillery which had led to its reduction, as will immediately be narrated, joined the army, and at once gave the British a great superiority in that important arm. On the 12th a great movement was observed in the Sikh position, and large bodies of horse came forward to the front so as to conceal what was going on behind. Under cover of this armed screen the Sikh army decamped, and retired in the direction of GOOJERAT. The object of this movement was to draw near to Chuttur Singh, who was advancing from the north with 20,000 Sikh soldiers, and 1500 Affghan horse under Akram Khan, a son of Akbar Khan. The junction was effected near Goojerat, and the united forces, 60,000 strong, with 59 guns, were encamped around that town, covered in front by the dry bed of a river, which nearly encircled its outer circumference. Lord Gough's army had been increased to 25,000 men; and he was at length superior in the number and weight of his guns, which amounted to 100 pieces. He determined, therefore, to attack the enemy in the position they had chosen, and both parties prepared for a decisive struggle.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp., Feb. 23, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 381; Napier's Mem. iv. 153-157.

Lord Gough's plan of attack was to throw his right upon the centre of the enemy, while his left forced their way across the dry nullah which covered their position, and then wheeled to the right, and, in conjunction with the British right, made a concentrated assault upon the Sikh centre. His great reliance, however, was on his superior artillery, which, being ranged in a semicircle round the enemy's position, would be enabled to bring a concentrated cross-fire to bear on his batteries and the dense masses of troops drawn up behind them. The British guns, accordingly, were advanced to the front, and the fire on both sides soon became extremely warm, for the Sikh gunners served their pieces with extraordinary rapidity, and stood to them with their accustomed

104. Battle of Goojerat. Feb. 21.

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valour. Ere long, however, the superiority of the British fire became apparent, and, in spite of all their efforts, the Sikh batteries were forced to retire before the terrific storm which was falling upon them. Lord Gough, seeing this, brought forward his infantry. Gilbert's division advanced, and its leading brigade, under Brigadier Penny, consisting of the 2d Europeans and 31st and 70th Native Infantry, carried the village of Burra-Kalra in the most gallant style. At the same time the village of Kooba-Kalra was stormed by Harvey's brigade, led by Colonel Franks at the head of the 18th Queen's Infantry.

105. Glorious victory of the British.

Encouraged by this success, Lord Gough now ordered a general advance of the whole infantry, preceded by the artillery, and supported by the cavalry. The horse and light artillery advanced in the most beautiful style, unlimbering and firing with such rapidity that their forward movement seemed to be unchecked by a halt; while the heavy guns, a little behind, covered their approach by an incessant fire of bombs and round-shot over their heads. Nothing could stand against it. First the Sikh artillery fell back in confusion, and the pieces, crowding into a small circle in the rear, got entangled, and were taken amidst loud cheers. Next the infantry fled on all sides; and the victorious troops, breaking through the nullah and all the defences, drove the enemy entirely from the field of battle, and pursued them twelve miles beyond Goojerat, taking 57 guns, 32 standards, their camp, whole ammunition, and baggage. This decisive victory was gained with the loss of only 5 European officers killed and 24 wounded; the total loss being only 92 killed, and 682 wounded.[1]

[1] Gough's Desp., Feb. 23, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 382, 383.

106. Great results of the victory, and surrender of the Sikhs. Feb. 24.

Early next morning a strong body of horse and foot artillery, with some infantry and the whole cavalry, amounting in all to 15,000 men, were despatched towards the Khoree Pass, to intercept the flight of the enemy towards the Jhelum. It was reached accordingly, and

passed, Brigadier Mountain leading the way through the gorge, which was found to be of tremendous strength; but the enemy had already got through, though to the number only of 9000 men with 10 guns, so disastrous had the battle and pursuit proved to them. The British army followed, and when they reached the Jhelum, Feb. 27. Shere Singh made propositions of surrender, while Akram Khan, with his Affghans, fled in all haste to Attock. The river having with some difficulty been passed, it was intimated to the Sikh leaders that no terms would be listened to but unconditional surrender. To these conditions they were obliged to submit, and the humiliating scene took place on the 12th March near Horrmuck. First, the guns taken at Chillianwallah were brought in, to the infinite joy of the soldiers; then came the whole Sikh chiefs and officers; and, lastly, the common men, who all delivered up their arms. The guns surrendered were 41, and the soldiers nearly 10,000. Each man received, from the humanity of the British Government, a rupee to carry him home, and the cavalry were allowed to retain their horses, which were all their own property; but the whole arms, guns, and standards were retained by the conquerors. The number of cannon taken since the commencement of the campaign was 158 pieces; the soldiers killed, surrendered, or dispersed, 60,000.[1]

[1] Lord Gough's Desp., Mar. 12, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 382, 383.

107. The Affghans are driven off, and Attock taken. March 17.

The flying Affghans were pursued with the greatest rapidity by Sir Walter Gilbert, in hopes that they might be overtaken before they reached the Indus or got possession of the bridge of boats at Attock. In this hope, however, he was disappointed: when he approached the river he found that place already in possession of the fugitives, who were making preparations to destroy the bridge. Gilbert, however, accompanied by his staff and a small body of irregular horse, galloped up to the left bank; and the Affghans, who thought they were still two marches in the rear, were seized with such consternation that, though they

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mustered 6000 combatants, they retired, and most of the boats were secured by the pursuers. The horse-artillery having soon after come up, the Affghans, after firing a few rounds, evacuated the fortress, which was taken possession of by the British, as was the fort of Hyderabad, forming a *tête-du-pont* on the right bank, with the bridge between them. Upon this the Affghans precipitately took to flight, making straight for the Khyber Pass, from whence they withdrew into the wilds of Affghanistan.[1]

[1] Gilbert's Report; Ann. Reg. 1849, 383, 384.

108. Siege of Mooltan renewed. Dec. 21, 1848.

While these successes were securing British supremacy in the centre and north of the Punjaub, operations in the end equally successful were going forward on the western frontier of that province. The great drain of men required to reinforce the Commander-in-Chief, and the entire defection of the Sikh forces, suspended the siege of Mooltan only for a very short period. On the 21st December a large reinforcement arrived from Bombay, which raised the besieging force to 32,000 men, of whom 15,000 were British, with 150 pieces of artillery. This great reinforcement enabled General Whish to renew operations. On the 27th a general attack was made on the suburbs, which the enemy abandoned on the approach of the stormers, and retired within the city walls. The besiegers now broke ground on all sides within five hundred yards of the rampart, and with such vigour were the approaches pushed, that on the 28th a general bombardment was commenced, and on the 29th the nearest breaching batteries had been pushed to within eighty yards of the rampart. An incessant fire was kept up upon the city and walls during the next twenty-four hours; and on the morning of the 30th the principal magazine blew up with a tremendous explosion. It had cost Moolraj five years to form, and contained sixteen thousand pounds of powder. Eight hundred persons were killed or wounded by the explosion, and the principal buildings in the town thrown down; but the works were uninjured:[2] the Sikh chief sent a haughty defiance

Dec. 27.

Dec. 28.

Dec. 29.

Dec. 30.

[2] Whish's Report; Ann. Reg. 1845, 434; Eyewitnesses; Delhi Gazette, Jan. 12, 1849.

to the besiegers next day, saying he had still powder and shot to hold out for twelve months.

1849. 109. Its capture by storm. Jan. 2, 1849.

Nothing daunted by this terrible catastrophe, the Sikhs made a vigorous sally on the following day, but they were repulsed with heavy loss by Major Edwardes and Lieut. Lake. The bombardment continued without intermission for forty-eight hours, and at the close of that time the assault was ordered. Two columns advanced from the Bombay army, and one from that of Bengal. Great was the rivalry between these brave troops for the honour of first mounting the breaches, but the prize fell to the Bombay divisions—that assigned to the Bengal column having been found not to be practicable after it had been nearly won. A sergeant-major of the Bombay Fusiliers was the first who planted the British colours on the place. The Bengal column now rallied, and bore down all opposition, so that before sunset the whole city was in the hands of the British. The citadel, however, still held out, in which Moolraj shut himself up with a large force. Approaches were actively pushed against it, but it was soon found that the walls, being made of tough mud, could not be brought down even by the heaviest artillery. Recourse was therefore had to mining, while the sap was at the same time pushed to the edge of the counterscarp, and an incessant fire was kept up on the bastion, against which the attack was directed. By the concentration of all these modes of attack on a small space, two practicable breaches were at length made in the wall, and the assaulting columns having been formed, Jan. 22. and being ready to mount them, Moolraj surrendered at discretion. The garrison, 3800 strong, marched out next Jan. 23. day, and laid down their arms on the glacis. Last of the procession came Moolraj himself, magnificently dressed, riding a splendid Arab steed. He was afterwards brought to trial for the murder of Mr Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, and found guilty; but his life was spared in consideration of his gallant defence.[1]

[1] Whish's Report, Jan. 25, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1848, 433, 434; 149, 375, 377, 385.

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110. Incorporation of the Punjaub with the British empire.

The repeated acts of insubordination of the Sikh soldiery, and the evident and serious risks to which they had exposed the British empire, determined the Governor-General to put a final stop to these aggressions. On the 29th March, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, which, after recounting the long peace and alliance which had subsisted between the two governments, and the manner in which, twice over, it had been treacherously broken by the Sikh troops, declared the "kingdom of the Punjaub at an end; that all the territories of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh are now and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India." It promised protection and due honour to the Maharajah, and the few chiefs who have not engaged in hostilities against the British, and guaranteed to all the people, whether Mussulman, Hindoo, or Sikh, the free exercise of their own religion, but forbade any one to interfere with that of another, and declared "that all fortified places not occupied by British troops shall be totally destroyed, and effectual means taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war. The estates of all sirdars or others, who shall have been in arms against the British, shall be confiscated to the State." So strong is the disposition, even in the most warlike people of Hindostan, to submit at once to external conquest, and range themselves willingly under the banners of any power which has proved its superiority decisively in the field, that this great stretch, of annexing at once the most powerful kingdom in India to the British dominions, excited very little sensation in Hindostan; and the Sikh soldiers have since proved at once the bravest and most faithful of the many armed hosts which are crowded round the British banner.[1]

[1] Proclamation, March 29, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 385.

After these bloody wars, the British empire in the East enjoyed several years of undisturbed repose. All the outbreaks which had occurred subsequent to the Aff-

ghanistan disaster, every effort at independence which had been made, had led to overthrow and subjugation. The Scinde Ameers had tried it, and failed; the Gwalior people had tried it, and failed. Even the great and colossal power of the Sikhs had been overthrown; and after two desperate and bloody campaigns, their capital had been taken, their army disbanded, their kingdom incorporated with the all-conquering State. Struck with this astonishing series of victories immediately succeeding so dire a calamity, the inhabitants of the vast peninsula of Hindostan, for the time at least, abandoned the contest; and, submitting to the dominion of the British as the decree of Providence, sought only to improve the advantages which the general establishment of internal peace afforded, and to improve the means of industry which its vast extent and powerful protection seemed to promise.

111. Peace in India for some years.

The East India Company took advantage of this precious breathing-time from external war to afford every facility in their power to the development of the internal resources of their vast territories. Then was seen to what the long abstinence from such undertakings, at least on a scale commensurate to the necessities of the country, had been owing. Wars—perpetual wars for existence, had diverted or absorbed the whole funds which could be applied to the purposes of internal improvement. But now that the victory was gained, and the necessity of a great and profuse warlike expenditure had come to an end, they began in good earnest the great work of domestic melioration. Canals were dug or restored, roads made, railroads surveyed, and in part at least executed. The mind of Lord Dalhousie, essentially administrative, was ardently and successfully directed to these great objects, and he was admirably seconded both by his Council and an able staff of engineers which they took into their employment. Under this skilled direction, liberally supported by the funds of Government, works were undertaken, and in great part executed, which immediately

112. Great pacific improvements of the East India Company at this period.

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produced vast results, and promised ere long entirely to alter the face of the country. It was the grand ideas, the princely magnificence of Baber or Aurungzebe carried out by European skill, supported by European perseverance, and animated by Christian beneficence.

113. Great works undertaken by Lord Dalhousie.

Then were projected, and in great part executed, those magnificent public works which have so completely effaced the well-known reproach cast by Mr Burke upon the British administration in India, and which will bear a comparison with any in the world for greatness of conception and perfection of execution. Then was formed the Great Trunk Road, which, starting from Calcutta, and taking the arc of the great bend formed by the Ganges in the plain of Bengal, passes by Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Agra, to Delhi, and thence to Umballa, Lahore, and Peshawur. For a short part of this distance, to Raneegunge, being 120 miles, a railroad has been constructed, intended to be continued along its whole extent, and which, when completed, will be of the most essential service. Canals have been formed, conveying the waters of the Jumna, the Ganges, the Indus, and the streams of the Punjaub, over the level alluvial plains in their vicinity. A noble pier and harbour at Kurrachee, at the mouth of the Indus, has opened the inland trade of that great river, and obviated the extreme inconvenience so long experienced by the shifting of sand at its mouth. The electric telegraph has been introduced, and extends already over the distance of 4000 miles. The sums expended by the Indian Government under Lord Dalhousie's administration, after the termination of the Sikh war, have never been under £1,500,000, sometimes above £2,000,000, annually—sums, the magnitude of which will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that the wages of daily labour are there 3d. a-day only, and that these sums are equivalent to four times their respective amount in this country. Of the total debt of £68,000,000 which now (1858) attaches to the Indian Government,

an eighth part has been contracted during eight years in the internal improvement of the country—an amount much greater, if the difference in the value of money is taken into consideration, than was expended on similar undertakings by any European government, either then or at any former period.[1]*

[1] Thornton; Mill's India in 1848, 170, 171.

This happy state of tranquillity was first broken in upon, in 1852, by a second rupture with the Burmese government, which arose from the pride and arrogance of a barbaric court, and their inconceivable ignorance of the strength of the power with which they were in close contact, and whose displeasure they did not hesitate to brave for the most inconsiderable objects, or the gratification of the most senseless caprice. The treaty concluded with the court of Ava in 1826, which expressly provided for the proper treatment of British subjects trading to Rangoon, or the other harbours of the Burmese territories,

114. Second Burmese war, and capture of Martaban.

* Public Works constructed during Lord Dalhousie's Administration, with their Distance and Cost.

I.—Canals.

	Distance (miles).
Ganges Canal,	449½
East and West Jumna Canal,	445
Punjaub Canals,	425
Madras Irrigation Works—tanks, reservoir, and dam across the Cauvery, Godavery, and Kistnah.	

II.—Roads.

	Miles.	Cost.
Great Trunk Road—Calcutta to Peshawur,	1423	£1,423,000
Calcutta to Bombay,	1002	500,000
Madras to Bangalore,	200	37,121
Bombay to Agra,	734	243,676
Rangoon to Puna,	200	160,000

III.—Railroads under Government Guarantee.

	Miles.
Calcutta to Burdwan,	120
Bombay to Wassind,	50
„ to Campoolie,	10
Madras to Vellore,	81

IV.—Electric Telegraph.

Calcutta to Peshawur,	1423
Agra to Bombay,	794
Bombay to Madras,	1374

—*Parliamentary Memorandum of Public Works*, 1854, No. 213; and Mill, pp. 170, 171.

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proved inadequate long to protect the subjects of Great Britain from those insults and aggressions which it seems the ineradicable habit of Eastern satraps to heap upon traders. So many cases of injury occurred in the course of the years 1851 and 1852, that the Governor-General came to the conclusion that the law of nations had been violated, especially by the governor of Rangoon in his cruel and oppressive conduct to British subjects. Commodore Lambert, accordingly, was sent with two steamers to Rangoon to demand redress; but the attempt at pacific overtures only produced fresh insults. Upon this a formal disavowal of the acts of the governor of Rangoon, his removal from office, and the payment of ten lacs of rupees (£100,000) in satisfaction of the claims of the injured parties, were demanded. No concession, however, was made; and the period allowed for accommodation having elapsed, an expedition was despatched under the command of General Godwin, an experienced officer, who had been engaged in the former war, to enforce redress. The expedition sailed for the mouth of the Irrawady on the 28th March, the naval force being under the orders of Rear-Admiral Austen. On the 5th April the fort of Martaban, commanding one of the entrances of the river, was attacked, even before the Madras portion of the expedition had arrived; and a tremendous fire having been kept up by the Rattler and Proserpine steamers for two hours, a breach was effected in the stockades, the troops were landed, and the place carried, though garrisoned by five thousand of the best soldiers in the Burmese empire.[1]

March 28.

April 5.

[1] General Godwin's Desp., April 13, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 279-283.

115. Storming of Rangoon.

After this success the expedition proceeded up the Irrawady to Rangoon, which stands on the left bank of the principal branch of the river, about twenty miles from the sea. In the operations which ensued, both the naval and military services greatly distinguished themselves. Hostilities were commenced by a general attack by the war-steamers on the enemy's flotilla and river

defences ; and in a few hours the former were all burnt, and the latter levelled with the ground. The troops were then landed without further resistance, and advanced against the town. Its principal defence consisted in a pagoda placed in the centre of a regular fortification, constructed since the last war, and forming the northern extremity of a new town, also of recent construction, surrounded by a ditch, and a mud wall sixteen feet high and eight broad. This citadel was defended by 100 pieces of heavy calibre, and a garrison of 10,000 men. The British, in advancing on the 13th against it, sustained a severe loss from the fire of the Burmese musketeers placed in the jungles, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in dragging up the heavy guns. At length, however, these obstacles were all overcome, and the troops advanced to the attack. By indefatigable exertions a sufficient number of heavy guns were dragged up to breach the eastern side of the fort, where the assault was to be delivered; and the fire of the enemy's musketeers having been kept down by 500 men, who picked off all who showed themselves on the ramparts, the order to attack was given. On rushed the stormers under a heavy fire ; the steps on which the pagoda stands were ascended with the bayonet amidst deafening cheers ; and soon the British colours, displayed from the summit, announced that the citadel of Rangoon had fallen. The garrison fled in confusion through the southern and western gates, where they were met by the fire of the steamers, and obliged to seek safety by dispersing in the jungle.[1]

April 11, 12.

April 13.

[1] General Godwin's Desp., April 17, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 285, 286.

116. Storming of Bassein. May 17.

The immediate surrender of Rangoon was the result of this victory, which was soon followed by the submission of all the adjacent country. The stores, ammunition, and heavy guns were then landed, and placed in Rangoon, which was strengthened and garrisoned by a strong body of troops, it being the design of Government to make it not only the base of present operations, but a permanent acquisition to the British empire in the East. These

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precautions having been taken, the troops were again moved forward up the Irrawady. On the 17th the fleet began to ascend the river, and on the 19th they were before Bassein, where the soldiers were landed; and first an armed pagoda was carried, and next a strong mud-fort stormed, after a desperate resistance. Martaban, the first conquest of the British, which was garrisoned only by a small native force, was soon after attacked by a large body of Burmese, but the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Encouraged by these successes, an expedition was fitted out early in July, under Captain Tarleton, to reconnoitre the river as far as Prome. That officer, having ascended the river to a place where it divided into two branches, found ten thousand Burmese stationed in a strong position commanding the western and deeper channel. But Tarleton, having ascertained that the eastern channel was passable at that season of the year, moved up by it, and thus, without opposition, reached Prome, which was immediately taken. The town not being capable of defence, the stores in it were destroyed, the guns spiked or brought away. The steamers then returned to Rangoon, and in their passage severely handled the Burmese army, which was crossing the river as they came down, and burnt fifty boats containing the warlike stores of their army, including the state barge of their general-in-chief.[1]

May 17, 19.

May 26.

July 5.

[1] Tarleton's Report, July 30, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 287.

117. Capture of Prome and Pegu. Oct. 10.

Lord Dalhousie now came to Rangoon, where he arrived on 27th July, and issued a well-deserved complimentary address to the forces. Having gained all the information which he desired, the Governor-General returned to Calcutta, and offensive operations were resumed as soon as the return of the cool season rendered them practicable. On the 25th September the troops were embarked at Rangoon, and they came in sight of Prome on the 9th October, where they were shortly after landed. They immediately advanced, and made themselves masters of a fortified pagoda situated on an eminence which com-

manded the enemy's position. Upon this the Burmese evacuated the town in the night, and next morning it was taken possession of without opposition. This success was followed by the capture of Pegu, a large town about sixty miles from Rangoon. The enemy were 4000 strong, and had fortified a pagoda commanding it with the utmost care; but they were driven from it by a gallant assault by Major Hill at the head of 100 men of the Madras and the like number of the Bengal Fusiliers. That officer, who was left in Pegu with a small garrison of 400 men, was soon threatened by immensely superior bodies of the enemy. To disengage him, General Godwin again moved from Rangoon with 1200 men. He found a body of Burmese, 9000 strong, posted in a formidable position, armed with cannon; but dispositions having been made for an assault, they fled, and after pursuing them for two days, and relieving the garrison of Pegu, General Godwin returned to Rangoon. This was followed by a proclamation from the Governor-General, which, "in compensation for the past, and for better security for the future, proclaimed that the province of Pegu is now, and shall henceforth be, a portion of the British territories in the East."[1]

Nov. 20.

Dec. 20.

[1] General Godwin's Desp., Dec. 23, 1852; Ann. Reg. 288-292; Governor-General's Proclamation.

In this proclamation Lord Dalhousie declared that he was willing that hostilities should cease, now that security for the future had been obtained; and well might he say so, for, having pushed the British frontier to the eastern extremity of the province of Pegu, he had not only gained a very defensible frontier against the Burmese, but by the possession of Rangoon, Pegu, and Martaban, he got the entire command of the mouths of the Irrawady, and was in a situation to be enabled to close at pleasure an inland trade essential to the provisioning of the capital. Yet, too proud to affix his signature to an express treaty ceding these valuable possessions, the king could only be prevailed on to engage not to offer any further molestation to British subjects, to throw open the navigation of the

118. Peace with Burmah. June 30, 1853.

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Jan. 16.

Feb. 1.

Feb. 5.

March 13.

119. Annexation of Oude.

This period of tranquillity, during which Lord Dalhousie was incessantly occupied with his great projects of domestic improvement and social amelioration, was not even interrupted by an important event in the east of India. This was the ANNEXATION OF OUDE, which, without any hostilities commenced, was carried into effect by a simple resolution of the Governor-General in Council on March 17, 1856. This powerful State, which lies

March 17, 1856.

on the eastern bank of the Ganges, between Cawnpore and Nepaul, embraces 25,000 square miles of territory, and contained at the period of annexation 5,000,000 inhabitants. The natives of this extensive region are a nation of warriors; scarcely a family but has one or more sons in the army, either of their own country or of the East India Company. No less than 70,000 of the men enlisted in the sepoy battalions were drawn from the Oude territories. The country is in the hands of between four and five hundred landholders, who, like the Norman barons after the Conquest, were so many military chieftains dwelling in fortified castles, each defended by two or three pieces of artillery.[1]

[1] Thornton; Mill's India in 1858, 3, 4.

120. Annexation of Oude, and grounds assigned for it.

By treaty, concluded in 1801, between the British Government and the King of Oude, the former guaranteed the dominions of the latter, with the stipulation "that the King of Oude, advising with and acting in conformity to the Council of the officers of the Honourable Company, shall establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants." It was, however, notorious that, though the kings of Oude since that time had never failed in their duty to the British Government, but, on the contrary, essentially served it on many occasions,* yet they had scandalously violated the rights of their own subjects. The government of Lucknow, the capital, was perhaps the most corrupt and oppressive in the world, so far as its own people were concerned. It was stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on this subject, in February 1858, by Colonel Sykes, that during the two years preceding the annexation, eleven

* During the Nepaul war they lent the British Government £2,000,000: and on occasion of the invasion of Affghanistan, the greater part of the draught animals for the use of the army was drawn from Oude; and the King gave up his personal elephants and horses to the Governor-General, when he went to visit Runjeet Singh, previous to that calamitous expedition.

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thousand persons in Oude had perished by violent deaths; that the revenue was always collected by an armed force, attended by a battery of cannon; and that incessantly, from one year's end to another, the discharge of artillery was heard within its boundaries directed against the defaulters to the Government collectors. Moved by the petitions of the unhappy sufferers under these exactions, and by the obvious discredit which they brought on the British Government and connection, the Governor-General in 1856 proposed a treaty to the King of Oude, by which the sole and exclusive administration of the country was to be transferred to the East India Company, with the right to the whole state revenue, burdened with a due provision to the reigning family, who were to be allowed to retain their royal titles, and enjoy their palaces and parks at Lucknow. These terms, as might have been expected, having been rejected by the King, a proclamation was forthwith issued, declaring the kingdom incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company, and requiring all the inhabitants to yield obedience to their authority. The British forces immediately entered the country from Agra and Cawnpore, and took possession of the capital and whole territories without resistance. About the same time the territories of the Rajah of Sattara were incorporated with the British dominions; those of the Rajah of Berar had already been absorbed in 1853; but these encroachments, being on inconsiderable native potentates, were made without opposition, and excited very little attention. Unhappily the ease with which this annexation was accomplished at the time misled the Government as to the precautions necessary to secure this acquisition, and the representations of Lord Dalhousie on that subject remained without effect. Not a man of European race was added to the force in the country; Delhi, the great arsenal of northern India, was left exclusively in the hands of the native troops;[1] and a few hundred British, and a few battalions of sepoys,

Feb. 14, 1856.

July 1, 1856.

[1] Mill, 29.

formed the sole garrison of the most warlike and formidable people of Eastern India.*

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121. Reflections on these events.

The war in the Punjaub throws a bright light on those which preceded it in Gwalior and Scinde, and vindicate Lord Ellenborough's administration from the aspersions thrown upon it for the commencement of hostilities against these powers. Judging by the European standard, there can be no doubt that he was the aggressor on both those occasions; because, although the native powers were the first to engage in hostile *acts*, this had been rendered necessary by a course of encroachments on the part of the British. But it is now apparent that this was unavoidable. The opposite system was followed by the East India Directors and Lord Hardinge, who forswore all hostile preparations against the Sikhs, and brought the Indian empire to the brink of ruin, in order to avoid giving a pretext even for hostilities; and what was the consequence? Two terrible wars, in which the utmost hazard was incurred, and in which salvation was earned only by heroic efforts, and the shedding of torrents of blood. What

* It was stated in the Governor-General's proclamation, as the reason for this annexation,—"One vital and chief stipulation of the treaty has been successively disregarded by every successive ruler of Oude, and the pledge which was given for the establishment of such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of the people of Oude, and be conducive to their prosperity, has from first to last been deliberately and systematically violated. By reason of this violation of the compact made, the British Government might long since have justly declared the treaty void, and withdrawn its protection from the rulers of Oude. But the friendly intentions of the British Government have been wholly defeated by the obstinacy, or incapacity, or apathy of the viziers and kings of Oude. Disinterested counsel, indignant censure, alternating through more than fifty years, with repeated warning, remonstrance, and threats, have all proved ineffectual and vain. The people of Oude are still the victims of incapacity, corruption, and tyranny, without remedy, or hope of relief. The King, like most of his predecessors, takes no real share in the direction of affairs. The powers of government throughout his dominions are for the most part abandoned to worthless favourites of the court, or to violent and corrupt men, unfit for their duties and unworthy of trust. The collectors of the revenue hold sway over their districts with uncontrolled authority, extorting the utmost payment from the people, without reference to past or present engagements. The King's troops, with some rare exceptions, undisciplined and disorganised, and defrauded of their pay by those to whom they are intrusted, are permitted to plunder the villages on their own account, so that they have

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would have been the fate of these wars if they had occurred when the British flank was threatened by the insurrection in Scinde, and their communications cut off by the forces of Gwalior? In all probability India would have been lost. It was by anticipating the danger, and combating the hostile powers *in succession*, that the danger was averted, and India saved. For this immense service the country was indebted to Lord Ellenborough; and, according to the usual course of human events, it is not the least conclusive proof of the reality of the obligation that the East India Company requited it by his recall. So strong is the desire to economy of their own money, however anxious to get that of others, and so invincible the repugnance to make costly preparations against *future* danger, in the great majority of men, that whoever attempts or recommends it is certain to incur present obloquy, and, if his opponents have the power to effect it, political downfall.

122. What of the incorporation of Oude?

But though these considerations render it evident that any peace with the native powers of India is to be regarded only as a truce, and that any relaxation in the means of defence on the part of the European power will speedily become the signal of general on-

become a lasting scourge to the country they are employed to protect. Gangs of freebooters infest the districts, law and justice are unknown, armed violence and bloodshed are daily events, and life and property are nowhere secure for an hour. The time has come when the British Government can no longer tolerate in Oude those evils and abuses which its position under the treaty serves indirectly to sustain."—*Proclamation of Governor-General, Oude Papers*, 1856, No. 2186; MILL, 284, App. This is a pretty serious "indictment against a whole people," in Mr Burke's words, and probably presents, with some exaggeration, a picture of the usual and established system of Asiatic government in every age. But when it is recollected that this dismal catalogue of misdemeanours was founded on the information of the British residents at the court of Lucknow, and when it is recollected what a gallant and obstinate defence of their independence the people of Oude made two years after against the whole power of Britain, it is impossible not to suspect some exaggeration in these statements. Without suspecting such men as Sir James Outram, or those employed by him, of intentional falsification of facts, nothing is more probable than that in a country so corrupt they may have, in many instances, been furnished with false information; and every one engaged in public affairs knows that if the inclinations of government are known to incline one way, there is never any lack of the most detailed information to establish the justice of the view then taken by it.

slaught, the same form of justification can scarcely be applied to the incorporation of Oude. Unlike the warlike powers in the north-west of India, the Government of Oude had engaged in no hostile designs or preparations against that of Great Britain. Through all the changes of fortune for a half-century, it had stood faithfully by our side. Whatever faults it had committed, and they were many, had been directed against its own subjects, and related to matters of internal administration. Other grounds of justification in the case of Oude must therefore be sought than that of hostility to Great Britain; and these are found by the defenders of the annexation in the fact that, by the treaty of 1801, there was expressly stipulated to the British Government a right of interference, in the event of such internal mal-administration as was charged against the native authorities.

123. Picture of the Indian Empire at this period.

As this encroachment was instrumental in bringing about the rebellion of 1857, and the terrible war which ended in the termination of the East India Company's rule in India, in conformity with the old Hindoo prophecy, in the hundredth year after its foundation by the battle of Plassey, it is a fitting opportunity to consider what was the extent and magnitude of the empire which in that period—short in the lifetime of a nation—had been formed by the energy and perseverance of the Company,* and the courage of the nation which aided them

	Area in square miles.	Population.
* Bengal,	126,133	37,262,163
North-west Provinces,	72,052	30,271,885
Madras,	119,526	20,120,495
Bombay,	57,723	9,015,534
Punjaub, Oude, Berar, Pegu,	246,050	23,255,972
Non-regulation—		
Bengal,	95,836	3,590,234
North-west,	33,707	3,383,308
Madras,	12,864	2,316,802
Scinde and Sattara,	73,978	2,774,508
	837,412	131,990,881
Protected States,	627,910	48,376,247
Total,	1,465,322	180,367,148

—MILL'S *India in* 1858, p 3.

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by its resources. India, then, contained, in 1858, when the direct rule of the East India Company was merged in that of the home Government, 180,367,148 inhabitants, extending over 1,465,322 square miles. Of these, 131,990,881 were under the direct dominion of the East India Company, and 48,376,247 the inhabitants of the protected states. The revenue (gross) of this immense territory was £30,817,000, of which £17,109,000 was the land-tax, £5,195,000 drawn from the monopoly of opium, £2,631,000 from that of salt, and £2,106,000 from customs. The cost of collection was about £6,000,000; the charge of the army is £11,000,000 annually; the interest of debt in India £2,000,000; and £3,500,000 are remitted to this country for charges payable at home, or interest on the debt due there. The annual deficit has, on an average of the last four years, been £1,500,000 annually; in the year ending 30th April 1857 it was £1,981,062. The army amounted in the same month to 231,276 native troops, of whom 26,129 were cavalry, regular and irregular; 22,047 Europeans in the employment of the East India Company, of whom 6585 were artillery; and the Queen's troops in India before the revolt broke out were 31,800, all paid by the East India Company. The auxiliary troops, which the protected states were bound to furnish, were 32,211 more; in all, nearly 320,000 men. The public debt of India was £68,000,000, being somewhat more than twice its income. Nor had this empire been acquired by conquest over unwarlike or barbarous nations: for if the inhabitants of Bengal were a timid race, the Ghoorkas, the Sikhs, the Affghans, the Mahrattas, and the inhabitants of Scinde, rivalled the ancient Germans or Parthians in hardihood and valour; and in the great revolt of 1857 the East India Company encountered 120,000 soldiers, armed, instructed, and disciplined by themselves, and inferior to none in the contempt of death when animated by religious zeal. This empire embraced a greater number

of inhabitants than that conquered in five centuries by the Roman legions; double the number subjugated by the Russian arms in two centuries; and more than triple those won for France by the energy of the Revolution and the victories of Napoleon! And this mighty empire, transcending any which has existed since the world began, has been acquired in one century by a pacific Company, having its chief place of business 14,000 miles distant from the theatre of its conquests —which has almost always been guided by pacific interests, and rarely engaged in wars, except from necessity and in self-defence—which began its career with 500 European soldiers, and seldom had so many as 50,000 collected around its standards! The history of the world may be sought in vain for a parallel to such a prodigy.[1]

[1] Mill's India in 1858, 66, 67, 131, 134; Thornton.

124. Absence of direct Parliamentary government the cause of this.

It may sound strange to British ears, but it will be evident to future times, and is already discerned by foreign nations, that the chief cause of this extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon is to be found in the presence of constitutional energy in Great Britain during the period when the empire in the East was forming, and the absence of parliamentary control in its direction. The mother country furnished an inexhaustible supply of young men, drawn chiefly from the landed gentry of the middle class, to fill every department both in the civil and military service in the East, while the selection of candidates was exempt from the debasing effects of court favour or parliamentary influence. The command of this extraordinary aggregate of military and civil ability was practically vested in the Governor-General at Calcutta, distance and the necessity of self-direction on the spot having rendered nearly impotent for evil the division of power between the East India Company and the Board of Control, which the strange and anomalous constitution of 1784 theoretically established. It is to the extraordinary combination of circumstances which gave British India the united ad-

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vantages of democratic vigour in the classes from which its defenders were taken, with aristocratic perseverance in the senate by which its government was directed, and the unity of despotism in the dictator to whom the immediate execution of the mandates of that senate was intrusted, that the extraordinary growth of the British empire in India during the last century is beyond all question to be ascribed. During that period Great Britain has often at home sustained serious reverses, from the ignorance and incapacity of those whom parliamentary influence or court favour had brought to the head of affairs, or the parsimony with which democratic economy had starved down the national establishment, during peace, to a degree which rendered serious reverses inevitable on the first breaking out of hostilities; but in India, though the usual intermixture of good and evil fortune in human affairs has been experienced, there have never been awanting, after a short period, troops requisite to repair reverses, and generals capable of leading them to victory.

125. Contemporary reflections on the fall of the East India Company.

The extinction of the rule of the East India Company in 1858, loudly applauded by the unthinking multitude, excited very different feelings in the reflecting portion of the community; and the following extract from one of the ablest of the daily journals may be taken as a fair mirror of their feelings: "Proud and happy as the American colonists were at the achievement of their independence, there were many who gazed through tears at the last ship which carried a royalist freight, as it put off from the shore. Haughtily as the martial Spaniards drove the Moors before them into the Mediterranean, punishing all who lagged in the final flight, the high-hearted among those Christian knights could hardly have paced the halls of Saracenic palaces, and climbed the pinnacles of the empty mosques, without some sadness and some tenderness for the departed people, so brave in their first intrusion, and so learned and

accomplished in the midst of their heresy and bigotry. From the poor Indian remnant on the Missouri, who close up the burial-mound of their last chief, and take down their last wigwam, and turn their backs on the period when they were a tribe, to the train of Zenobia following their captive queen as she issued from the gates of Palmyra into the desert, before the eyes of a pitying foe, there is no human heart which can help suffering when human pride and greatness succumb to the ultimate destiny of all.

> 'So fails, so languishes, grows dim and dies,
> All that this world is proud of. From their spheres
> The stars of human glory are cast down:
> Perish the roses and the flowers of kings,
> Princes and emperors, and the crowns and palms
> Of all the mighty, withered and consumed!'

We are now at the death-stroke of one of the ablest governments on record. Its monuments will outlive it long, and we must make the most of them, seeing that their nature is that of the highest order of monuments—the good works which follow the dead—first to praise them, and then to lapse with them into oblivion. Its imposing greatness appears now the least affecting part of it. There is no need to commend to English hearts the valour manifested on all occasions of need by individuals, from Clive to Havelock, and by the Government, from its defiance of Hyder Ali to its mastery over its mutinous Bengal army. We need not point out to English eyes the splendour of the whole panorama of Indian history, from the sailing of the first fleet into Goa, and the gorgeous embassies to the foreign courts of Asia, to the final spread of railways, roads, canals, telegraph wires, colleges, village schools, and civilisation in all its forms. There can be no need to rouse the sensibility of British men to the dignity of such a hierarchy, and such a succession of ability as has been built up and drawn out within the dominions of the Company, from the first hour when it found work for its hand to do, to the present when its

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knell is struck. Not only Englishmen, but all other men who care about the doings of their race, are aware of the magnificent features of our Indian rule, as shown in war, in wealth, in power, and in genius. No one of the vast multitude of observers will say that in any one century of human history there has been elsewhere such a display of remarkable men, of work done, and of empire consolidated, as between the battle of Plassey and the victories of Havelock. But these kinds, and all other kinds of greatness, will grow dim hereafter in comparison with that which constitutes the special glory of our Indian rule,—its being planned and carried out for the benefit of India, and more and more expressly so from period to period of its history. It is here that we feel the most misgiving and the saddest regret. As we never saw before, we must naturally ask whether we shall ever see again, a great empire ruled, not only by a superior race for the benefit of an inferior, but a government planned and carried out at all, expressly for the good of the many. It may be true, and it is true, that the empire of the Company arose by ambition and cupidity, by encroachment and force of arms. But admitting all this and more, the fact remains that the Company has exercised the most beneficent rule ever exhibited for an equal length of time; and that it not only released the native population from the penalties of barbaric rule, but governed them for their own welfare, bestowing on the study of that welfare an amount of toil, solicitude, generosity, and magnanimous devotedness, more appropriate to an ideal republic than to the transaction of a despotic corporation."[1]

[1] Daily News, July 14, 1858.

126. Danger of direct government of India by Britain.

The great danger to be apprehended from the transference of the direct government of India to an executive nominated by the House of Commons, is the removal of the breakwater which has hitherto been interposed between that remote empire and the popular passions which sometimes agitate the ruling State, and the party

influences which always regulate its administration. It is in vain to expect, for a public service, conducted by men chosen by ministerial majorities in the House of Commons, anything like the long line of illustrious statesmen and heroes who have conducted the affairs of the East during the last century—an array of names to which no other country, during the same or perhaps any period, can present a parallel. If India is to become the battle-field of party, as Ireland so long was, or the theatre for experiments founded on vehement and ignorant popular passion, as the West Indies have been, or the preserve from which aristocratic cupidity is to be maintained, or democratic ambition gratified in return for parliamentary support in this country, we may expect a very different future for our empire in the East from what the past has been. Taught by these examples, the prudent observer, without absolutely despairing of the fortunes of the Indian dominions of Great Britain from the direct government of the House of Commons, will at least see that it will be fraught with dangers of a more serious kind than any by which it has yet been assailed; that it must be conducted with a prudence rarely witnessed in communities subject to multitudinous rule; and that the East India Company, in concluding their glorious reign, and handing over the magnificent empire they have won to the British executive, may well say, "HERE IS OUR BEQUEST; SEE THAT YOU KEEP IT."

CHAPTER L.

FRANCE FROM THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN FEBRUARY TO THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY IN DECEMBER 1848.

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1848. 1. Political analogy of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

THE rule of the *bourgeoisie* in France was destroyed by the Revolution of 1848, as that of the mixed Constitutional Ministry had been by that of 1830. In both cases the destruction of the ruling power and overthrow of the Government were brought about by the discontents of the class *immediately below* that in which legislative power was vested, and their passionate desire to seize it for their own behoof, without any regard to the effects of such a change upon the public liberties or the general fortunes of the State. The points upon which the quarrel in both cases ultimately turned—the Ordinances of Polignac in the first, the Reform Banquet in the last—were but the pretexts for the commencement of a contest already prepared, and rendered inevitable by other and more general causes. The expansive force and ascending ambition of the class next to power were in both cases the cause; and accordingly, by a very natural change, the middle class, which made the Revolution of 1830, and gained possession of the Government by its success, was the class against which the execrations of the people were mainly directed in the next movement which convulsed the State. The men who had been lauded to the skies as the saviours of the country, the apostles of freedom, the pure and tried patriots

whom nothing could seduce, when combating the Royal Guards in 1830, had become, according to the new revolutionists, the greatest tyrants, the most vile and corrupt of the human race, when defending the Government of their creation under the banners of the Citizen King.

2. Discontent which the rule of the middle class had excited in France.

Those who adhere to the opinion, that it is in the middle ranks of society that the class is to be found, alike removed from the pride of that above and the violence of that below it, on which government can most securely be rested, would do well to study the condition of France during the reign of the Citizen King. Then, if ever, since the creation of the world, the middle and urban class was really installed in power; and then the *experimentum crucis* to ascertain its real worth was made. The old feudal aristocracy had for the most part been swept away during the first Revolution. The working classes were effectually shut out from any share in the legislature by the high qualification of electors. The army was commanded by officers drawn from their ranks; the National Guard was filled with them or their adherents. Here, then, was a complete, pure, and unmixed *middle-class government*, and what was the result? Was it that administration was more pure, selfishness more eradicated, patriotism more general, liberty better secured, than in any former period of French annals? Quite the reverse. There is no time in which, by the consent of all parties, corruption was so general both in the legislature and its constituents, public virtue in so little esteem, selfish advantage so much the object of general pursuit, and in which so unrelenting a war was carried on both against private liberty and the independence of the press. These evils at length became so general that they caused the overthrow of the middle-class legislature, and the Citizen King whom they had put on the throne; and as experience had now taught the population that they had only made matters worse by descending from the ancient

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régime to the modern *bourgeoisie*, so they were resolved to try whether they would be improved by going down yet farther, and transferring power to the entire working classes. The results of this great experiment form the interesting and important subjects of this and a succeeding chapter.

3. First acts of the Provisional Government.

The first care which devolved upon the Provisional Government was to make head against the violence of its own supporters. During the three days that Paris had been in a state of insurrection, no work had been anywhere done; and as the great bulk of the labouring classes were alike destitute of capital or credit, they already began to feel the pangs of hunger on the morning of the 25th, when the Provisional Government, having surmounted the storms of the night, was beginning to discharge its functions. An enormous crowd, amounting to above 100,000 persons, filled the Place de Grève, and surrounded the Hôtel de Ville on every side, as well as every passage, stair, and apartment in that spacious edifice itself. So dense was the throng, so severe the pressure, that the members of the Government itself could scarcely breathe where they sat; and if they attempted to go out to address the people outside, or for any other cause, it was only by the most violent exertion of personal strength that their purpose could be effected. Decrees to satisfy the mob were drawn up every quarter of an hour, and, when signed, were passed over the heads of the throng into an adjoining apartment, where they were instantly thrown off by the printers of the *Moniteur*, and thence placarded in Paris, and sent by the telegraph over all France. Under these influences were brought forth the first acts of the Provisional Government, some of which were singularly trifling, but very descriptive of the pressure under which they had been drawn up. One issued on the 25th February changed the *placing* of the colours on the tricolor flag, putting the blue where the red had been; a second abolished the expressions

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"Monsieur" and "Madame," substituting for them the words "Citoyen" and "Citoyenne;" a third liberated all functionaries from their oaths of allegiance; a fourth directed the words "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," to be inscribed on all devices, and on all the walls of Paris, and changed the name of the streets and squares into others of a revolutionary sound and meaning. This was followed on the 27th by others of a more alarming import, or deeper signification. One ordered every one to wear a *red* rosette in his button-hole; another directed trees of liberty to be planted in all the public squares, and reopened the clubs; a third changed the names of the colleges of Paris, and of the titles of general officers; and a fourth abolished all titles of nobility, forbidding any one to assume them.[1]

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[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 96, 97; Cassagnac, i. 286, 287; Lamartine, Histoire de la Révolution de 1848, i. 241, 242.

But the Provisional Government soon found that it was not by such decrees that the passions of the people were to be satiated, or their hunger appeased. Already, on the morning of the 25th, before they had had time to do anything, the well-known features of popular insurrection had displayed themselves. The Tuileries and the Palais Royal had been abandoned to the populace the evening before, as in truth, after the King had abdicated, there was no longer any Government to withstand their excesses. These august palaces were sacked from top to bottom, their splendid furniture burnt or thrown out of the windows, their cellars emptied of all the wines which they contained.* The presence of the National Guard and troops of the line, who were still under arms, prevented these excesses going farther in the metropolis; but that only caused the storm to burst with the more fury on the comparatively unprotected buildings in the country around it. Over a circle formed by a radius of thirty leagues round Paris, the whole railway stations were

4. Disorders around Paris.

* The Author is in possession of several beautiful pieces of furniture and articles of *vertu*, tossed out of the windows of the Tuileries on this occasion, and purchased on the spot by some careful Jews, who hastened to the spot to make profit of the dissensions and madness of Christians.

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sacked and burnt; the bridges were in great part broken down, or set on fire; even the rails in many places were torn up and scattered about. The beautiful chateau of Neuilly near Paris, the favourite abode of the late King, was plundered and half-burnt. Versailles was threatened with a similar fate, which was only averted by the firm attitude of the National Guard, which turned out for the protection of that palace, no longer of kings, but of the fine arts. But the magnificent chateau of M. de Rothschild, near Suresne, was sacked and burnt by a mob from Melun, at the very time when that banker was putting at the disposal of the Provisional Government 50,000 francs (£2000), to assuage the sufferings of the wounded in the engagements.[1]

[1] Lam. i. 245; Ann. Hist. 1848, 96, 97; Caussidière, Memoires, i. 87-92.

5. Confusion and pressure at the Hôtel de Ville.

Imagination may figure, but no words can convey, an adequate idea of the tremendous pressure exercised on the Provisional Government during the first days succeeding their installation. They have been thus described by two of the most ardent partisans of the new regime, and who had profited most hitherto by its establishment. "We arrived," says M. Caussidière, the new Minister of Police, "at the gates of the Hôtel de Ville across a line of posts, at which the 'Qui Vives' and the demands for the countersign incessantly multiplied as you approached the seat of government. The doors of the building could only be compared to the entry of a beehive. A mob, armed and turbulent, beset the doorway. Those under the arch resolutely made good their ground, and forcibly pushed back the crowd, which was incessantly forcing its way up the great stair. To get into the inside, it was necessary to mount as to an assault—to strive with your shoulders and elbows, so as during the strife to get one of your legs thrust in. I was soon separated from my escort; I attempted the escalade with my lieutenant alone. Twice I was repulsed with loss.[2] At length, after vigorous efforts, and with the assistance of some of the citizens who recognised me, I penetrated to the bottom of the great

[2] Caussidière, Mem. i. 87, 88.

stair. If I did not lose in that rude contest one of my limbs, I lost one of my pistols, which during the *melée* was torn from my girdle, and never after recovered. It was only at the end of half an hour's fighting that I got to the Salle du Conseil."

6. Cares of the Government.

So far the new Minister of Police as to the surroundings of the Provisional Government; now hear one, and not the least gifted of its members, on the cares which oppressed them. "No sooner was one messenger despatched charged with an order or a decree," says M. de Lamartine, "signed on the corner of a bit of paper with pencil, than another arrived with a similar note, announcing that the Tuileries was menaced by devastation and flames; that Versailles was surrounded by a furious mob, which thirsted to destroy that last relic of royalty; another, that Neuilly was already half consumed by fire; a fourth, that all the railway stations were in flames, the bridges cut or destroyed. It was indispensable to re-establish the traffic on the roads by which a capital with 1,100,000 mouths was to be fed, and huge mountains of barricades to be cut through to let the convoys pass when they did reach the streets. Crowds who had been famishing for three days were to be fed, the dead to be collected, the wounded tended, the soldiers protected against the people, the barracks evacuated, the arms and horses collected, the palaces, the museum, to be protected from pillage. An insurgent populace, 300,000 in number, was to be calmed, pacified, and if possible sent back to their workshops in the suburbs; posts were to be everywhere established, formed of the Volunteers and National Guards, to prevent pillage. In a word, the things to be done were innumerable; it was hard to say which was most urgent, or where neglect would entail most serious evils on the Republic."[1]

[1] Lam. i. 245, 246.

But of all these pressing cases, by far the most urgent was to pacify and feed the enormous multitude of destitute workmen whom the Revolution had thrown out of employment, and who crowded into the Place de Grève,

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1848. 7. Extreme disorders in Paris.

threatening the Government with destruction if they did not instantly give them bread and work. The band which had sacked the Tuileries kept possession of that palace, feasting on the provisions and wines which it contained, for nine days: they were only prevailed on to leave it on the 6th March, by the approach of an armed force of two hundred men, and the promise of a decree declaring that they had deserved well of their country, and should receive two francs a-day for the period of their occupation. But the famishing crowds which night and day thronged the Place de Grève were not so easily appeased. So early as the 25th February, vague rumours, calculated to excite their apprehensions and rouse their passions, began to circulate among them: the King was returning with an armed force; the detached forts were preparing red-hot shot to rain down vengeance on the devoted city. Under the influence of these terrors, one body set out for Vincennes to search that fortress, while another took their way to the Invalides, which they were only hindered from ransacking by a force detached for its protection by the Minister of Police. Balked in the object of their pursuit in these places, the mob streamed back into the Place de Grève, where there was no longer an armed force to oppose them,—the Government, to appease the people, having been obliged to send all the military out of the capital, and the National Guard being in too great consternation either to show themselves or

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act against the ruling multitude. They insisted upon searching every part of the building for concealed arms, or magazines of combustibles or powder, and, rushing in, soon overpowered the *portiers* and sentinels, and spread themselves through every corner and crevice of the building. Finding nothing, they inundated the Salle du Gouvernement, and extorted from the overwhelmed members a decree "guaranteeing *employment to all*, and bestowing on the combatants on the barricades the million of francs saved by the termination of the civil list."[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 97, 98; Lam. i. 245-247; Caussidière, i. 74-85.

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Though this decree was a vast concession to the working classes, and indicated not obscurely the commencement of that Socialist pressure on the Government which was ere long felt so severely, yet it was far from meeting the wishes of the angry and famishing crowd who filled the Place de Grève and all the adjoining streets. A hoarse murmur was heard from the dense mass; the vast surface, paved with human heads, began to swell in undulating waves, indicating the force of generally-felt passions; the countenances of such as could be discerned bore the expression of mingled ferocity and determination; and already cries of "LE DRAPEAU ROUGE!" were heard from the agitated multitude. At this call for the symbol of popular violence and the reign of blood, the other members of the Government hung back; no one dared to face the infuriated multitude. But M. de Lamartine stood forth alone and bareheaded, and having with great difficulty obtained a hearing, said—"Yesterday you asked me to usurp, in the name of the people of Paris, the rights of thirty-five millions of men, and to vote a republic absolutely, instead of a republic founded on their consent. To-day you demand the *drapeau rouge* in room of the *drapeau tricolor*. Citizens, neither I nor any of the Government will adopt the *drapeau rouge*. We would rather adopt the black flag which is hoisted in a bombarded city to mark to the enemy the hospital of the wounded, the refuge of suffering humanity. I will tell you in one word why I will oppose it with the whole force of patriotic determination: It is, citizens, that the *drapeau tricolor* has made the tour of the world, with the Republic and the Empire, with your liberties and your glory; but the *drapeau rouge* has only made the tour of the Champ de Mars, dragged in the blood of the citizens."* An universal tumult arose at these in-

8. Noble conduct of Lamartine in regard to the Drapeau Rouge.

* Alluding to the occasion in 1790, when the *drapeau rouge* was hoisted by the orders of Bailly at the Hôtel de Ville, and Lafayette ordered the troops to fire on the mob in the Champs de Mars.—See *History of Europe*, c. vii. § 97, 98.

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trepid words,—some loudly applauding, others as vehemently condemning; and in the tumult several muskets were levelled at Lamartine and the persons by whom he was surrounded. But the barrels were knocked up by others less inclined to blood; and in the confusion Lamartine was dragged in by his friends within the building, and escaped without injury. The decree promising the people work was immediately after read aloud from the balcony; and the people, wearied with the fatigues of the day, began to drop off. But Lamartine's stand on this occasion was a most noble act, which well entitles him to the thanks of every friend of humanity; for had the people not been met by his happy and courageous inspiration, the Government would have been overturned on the spot, and a new reign of blood would have commenced.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 26, 27, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 97, 98; Lam. i. 392, 393.

9. Institution of the Garde Mobile and Volunteers.

But although the danger of a bloody republic was got over at the moment, yet it was evident to all that some lasting measures were indispensable in order to security for the Government, and the employment of the idle and violent persons who were assembled in the streets. The Municipal Guard had been disbanded, and the whole military had been sent out of the city by the Provisional Government, in order to appease the people and avoid the risk of collisions, which might be highly dangerous. Thus the Government was entirely at the mercy of the mob, and the only protection they could invoke consisted in two battalions formed of volunteers, who had placed their bayonets at the disposal of the authorities. But, though faithful, they were too few in number to be of any real service in the event of danger such as that which had just been escaped. In these circumstances it occurred to the Provisional Government to form a new body of defenders out of the most active of those who had been engaged in the assault on the monarchy. They

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decreed the formation, accordingly, of a new urban corps called the "GARDE MOBILE," to be composed of those

who had been most determined on the barricades; and the plan would, it was hoped, enrol on the side of the Government the most formidable of those who had recently been leagued together for its overthrow. It perfectly succeeded. High pay—double that of the troops of the line—soon attracted into the ranks the most ardent of those who had been engaged in the late disturbances. There, the instinct of military discipline prevailed; the bold youths attached themselves to their colours and the Government which paid them; and the Garde Mobile, which soon consisted of twenty-four battalions, and mustered fourteen thousand bayonets, rendered essential service to the cause of order in the subsequent convulsions.[1]

[1] Decree, March 1, 1848; Moniteur, March 1, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 110, 111.

Several other measures less creditable to the authorities, but not less descriptive of the pressure under which they laboured, emanated at the same time from the busy legislative mill in the Hôtel de Ville. Acts of accusation were launched forth against M. Duchatel, M. Salvandy, M. de Montebello, and all the members of the late ministry; but this was a mere feigned concession to the passions of the people; the Provisional Government, to its honour be it spoken, had no intention of proceeding seriously against them. Gratuitous tickets *to the opera* were largely distributed among the people; but, as well observed, it was poor consolation for a man who had got no dinner to be presented with an opera ticket. The licentious mob, who had plundered and kept possession of the Tuileries, were at length got out, but only by a great display of military force, and on the express condition that they were to be taken to the Hôtel de Ville, thanked for their patriotic conduct, and presented with certificates of good behaviour. At the same time, the volunteers who had tendered their services to the Provisional Government refused to surrender their places at the Hôtel de Ville to the urban militia,[2] and used such menacing language that it was deemed expedient

10. Decrees against the ex-Ministers, and other measures. March 1.

March 6.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 112, 113; Cass. i. 297-299; Causs. i. 117-119.

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to veil the weakness of Government under a pretended respect for their patriotism, and allow them to remain.

11. Reopening of the clubs, liberation of prisoners, planting of trees of liberty, and fête of March 5.

A fresh element of discord soon arose from the liberation of Blanqui, Barbès, Bernard, Huber, and all the political prisoners in Paris, whom long confinement had roused to perfect frenzy against authority of every kind. Their first measure was to reopen all the clubs, which soon resounded with declamations as violent as any which had ushered in the horrors of the Reign of Terror. An hundred of them were opened in a few days, chiefly in the worst parts of Paris, and every night crowded by furious multitudes. The Government, in compliance with their

March 24.

demands, authorised the planting of trees of liberty, in imitation of the orgies of the first Revolution; and in a few days numerous bands issued forth from Paris into the gardens and woods in its vicinity, pulled up the prettiest young trees they could find, and brought them into the public places of the capital, where they were planted, withered, and died. These proceedings excited so much enthusiasm, and gave rise to such noisy and tumultuous assemblages, that the Minister of Police was obliged to issue a circular against them. To reconcile the people to the want of this favourite pastime, the Government arranged a magnificent procession for the interment of

March 5.

the few who had fallen in the cause of the insurrection during the revolt. It went off with great éclat, and amply gratified the taste of the Parisians for theatrical display. One incident only threatened to disturb the harmony of the proceedings. Two ladies, not, it may be supposed, of the most rigid virtue, uninvited, joined the procession, splendidly attired in flowing white robes, mounted on milkwhite steeds. They were intended to personify the Goddesses of Reason and Love, which had made so much noise in the fête in Notre Dame during the first Revolution.[1] The police were at a loss what to do, for they dreaded the ridicule which such an exhibition would occasion, and yet scarcely ventured to interfere, as

[1] Causs. i. 121-124; Lord Normanby, Year of Revolutions, i. 169, 170; Ann. Hist. 1848, 113, 114.

the people loudly applauded the fair equestrians. At length one of the police officers had the presence of mind to say, "The Republic admits only into its service women who are beautiful, but you are *devilishly ugly*—get out of the ranks." This turned the laugh against the fair intruders, the more especially as the libel was in some degree true, and they were obliged to retire.

12. Prostration of credit, and formation of the Ateliers Nationaux.

But the Provisional Government had soon more serious cares to occupy them. Distrust and distress, the inevitable attendants on successful revolution, ere long appeared in their most appalling form. The Government, having guaranteed employment and sufficient wages to every citizen, soon found themselves embarrassed to the very last degree by the multitudes every day thrown upon them. Credit was at a stand; the manufactories and workshops were closed, and the thousands who earned their bread in them were thrown destitute upon the streets. So violent was the panic, so strong the desire to realise, that the Five per Cents fell in the beginning of March to 45! "Nothing," says Lord Normanby, "surprised me more, in the wonderful changes of the last two days, than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, became as useless lumber. Ladies, anxious to realise a small sum in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavoured to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified that they were 'rich and rare,' when no one could or would buy them? The scarcity of money became so great that a sovereign passed for three or four and thirty francs. Many persons sent their plate to be coined into five-franc pieces. All the most expensive *nouveautés* which had been accumulated for the display of the coming season, were in vain offered at a fraction of their value.[1] It seemed a mockery to suppose that under the red flag should be nurtured anything but a 'ragged regiment of shreds and patches.'

[1] Normanby, i. 145, 146; Ann. Hist. 1848, 113.

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It was melancholy to see the most civilised capital in the world suddenly reduced to the primitive condition of barter."

13. Formation of the Ateliers Nationaux. March 27 28.

In these circumstances it was in vain to think of the ordinary channels of employment being reopened, and nothing remained but for Government to take upon themselves, in the mean time at least, the employment of the people. For this purpose, on the 27th and 28th of February, decrees were passed appointing great workshops called *Ateliers Nationaux*, where the whole unemployed might be set to work. As the idle were the very men who had made the Revolution, it was indispensable to keep them in good-humour, and for this purpose the wages given were two francs a-day. This was more than the average rate even in prosperous periods, and it had the effect of bringing a host of needy and clamorous claimants, not only from Paris, but all the towns in the neighbourhood. The numbers in the first week were only 5000, but they soon increased in a fearful progression; from the 1st to the 15th April they swelled to 36,250, and at length reached the enormous number of 117,000! The daily cost of their maintenance exceeded 200,000 francs. This enormous expenditure was necessary, for the universal prostration of credit, hoarding of specie, and disappearance of capital, rendered it impossible to get quit of workmen once enrolled in the brigades of unemployed; the Government were obliged to add much from the secret-service money to support them, in addition to the vast sums publicly applied to their relief; and, in truth, they were kept up as well from the desire always to have a huge army of dependants ready to support the Revolutionary Government as from the necessities of their situation.[1] *

[1] L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. de la Revolution de Fevrier, 63; Emile Thomas, Hist. des Ateliers Nationaux, 200-204.

* "Après la séance du Gouvernement je me rendis à l'Hôtel de Ville, et reçus la nouvelle qu'un crédit de 5,000,000 francs (£200,000) était ouvert aux ateliers nationaux, et que le service des finances s'accomplirait dès lors avec plus de facilité. M. Marie me prit ensuite à part et me demanda fort bas, *si je pouvais compter sur les ouvriers?* 'Je le pense,' répondis-je, 'cepen-

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14. Who was responsible for them.

In these huge workshops were collected together a crowd of workmen, all of different trades; and they were all set to the same employment, which was generally that of removing nuisances, levelling barricades, or taking away dunghills. Even these humble employments were soon done; nothing remained for the enormous multitude to do; for as to making articles of luxury, or even convenience, for the public, that was out of the question at a time when no one was purchasing more than the absolute necessaries of life. Thus the Ateliers Nationaux soon turned into *vast pay-shops*, where idle crowds hung about all day, receiving two francs a-day for doing nothing. In the latter period of their existence, there were not 2000 actually at work out of 110,000 on the public rolls. There was no one concerned in the Administration who was to blame for this state of things. It was unavoidable in the circumstances, just as the employing 200,000 starving labourers on the public roads in Ireland at the same time was. The real authors of it are those who, for the selfish purposes of their own aggrandisement, promoted the Revolution, and thus brought so vast a body of their fellow-citizens into such disastrous circumstances.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, Rev. de 1848, 64, 65; Ann. Hist. 1848, 115.

15. Share which L. Blanc had in them.

When the increasing necessities of the numerous classes whom the Revolution had deprived of bread, forced the subject of their maintenance on an unwilling Government, the cry was for the appointment of a minister *pour l'organisation de travail;* and the public voice, expressed

dant le nombre s'accroît tellement qu'il me devient difficile de posséder sur eux une action aussi directe que je le souhaiterais.'—'*Ne vous inquiétez pas du nombre,*' me dit le Ministre: 'si vous les tenez il ne sera jamais trop grand, mais vous avez un moyen de vous les attacher sincèrement. *Ne ménagez pas l'argent;* au besoin même on vous accorderait des Fonds secrets. Je ne pense pas en avoir besoin; ce serait peut-être ensuite une source de difficultés assez graves; mais dans quel autre but que celui de la tranquillité publique me faites vous ces recommandations? Dans le but du salut public. Croyez vous parvenir à commander entièrement à vos hommes? *Le jour n'est peut-être pas loin où il faudra les faire descendre dans la rue.*"—*Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux,* par M. EMILE THOMAS, p. 200; LOUIS BLANC, *Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février,* p. 64.

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on an hundred banners reared aloft in the Place de Grève, designated M. Louis Blanc, whose Socialist principles had long been known, for that high office. Despite their revolutionary propensities, however, the other members of the Provisional Government were aware of the hazard of appointing such a minister, and the endless multiplicity of claims which would come upon them if such an office received their sanction. To avoid the danger, and yet escape the obloquy of openly resisting a demand so supported, they fell upon the device of appointing M. Louis Blanc president of a commission appointed to sit at the Luxembourg and inquire into the condition of the working classes, and the means of relieving their distresses. This, it was hoped, would act as a safety-valve to let off the ill-humours of the Republic, and turn any explosion they might generate aside from the Provisional Government. The better to favour this design there were associated with M. Louis Blanc in this commission the acknowledged chiefs of all the sects of Socialists and Communists. The Ateliers Nationaux, however, were not put under their direction. They remained under the orders of M. Marie, the Minister of Commerce; and in consequence of this not being generally adverted to, and the Luxembourg being regarded as the centre of the Communist action and the source of Communist measures, much unjust obloquy has been brought upon Louis Blanc and his Socialist supporters.[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 1, 1848; Louis Blanc, 53, 54; Ann. Hist. 1848, 115.

16. Real principles of the Socialists.

Their principles were, that capital is the real enemy of labour, the capitalist the middleman who has interposed between the producer and consumer, diminishing the profits of the former, enhancing the price paid by the latter. To obviate this, as it seemed to them, great injustice, their plan was to organise all trades and manufactories in great companies, in which the operatives were to share in the profits, which were to be equally divided, not paid by wages. In this way they thought that the condition of the working classes

would be at once ameliorated and equalised by the fruits of their labour being exclusively divided among themselves. Following out these principles, what Louis Blanc wished established in March 1848, to meet the public distress, was not "Ateliers Nationaux," but "Ateliers *Sociaux*," —great establishments where persons of *the same trade* should be employed together, and divide among them, without the intervention of any capitalist, the whole fruits of their industry. He condemned as an "insensate project" the Government establishments, where persons of all trades were huddled together, and set to kinds of work for which nine-tenths of them were of course utterly disqualified; and he loudly complains, not without reason, that he should be stigmatised as the author of a system which he not only never supported, but strongly opposed.*

17. L. Blanc's real fault.

But although Louis Blanc may justly claim exemption from the immediate responsibility of the Ateliers Nationaux, he cannot so easily shake himself loose from the charge of having largely contributed to spread among the working classes those delusive and impracticable doctrines which brought about the Revolution. He admits that, when named as member of the Provisional Govern-

* "Les Ateliers Nationaux étaient organisés non seulement sans ma participation, mais contraire à mes principes. Rien de plus opposé au régime industriel developpé dans l'organisation du travail que le régime si justement flétri des ateliers nationaux dirigés par M. Emile Thomas, sous la responsabilité de M. Marie. Les ateliers *sociaux*, tels que je les avais proposés, devaient réunir chacun des ouvriers appartenant tous à la *même profession*. Les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie montrèrent entassés pêle-mêle des ouvriers de toute profession, lesquels, chose insensée, furent soumis au même genre de travail. Dans les ateliers sociaux tels que je les avais proposés, les ouvriers devaient travailler à l'aide de la commandite de l'Etat; mais pour leur propre compte en vue d'un benefice commun, c'est-à-dire, avec l'ardeur de l'intérêt personnel, uni à la puissance de l'Association et au point d'honneur de l'esprit de corps. Dans les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie, l'Etat n'intervint que comme entreprenant et les ouvriers ne figurent que comme salariés. Or comme il s'agit ici d'un labeur stérile infructueux, auquel la plupart se trouvaient nécessairement inhabiles, l'action de l'Etat, c'était le gaspillage des finances, la rétribution, c'était une prime à la paresse, le salaire, c'était une aumône déguisée."—LOUIS BLANC, *Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février*, p. 63.

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ment, he declared that "he proclaimed not only the Republic, but the democratic and social Republic;"* and that, in answer to the deputations which addressed him at the Luxembourg, he guaranteed, in the name of the Republic, "the same wages in *periods of adversity which they had previously attained in periods of prosperity*, and full employment to all citizens."† When doctrines so monstrous and utterly inconsistent with the existence of industrial employment were not only openly avowed by the Government, but made the condition of their appointment, it is of no consequence who was charged with the duty of organising the Ateliers Nationaux. The persons really responsible for their establishment are those who, by closing private enterprise by rendering it ruinous, forced the people to have recourse to the public establishments. If M. Marie organised the Ateliers Nationaux, it was Louis Blanc and his disciples who drove the people into them.

18. Decisive answer to the Socialist doctrines.

The Socialist principles, proclaimed by authority from the Luxembourg, have produced such calamitous results, that the French writers have been led carefully to examine the foundations on which they rest, and elaborate refutations of them have proceeded from many able pens. But the real answer to them will at once occur to every person engaged in the actual business of life. Socialist principles are impracticable, then, when attempted to be

* "Annoncé comme membre du Gouvernement Provisoire, je montai en uniforme de Garde National sur la table qui servait de bureau, et là, dans un discours qui dût être singulièrement animé, s'il répondait aux battemens de mon cœur, je proclamai non seulement la République, mais la République démocratique et sociale. Flocon s'exprimait dans le même sens. Alors un ouvrier nous félicita, au nom de ses camarades, d'avoir posé de la sorte la veritable question—la question suprême de la Révolution qui venait de s'accomplir, et le titre de Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire nous fut confirmé par des acclamations ardentes."—LOUIS BLANC, p. 21.

† "M. Louis Blanc promettait aux ouvriers au nom de l'Etat, dans le présent, *la conservation pendant les périodes de crise des salaires appartenant aux périodes de prosperité*, avec une participation aux bénéfices; dans l'avenir, le libre exercice de leurs facultés, *la libre satisfaction de leurs désirs, enfin, le maximum de bonheur.*"—*Paroles de* M. LOUIS BLANC (*Conférence du* 29 *Avril*, 1848).—*Moniteur.*

put in force ; and if practicable, they would be pernicious ; because, if the profits of stock were swallowed up in the wages of labour, credit would be destroyed, and no fund could exist to purchase the materials on which labour is to be exerted, and maintain the persons engaged in their manufacture in the interval between the commencement of industry and the receipt of the price of its produce. If any one believes the contrary, he is recommended to try whether he will get the same advance of money on the credit of ten thousand workmen worth a sovereign each, as of one man worth ten thousand sovereigns. In the second place, the proportion which the wages of labour bear to the profits of stock in all industrial establishments, whether connected with land or manufactures, is so large, that even if the whole of the former were divided among the latter, it would not make an addition to them of more than thirty or forty per cent—a difference not greater than a good harvest or a prosperous commercial season always makes, without making any sensible addition to the amount of their savings. In the third place, supposing that, by the force of numbers and the prevalence of frugal habits, little capitals could be formed in the hands of the operatives, it would be impossible to find in their ranks men who could be intrusted with its administration. To withstand the temptation arising from the power of intromitting with any common fund requires habits of the most difficult acquirement, and is seldom seen except in cases where a second nature, as it were, has been induced by many generations employed in their acquisition. In the fourth place, even the rise of wages, arising from the workmen dividing the profits of stock, could only be temporary. By stopping the accumulation of capital in the hands of employers it would check the growth of wealth, and with it that of all the branches of manufacture which minister to the comforts or elegancies of life. All the persons engaged in them would at once be thrown back upon the occupations

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which minister to bare necessities, and competition would soon bring down the wages in them to the lowest point, as it was so long the case in Ireland. Louis Blanc told the deputations of workmen at the Luxembourg that by embracing Socialist principles they would "*all become kings!*" He would have been nearer the truth if he had said they would all become beggars.

19. Absence of religious jealousy in this Revolution.

Three circumstances distinguished this Revolution from both of those which had preceded it, and form so many characteristics well worthy of consideration. The first is, the entire absence of all religious jealousy or rancour by which it was distinguished. No one need be told that the very reverse was the case in the first Revolution. The same was the case, though in a lesser degree, in the Revolution of 1830. Hatred of the Jesuits, and jealousy of the influence they were supposed to be acquiring in the Government and the educational establishments of the country, were the chief causes of the overthrow of Charles X. But on this occasion, this, the most deadly poison that can be mixed up with the revolutionary passions, was entirely awanting. The old animosity of the revolutionists against the clergy seemed to have disappeared. The Revolution was ardently supported by the clergy, in the first instance at least, especially in the rural districts. The priests blessed the trees of liberty which were planted in the villages and squares; fervent prayers were offered up for the Republic from the altars; the priests, surrounded by their flocks, marched to the polling-places for the elections for the Assembly when they came on. This change is very remarkable, and suggests much matter for reflection; but it is easily explained when we recollect that the Church had lost all its property during the first Revolution, and ceased to be either an object of envy from its wealth, or of jealousy from its power. Thrown upon their flocks for support, since the miserable pittance of forty pounds a-year allowed by Government barely sufficed for exist-

ence, the clergy had identified themselves with their interests, and shared their desires. The Government of Louis Philippe had been so hostile to religion that they in secret rejoiced at its overthrow. This very remarkable change bespeaks the profound knowledge of the human heart which selected the Apostles intended to propagate a faith destined to overspread the world from the fishermen of Galilee, not the priests of Zoroaster or the pontiffs of Rome, and illustrates the prophetic wisdom of the words of Cazalès, in the first National Assembly, "Take from them their cross of gold, and they will get one of wood, and it was by a cross of wood that the world was saved." [1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 1111; Hist. of Europe, c. vi. § 60.

20. Socialist demands of the working classes.

The second circumstance which distinguished this Revolution, was the sedulous attention now paid to the demands and interests of LABOUR. It was the interests of capital and the *bourgeoisie* which were chiefly, if not exclusively, considered in the Revolution of 1830. Robespierre and St Just had professed, and probably felt, a warm interest in the concerns of the working classes; but they could see no other way of serving them but cutting off the heads of all above them. The lapse of thirty-three years' peace since 1815, and the vast increase of industry which had in consequence taken place, had now, however, given a more practical direction to men's thoughts. They no longer thought that they were to be benefited by placing the heads of the rich under the guillotine; they adopted a plan, in appearance at least, more likely to be attended with the desired effect, and that was, to put their own hands into their pockets. Encouraged by the conferences at the Luxembourg and the Socialist declamations of Louis Blanc, as well as the decrees of the Government, which guaranteed employment and full wages to all the working classes, they all united now in demanding from their employers at once an increase of wages and a diminution in the hours of labour! By a decree of the Government, the hours of March 26.

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labour of all sorts in Paris were fixed at ten hours a-day, though in the provinces they were left at twelve hours. These demands, too, were made at a time when, in consequence of the panic consequent on the Revolution, and the universal hoarding of the precious metals which had ensued, the price of every species of industrial produce, so far from rising, was rapidly falling, and sales of everything, except the mere necessaries of life, had become impossible! The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was, that mostly all the master-manufacturers closed their workshops; and in the first two weeks of March, above an hundred thousand were out of employment in Paris alone, and thirty or forty thousand in Rouen, Lyons, and Bordeaux![1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 114-116; Emile Thomas, Commission d'Enquète, 91.

21. Acts against free trade, and expulsion of English workmen from France.

A third effect which ensued from the peculiar character of this Revolution, as the revolt of *Labour against Capital*, was the strongest aversion on the part of all its promoters to the principles of free trade, and a decided adherence to that of protection. Lord Normanby, who, though not yet regularly accredited to the Provisional Government, was in daily communication with M. de Lamartine, repeatedly sounded the French minister on this subject, representing how advantageous it would prove to both nations if their commercial intercourse could be conducted without fiscal restraints; but in vain. M. de Lamartine answered coldly to all these proposals, saying that, in the existing temper of men's minds, it was in vain to bring any such doctrines forward. He was doubtless right; they ran directly counter to the strongest desires of those who had made the Revolution. These desires soon broke out in savage and inhuman attacks on foreign workmen, especially their great rivals the English, in many parts of the country, especially on the lines of railways then in course of construction. The effect of these attacks, and of the general obloquy to which they were exposed from the jealousy of their French competitors, was, that nearly the whole English workmen then in

France, amounting to above thirty thousand, were obliged to leave the country and return home. They arrived on the shores of Britain in the most deplorable state of destitution, and loudly complaining of the treatment they had received; for, not content with driving them out of the country, the French Revolutionists laid an embargo on their funds in the savings banks there, which Lord Normanby for long laboured in vain to get removed. The gross injustice of this proceeding had a very salutary effect on the corresponding classes in the south of England, and the publication of these complaints in the papers went far to cool that general enthusiasm in favour of the Revolution which, on its first occurrence, was felt among the working classes of Great Britain.[1]

[1] Lord Normanby, i. 160, 161, 230; Ann. Hist. 1848, 116, 117; Ann. Reg. 1848, 254.

22. Monetary and commercial crisis, and resignation of M. Goudchoux as Finance Minister.

But all other consequences of the Revolution fade into insignificance compared with the commercial and monetary crisis which resulted from its success, and, in its ultimate results, was attended with the most important effects upon the fortunes of the Republic. The panic soon spread from the towns to the country; the peasants, fearful of being plundered, either by robbery or the emission of assignats, hastened to hide their little stores of money; specie disappeared from the circulation; and, as a necessary consequence, purchasers were few, even for articles of primary necessity, and the price of every article of commerce underwent a serious diminution. M. Goudchoux, the first Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government, could devise no better mode of meeting the difficulty but by a decree which postponed the payment of all bills falling due on 22d February and subsequent days to the 15th March. As this raised a violent clamour among the holders of these securities, he followed it up by a decree on the other side, which *anticipated* the payment of the *rentes* falling due on the 22d March, by declaring them payable on the 15th. As arrangements had been made to meet these payments on the 22d, this only made matters worse, and increased the general confusion.[2]

Feb. 25.

March 2.

March 5.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 139, 146; Moniteur, March 6, 1848.

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Such was the outcry, and so widespread the panic, that M. Goudchoux felt himself unable to make head against it, and he resigned his situation as Finance Minister, and was succeeded by M. Garnier Pagès.

23. M. Garnier Pagès minister. Financial state of the Bank.

Fortunately for France and Europe, his successor was a man of abilities and resolution, and exempt from those money influences which so generally tie up the hands or blind the eyes of statesmen intrusted with the financial concerns of nations. The commercial state of France at this period, and the circumstances which rendered the important change in its monetary system which soon after took place necessary, are thus explained in the official report of the Comte Argout, the bank's chairman, for the year 1848 : " When the Revolution of February broke out, the treasure in the Bank of France and its branch establishments amounted to 225,000,000 francs. The demand for specie, however, rapidly increased on that event, but the bank made the most courageous efforts to meet the drain. From the 26th February to the 15th March, that is, during fifteen working-days, the bank discounted in Paris alone 112,000,000 francs. In the branch banks, during the same period, it discounted 45,000,000 francs. By this means it saved from bankruptcy the banks of Rouen, Orléans, Havre, and Lille. But the drain of specie was only thereby rendered more alarming. From the 26th February to the 15th March, the metallic reserve at Paris fell from 131,000,000 to 82,000,000 francs. On the 15th March the payments in coin amounted to 10,000,000 francs, and on the evening of that day there remained only 59,000,000 francs. On the succeeding day (16th) it was known the run would be still more considerable, and in a few days more the bank would be entirely drained of specie." [1]

[1] Rapport du Comte D'Argout, for 1848; Moniteur, March 16, 1848.

In these alarming circumstances, the council-general of the bank met, and prepared the draft of a decree, which was immediately submitted to the Provisional Government, received its unanimous sanction on the

night of the 15th March, and appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* on the following day. By this decree the bank was relieved from the obligation of paying its notes in specie, and its notes were declared a legal tender. The power of emission, however, was limited to 350,000,000 francs, as the maximum of the circulation; and it was provided that weekly states of the affairs of the bank should be published, as in England. The emission of notes for 100 francs was authorised by the same decree. The issue of notes for 50 francs and 25 francs had been anxiously prayed for by the commercial classes; but the council-general of the bank refused its consent to this demand, as likely to lead to an exportation of specie at a time when it was of such importance to keep it in the country. The circulation of the bank at the date of the decree amounted to 275,000,000; so that, even as it stood, this measure afforded a considerable extension to the available circulation of the country, and what was of still more importance, relieved it entirely of the obligation to pay in specie.[1]

24. Suspension of cash payments. March 15.

[1] Decree, March 15, 1848; Moniteur, Mar. 16.

Thus did the suspension of cash payments result in France from the Revolution of 1848, as the emission of assignats in that country in 1791, and the suspension of cash payments in Great Britain in 1797, had arisen from that of 1789. In all the three cases the change was the result of necessity, and the effect was immense, far exceeding what had been either intended or foreseen by its authors. The forced paper circulation of the first revolution in France, which at length was pushed to £750,000,000 sterling, beyond all question brought that country safe through the terrible assault of the European powers in 1793 and 1794; but it did so only by producing a rise of prices which utterly destroyed the capital of the nation, and inflicted an irreparable wound on its industry. The suspension of cash payments in Great Britain in 1797 alone enabled the nation to make head against the power of revolutionary France, and preserved the liberties of

25. Great effects of this change, and its wisdom.

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Europe when threatened with destruction by the arms of Napoleon; but it did this at the cost of a duplication of prices, doubling the amount of the national debt, and imposing a heavy burden on its industry, which will never now be removed. The opposite system, introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1819, of rendering the currency entirely dependent on gold, and contracting the paper whenever the gold was withdrawn, had induced three terrible monetary crises, under the effects of the last of which the nation was still labouring. Steering the middle course between these two extremes, the measure of M. Garnier Pagès, based on the principle of *meeting the drain by an issue of paper, bearing a forced circulation, but limited in amount to what the nation really required*, may be regarded as a model of political wisdom, and perhaps the greatest boon ever bestowed by legislative wisdom on an afflicted nation. For if it had not been passed, and either an unlimited issue of the currency, or an unlimited contraction of it, had been practised, beyond all doubt all the eloquence and courage of Lamartine would have been unable to avert another revolution—a second rule of the Jacobins, a second reign of blood, and a second revolutionary war.

26. Effects of this measure, and its extension to the provincial banks. April 27. May 2.

This decree was in the first instance confined to the Bank of France; but by two supplementary decrees, issued on 27th April and 2d May, the protection was extended to the banks of Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Lyons, Marseilles, Havre, Lille, and Orléans, which were amalgamated with the bank of France, and their joint circulation, inconvertible into specie, was extended to 452,000,000 francs (£18,000,000.) This was fully equal to the necessities of a nation which at that period, strange to say, did not require more than £18,000,000 of discounts, while Great Britain needed £130,000,000![1] At the same time the greatest efforts were made by the Bank of France, and all its branches, to sustain industry and credit in every possible way. Discount banks

[1] Newmarsh, vi. 73.

(*Comptoirs Nationaux*) and loan offices (*Magasins Généraux*) were established in Paris and all the commercial towns of France, and bills were accepted for discount bearing two signatures only, instead of three as formerly required. The re-discounting of bills was permitted, contrary to prior usage, and loan offices formed, for granting receipts or warrants for goods stored in public warehouses, on which loans of money might be obtained. By these several means, powerfully aided by the limited but inconvertible currency, very great assistance was rendered by the Bank of France, both to individuals and the public treasury, during the remainder of the year—a period which, but for that relief, would unquestionably have been fraught with unparalleled disasters. In the nine months of 1848 after the decree suspending cash payments, the bank at Paris re-discounted bills to the amount of 90,000,000 francs, and in the branches 140,000,000 francs, besides advancing on security of goods in the "Magasins" 62,500,000 more. In addition to these advances to individuals, the bank lent Government on 31st March 50,000,000 francs; on the 31st March 30,000,000 francs; and on 3d June engaged for a loan of 150,000,000 francs to the Treasury, of which 50,000,000 francs was actually paid over. In these immense advances, rendered possible solely by the wise suspension of cash payments, rather than in all the eloquence of M. Lamartine, the real means are to be found whereby France surmounted the crisis, and averted a second reign of terror. And the fruit of these measures clearly appeared in the rapid diminution of the number weekly admitted into the Ateliers Nationaux, which in the fortnight from 16th to 31st March was 25,250; and from 1st to 15th April, 36,250: but from 16th to 31st May it had fallen to 3000; and from 1st to 15th June, to 1200.[1]

[1] Newmarsh, vi. 57-59; E. Thomas, Note; Commission d'Enquête, cap. i. 296.

Most fortunate was it for France and the world that the Provisional Government had either the sense to see, or were forced by the pressure of the working classes to

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27. Deplorable state of the public finances.

adopt, these the only measures suited to the crisis, or capable of meeting its dangers; for the condition of the public finances, in consequence of the Revolution, had become all but desperate. Such was the effect of the universal alarm, that the consumption of every individual in the country, from the highest to the lowest, was at once reduced to the smallest possible amount. The *octroi* of the capital, which in 1847 had produced from 75,000 to 80,000 francs a-day, immediately fell to 40,000 or 50,000 francs. All other taxes on consumption at once fell off in the same proportion. The imports of France in 1848 were little more than *half* of what they had been in 1847; and as the Revolution only took place in the end of February, this implied a falling-off to a still greater amount in the ten months subsequent to that convulsion. The exports, it is true, did not exhibit a decline by any means in the same proportion; but that arose from a peculiar and very distressing cause, which, so far from bespeaking a revival of industry, indicated just the reverse. It arose from the universal desire to turn movable property into cash, and the impossibility of finding a market for it in France itself. This led to a general sending of it abroad; and to such a length did this go that the foreign trade of France, in 1848, presented the enormous balance of £11,000,000 in favour of that country, which of course was paid in specie.* This is a most curious and instructive circumstance, indicating at once how

* Imports and Exports from France in real Value, from 1845 to 1850.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Deficit.
1845	£34,200,000	£33,900,000	£52,800,000	£54,870,000	£2,070,000
1846	36,800,000	34,100,000	53,800,000	57,340,000	3,500,000
1847	39,080,000	35,600,000	54,900,000	65,190,000	10,290,000
1848	23,200,000	33,300,000	70,720,000	70,860,000	140,000
1849	31,200,000	41,300,000	57,270,000	65,770,000	8,500,000
1850	31,200,000	44,900,000	57,260,000	58,470,000	1,670,000

—Newmarsh, vi. 653, 654, 659; and *Ann. Hist.* 1846 and 1847.

fallacious a test of the prosperity of a nation the amount of treasure in its banking establishments is; how erroneous an opinion it is, which is often entertained, that the amount of exports is to be taken as the measure of its manufacturing prosperity; and how great a mistake it is to suppose that the issue of inconvertible paper in moderate quantities will drive specie out of the country. For in this year of unexampled alarm and suffering, when the diminished consumption of all classes brought the imports down a half, and the national industry was sustained only by the issue of inconvertible notes to the extent of £18,000,000 sterling, the balance of trade was £11,000,000 in favour of France. Her exports had undergone very little diminution; the notes in circulation had risen from £11,000,000 to £15,000,000, the bullion in the bank from £3,000,000 to £10,000,000; while the discounts had sunk from £11,000,000 to £6,000,000.[1] *

[1] Newmarsh, vi. 58, 59.

28. Indirect taxes taken off by the Revolutionists, and imposition of 45 per cent additional on the direct taxes.

But how deplorable soever may have been the financial state and prospects of industry in France, it was absolutely necessary to make some concession to the powerful revolutionary party in possession of the capital, which imperiously demanded an instant relaxation of the burdens immediately affecting themselves. The tax which was most generally condemned was that on salt; and by a decree on 31st March it was suppressed, though the Government had presence of mind to defer the taking

* At the moment when these lines are written (April 2, 1858), a similar phenomenon is presented in this country. The last Bank and Trade Returns show,—

Notes in circulation,	£19,500,000
Bullion in Bank,	18,385,000
Do. on 15th November 1857,	7,170,000
Decrease in exports from corresponding months in 1857,	2,084,000
Rate of interest at Bank,	2½ per cent.
Do. in November 1857,	10 per cent.

So that the circulation is nearly entirely metallic. Interest is at the lowest point, and yet exports have sunk £2,000,000 a month.—*Times*, March 28, 1858. And during the period when this serious decline was going forward—the result of the drain of gold in autumn 1857—the specie in the Bank had, so far from being drawn out of the country by the suspension of the Bank-Charter Act in November 1857, increased by upwards of £11,000,000.

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effect of the decree till the 1st of January succeeding. The same decree announced a great reduction on the excise on meat and wine; and at the same time the railways from Paris to Orléans, and from Orléans to Vierzon, were put under sequestration, upon the pretence that they were insolvent. But these reductions, and the immense reduction in the customs, rendered some great increase in another quarter absolutely necessary. No other resource appeared practicable but additions to the direct taxes. It was accordingly resolved to increase the whole of them 45 per cent, which was accordingly done. By a supplemental decree, the direct taxes in the departments of the Rhone, including Lyons, were increased 50 per cent more, or 95 in all; and several other departments were subjected in additional charges, varying from 15 to 25, or 60 to 70 per cent in all.[1] * By this decree the Government obtained a large accession of revenue; for the receipts of the Treasury in 1848 were no less than £70,000,000, being £15,000,000 more than the receipts of 1847, the last year of Louis Philippe's

April 4.

March 16.

[1] Decree, March 16, 1848, Moniteur; Ann. Hist. 1848, 149, 150.

* A very valuable report was framed by the Minister of Finance at this period, on the financial state of France when the reign of Louis Philippe ended. From this it appeared that the

		Francs.
Public funded debt amounted, on Jan. 1, 1848, to		5,792,261,000
Its annual charge to		239,438,000
Floating debt to		697,703,000
Loan contracted in 1847,		250,000,000
Of which was still to be paid,		167,000,000
Sums due by Government to savings-banks,		469,579,000
Sinking fund annually,		48,886,000
Interest of floating debt,		18,000,000
Expended on Public Works,	1,606,039,000	
Repaid, or due by Companies,	1,069,000,000	
Remained due by State,		536,839,000
Total public debt of all sorts,		8,095,041,000
Cash in Treasury on 24th February 1848,		192,488,000
In Bank of France belonging to Treasury,		125,644,000
Expenditure of 1847,		1,446,000,000
Revenue of do.,		1,391,276,000
Deficit,		54,000,000

—*Rapport par* M. GOUDCHOUX, *Ministre de Finance*, March 7, 1848. *Ann. Historique*, 1848, p. 137-142.

reign. So that, whatever the French people might hope to gain by the Revolution, relief from taxation could not be included.

29. Universal indignation at the increase of the direct taxes.

No words can convey an adequate idea of the universal disappointment and indignation which this decree occasioned in France. The peasant proprietors, in whose hands nine-tenths of the country was, had received the Revolution coldly but submissively. They neither desired the change, nor were very averse to it; they were simply indifferent. They had no loyal or chivalrous attachment to the Orléans dynasty: all they desired was to be allowed to live in peace, cultivating their little domains; and the chief ground of complaint that they had against the former Government was its expense, and the large deficit which every year was increasing in the Exchequer, to be filled up only by additional loans and taxes. They were told, however, universally, and for a few weeks believed, that the Republican Government would be so cheap that a very great reduction of their burdens would take place—nay, that at no distant period they would entirely cease. In their simplicity many believed this, just as the Reformers in Great Britain in 1831 did that, when "the Bill" passed, wages would be doubled, and prices halved. The additional sum raised by the 45 per cent was 190,000,000 francs, and this fell almost entirely on the little proprietors. It may be conceived what a sensation the imposition of this addition to their taxes made among a body of peasant proprietors, who had not yet recovered from the general distress produced by the failure of the crops in 1846. But when, in addition to this, they learned that this formidable increase of their burdens had been laid on to support an army of an hundred thousand revolutionists in Paris, who were paid 200,000 francs a-day for doing nothing, their indignation knew no bounds,[1] and the fatal truth flashed upon them that the Revolution, made by the mob of the capital, would be turned only to its advan-

[1] Cass. i. 303-307; Ann. Hist. 1848, 149-153; Moniteur, March 16, 1848.

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tage, and to their ruin. So universal were these feelings, that in the rural districts they soon came to supersede all other, and are to be regarded as the main cause of the general unpopularity and ultimate overthrow of the Revolution.

30. Decree convoking the National Assembly. March 5.

The time was now approaching when something definite required to be adopted by the Provisional Government in regard to the future constitution of the Republic. With this view the Government felt that it was necessary to convoke a National Assembly ; but before that could be done, the basis required to be fixed on which the election of its members should proceed. In these moments of republican fervour, there could be no doubt of the principle which required to be adopted. The Convention of 1793 presented the model ready made to their hands. The precedent of that year accordingly was followed, with a trifling alteration, merely in form, which subsequent experience had proved to be necessary. The number of the Assembly was fixed at nine hundred, including the representatives of Algeria and the other colonies, and it was declared that the members should be distributed in exact proportion to the population. The whole was to form one Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage. Every person was to be admitted to vote who had attained the age of twenty-one, who had resided six months in a commune, and had not been judicially deprived of his suffrage. Any Frenchman of the age of twenty-five, not judicially deprived of his rights, was declared eligible as a representative. The voting was to be secret, by signing lists ; and no one could be elected unless he had at least two thousand votes. The deputies were to receive 25 francs (£1) a-day for their expenses during the sitting of the Assembly ; and it was appointed to meet on the 20th April. This was soon followed by another decree, which ordered all prisoners for civil or commercial debts to be immediately set at liberty.[1]

[1] Decrees, March 5, 12, 1848.

Before the elections could take place, however, the

Republicans became aware of the extreme unpopularity of the régime in the departments; and it was therefore deemed indispensable to postpone the meeting of the Assembly to a later period, and meanwhile to adopt the most vigorous measures to electrify the public mind, and restore the democratic ardour which the serious addition to the direct taxes had done so much to weaken. To effect these objects, a decree was issued which postponed the elections to the 23d April, and the meeting of the Assembly to the 4th May, the anniversary of the famous opening of the States-General in 1789. Meanwhile, to revive the drooping spirit of Republicanism in the departments, and secure the return of a sufficient number of ardent and true democrats, a circular was sent round by M. Ledru-Rollin to the electors, to be distributed by four hundred commissioners, who, with ample salaries, were sent down to the departments to bring the people to the desired way of thinking. Their reception, however, was by no means encouraging. In some places they were actually chased with hisses out of the villages; in most, their reception was cold in the extreme. The people listened to their ardent harangues in favour of the Republic with distrust and indifference; they could place no reliance on the promises of a government which had begun its career by adding nearly a half to their direct burdens, and bestowing it on an army of idle workmen paid for doing nothing at the Ateliers Nationaux. The reports of the commissioners, upon the whole, were extremely discouraging, and for the first time began to open the eyes of the Government to what universal suffrage may lead when applied to a people *of whom the great majority is composed of the holders of property.*[1]

31. Assembly postponed to May 4, and elections to March 26.

April 23.

April 7.

1 Decree, March 26, 1848, Moniteur; Ann. Hist. 1848, 19; App. cap. i. 289, 290.

The circular of Ledru-Rollin, issued on 7th April, was a remarkable document, as evincing the principles and tendency of the Republican Government, and the terrors with which it was already inspired. It set forth: "The Government cannot, under pain of abdication or

32. Circular of Ledru-Rollin to the electors. April 7.

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betraying itself, content itself with merely receiving and registering the votes; it must enlighten France, and labour openly to defeat the counter-revolution if it should attempt the impossibility of again raising its head. Is it that we would imitate the faults of those whom we have combated and overthrown? Far from it. They ruled by corruption and falsehood, we only desire to make truth triumph; they caressed egoism, we appeal to the generous sentiments; they stifled independence, we would give it the fullest development; they bought consciences, we would emancipate them. There is nothing common betwixt us. But it is precisely because their odious practices have profoundly corrupted the official class, that it is now necessary to speak loud and firmly to root out the seeds of error, and extirpate the calumnies so long spread through the country. Apostles of the revolution, we defend it by our acts, our words, our instructions. Vigilant and resolute against our enemies, we gain partisans to ourselves by making it known. Those only can fear who do not know it. Worthy missionary of the new ideas which are to rule the world, it is for you to prepare their pacific advent. This is to be accomplished by yourselves, your friends, your writings, your speeches. Shed abroad the light in whole volumes. Let the great and majestic figure of the Republic appear to every eye, regenerating humanity by its moral strength, effacing the distinction of classes, calling all the citizens to the realisation of the political dogma of fraternity by liberating labour and intelligence from the fetters which restrain them, making of our admirable France the most free, the most powerful of nations.

33. Concluded.

"Citizen-Commissioners, what constitutes the grandeur of the duty of a representative is, that it invests him who becomes such with the absolute power to interpret and translate the interest and the wishes of all. He would be unworthy to hold it who should recoil before any of the consequences of the great principle of Liberty, Equality,

Fraternity. Liberty consists in the exercise of all the faculties which we have received from nature, governed by reason. Equality means the participation of all the citizens in the social advantages, without any other distinction but those arising from virtue and talent. Fraternity is the law of love, uniting men, and making men all one family. Thence follow the abolition of every privilege, the division of taxes in proportion to the fortune, a proportional and *progressive* tax on succession, a magistracy freely elected by the people, with the most complete development of the jury system, military service borne alike by all, *gratuitous and equal* education to all, the means of labour secured to all, the democratic reconstitution of industry and credit, voluntary association everywhere substituted for the disordered passions of egoism; and whoever is not prepared to sacrifice his repose, his life, his future to the triumph of these ideas, whoever does not feel that ancient society has perished, and that we must construct a new social edifice, would prove only a lukewarm and dangerous deputy. His influence would compromise the peace of France." * [1]

[1] Moniteur, April 8, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 23, 24, App.

34. Circular of M. Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction.

Following up the same principles, another circular at the same time was issued by the Minister of Public Instruction to the voters, pointing out still more specifically on what description of persons the choice was desired by the Government to fall. "The great error," says he, "against which the inhabitants of our agricultural districts must be guarded is this: That in order to be a representative, it is necessary to enjoy *the advantages of education* or the gift of fortune. As far as education is concerned, it is clear that an honest peasant, possessed of good sense and experience, will represent the interests of his class in the National Assembly infinitely better than a rich and educated citizen having no experience of

* This circular was immediately followed by another, betraying still more clearly the design of the Government to intervene to the utmost of their power in the approaching elections. It will be given at its proper date, which was 12th April.

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rural life, or blinded by interests at variance with those of the bulk of the peasantry. As to fortune, the remuneration which will be assigned to all the members of the Assembly will suffice for the maintenance of the very poorest. In a great assembly like that, the majority of the members discharge the functions of jurors. They decide affirmatively or negatively on the measures proposed by the élite of the members ; they only require honesty and good sense ; they judge, they do not invent." These sentiments, which went to leave the Assembly at the mercy of the revolutionists at Paris, excited the greatest alarm among all persons of sense or moderation, and first brought to light the schism which was every day becoming wider between the moderate party, headed by Lamartine, and the violent section led by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. A few days after these circulars appeared, a deputation waited upon M. de Lamartine, to represent the consternation with which they had been seized at the perusal of these alarming circulars, and he replied in terms which at once proved how divided the Government was within itself. "The Provisional Government," said he, "has authorised no one to speak to the nation *in its name*, and especially to speak a language superior to the laws. The Government, recognising freedom of opinion, repudiates that worst sort of corruption, intimidation. It has deliberately resolved not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the elections. I trust public opinion will be reassured, and not take in an alarming sense some words inconsiderately used by ministers, who often attach their signatures in haste." [1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 250; Ann. Hist. 1848, 155, 156; Lam. Mem. ii. 117-119.

35. Fresh measures of intimidation of the Central Government.

Notwithstanding this formal disclaimer on the part of M. de Lamartine of any intention on the part of Government to overawe or influence the elections, the Minister of the Interior continued without any intermission the great work of securing a Radical majority in the Assembly. The Prefects were everywhere changed, and determined revolutionists placed in their stead ; all

offices in the disposal of Government—and their number exceeded 130,000—were filled with their partisans; and a change was made in the College of France in order to render it more completely the fountain of extreme opinions. April 7. Four members of the Provisional Government—M. de Lamartine, Armand Marrast, Garnier Pagès, and Ledru-Rollin—were appointed to the chairs from which the former occupants were expelled. In proportion as the time drew nearer for the elections, the efforts of the Government, or rather the Radical section of it, became more violent to secure a majority for the extreme liberal party. "Eighteen years of falsehood," said the Bulletin of the Republic, a semi-official paper, on the 15th April, April 15. "oppose to the government of truth obstacles which are not overcome in a day. If the elections do not achieve the triumph of social truth, they will destroy it. If they become the expression of a caste, torn from the too confiding loyalty of the people, instead of proving the salvation of the republic, they will become its ruin. There is no other way for the people, *who have erected the barricades*, to achieve their salvation, but to evince *their determination a second time* in a manner which cannot be mistaken. That extreme deplorable remedy, France would not wish to force the people of Paris to have recourse to. France has intrusted to Paris a great mission; Paris is the advanced post of the republican ideas; Paris is the rendezvous of all the generous wishes, of all the moral force of France. If the social influences pervert the judgment or betray the wishes of the masses, the people of Paris believe and declare themselves identified with the wishes of the nation. Citizens! it must not come to this, that you are to be forced yourselves to violate the principle of your own sovereignty."[1]

[1] Bulletin de la République, April 15, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 155, 156.

These extreme opinions and declamations not obscurely presaged an approaching convulsion, the more so that a part of the Provisional Government, at the head of which was M. de Lamartine, were at the same time labouring

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Abolition of the punishment of death in political cases. Feb. 25.

courageously and energetically to coerce the violent party, and direct the revolution into comparatively safe and pacific channels. The first act which evinced the objects of this section of the Government, and obtained the concurrence of the whole, was a most important and noble one—the abolition of the punishment of death in purely political cases. This great victory of humanity and justice over the strongest passions of excited and revengeful man, was achieved by the Provisional Government in the very first moments of their installation in power, and when surrounded by a violent mob, loudly clamouring for the *drapeau rouge*, and the commencement of foreign war and the reign of blood. Whatever may be said of the tricolor flag making the tour of the globe, there can be no doubt that this great and just innovation will do so. To regard internal enemies, *provided they engage only in open and legitimate warfare*, in the same manner as external foes, to slay them in battle, but give quarter and treat them as prisoners of war after the conflict is over, is the first great step in lessening the horrors of civil conflict. To say that high treason is the greatest of all crimes because it leads to the commission of all the others, affords no argument whatever for the retention of such a relic of barbarous times in civil conflict, unstained by personal crimes, murder, or robbery. War does the same, yet all the world has concurred in applauding, and all the civilised in adopting, an usage which has lessened so much the evils of external hostility. It is the highest glory of the Revolution of 1848 to have first openly avowed and solemnly promulgated this change, and the honour of it is not lessened by the reflection that, in the unstable condition of their own power, it was the interest of the Provisional Government to pave the way for such a system as might, in the event of defeat, tie up the hands of their successful adversaries. They had no security whatever that, in proclaiming this the rule of their own conduct, they would insure its adoption by their

adversaries. On the contrary, the full merit of their noble and courageous conduct will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that, without guards or protection of any sort, they were, at the very time they passed this decree, exposed to the hostility of a bloodthirsty faction, loudly clamouring for the restoration of the guillotine, a second reign of terror, and a forcible propagandism to spread revolution through foreign nations.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 100; Lam. i.; L. Blanc, Pages, de la Revolution, 48, 49.

37. Lamartine's pacific circular to foreign states.

To steer the infant Republic in peace through a tempest impelling it so violently upon foreign nations, was an undertaking requiring the highest capacity and resolution ; but the courage and genius of M. de Lamartine, now aroused by the dangers by which he was environed, proved equal to the task. One of his first acts was to address a circular to the ministers of all foreign states, in which, amidst some sonorous and adroit expres-

* "Cependant les chefs et les têtes de colonne des séditieux pénétrant par moment jusque dans les corridors étroits et encombrés, où ils s'étouffaient par leurs propres masses. Ils harcelaient les membres du Gouvernement, ils ne cessaient de leur adresser les injonctions les plus impérieuses. 'Nous voulons le compte des heures que vous avez déjà perdues ou trop bien employées à endormir et à ajourner la Révolution,' disaient ils, l'arme à la main, la sueur sur la front, l'écume sur les lèvres, la menace dans les yeux,—'nous voulons le drapeau rouge, signe de victoire pour nous, *de terreur pour nos ennemis.* Nous voulons qu'un décret le déclare à l'instant à l'instant le seul drapeau de la République. Nous voulons que la Garde Nationale soit désarmée et remette ses fusils au peuple : nous voulons régner à notre tour sur cette bourgeoisie complice de toutes les monarchies qui lui vendent nos sueurs, sur cette bourgeoisie qui exploite les royautés à son profit, mais qui ne sait ni les inspirer ni les defendre. Nous voulons *la déclaration de guerre immédiate à tous les trones et à toutes les aristocraties.* Nous voulons la déclaration de la patrie en danger, l'arrestation de tous les ministres passés et presents de la monarchie en fuite, le procès du Roi, la restitution de ses biens à la nation, *la terreur pour les traitres, la hache du peuple suspendue sur la tête de ses éternels enemis.* Quelle Révolution aux belles paroles voulez-vous nous faire ? Il nous faut une Révolution qui ne puisse ni s'arrêter dans sa marche ni revenir sur ses pas. Etes vous les Revolutionnaires d'une pareille Révolution ? Etes vous les Républicains d'une pareille République ? *Non, vous êtes comme votre complice aux vains discours, des Girondins de cœur,* des aristocrates de naissance, des avocats du Tribune, des bourgeois d'habitude, des traîtres peutêtre. Faites place aux vrais Revolutionnaires, ou engagez-vous par ces mesures avec eux. Servez-nous comme nous voulons être servis, ou prenez garde à vous ! ' En parlant ainsi quelqu'uns jetaient leur sabre sur la table, comme un gage qu'ils ne relèveraient qu'après avoir été obéis."—LAMARTINE *Histoire de la Revolution de* 1848, i. 371, 372.

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sions, calculated to flatter the vanity of the French, and conceal from them the important restraint upon their excesses which was about to be imposed, the great principle of non-intervention was in substance distinctly avowed. "The proclamation," said he, "of the French Republic is not an act of aggression against any government known in the world. War is not a condition of the French Republic. It would accept, but does not seek to provoke it. But happy would France be, if foreign powers should declare war against her, and thus compel her to grow in power and glory. The treaties of 1815 do not exist in right in the eyes of the French Republic; but war does not necessarily follow from that declaration. The territorial limits fixed by those treaties are the basis which, in point of fact, it is willing to take as the point of departure in its external relations with other nations. But we say openly, if the hour of the reconstruction of some nationalities oppressed in Europe or elsewhere has been sounded by Providence—if Switzerland, our faithful ally since the days of Francis I., is invaded or menaced in consequence of the movement in her bosom, which promises to add additional strength to the league of democratic governments—if the independent states of Italy are attacked, or obstacles thrown in the way of their internal reforms, or an armed force intervenes to prevent them from forming a league among themselves for the security of their independence—France will consider herself entitled to interfere with arms to protect the legitimate efforts at reform and nationality in other people. She proclaims herself the intellectual and cordial ally of all rights, of all movements, of all developments in nations which are desirous of living under similar institutions. She will commence no underhand propagandism among her neighbours. She knows that no liberties are durable but those which arise spontaneously among nations on their own soil.[1] But she will exercise, by the light of her ideas, by the spectacle of order and

[1] Moniteur, April 2, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 104, 105.

peace which she will present to the world, the only true and real proselytism—that of esteem and sympathy. This is not a declaration of war; it is the voice of Nature. It is not the herald of agitation to Europe—it is that of life."

38. Lamartine's answer to the Irish deputation.

An opportunity soon occurred for manifesting in acts the sincerity of these pacific views; and M. de Lamartine then proved, in the most decisive manner, that towards Great Britain, at least, he had no intention of departing from his professions of non-intervention. The Irish revolutionists, never doubting that their efforts to shake off the yoke of England would meet with cordial sympathy from the Provisional Government of France, sent over a deputation, headed by Smith O'Brien, to invoke the aid of the great parent Democracy in establishing a Hibernian Republic in close alliance with it. They openly boasted that "they came to claim what they were sure to obtain—the assistance of fifty thousand French troops for Ireland."[1] But Lamartine replied to the deputation: "The French nation is proud of the many historical recollections which unite them with the Irish people, and it will be always ready to evince that feeling by acts. But as to other encouragements, it is not suitable (*convenable*) either for us to give or you to receive them. I have said this already in reference to Belgium, to Germany, to Italy. I repeat it with reference to every nation which is engaged in disputes with its internal government. When one is not united by blood with a people, it is not allowable to intervene in its affairs by the hand. In Ireland, as elsewhere, we take no part but as lovers of justice, liberty, and public happiness. Any other line of conduct would be unsuitable for us in time of peace with other nations. We are at peace, and wish to remain so, with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only. We believe such a peace to be beneficial and honourable, not only to Great Britain and France, but to the entire

[1] Normanby, i. 295.

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human race. We will do no act, we will speak no word, we will address no insinuation, at variance with the principles of the reciprocal inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed, and of which the Continent is already reaping the fruits." The Irish deputation withdrew, violently chagrined at these words. In the evening, Smith O'Brien and his colleagues were loudly applauded at Blanqui's Club, the most violent in Paris, where the speech of Lamartine met with unqualified condemnation.[1]

[1] Moniteur, April 4, 1848; Lord Normanby, i. 290-294.

39. Lamartine's secret views at this period.

There can be no doubt that, how adverse soever to the wishes and designs of the extreme revolutionists, Lamartine was perfectly sincere in these words. The lesson of 1814 and 1815 had not been lost upon his enlarged mind; and he was in an especial manner impressed with the belief that it was by preserving close the English alliance that the French Republic could alone hope to withstand the coalition of the Continental powers. His ideas, too, were essentially pacific. A devout optimist, he desired to found a republic which, by the force of reason and the example of progress and prosperity which it should exhibit to the surrounding nations, would, in peace and silence, work out the regeneration of the world. Towards the realisation of this brilliant Utopian dream, he felt that the co-operation of England, as the oldest and most powerful free state in existence, was indispensable; and he had no doubt that, by its aid, he would succeed in working out his visions of innocent and universal felicity. With Lord Normanby, the former ambassador at the Court of Paris, but who still remained, though not as yet formally accredited to the new government, he was on terms of the most cordial and confidential intimacy. They met daily; and Lamartine never ceased to express his confidence in the stability of the new order of things—his belief in his own power to restrain its excesses—and his entire trust in the wisdom and intelligence of the great mass of the people now intrusted with the direct administration of affairs.[2]

[2] Normanby, i. 189-203, and passim.

Though the Republic, generally speaking, was received in silent submission in the provinces when the telegraph announced its establishment in Paris, yet, in those places where the democratic spirit was peculiarly strong, it was not inaugurated without very serious disorders. At Lyons it was proclaimed at eight at night, on the 25th February, by torchlight; and before midnight, the incendiary torch had been applied to the religious and charitable establishments of the Croix Rouge, Fourvières, and Faubourg du Paix. Before morning they were in ashes, and the trembling inmates, with their weeping children, were turned, with scarcely any covering, adrift in a winter night on the streets. With singular infatuation, the furious mob threw themselves in an especial manner on the hospitals of the poor and the unfortunate, and destroyed these noble establishments. It would seem as if they were jealous of the influence which Religion might acquire by charity—wealth by beneficence. These disorders continued for several months, and at length acquired such a head as seriously to endanger the pacific relations of the Republic. A tumultuous army, estimated at thirty thousand men, comprising nearly the whole National Guard of Lyons and the surrounding districts, assembled on the frontier of Savoy, near Pont Beauvoisin, in order to spread the revolution in the Sardinian States; and it was with great difficulty they were prevented from carrying their designs into effect.[1]

40. Frightful disorders in Lyons and on the Upper Rhine. Feb. 25.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 101, 102; Normanby, i. 174-181.

Delivered over to the rule of a tumultuous mob, the condition of Lyons for several months was miserable in the extreme; and though perfectly aware of these disorders, the Government did not venture to attempt their suppression. Domiciliary visits, under pretence of searching for arms, really for the sake of pillage, were universal; all persons suspected were at once seized, thrown into prison, and their effects despoiled; the jails were thrown open and the criminals let loose, their place being filled by the magistrates who had ventured to condemn

41. Miserable state of Lyons: Reception of the Revolution in Algeria.

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them; the detached forts invaded, and a general thrown from his horse and massacred in open day. Barricades were erected, and preparations made for a desperate civil war, on the slightest appearance of resistance. In a word, Lyons resembled for long a city delivered over to the rule of a troop of savages; while on the Upper Rhine religious fanaticism appeared in a general persecution of the Jews, who were driven to seek refuge in the neighbouring territory of Switzerland, where they were hospitably received. As if to furnish the strangest contrast to these excesses of European life, the Revolution was accepted in silence and fear by the half-civilised colony of Algeria; and the Duke d'Aumale addressed a noble proclamation to the inhabitants and the army—by both of whom he was much beloved—on taking his departure.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 103.

42. Ledru-Rollin's underhand attempt to revolutionise Belgium.

But while M. de Lamartine, as Foreign Minister, was giving reiterated assurances of the pacific disposition of the French rulers, the Radical portion of the Provisional Government were preparing underhand an expedition into Belgium, in order to overthrow the throne of King Leopold, and establish a Republican régime in its stead. For this purpose, with the knowledge and connivance of M. Ledru-Rollin, as Minister of the Interior, an expedition was prepared in Paris, armed with muskets from the public arsenals, and furnished with funds from the public treasury, the object of which was to revolutionise Belgium, and from thence spread the flame of insurrection throughout Europe. In the inquiries made into the conduct of the Provisional Government by the Commission d'Enquête, the complicity of Ledru-Rollin with this expedition was clearly proved, and in fact, in his defence, he made no attempt to deny it. The first attempt was made on the night of the 24th and 25th March, when 800 Belgians, with 100 French, arrived at Quiévrain by the railway train: but the Belgian Government was on its guard; they were met by superior

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forces at the frontier, and prevented from entering the Belgian territory. Alarmed at this first attempt at armed propagandism, the Belgian Government strongly reinforced the frontier towns with troops on whom they could rely, and they were thus enabled to repulse a more formidable invasion which took place four days afterwards. The troops employed on this occasion consisted of 1500 men, partly Belgian revolutionists, and partly workmen from the Ateliers Nationaux, armed with muskets sent down from Paris by Ledru-Rollin. They set out at midnight from the neighbourhood of Lille, where they had been encamped for some days, and crossed the frontier near Turcoing, firmly believing that they had only to call out "Vive la République" to be received with open arms by the whole Belgian troops and authorities. But they soon found themselves mistaken. Instead of shouts of fraternisation, they were received with discharges of grape and charges of cuirassiers. In a few minutes they were defeated, and driven back across the frontier, with the loss of twelve killed and forty wounded. This ignominious repulse prevented any repetition of the attempt in that quarter; and M. de Lamartine, who really had no hand in it, gave the Belgian Minister the most solemn assurances that the French Government was entirely a stranger to these "*ridiculous* manœuvres," which the Belgian Government were perfectly entitled to repel by force.[1] *

March 28, 29.

[1] Moniteur, April 3, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 369-371; Normanby, ii. 140.

While the Provisional Government was thus underhand seeking to revolutionise Belgium, M. de Lamartine was

* "From the report of the *Commission d'Enquête*, it appears from records which cannot now be disputed, as they cannot be falsified, that the *Commissaires* were not considered sufficient for the purposes of disorganisation, but that a great number of agents chosen by the most violent clubs, and who had sent in their names on a roving commission throughout France, were paid out of the funds of the *Minister of the Interior*. I see also, that in spite of all the assurances which I received at the time to the contrary from M. de Lamartine, the marauding expedition into Belgium was furnished with arms *from the arsenals of the State, paid out of the funds of the Minister of the Interior, and directed by the agents of that department*."—NORMANBY, ii. 140.

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reiterating to a Polish deputation the most solemn assurances of their resolution not to intermeddle at all with affairs on the Vistula. Some days after the publication of his circular to foreign governments, he was waited upon by a deputation from the Polish refugees in Paris, requesting in the mean time arms and advances of money to enable them to take a part in the struggle which they described as approaching in Poland, and entreating that France would openly engage on their side. This, however, could only be done by attacking and forcing a passage through the Germanic Confederacy, which was a very formidable attempt, for they had 300,000 men on foot, which could easily be doubled in the event of a serious invasion. On this account, as well as because the cause of Polish independence had always warmly interested the French people, a great degree of importance was not without reason attached to the reception of this deputation by the Provisional Government. But M. de Lamartine was true to his principles. "The Republic," said he, "is republican without doubt. It announces this in the loudest terms to the whole world. But it is not at war, either openly or underhand, with other nations or existing governments, so long as these nations and these governments do not declare war against it. It will neither commit, nor suffer to be committed, if it can prevent it, any act of aggression on the German nations."[1]

43. Counter declarations of Lamartine to the Poles. March 7.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 124; Moniteur, March 7, 1848.

44. Military preparations of the Provisional Government.

But although Lamartine, so far as he was concerned, was thus steady in resisting the war of propagandism to which the more violent portion of the cabinet and the whole clubs were so strongly inclined, he yet saw the necessity of largely augmenting the military force of the country, in order to be in a situation to repel any attack, and maintain a respectable position among the European powers. It was a farther reason for making a great addition to the army that it would furnish, in a creditable way, bread to many of those who were thrown out of employment, and in some degree lessen the weight of

the Ateliers Nationaux. With this view, by a decree of the Provisional Government, the army was ordered to be raised from 370,000 to 580,000 men; and in the course of the year, 530,000 men were actually enrolled. Alarming, however, as this great augmentation of the military establishment was to reflecting men, the necessity of the case was so obvious that it excited very little attention, and passed without opposition.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 123, 124.

45. Suspension of cash payments by the savings banks. March 27.

In the midst of this universal excitement and fever, a very serious run took place on the savings banks, and these establishments soon found that they were unable to pay the deposits in specie. They were not a little embarrassed what to do, for the holders of their deposit-receipts formed no inconsiderable part of the working classes, whom it was of the last importance at all hazards to prevent from breaking out into a second revolution, or helping themselves to their neighbour's property. They determined in consequence on the only measure which, in the circumstances, was practicable—viz. a suspension of cash payments on all deposits above 100 francs (£4). A decree, accordingly, was issued, which, setting out with the preamble, that "the most sacred of all properties is the savings of the poor, and that it is not by words but deeds that the Government must show the good faith with which they meet the trust reposed in them by the working classes," proceeded to declare that out of 355,000,000 francs deposited in the savings banks, only 65,702,000 were forthcoming, and that the remainder, consisting of 286,548,000 francs, should be paid in Treasury bills, *at par*, when they had already sunk *fifty per cent* in value; or in Rentes at par, when they were down at 72! This was an evident and shameful evasion of their promises, and spoliation of the poorest and most frugal portion of the people. But such was the general panic, that the holders were glad to put up with the loss of half their property, as a salvage paid for the remainder.[2]

[2] Decree, March 27, 1848, Moniteur; Ann. Hist. 1848, 144, 145.

From the commencement of the revolution the Provi-

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sional Government were extremely solicitous to obtain the recognition of their authority by foreign States, and especially Great Britain. The first power which took the decisive step was America: Mr Rush, the Minister of the United States, did so on the 28th February. On the same day the Ministers of some of the republics in South America sent in their recognition of the new government. As it was a provisional one only, the British Cabinet could not, in the first moments of uncertainty, venture on an official recognition; but on the 28th February, Lord John Russell said in the House of Commons, in answer to a question by Mr Hume, that the British Government had no intention of intervening in any form of government which the French nation might think fit to adopt, nor of taking any part in its internal affairs; and in a few days after, Lord Palmerston said in the House, in answer to a question by Mr Monckton Milnes, that although diplomatic usages prevented the Cabinet of London from formally accrediting any diplomatic ministers to merely provisional governments, yet as soon as that of France was changed by the National Assembly into a definitive Government, an ambassador would be formally accredited to the French Republic, and that in the mean time Lord Normanby, would enter into amicable relations with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. This example was immediately followed by a declaration to a similar effect from Prussia and Belgium; while in Switzerland the intelligence of the revolution at Paris was received with the warmest enthusiasm. Lord Normanby and M. de Lamartine immediately entered into the most friendly and confidential communication;[1] and the latter gave a convincing proof of the generous feelings with which he was inspired, by not only remitting a considerable sum for the use of the exiled royal family, but assuring Lord Normanby that, although to appease the public mind the Government had been obliged to consent to the whole property of the Or-

46. Recognition of the French Republic by America and Great Britain. Feb. 28.

Feb. 28.

March 4.

March 3, 5.

[1] Parl. Deb. xcvi. 1124, xcvii. 23; Ann. Hist. 1848, 105, 106; Decree, March 1, 1848, and March 8, Moniteur; Normanby, i. 47-51.

léans family being put under sequestration, yet they had no intention of confiscating it, but intended only in the mean time, and for the sake of preservation, to put it under public management.

47. Renewed violent circular of the Minister of the Interior. March 12.

But while the wise and pacific language of M. de Lamartine, joined to the sage conduct of the European powers, was thus tending to deprive the Revolution of its greatest external dangers, at least in the outset of its career, the apprehensions of the extreme democrats, headed by M. Ledru-Rollin, were preparing perils of a still more serious kind in the interior. Although their victory had been so easy and complete, this party were haunted by perpetual apprehensions of a reaction. Profoundly ignorant of the rural population of France, and judging of them by the ambitious and impassioned mob of Paris, they had, in an evil hour for themselves, but in undoubted conformity with their principles, declared for universal suffrage, and solemnly fixed the election of the National Assembly on that basis. But hardly was the ink dry of the decree which took this decisive step, than they became aware that they had committed what would in all probability prove a fatal mistake: that the great majority of the rural inhabitants, so far from favouring the despotism of the Parisian mob, were decidedly opposed to it; and that, in the present temper of men's minds, an assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all France, so far from establishing the Republic and their own power, would destroy both. Devoured by this apprehension, Ledru-Rollin was indefatigable in his endeavours to rouse the rural population, and by every means at his command, whether intimidation, influence, or corruption, to mould them to the election of representatives of the most extreme democratic character.[1] For this purpose, four days after the publication of his first circular to the commissioners, already given, he sent round a second address to them, conceived in still more violent terms, and pointing out

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 116.

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the means by which the designs of the Provisional Government might be realised. Its terms are extremely curious, and highly characteristic of the extreme of democratic government.

48. Its terms.

"Your powers," said he, "are unlimited. Agents of a revolutionary government, you are revolutionary also. The victory of the people has imposed on you the mandate to proclaim, to consolidate their work. To accomplish that task, you are invested with their sovereign powers; you are responsible to no power but that of your own conscience; you are bound to do what the public safety requires. Thanks to our feelings, your mission does not require anything terrible. Hitherto you have encountered no serious resistance, and you have been enabled to remain calm in the consciousness of your strength. But you must not permit yourselves to be deluded as to the state of the country. *The republican feelings require to be warmly excited*, and for that purpose political functions should be intrusted only to zealous and sympathetic men. Everywhere the prefects and subprefects should be changed. In some lesser localities the people petition to have them continued. It is for you to make them understand that we cannot preserve those who have served a power whose every act was one of corruption. You are invested with the authority of the Executive; the armed force is therefore under your orders. You are authorised to require its service, direct its movements, and in grave cases even suspend its commanders. You are entitled to demand from all magistrates an immediate concurrence: if any one hesitates, let me know, and he shall instantly be dismissed. As to the irremovable magistracy, watch carefully over them: if any one evinces hostile dispositions, make use of the right of dismissal which your sovereign power confers. But, above all, the elections are your great work; it is they which will prove the salvation of the country. It is on the composition of the Assembly that our destinies

depend. Unless it is animated with the revolutionary spirit, we are advancing straight to a civil war and anarchy. Beware of those double-faced men who, after having served the king, profess themselves willing to serve the people. These men deceive you ; never lend them your support. To obtain a seat in the National Assembly, the candidates must be clear of all the traditions of the past. Your rallying-cry should be everywhere, 'New men as much as possible, sprung from the ranks of the people.' It is for the working men to continue the revolution ; without their aid it will be lost in Utopian theories, or stifled under the heels of a retrograde faction. Enlighten the electors : repeat to them without ceasing that the reign of men and of the monarchy is at an end. You may then see how great are the duties with which you are intrusted. The education of the country has not yet commenced ; it is for you to guide it. Let the day of the election be the final triumph of the revolution."[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 13, 1848; Normanby, i. 220, 221.

49. Immense efforts made to control the elections.

Invested with these supreme powers, the commissioners were not slow in exercising their authority. Not only nearly the whole of the subordinate magistracy, but many of the supreme judges, were dismissed by them. At Paris the Presidents of the Court of Cassation, the *Cour des Comptes*, and the Court of Appeal, who were not deemed sufficiently pliant, were deprived of their situations ; and a great many of the highest legal functionaries in the provinces immediately shared the same fate. Nay, so far did the determination of the revolutionists go to render the courts of justice mere instruments of their will, that by a solemn decree *all judges*, not excepting those of the highest judicatories, were declared to hold their situations during pleasure only. It could hardly be conceived to what an extent the efforts of Government were carried during the critical period which intervened before the elections. Not content with sending down one commissioner to each district, a second was

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soon after despatched, to stimulate the efforts of the first; and in many cases a third, to see what they both were doing. In some instances, as at Bourges, as was afterwards judicially proved, a fourth was added, who set out with the principle: "The poor are in want of bread; we must take the plate of the rich to furnish them with it." Not content with the authorised commissioners of Government, a perfect army of agents was despatched from the clubs over all France to join in the same work, all paid by funds secretly provided by the Minister of the Interior.[1]

[1] Proceed. Bourges, 32; Ann. Hist. 1848, 127.

50. Decree dissolving the flank companies of the National Guard. March 14.

When such elements of discord existed, not only in the State, but in the Provisional Government itself, it was only a question of time when an open rupture was to take place between them. It was brought on, however, somewhat sooner than had been expected, by an ordonnance of Ledru-Rollin, published on 14th March, ordering the dissolution of the flank companies, or *compagnies d'élite* as they were called, of the National Guard, and the dispersion of their members, without distinction or equipment, among the ordinary companies of the legion. The object of this was to destroy the exclusive aspect and moral influence of these companies, which, being composed of the richer class of citizens, formed the nucleus of a body which naturally inclined to conservative principles, and might impede the designs of the extreme revolutionary party. To "democratise," as it was called, the whole body, the decree ordered these companies to be dispersed among the others, and the whole to vote together for the election of the officers, which was to take place in a few days. As the National Guard of Paris, which had been reorganised on the principle of admitting every one without distinction who could shoulder a musket, constituted a body of nearly 200,000 men, any measure affecting their composition or government was a most important matter; and this decree, which threatened to swamp the whole respectability and

intelligence of the body by its indigence and ignorant violence, excited the greatest discontent among the companies threatened with dissolution. A meeting, accordingly, was held of their officers, when it was resolved to have a grand military demonstration, to ward off, if possible, the threatened blow. The project originated with the staff of the Second Legion, which was the most conservative of the whole body, and it was readily embraced by that entire legion and a considerable part of the others. It was resolved to assemble on the following day in strength, and proceed in uniform, but without arms, to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand a repeal of the obnoxious decree. At one in the forenoon of the 16th, accordingly, 25,000 men of the *compagnies d'élite* marched to the Place de Grève, and soon began to fill all the approaches to the Hôtel de Ville.[1]

[1] Cassagnac, i. 339-341; Ann. Hist. 1848, 129; Lam. ii. 192, 193; Normanby, i. 235, 236.

51. Demonstration on March 16, and its failure.

How formidable soever this demonstration was, both in appearance and reality, it failed in its object from want of unity in design and vigour in execution in those intrusted with its direction. Without arms or any settled plan of procedure, the flank companies constituted only a well-dressed mob, exposed by their uniform and equipments to the jealousy and dislike of the immense majority of their fellow-citizens. Several of them were obstructed and forced to turn back, before reaching the place of rendezvous, by armed mobs or other bodies of the National Guard, who had obtained intelligence of their designs. Those who did reach the Hôtel de Ville found the approach to it occupied by an immense body, who were calling out, "Vive Ledru-Rollin!" and singing the "Marseillaise." It was evident the design had got wind: the demonstration had failed of its moral effect, and could be rendered successful only by force, for which, without arms, they were not prepared. Lamartine was loudly cheered as he passed through the ranks on his way to the Hôtel de Ville; but Ledru-Rollin was as vehemently applauded by the still more numerous body which encir-

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cled the building, and prevented the deputation of the flank companies from obtaining an entrance. After waiting two hours in impotent silence, the *compagnies d'élite*, seeing the multitude which opposed their progress hourly increasing, at length obeyed the voice of M. de Lamartine, who entreated them, and General Courtais their commander, who ordered them, to retire. They withdrew, accordingly, at four o'clock, amidst the derision and hisses of the multitude, covered with the obloquy with which an unsuccessful demonstration never fails to invest those by whom it has been attempted. General Courtais next day issued an order of the day, in which he stigmatised the *compagnies d'élite*, who had taken part in the demonstration, as "misled men, who were the instruments of impotent wrath, so different from the people who suffer, *but await.*"[1]

[1] Lam. ii. 201-205; Cass. i. 341, 343, 344; Ann. Hist. 1848, 129.

52. Counter-demonstration of March 17.

The real meaning of these words was made manifest on the following day. For some time past a great demonstration had been in preparation, emanating from the Socialists of the Luxembourg, and intended to force the Government into the immediate appointment of a Minister for "the Organisation of Labour," and into the measures for equalising and raising wages, and providing State employment for all, which M. Louis Blanc and the commission which sat there had for a fortnight been promising. The demonstration had been fixed for the 17th; but it was rendered much more formidable and imposing by the failure of the counter-display on the preceding day, which united in it many ambitious and unscrupulous characters who were not originally intended to have formed part. Louis Blanc, Albert, and their colleagues at the Luxembourg, had projected the movement, and Ledru-Rollin had assented to it—the former, from a desire to have Socialism fully established before the National Assembly met; the latter, because he feared that without some great additional stimulus its spirit would not be so democratic as he wished. But, unknown to these leaders, other

ambitious spirits combined to take advantage of the projected movement. The design had got wind; the clubs were in motion; and Blanqui, Cabet, and Raspail, decided and ardent democrats, who acted for themselves, and took directions from none, had roused the whole republican strength of the capital, in order to effect a movement which might overawe the Provisional Government, and possibly establish themselves in their room. At ten in the morning a few men entered the Boulevards, shouting "Ça ira!" which speedily assembled a crowd, who repeated it; and a placard was quickly posted through the city, which bore—"The people watch with jealousy manifestations against those of the Government who have given so many pledges to the Revolution. We await with confidence the realisation of the promises of Government. The people have shed their blood in defence of the Republic; they are ready to do so again."[1]

[1] Cass. i. 343-346; L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. c. xi.; Murailles, Revol. 481; Ann. Hist. 1848, 130.

53. Appearance of the column which approached the Hôtel de Ville.

At noon the mob, which by this time had swelled to an enormous multitude, advanced in silence and military rank towards the Hôtel de Ville, which was only protected by three battalions of the Civic Guard. Their appearance is thus described by an eyewitness: "Every minute the Provisional Government went to the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville, from whence the column might be seen approaching. At length it made its appearance. The front of the body was composed of five or six hundred of the élite of the clubs of Paris, marching in military order under the guidance of their most renowned orators. They advanced forty abreast, with their hands held together after the fashion of a religious procession, and round each group a long tricolor or red scarf was bound like a vast girdle. In front of each company were three men and a woman, who bore red flags, the well-known emblems of a bloody revolution. Their appearance excited terror, and in some places indignation, in the mob who surrounded them. Behind this organised procession of the clubs came thirty or forty thousand

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workmen, grave in aspect, decently clothed, saddened in expression, who seemed oppressed by the calamities of their situation. This immense crowd inundated the whole Place de Grève, and extended from the Hôtel de Ville along the quays to the Champs Elysées. By one o'clock it was evident that above an hundred and twenty thousand men were collected."[1] "When I saw the procession advancing from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville," says Louis Blanc, "my eyes filled with tears of joy." Their approach brought to light the violent dissensions in the Provisional Government. In the fulness of his heart at what seemed his approaching triumph, Ledru-Rollin said to his colleagues—"Do you know that your popularity is as nothing to mine? I have but to open that window and call upon the people, and you would every one of you be turned into the street. Do you wish me to try?" rising and moving towards the window. Upon this, Garnier Pagès walked up to him, drew a pistol from his pocket, placed it at Ledru-Rollin's breast, and said —"If you make one step towards that window, it shall be your last." Ledru-Rollin paused a moment, and sat down.[2]

[1] Lam. ii. 207, 208.

[2] Moniteur, March 18, 1848, and L. Blanc, c. xi.; Normanby, i. 239; Lam. ii. 208.

54. Interview of the Clubs and the Government.

When this formidable demonstration reached the railing in front of the Hôtel de Ville, they found the gates closed, and Colonel Rey, the officer in command, refused them admittance. At the request of Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, however, it was agreed to admit a limited number within the barrier to state what their wishes were. When the deputation entered, the members of the Government rose up, and remained standing while the discussion, which continued several hours, lasted. The sight of their faces, however, considerably abated the satisfaction of the extreme portion of the Government. In addition to those whom they expected, and who were in their interest, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc beheld a number of others who were unknown to them, but who, being in the train of Blanqui, Sobrier, Raspail, Lacambre, and others, known to be extreme Revolutionists, were

sufficient to inspire serious apprehensions. The secret was out: this violent party had adopted the movement as a means of overawing even the most democratic of the Provisional Government, and it was directed not less against Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc than Lamartine and Garnier Pagès. A sense of this common danger produced a unanimity in the Government which could not otherwise have been witnessed. They were all agreed in combating or evading the demands of the deputation. Blanqui explained them, and they were,—the postponement of the elections, the immediate and perpetual removal of all the troops from Paris, the implicit obedience of the Government to the voice of the people as expressed by the clubs, the postponing of the meeting of the Assembly to the 31st May—in fine, the entire surrender of the government to the people of Paris, without any regard to the wishes of the remainder of France. The orator concluded with demanding, in a menacing tone, the immediate concession of these requisitions without a moment's delay.[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 18, 1848; L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. 90, 93; Lam. ii. 212-214.

55. Repulse of the requisitionists.

Loud applause from the followers of the deputation, accompanied with the most menacing gestures, followed these words; and eight hundred men, who crowded the hall and surrounded the orator, seemed ready to exterminate the Provisional Government, who, unarmed and defenceless, constituted yet the sole remaining political strength of France. But the members of it, seeing that their very existence was at stake, were united and firm. Ledru-Rollin spoke with ready and nervous elocution; Lamartine was not wanting to his great reputation for courage and eloquence; and Louis Blanc openly combated a movement which he himself had originated. At length, wearied with an altercation of four hours, and disconcerted by the union of the Provisional Government, which they had not expected, the deputation, with their followers, withdrew at five o'clock.[2] As they went out, a man, pale with indignation, went up to Louis Blanc,

[2] Moniteur, March 18, 1848; L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. c. xi. 90-94; Lam. ii. 213, 214.

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and said, "Then you, too, are traitors—you!" The whole procession marched past the Hôtel de Ville in silence and military order, and directed its steps across the centre of the city to the Column of the Bastile. The streets were crowded, but silent; the citizens, in terror, awaited the event. Before nightfall, an hundred and fifty thousand men had passed in procession.

56. Elections in Paris and the Departments.

Although, by their unlooked-for union and resolution, the Provisional Government had surmounted this great danger, its effects were very visible, though very different, in Paris and the departments. In the capital, nearly the whole elections, both of the officers of the National Guard and for the Assembly, were in favour of the extreme democratic party, and the case was the same in the principal towns of the departments. But in the rural districts it was very different. There the reports of the proceedings on the 17th March, and the open attempt made by the mob of Paris to dictate their own terms to the Government, and through it to all France, excited the most unbounded indignation. The determination, also, of the Paris mob to make Government entirely subservient to their own purposes, had appeared in the decree regarding the hours of labour, which fixed them at ten hours a-day in Paris, and *eleven in the departments*. The result was that the elections in the departments of the officers of the National Guard generally went against the extreme candidates; and as this augured ill for the elections for the Assembly, it was resolved to have, not a demonstration, but a regular assault on the Government, before the elections, which stood for the 22d April, should come on. In anticipation of that event, the clubs redoubled their activity. The most powerful of them, called the "Club of Clubs," took possession of one of the police-offices in the Rue de Rivoli, where they were furnished with five hundred muskets and thirty thousand cartridges by the Minister of the Interior;[1] while M. de Lamartine, hoping to avert the tempest by concession, not only lav-

April 2.

[1] Lam. ii. 251; Ann. Hist. 1848, 159, 160; Cassagnac, i. 350, 351; Regnault, Gouv. Prov. c. xii.

ished his flatteries and caresses on Barbès, Cabet, Caussidière, and Sobrier, but, by his own admission, offered a diplomatic situation to Blanqui himself.

57. Preparations for the revolt.

The object of the conspirators was to obtain a farther adjournment of the elections, in order to gain time for the more thorough diffusion of extreme ideas among the people in the country, and to remodel the Government so as to retain none in power but the most ardent republicans. The dictatorship was to be bestowed on Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Caussidière. By this means a Socialist majority would be secured in the executive, and the entire realisation of the dreams of the Luxembourg rendered certain. For some days before that appointed for the insurrection the most alarming rumours were in circulation, and the Minister of Police formally warned the Minister of the Interior of the impending danger. Ledru-Rollin, however, it may readily be believed, was in no hurry to take measures against a state of things which he was underhand promoting, and from which he hoped to profit; the clubs continued their defiant attitude, and the preparations for the insurrection continued without intermission, and with scarcely any concealment. A design was formed for blowing up the Hôtel de Ville, which was only prevented from being carried into execution by the barrels of powder being discovered a few hours before the explosion was to have taken place. Meanwhile Lamartine, who well knew he would be the first victim of the insurrection if it proved successful, burnt his secret papers on the night of the 15th, and prepared for the worst.[1]

[1] Lam. ii. 314-319; Cass. i. 353-355; Ann. Hist. 1848, 159, 161.

58. Fresh conspiracy against L. Rollin.

But while Ledru-Rollin was awaiting the reward of his underhand intrigues with the clubs against his colleagues, another still more formidable insurrection was preparing at the "Club of Clubs," the object of which was to destroy his own ascendancy and establish that of Blanqui instead. These new conspirators did not propose to exclude the Minister of the Interior from the dictatorship, but to

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give him so many colleagues as should throw him into a minority, and render him powerless. But when the proposed members were brought together, Ledru-Rollin refused to act with Blanqui, who on his side was equally determined not to belong to a government which contained Ledru-Rollin. The fact was, that the latter had found in the archives of the Minister of the Interior a document which proved that Blanqui had been on secret terms with the Government of Louis Philippe, and furnished it with all the details of the Liberal conspiracies in 1846, and the knowledge of this naturally made them mutually suspicious of each other. The other conspirators did their utmost to reconcile the rival chiefs, but in vain; and at midnight on the 15th they left Ledru-Rollin with these words: "Well, since you don't choose to go with us, you shall be thrown out of the window to-morrow with the others. Reflect on this: we are in a situation to make good our words."[1]

[1] Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête, July 8, 1848; Reg., Gouv. Prov. c. xi.; Cass. i. 352, 353; Lam. ii. 313, 314; Moniteur, April 17; L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. 111, 112.

59. Measures of Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin to meet the danger.

Threatened in this manner with instant destruction by his former allies, Ledru-Rollin, after passing the night in the most cruel uncertainty, at length resolved to throw himself on M. de Lamartine, and reveal everything. He went to him accordingly at daybreak, and informed him of the designs of the conspirators and the imminence of the danger. "In a few hours," said he, "we shall be attacked by one hundred thousand men. I have come to concert measures with you, as I know your resolution, and that extremities do not disturb it." "In that case," said Lamartine, "there is not a minute to lose. Set out instantly and summon the National Guard; your situation as Minister of the Interior gives you a right to do so. I will fly to gain the three battalions of the Garde Mobile, who may be in a state fit for action. I will shut myself up in the Hôtel de Ville, and there await the first brunt of the assault. One of two things must happen—either the National Guard will refuse to turn out, and in that case the Hôtel de Ville will be carried, and I shall

die at my post; or the rappel and the fire of musketry will bring the National Guard to the support of the Government attacked in my person at the Hôtel de Ville, and then the insurrection, placed between two fires, will be stifled in blood, and the Government delivered. I am prepared for either result." Ledru-Rollin acquiesced in this plan, and set out professedly to give orders to beat the rappel to collect the National Guard, while Lamartine flew to the headquarters of the Garde Mobile to bring them forth to the combat. They at once agreed to turn out under their brave general, Duvivier, to whom they were extremely attached. After this Lamartine went to the headquarters of the National Guard, desiring General Courtais to beat the rappel; but he refused, and would only consent to allow fifty men to be summoned from each battalion, and positively declined to furnish them with cartridges; upon which Lamartine, in despair, returned to the Hôtel de Ville.[1]

[1] Lam. ii. 317, 318; Cass. i. 356, 357; Ann. Hist. 1848; Normanby, i. 322-324.

60. Preparations of defence at the Hôtel de Ville.

But, fortunately for France, chance had at that moment brought a man to the Hôtel de Ville equal to this crisis, and whose decision and courage proved the salvation of the Government. General Changarnier, who had been appointed by Lamartine Minister at Berlin, had called that morning at the hotel of the latter in order to receive his last instructions, and he was then informed by Madame Lamartine of the extreme danger of her husband, and the critical position of affairs at the Hôtel de Ville. Thither accordingly he immediately hastened, and found Lamartine and Marrast there. The first question Changarnier asked was whether the National Guard had been summoned, and upon Lamartine replying in the negative, he persuaded Marrast that it was his duty as Mayor of Paris to call them out when the public tranquillity was threatened. Marrast acquiesced, and twelve horsemen were instantly despatched to the twelve sub-mayoralties of Paris, with orders to beat the rappel. But during these arrangements and hesitations much precious time

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had been lost; the insurgents, in great strength, were not far distant, and the Garde Mobile had not yet arrived. At length they made their appearance, though only three battalions of four hundred men each; and Changarnier, who at once took the entire direction of the defence, wisely withdrew them within the building, the doors and windows of which were strongly barricaded. Still the rappel was not heard in the streets; it was evident some hours must elapse before even the first battalions of the National Guard could arrive; and all Lamartine's firmness and Changarnier's military skill were required to avert the catastrophe, for the heads of the enormous column of the insurgents were already beginning to appear.[1]

[1] Lam. i. 320, 321; Cass. i. 356, 357; Ann. Hist. 1848, 161; Normanby, i. 324, 325, 333.

60. Defeat of the insurrection.

For two hours longer the inmates of the Hôtel de Ville remained shut up in the building; and though the rappel had been heard, no part of the National Guard had yet arrived. All seemed lost, for the insurgents had already entered the Place de Grève, and occupied all the opposite end of the square. A battalion of volunteers arrived at this critical moment, and were harangued by Lamartine, who throughout evinced the greatest courage. Meanwhile a column of thirty thousand insurgents met at the Louvre two regiments of the National Guard, commanded by General Courtais; he allowed part to pass, and then, pushing forward his men in double-quick time, interposed them between that part and the remainder, This retarded the advance of the head of the column, and its leaders were perplexed by not seeing at the windows of the Hôtel de Ville the expected signals, and by the seizure of a *fourgon* containing fifteen hundred loaded muskets, which Changarnier had detected near the building, disguised under the appearance of a holiday waggon. Soon after, the heads of the columns of the National Guard were seen on the left bank of the Seine, and, passing over the bridges in double-quick time, they debouched into the Place de Grève, and, drawing up in

close column in front of the Hôtel de Ville, presented an impenetrable barrier to the insurgents. The victory was now gained, and the insurgents were obliged to submit to the humiliation of advancing with their petition without arms, in single file, through the armed battalions. Before nightfall it was rendered complete by the arrival of the National Guard in such numbers that before dark one hundred and thirty thousand men were assembled round the building. Then, and *not till then*, L. Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, and the other members of the Government, who had either been intimidated or in secret favoured the insurrection, came to the Hôtel de Ville. They had all passed the day, *far from danger*, in the hotel of the Minister of Finance. The meeting between them and Lamartine was so stormy that it was evidently only a question of time when the Provisional Government should fall to pieces from its own divisions.[1]

[1] Moniteur, April 19, 1848; Lam. i. 326-331; L. Blanc, c. xiii. 118, 121; Normanby, i. 324-326; Ann. Hist. 1848, 161.

62. Disorders at Rouen and other provincial towns.

When dissensions so violent were shaking not only the capital but the Provisional Government itself, it was not to be supposed that the provinces should escape without convulsions. They broke out with peculiar severity in the manufacturing towns, where the greatest efforts had been made to spread Socialist principles, and the prevailing distress insured them the most ready reception. Anxious to avert them, the prefect of Rouen, M. Deschamps, on 10th March, yielded to the solicitations which, on such occasions, are so often addressed to those in authority, and imprudently issued a tariff, fixing the operatives' wages at certain rates, according to their supposed capacities and the necessities of their situations. The consequence might have been foreseen: the master manufacturers, unable from the general depression to pay the sums fixed, dismissed their workmen, and closed their doors. Upon this, the public agitation rapidly increased; tumultuous crowds assembled in the streets, shouting "Vive Deschamps! à bas les capitalistes!" A strong body of troops, which soon after arrived, restored order

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at the time, but the workmen remained idle, suffering, and in sullen discontent. This ill-humour was at first vented on a body of four thousand English workmen, who, in defiance of Lord Normanby's remonstrance, were forcibly ejected, and sent back to England without any of the sums they had deposited in the savings' bank; and at length the general indignation rose to such a pitch that barricades were run up in all the densely-peopled parts of the town, which were stormed by the troops of the line, not without serious slaughter on both sides. Similar disorders took place about the same time, and were suppressed by the like sanguinary measures, in Elbœuf, Nantes, Nîsmes, and several other places; while at Limoges the tumult was so violent that the polling-office was stormed when the elections were going on,—five hundred national guards, sent to suppress the tumult, were surrounded and disarmed,—and a provisional government appointed, which for some time ruled the town and surrounding district.[1]

April 27.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 165, 171.

63. Grand review in Paris. April 21.

Anxious to improve the victory which they had gained in the capital, the members of the Provisional Government agreed on a grand military demonstration in Paris, and for this purpose assembled together not only the whole national guards of the city and *banlieu*, but large bodies of regular troops from the towns and departments in the neighbourhood. The day was fixed for the 21st April; it proved uncommonly fine, and the military force assembled was of unparalleled magnitude, and, if it could all have been relied on, might well have inspired the Provisional Government with the consciousness of invincible strength. The Provisional Government and Ministers took their stations at daybreak at the arch of the Etoile to see the troops defile before them, and from thence the eye wandered over a sea of helmets, bayonets, guns, and standards, which filled the whole avenue of the Champs Elysées, the gardens of the Tuileries, with the quays and principal streets beyond them. Everything

wore a joyous aspect; the bayonets of the soldiers were decorated with ribbons, the touch-holes of the cannon ornamented with flowers; universal satisfaction and enthusiasm seemed to prevail; and before eleven at night, when the procession ceased, three hundred and fifty thousand armed men had passed, and fifty thousand more were obliged to be put off to the following day. Yet amid all "this pomp and circumstance of glorious war," there were many symptoms which were of a more dubious character, and awakened mournful presentiments in the minds of the beholders. Already the division between the rural National Guard and those of the metropolis was painfully conspicuous: cries of "Vive la République!" were heard from the latter, but those of "Vive Lamartine! à bas les Communistes!" broke from the former. Amidst all the seeming unanimity the seeds of future intestine war were very apparent, and beyond the magnificent display, intended to foreshadow the eternal duration of the Republic, the eye could already discern the prognostics of its fall.[1]

[1] Lam. ii. 337-339; Normanby, i. 335, 336.

64. The elections.

The elections came on amidst this tumult of contending hopes, fears, anxieties, and interests; and although they were of course materially affected by the influence of particular plans or men, yet upon the whole one broad line of demarcation separated them. Generally speaking, the cities returned democratic and the provinces conservative members. All returned were of course, or rather professed to be, republican; and the disposition among the latter almost universally was to support the Provisional Government as the last remaining barrier between the country and the usurpation of the Parisian Communists. But the majority were far from being inclined to support the republican as the ultimate form of government in France. They regarded the Revolution in Paris as a mere surprise, in promoting or resisting which the country had taken no share. They supported the Provisional Government because it was in possession of Paris, and in the mean

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time there was nothing better to support; but they sighed for the period when a government might be established more in unison with the wishes, and suited to the circumstances, of the country. Lamartine was the universal hero both with the conservative party in the towns and nearly the whole rural electors; he was the champion of order against the disorganising doctrines of the Socialists, and their attempted despotism over France; and his popularity was proved by his being spontaneously returned by ten electoral districts besides that which he selected for his seat in Paris.[1] The following is the account which he has recorded of his popularity at this period: "The National Assembly was almost throughout inspired by the desire of public safety. The name of Lamartine issued ten times from the electoral urn, without his even knowing that he had been put up as a candidate. Had he said a word, expressed a desire, given a sign, he would have been elected in eighty departments. His popularity was without bounds at Paris, in France, in Germany, Italy, America. In Germany his name was synonymous with peace; in France it was a guarantee against terror; in Italy it was the symbol of hope; in America it was identified with the republic. He had in truth at that moment *the sovereignty over European thought.* He could not move a step in the streets without receiving acclamations. They followed him to his dwelling, they interrupted his slumbers. Twice at the opera, when he was recognised, the audience suspended the performance and stood up. France personified in him its joy to have again obtained a government." Such is Lamartine's own account of his popularity at this period; probably it will be somewhat impaired in future times by his being himself the party who proclaimed it.[2] *

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 170, 171; Lam. ii. 342.

[2] Lam. ii. 349, 350.

* The votes given in the department of the Seine to the different candidates were as follows, which probably pretty fairly represent their respective popularities—viz. Lamartine, 259,800; Dupont de l'Eure, 245,083; François Arago, 243,640; Garnier Pagès, 240,890; Armand Marrast, 239,166; Marie, 225,776; Crémieux, 210,699; Beranger, 204,271; Carnot, 195,608;

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First meeting of the new Assembly. May 4.

The National Assembly met on the 4th May, the anniversary of the meeting of the States-General in 1789. The Provisional Government had decreed that the deputies should all appear in a particular costume, of which a *gilet à la Robespierre* was the most conspicuous part. But the good sense of the deputies disregarded the injunction, and one only, Caussidière, appeared in the prescribed dress. Audry de Puyraveau was the first chairman, and Dupont de l'Eure opened the proceedings on the part of the Provisional Government. "You are about," said he, "to form a new government on the sacred base of democracy, and to give to France *the only constitution which suits it*, the republican constitution. Faithful to our origin and our convictions, we have not forgotten to proclaim the republic in February. To-day we inaugurate the National Assembly by the only cry which should rally it, 'Vive la République.'" Loud cries of "Vive la République" were heard upon this; but they proceeded chiefly from the galleries, and were at length re-echoed from the Left only. The Centre and Right remained nearly silent, and they formed the decided majority of the Assembly. It was already evident that the majority of the Assembly, though neither royalist nor reactionary, was as moderate as a legislature elected under such circumstances could possibly be. The meeting was held in a wooden building, erected in the court-yard of the former palace of the Chamber of Deputies, as the old edifice was wholly unable to contain the enlarged number of deputies, which was 900. About 620 were present, and the reception of the Provisional Government was extremely cold. The circumstance of the Assembly holding its meetings in a temporary building was regarded by many as ominous of the duration of the constitution they were called together to frame.[1] There was none

[1] Moniteur, May 5, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 172, 173; Normanby, i. 357-361.

Bethmont, 189,252; Duvivier, 182,175; Cavaignac, 144,187; Buchez, 135,678; Caussidière, 133,775; Albert, 133,041; Ledru-Rollin, 131,587; Flocon, 121,864; Louis Blanc, 121,140.

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of the enthusiasm of 1789 on this occasion. Then all was hope and confidence in the coming regeneration of society by the establishment of government on a popular basis. Now experience had chilled these hopes, and the general feeling was a desire to extricate the country as quickly as possible from the dangers with which it was surrounded.

66. Lamartine's speech on foreign affairs. May 6.

On the day following, the election of a president took place, when M. Buchez, joint-mayor of Paris, was chosen by 329 votes out of 727 which were presented. On the 6th the Provisional Government solemnly resigned their authority into the hands of the Assembly, and each of them rendered an account of his stewardship in the department committed to his direction. That of M. de Lamartine was remarkable, as containing his views on the external policy of the Republic. "Our system," said he, "is that of democratic truth, which will gradually enlarge itself into faith in universal social brotherhood. Our vital air is the breath of liberty in every free state in the universe. Three months have not yet elapsed since it was established amongst us; and if democracy must have its thirty years' warlike protestantism at this moment, instead of marching at the head of thirty-six millions of men, France, counting among its allies the free states of Switzerland, Italy, and the emancipated people of Germany, is already at the head of eighty-eight millions of confederates and allies! What victory could equal to the Republic such a confederacy, conquered without shedding one drop of blood, and cemented by the conviction of our disinterestedness? France, on the fall of royalty, rose up from its abasement, as a vessel loaded with a foreign weight rights itself when it is removed. Such, citizens, is the exact position of our exterior affairs. The prosperity and glory of that situation is entirely owing to the Republic.[1] We accept the whole responsibility connected with it; and we congratulate ourselves upon having appeared before the representatives of the

[1] Moniteur, May 7, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 175.

nation, with its grandeur secured, with its hands full of alliances, and unstained by human blood."

1848. 67. Appointment of the Executive Commission. May 10.

The first serious care which awaited the Assembly was the appointment of an Executive Commission to supply the place of the Provisional Government which had resigned, until a constitution could be framed and agreed to, and a regular administration appointed. It was agreed that the nomination of the ministers should be intrusted to a commission of five members of the Assembly. Of course the appointment of them became an object of the very highest importance, rousing into activity all the ambitions and passions of the members. Such was Lamartine's vanity and confidence in his popularity, that he never doubted that the first place in this important commission would be conferred upon himself. When informed by M. Marrast, on occasion of the previous election, of his position at the head of the poll, he said in the pride of his heart, "Then I am a head taller than either Alexander or Cæsar."[1] But his fall was at hand. In order to secure his nomination, he entered into a coalition with Ledru-Rollin and Marie, with whom he had so recently been literally on terms of daggers-drawing, and whose principles, he well knew, were utterly inconsistent with anything like regular government. On the 9th May he made a strange ambiguous speech, in which he declared that "between him and his former colleagues the differences were more apparent than real," and concluded with openly supporting M. Ledru-Rollin. The result at once showed how completely he had mistaken the temper of the Assembly. When the votes were counted, instead of being, as he expected, at the head of the list, he was fourth, and next to Ledru-Rollin ! * Lord Normanby had warned him, in the most earnest terms, of the danger which he ran by entering into the coalition ; but he was deaf to his representations,

[1] Regnault, Gouv. Prov. c. xiv.

* The numbers were—Arago, 725 ; Garnier Pagès, 715 ; Marie, 702 ; Lamartine, 643 ; Ledru-Rollin, 458.—*Moniteur*, 10th May 1848.

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saying, he knew he would "be damaged at the moment, but that it would be a three weeks' wonder, and then his reputation would become higher than ever." The event has proved that he was mistaken; he has never recovered the injury inflicted on his character by this unprincipled coalition. He has entered, in his *History of the Revolution*, into a laboured vindication of his conduct, but in vain; and, like Sir R. Peel, he remains an enduring monument of the eternal truth, that dereliction of principle on a vital question, however speciously supported, never fails to be fatal to the reputation of public men.[1]

[1] Moniteur, May 10, 1848; Reg., Gouv. Prov. c.xiv.; Lam. ii. 413, 415.

68. Extreme discontent of the Socialists.

But there were other ambitions besides that of Lamartine which were disappointed by the election of the five members of the Executive Commission. Neither Louis Blanc nor Albert, neither Blanqui, nor Barbès, nor Raspail, were to be found in it, although the two first were members of the Assembly, and eligible to a place. They had resigned their situations as President and Vice-President of the Commission of the Luxembourg; and on the day following, Louis Blanc brought forward a distinct motion to have the Commission reappointed, under the direction of a "Minister of Progress and Labour," which situation he made no attempt to disguise was suited for himself. In this oration he characterised himself as the martyr of his love for the people, and drew a picture, in the most lugubrious terms, of the condition of industry in France, literally in the last agonies of dissolution. He was far from being supported, however, in his demand for a Minister of "Labour and Progress;" and the finishing-stroke was given to his *éloge* of the former Commission by the ironical observation of M. Peupin, formerly delegate of the watchmakers: "I am far from blaming the Commission of the Luxembourg, and they would err greatly who say that it has been in fault. *Can those be culpable who have done nothing?*" Instead of appointing Louis Blanc Minister of Progress, the Assembly, on the motion of M.

Arago, named a commission, of which he was only a member, to inquire into the condition and sufferings of the working classes. On the day following, the various offices of Government were filled up by persons for the most part not very eminent, and apparently selected chiefly for their negative quality of not belonging to either of the extreme parties.*

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69. Division between the Assembly and the Socialists.

The truth was now apparent even to the most obtuse among the republicans, that they were in a decided minority in the Assembly. *Democracy in France had been extinguished by Universal Suffrage*—a strange result, wholly unexpected by the great majority of the revolutionists, but by no means surprising when the fact is recollected that above ten millions of landed proprietors existed in that country, most of whom were inspired with the most mortal apprehensions of the Parisian communists. "*The republican sentiment,*" says Lamartine, "*is weak in France.* Such as it is, it is ill represented in Paris and the departments by men who inspire horror and aversion to the Republic among the rural population. *The Republic is a surprise,* which we have, almost by a miracle, turned to good account, by the wisdom of the people of Paris, and by the character of moderation, clemency, and concord which we have impressed upon it. But impressions are brief and short-lived among all people, and most of all in France. Hardly will the majority of the population which has thrown itself, under the enthusiasm of fear, into the arms of the Revolution, have recovered its natural tone of mind, than it will turn against those who have saved it, and accuse the Republic. Then, if there are no republicans of old date in the Republic, or if the republicans are few in number,[1] and divided in presence of their com-

[1] Lam. ii. 405, 406.

* The ministry stood as follows :—Justice, M. Crémieux ; Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide ; War, M. Charras ; Navy, Admiral Lacy ; Interior, M. Recult ; Finances, M. Duclerc ; Public Works, M. Trélat ; Public Worship, M. Bethmont ; Commerce, M. Flocon ; Public Instruction, M. Carnot.—*Moniteur*, May 11, 1848.

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mon enemies, it is all over with the Republic. And if the Republic, the sole existing asylum of society, falls before the returning monarchical ideas or used-up monarchical institutions of the country, what will become of France?"

70. Preparations for the insurrection of May 15.

Sensible that the National Assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all the country by no means answered their purposes, the Socialists and extreme revolutionists conspired to overturn it. They had expected to become a tyrant majority; they had no intention of sinking into a tyrannised-over minority. The domination of the clubs of Paris, the establishment of the socialism which had been preached at the Luxembourg, and universal war with Europe, were their ulterior objects. Blanqui, Raspail, and Cabet, the three principal leaders of the clubs, were highly discontented, for they had not succeeded even in getting seats in the Assembly; Louis Blanc and Albert were equally chagrined, for they were not members of the Executive Commission. They had strong hopes of being supported by Ledru-Rollin, for the *Bulletin of the Republic*, No. 16, published under his auspices, had announced the "determination of the people of the barricades to adjourn the decisions of a false national representation, if the returns did not secure the triumph of socialism."[1] The better to unite these different parties together, it was resolved to take a ground on which they could all coalesce, and with this view they selected the presentation of a petition in favour of Poland, and for the immediate declaration of war against Germany. They openly boasted that the petition should be presented by an hundred thousand men. The Assembly feeling, in Lamartine's words, that a petition so presented was "not a petition but a menace," passed a decree forbidding the presentation of petitions at their bar. Upon this the whole clubs were in motion, and it was resolved to have a grand demonstration on the 15th.[2] There was no concealment of the designs of the conspira-

[1] Bulletin, No. 16.

May 12.

[2] Laribière, Hist. de l'Assemblée, liv. i. c. 6; Cass. i. 391, 392; Moniteur, May 14, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 182-185.

tors; the Assembly were perfectly aware they were to be the objects of attack. But the Executive Commission was weak from distraction of opinion, the National Guard divided, the new ministers wholly ignorant of the mode of governing men, and no adequate preparations were made to meet the danger. It came accordingly, and all but overturned the Government, and with it the Republic.

71. Dispersion of the Assembly by the insurgents. May 15.

M. Walewski, the deputy to whom the advocating the cause of Poland had been committed, was speaking in favour of an armed intervention, by declaring of war against the German Confederation, when an alarm was heard that the Assembly was threatened, and in danger of being forced. It was not that there were no troops to protect them: there were plenty, but no one would take upon himself the responsibility of giving the order to resist. General Courtais was at the head of several regiments of the National Guard in front of the Madeleine, but he was irresolute, and was persuaded to let the procession, which consisted of fully fifteen thousand persons, pass through his armed bands. Two battalions of the Garde Mobile were stationed on the Pont de la Concorde over which the procession required to pass to reach the Assembly, but they had no orders, and their officers, hearing what General Courtais had done, allowed the multitude to pass. An immense crowd now surrounded the rails forming the defence of the Palais du Corps Legislatif, loudly demanding admission, which a battalion of national guards intrusted with that post refused. In vain Ledru-Rollin, who came out to harangue them, endeavoured to obtain a hearing: he was received with a few cheers, drowned in a storm of hisses. Lamartine was next sent for, but even his voice failed of effect: he was hooted down with cries of "*Assez joué de la Lyre; mort à Lamartine!*"* In a few seconds the rails were passed, the gates of the barrier forced, and a furious crowd inundated the first court at the foot of the columns.

* "We have had enough of the lyre; Death to Lamartine!"

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Seeing this, Lamartine, and a few deputies who were with him, retired within the second rail, saying, "Reason is no longer heard: to arms! let us defend ourselves!" The inner court was occupied by a battalion of the Garde Mobile, which fixed bayonets, and seemed disposed to do its duty. But at that critical moment an order arrived from General Courtais to *unfix bayonets*, and return them to their scabbards. No longer resisted, the multitude now broke in tumultuous bodies into the hall where the Assembly was sitting; and the galleries being soon filled, those in front, pushed forward by those behind, were forced over the front of the gallery, and fell among the deputies seated beneath. Lamartine, seeing the Assembly thus forced, raised his arms towards heaven, and said in utter agony, "All is lost."[1]

[1] Normanby, i. 391-393; Lam. ii. 422-424; Cass. i. 392, 393; Moniteur, May 16, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 185, 186.

72. Scene in the Assembly.

In truth, all was lost, if the case had rested upon the resolution of the Government, or its ability to defend itself. In the front rank of the petitioners stood M. Barbès, who said, amidst deafening shouts, "Citizens, you have come here to exercise your right of petitioning: you have done well to enforce that right, and it now lies with you to take effectual measures to prevent it from ever again being contested. The duty of the Assembly is to take into consideration what you demand; and as the wish which you have expressed is precisely that of all France, the Assembly *will have to decree what you demand.* The Assembly has heard your demands: it must obey them; but to avoid the appearance of restraint, it would be well that you should now retire." But having once got possession of the hall, the insurgents were in no hurry to withdraw, and it soon appeared that the vast majority were set upon objects of more pressing importance than the restoration of Poland. "The real friends of the people," exclaimed Blanqui, "have been systematically excluded from the Assembly and the Government." Lists were handed down for the inscription of the names of those who were ready to fight in behalf

of Poland: only four signed the paper. "We have other things to do," cried they on all sides; "we have had enough of Poland." A furious crowd surrounded M. Buchez, the President, threatening him and the whole Assembly with instant death, unless he signed orders forbidding the rappel to be beat, and enjoining the National Guard not to act. He long resisted; but at length, with the dagger at his throat, he yielded. Upon this the tumult increased to a frightful degree, and all order or respect to the Assembly was lost. M. Barbès was again forced into the tribune, to state their new demands. "I insist," exclaimed he, "that a forced tax of a milliard (£40,000,000) should be laid upon the rich, and that whoever gives orders to beat the rappel should be declared a traitor to the country." "You are wrong, Barbès," cried a voice from the crowd, "*two hours of pillage* is what we want." Wearied at length with these endless and varied demands, which, from the clamour and noise, could neither be put nor considered, one of the most violent of the insurgents, named Huber, was carried on the shoulders of his comrades to the tribune, from whence he said, in a stentorian voice, "In the name of the people, whose voice the Assembly has refused to hear, I declare the Assembly dissolved." Loud applause followed these words, which were immediately succeeded by a dozen men scaling the President's chair, and dragging him from his seat. In confusion and utter dismay the Assembly rose up, and, following its chief, abandoned the hall.[1]

[1] Moniteur, May 16, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 187, 188; Lam. ii. 425-428; Cassagnac, i. 394-397; L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. 160-162.

73. New Provisional Government appointed.

Having thus dissolved the Assembly, the insurgents proceeded to nominate a new Provisional Government. The persons first appointed were Barbès, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Blanqui, Huber, Raspail, Caussidière, Etienne Arago, Albert, Lagrange. This list, however, was deemed not sufficiently socialist; and a new one was read out, and agreed to by acclamation, which embraced Cabet, L. Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Raspail, Considerant, Barbès, Blanqui, Proudhon. The preponder-

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ance of the Communist element was very clear here, and several voices called out, "There are too many Socialists." The Government, however, was agreed to, and the whole proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, preceded by a hideous mob shouting, "The Assembly is dissolved; long live the Revolutionary Government!—long live Barbès!" The procession, swelling as it advanced, passed without obstruction before the Prefecture of Police, and took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where the Government was formally installed. But meanwhile Lamartine had despatched several trusty messengers to the battalions of the National Guard who were most likely to prove faithful, to hasten to the deliverance of the Assembly. At length, about four o'clock, the welcome roll of a drum was heard on the other side of the Seine, and soon the bayonets of a corps of National Guards were seen crossing the Pont de la Concorde at the *pas de charge*. In an instant the Hall of the Assembly was cleared, and the rude intruders chased out of the doors and windows. They fell back upon the Hôtel de Ville, where the Insurrectionary Government was established, and the principal strength of the rebels was to be found. Preparation for a desperate resistance had been made, and four pieces of artillery were brought up before the infantry, in order to breach the walls of the building before an assault was made. The moment was terrible; but the hearts of the insurgents failed them at the decisive moment: they evacuated the building when they saw the guns pointed against it; and it was taken possession of without resistance by the forces of the Government. Seventy-two prisoners were made on the spot, among whom were Barbès and Albert.[1]

[1] Moniteur, May 16, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 188, 189; Lam. ii. 442-453; Cass. i. 398, 399.

Three thousand of the insurgents, all armed, shut themselves up in the Prefecture of Police, where they prepared to resist; but next morning they surrendered to six thousand of the National Guard, which were brought against them. The whole members of the Insurrectionary Go-

vernment were arrested, and conducted to Vincennes. General Courtais, whose conduct at the head of the National Guard had been more than doubtful, was dismissed, and succeeded by General Clement Thomas, and Caussidière, after some hesitation, resigned the situation of head of the police, and was succeeded by M. Trouve-Chauvel. The battalions of the Garde Républicaine, which had universally failed in their duty, were purged of their most disaffected members, and reduced to something like military order and obedience. General Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria, received the portfolio of Minister of War. Finally, the entrance of great numbers of National Guards from the neighbourhood of the capital, all animated with the strongest indignation against the Parisian Socialists, enabled the Government to take the decisive step of closing the clubs, which was done on the succeeding days, not without violent resistance and some bloodshed. A commission was appointed to make inquiry into the insurrections of the 16th April and 15th May, which immediately commenced its labours, and published a report under the title of "Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête," containing a vast deal of information on the subject, and more authentic evidence on the effects of the revolution than any other collection in existence.[1]

74. Measures which followed the suppression of the insurrection.

[1] Commission d'Enquête, passim; Ann. Hist. 1848, 190, 191; Lam. ii. 452, 453; Caussidière, ii. 217-230.

The facts brought out by the Commission d'Enquête appeared so strongly to implicate M. Louis Blanc, that the Procureurs-General, MM. Portalis and Landaries, demanded permission from the Assembly to institute a formal accusation against him. The question was warmly debated; but at length, by a majority of 369 to 337, they negatived the demand. It appeared from the evidence that, though Louis Blanc had been borne on the shoulders of the people from the Hall of the Assembly to the Hôtel de Ville, and there named one of the insurrectionary government, yet he was, in truth, hardly a free agent on the occasion, and that he was implicated in the rebellion rather from the doctrines he had promul-

75. Subsequent proceedings of the Assembly. June 5.

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gated at the Luxembourg than from immediate accession to the attack on the Assembly. But in truth, even if the case had been otherwise, they were too well aware of the strength, at least in Paris, of the party of which he was the head, and the insufficiency of their means of resistance, to venture on the prosecution which was demanded. Meanwhile the disorders in the provinces continued without abatement. At Lyons, on the 18th May, a furious mob arose, demanding the instant liberation of the prisoners who had been arrested on occasion of the tumults in February. The prefect, unable to withstand the violence with which he was threatened, was obliged to sign an order for their liberation; and they were immediately carried in triumph to the Croix Rouge, where barricades were constructed, and a sort of provisional government established. Surrounded by so many and such serious dangers, the Assembly still strangely kept their eyes fixed on those which were passed, and by a majority of 632 to 63, adopted a law, proposed by the Executive Commission, banishing for ever the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, as the elder branch had already been, from the French territory.[1]

May 18.

May 26.

[1] Moniteur, May 22, 27, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 193-199.

76. Commencement of an agitation in favour of Louis Napoleon.

But the Government soon found that they had more serious causes of disquietude than the dread of a reaction, and more formidable competitors for power to contend with than the princes of the house of Orléans. Among other persons who were brought forward as candidates for a seat in the Chamber in the elections coming on in June, was one whose name spoke powerfully to every heart in France, Louis Napoleon. A placard, recommending him to the electors of Paris, bore these ominous words: "Louis Napoleon only asks to be a representative of the people; and he has not forgot that Napoleon, before being the first magistrate of France, was its first citizen." His name was heard in various groups on the Boulevards at night: "Vive l'Empereur!" broke from the masses as often as "Vive Barbès!" "Vive la Répub-

lique democratique!" Alarmed at these appearances, M. de Lamartine, taking advantage of a report, which was afterwards proved to be false, that the commander of the National Guard had been fired at from a crowd which was raising cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" proposed to the Assembly to renew against Louis Napoleon by name the general decree of banishment against the princes of the family of Buonaparte passed in 1832. "We will never," said he, "permit France to degrade herself, as was the case in Rome during the days of the Lower Empire, when the Republic was bought by a name shouted by a few noisy conspirators." These words produced at first a great impression; but ere long it wore off, and in the end the project of banishment was negatived by a majority of two to one. Louis Napoleon, in consequence, was permitted to remain on the roll of candidates, and he was simultaneously elected by the departments of the Seine, the Yonne, the Sarthe, and the Charente-Inférieure. He notified his acceptance of the charge in a letter, some of the expressions in which singularly contrast with his subsequent career, but he afterwards declined to take his seat, from a desire to avoid causing dissension in the Republic.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 204-208; Lam. ii. 464-469; Cass. i. 401-404.

The elections for the Assembly in June were very remarkable, as evincing the steady and now uninterrupted growth of reactionary principles in the greater part of the country. The former repugnance to the statesmen who had served in the Chamber of Deputies

* "Your confidence imposes on me duties which I shall know how to discharge. Our feelings, our interests, our wishes, are the same. A child of Paris, now a representative of its inhabitants, I will unite my efforts with those of my colleagues to re-establish order, credit, industry, to secure external peace, *consolidate democratic institutions*, and mutually conciliate those interests which now appear hostile, because they suspect each other to run counter, instead of conspiring to one end—the prosperity and glory of the country. The people have been free since the 24th February; they can now obtain everything without having recourse to brute force. Let us rally round the altar of our country under the standard of our country, and let us give to the world the great example of a people who regenerate themselves without violence, without civil war, without anarchy."—*Ann. Hist.* 1848, p. 208.

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77. Increasing conservatism of the electors, and weakness of the Government.

under Louis Philippe was fast wearing away, and a dread of the rashness of inexperienced men succeeding in its place. Then were, for the first time since the Revolution, returned to the Assembly M. Thiers, M. Victor Hugo, Charles Dupin, General Changarnier, General Rulhières, M. Molé, Marshal Bugeaud, M. A. Fould, M. Rivet. M. Molé was sought after in his retreat by the electors of the Gironde, and forced to accept their representation. On the other hand, the electors of Paris returned MM. Caussidière, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Lagrange—that is to say, the chiefs of Socialism. Everything thus conspired to indicate a terrible struggle between the country and the metropolis, which, although it might begin in the Assembly, would to all appearance terminate in the streets. And in the presence of this evidently approaching danger, it was melancholy to see the pitiable state of weakness to which the executive Government was reduced. Formed by an avowed coalition of men of the most diametrically opposite opinions, its members had lost the weight of individual character without having gained the force of united action. The Socialists were determined on an insurrection against the Assembly, which they now saw was decidedly opposed to their demands; and the Executive Commission, divided in itself, felt so unequal to meet it that Lamartine strongly advised them to resign, which shame at the thought of retiring in presence of danger alone prevented them from doing. In the mean time, every precaution was taken to protect them from insult; and the strange spectacle was exhibited to the world of a sovereign legislature, elected by universal suffrage, deliberating under the protection of cannon pointed against its own constituents.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 204, 205; Lam. ii. 469, 470; Cass. i. 401, 402; Caussidière, ii. 276-284.

* The votes for these new candidates were as follows in the department of the Seine: Caussidière, 146,400; Moreau, 126,889; Goudchoux, 107,097; Changarnier, 105,559; M. Thiers, 97,394; Leroux, 94,375; Victor Hugo, 86,966; Louis Napoleon, 84,426; Legrange, 78,682; Boissel, 77,247; Proudhon, 77,094.—*Moniteur*, June 12, 1848.

Alarming state of the finances.

Meanwhile the state of the finances was daily becoming more alarming, and France was beginning again to experience the bitter truth, that the inevitable effect of revolutions is at once to diminish the revenue and enormously increase the expenditure. In the sixty-nine days which had elapsed between the fall of Louis Philippe and the installation of the National Assembly, the Provisional Government had opened extraordinary credits to the amount of 206,183,035 francs; and such was the necessitous state of the Treasury, notwithstanding the addition of 45 per cent to the direct taxes, that the only resource which remained to M. Duclerc, who had succeeded M. Garnier Pagès as Finance Minister, was a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs, and then to cut down woods to the extent of 25,000,000 francs, and alienate lands belonging to the State or the Crown to the extent of 200,000,000 more! Immense as these sums were, they did not embrace the whole obligations incurred by the State in consequence of this most disastrous Revolution; for the Bank of France had already advanced 245,000,000 francs to the Provisional Government, making, with M. Duclerc's fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs, no less than 395,000,000 francs, or nearly £16,000,000 sterling of debt already incurred from its effects. The fearful shortcoming of the indirect taxes, which in the course of the year fell off 150,000,000 francs, the enormous charges of the Ateliers Nationaux, and the great increase of the army, were the chief causes of this most disastrous state of things. The men receiving wages at the Ateliers Nationaux were now 118,300, and their cost was 250,000 francs a-day. Of this immense multitude not more than two thousand were actually employed in any species of labour, the remainder being paid for doing nothing, or holding themselves at the beck of the leaders of the clubs to assemble in multitudes, in order to overawe the Government.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 212, 213; Cass. i. 401-402; Commission d'Enquête, Dep. de Lalanne.

It was impossible that such a state of things could

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Steps which led to the insurrection.

continue, and yet it was equally evident that it could not be terminated without a desperate struggle; for the paid workmen, who were for the most part able-bodied and armed, were determined not to relinquish the advantage they had gained. In order to derive some advantage from this immense mass of idle workmen, M. Leon Faucher,

May 27.

in the end of May, brought forward a proposal for employing a certain number of the men in the formation of the lines of railway which had been in progress when the Revolution broke out. At the same time some regulations were laid down for correcting the abuses so prevalent in the drawing of pay, and M. Emile Thomas, the superintendent, who had connived at them, was sent under the surveillance of the police to Bordeaux. The committee to whom the matter was reported, recommended that the workmen who had not been domiciled more than three months in the department of the Seine should be sent to their respective homes, to be employed in such productive labour as could there be found for them; and the

June 10.

Assembly, adopting this report, passed several decrees for enforcing the removal of a certain number of the workmen to various railway works. Victor Hugo, the celebrated novelist, albeit a decided Liberal, who had obtained a place in the Assembly, said on this occasion: "The Ateliers Nationaux were necessary when first established; but it is now high time to remedy an evil of which the least inconvenience is to squander uselessly the resources of the Republic. What have they produced in the course of four months? Nothing. They have deprived the hardy sons of toil of employment, given them a distaste for labour, and demoralised them to such a degree that they are no longer ashamed to beg on the streets. The Monarchy had its idlers; the Republic has its vagabonds. God forbid that the enemies of the country should succeed in converting the Parisian workmen, formerly so virtuous, into lazzaroni or prætorians. *When Paris is in agony, London rejoices;*[1] its power, riches,

[1] Moniteur, June 21, 1848; Cass. i. 401, 402; Ann. Reg. 1848, 283.

and preponderance have tripled since our disturbances commenced."

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These measures excited the most violent discontent among the workmen; and an insurrection was openly talked of, which was first fixed for the 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile. But the measures directed against the Ateliers Nationaux brought matters to a crisis at an earlier period. On June 20, M. Leon Faucher, on the part of the committee to whom the matter had been intrusted, reported that 120,000 workmen were now paid daily at the Ateliers Nationaux, and 50,000 more were demanding to be admitted. Horrorstruck at this prospect, he saw no resource but a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs by the Government, to set in motion in the provinces the industry so fatally arrested by the Revolution; but to this the Finance Minister made the strongest possible objections. Thus, between the two, nothing was done; and meanwhile the unpaid workmen and Socialists, encouraged by the leaders of the clubs, made open preparations for insurrection, and resolved to resist any attempt at removal. "We must not go," said they; "they are about to destroy the Republic."[1]

80. Measures against the Socialists, and general discontent among them.

June 20.

[1] Moniteur, June 21, 1848; Cass. i. 401, 402; Com. d'Enquête, Dep. de M. Carlin; Ann. Hist. 1848, 217, 218.

81. Forces on both sides.

It was all very well, however, as a figure of speech to declaim on 100,000 armed men as ready to support the democratic and socialist Revolution; but when the contest commenced, it was found that the actual number who could be relied on was much less considerable. Altogether it was computed that from 25,000 to 30,000 would come forth to support the insurrection, composed of 12,000 liberated convicts, 6000 of the most determined from the Ateliers Nationaux, and 8000 or 10,000 from the secret societies and clubs. On the other hand, the forces Government had *nominally* at its disposal were much more considerable. There were 20,000 regular troops in the barracks of Paris, with ample artillery and cavalry; 15,000 in the neighbouring towns; and the National Guard in the metropolis and the *banlieu* had

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already turned out, *for a review*, forces said to amount to 300,000 men. But though abundantly ready to come forward on days of holiday parade, it was very doubtful how far the majority of these would act when shots were to be fired in anger; and it was well known that a large proportion of them were in secret inclined to the insurgents, and would, if the contest appeared at all doubtful, in all probability join them. A similar disunion pervaded the executive, and no united action could be expected from a directory in which such opposite characters as Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Marie held the reins of power. On the other hand, the insurgents, impelled by necessity and in dread of starvation, were united and desperate, and obeyed leaders of no small military ability, invested with that absolute power with which mutineers never fail to invest those whom for a time they have placed in command. Thus, though in appearance unequal, the contest was in reality more evenly balanced than might be supposed; and at any rate, the most desperate conflict which had occurred since the first beginning of the troubles in 1789 was evidently approaching, and it was much to be feared that any serious reverse at first would throw all the waverers into the arms of the insurgents, and in all probability consign France to the sanguinary rule of a Red Republic.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 217-220; Lam. ii. 478-480; Cass. i. 407; Com. d'Enquête, Dep. de M. Carlin.

82. Commencement of the insurrection. June 22.

Hostilities commenced at nine at night on the 22d June by the assembling of crowds on the quays, from the bridge of Notre Dame to the Hôtel de Ville, and the placarding of an address calling on all Frenchmen to sign a petition to the National Assembly on the "organisation of labour." At the same time a brigade of the workmen which had been sent to Corbeil returned, contrary to orders, to Paris, and stationed themselves in the Place of the Bastile and at the Barrier du Trône, calling out, "Vive Napoleon!" "Vive l'Empereur!" "A bas Marie!" "Nous resterons!" During the whole night the workmen of the Ateliers Nationaux remained in

the streets, and their leaders and the orators from the clubs harangued them without intermission. Every leader had his post assigned to him. The organisation of the insurrection corresponded exactly to that of the brigades of the Ateliers Nationaux. The whole were under the powerful and able direction of the Société des Droits de l'Homme, which had reconstituted itself in defiance of the Government on the 11th June. Early on the morning of the 23d the erection of barricades commenced, and proceeded with a rapidity, order, and consistency which evidently bespoke a long-laid plan. Nearly the whole population, men, women, and children, in the disaffected districts, which comprised a full half of the city, were employed on these works, which sprang up as if by enchantment, and soon appeared of stupendous magnitude. Before noon, nearly one half of Paris, comprising all lying to the eastward of a line drawn from the Pantheon to the Chateau d'Eau, was covered with barricades. Two strong ones were erected at the Porte St Denis, one at that of St Martin, one at the entry of the Faubourg du Temple, four in the streets leading to the Hôtel de Ville, one of stupendous magnitude at the entrance of the Faubourg St Antoine, and thirty in the neighbourhood of the Isle of St Louis, the Faubourg St Jacques, and the Faubourg St Marceau.[1]

June 23.

[1] Moniteur, June 24, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 219-221; Lam. ii. 477-480.

83. Progress of the insurrection. June 23.

During all this time nothing whatever was done on the part of Government to interrupt these preparations. The truth was, they had not, in the outset, the means of combating the insurrection over the immense surface over which it extended. General Cavaignac, in whom, as Minister at War, the supreme command was invested, had only at his disposal 23,000 infantry and 2000 horse, of whom not more than 20,000 of both arms could be calculated upon as effective. The *générale* was immediately beat in all the streets; but the National Guard was very backward in answering the call, and many of them, as well as some of the Garde Mobile, were to be

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seen in the ranks of the insurgents. Orders were sent off immediately to four regiments at Versailles and Orléans to come to Paris; telegraphic messages to the same effect were despatched to those stationed at Lille, Metz, and Rouen, and even a division of the Army of the Alps was ordered to the capital. But some time must necessarily elapse before even the nearest of these troops could arrive, and meanwhile every hour was precious; something required to be done instantly to stop the progress of the insurrection. But Cavaignac was too old and too good a soldier not to know the extreme hazard of involving troops in insufficient numbers in the narrow streets of an insurgent capital, and too much experienced in revolutions not to be aware of the ruinous results which might ensue from the defeat or capture of even an inconsiderable body of regular soldiers. He positively refused, therefore, to divide his forces, or act on any extended scale before the reinforcements came up. In this opinion he was strongly supported by Lamartine. "Do not deceive yourselves," said he to the other members of the Provisional Government; "we do not advance to a strife with an *emeute*, but to a pitched battle with a confederacy of great factions. If the Republic, and with it society, is to be saved, it must have arms in its hands during the first years of its existence; and its forces should be disposed, not only here, but over the whole surface of the empire, as for great wars which embrace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces, as in the days of Cæsar and Pompey."[1]

[1] Lam. ii. 473; Moniteur, June 24, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 220-222; Normanby, ii. 27, 28.

84. Cavaignac's preparations and plans of action.

Cavaignac kept his regular troops in reserve the whole of the 23d, and devoted himself to the organisation of his forces as for a serious campaign. He divided his men into four columns, which were placed under the orders of Generals Lamoricière, Duvivier, Damesne, and Bedeau. The first of these took post near the Porte St Denis and Porte St Martin, prepared to combat the insurrection in the northern parts of the city; the second was intrusted with the defence of the Hôtel de Ville, the general head-

quarters of the Government, but which was threatened with an attack on every side; the third was stationed on the Place Cambray and the Bridge St Michel; and the fourth was to support General Damesne in the quarter of the Pantheon and the Faubourg St Marceau. The insurgents, on their side, were also divided into four columns of five or six thousand men each, supported by an immense body of tirailleurs and detached musketeers. Their efforts were mainly directed to gain possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and one corps was strongly posted in all the narrow streets and houses adjoining it, where cavalry could not act, and artillery could not be introduced. The second had its headquarters in the Pantheon, and occupied all the streets stretching from thence to the Pont St Michel and the Seine. The headquarters of the third were in the hospital of Clos St Lazare, and stretched to the north as far as the Faubourg du Temple; while the fourth had constructed a gigantic barrier on the Place of the Bastile, and occupied the whole streets as far as the Eglise St Gervais, behind the Hôtel de Ville.[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 25, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 221, 228, 229.

85. First combats, and appointment of Cavaignac as Dictator.

The first hostilities commenced on the evening of the 23d, when the National Guard, though unsupported by troops of the line, attacked and carried the barrier at the Porte St Martin. This was followed by an assault on that of the Porte St Denis, where a most desperate resistance was experienced, and where the enthusiasm of the people was evinced by several women combating on the work, one of whom fell pierced by several balls. But these posts, though carried at the time, were all retaken by the insurgents in the night. On the morning of the 24th, matters looked very serious, and the Assembly, which had endeavoured to ignore the danger, was forced to recognise and take measures to avert it. The inefficiency of the Executive Commission, and the distrust they had inspired in the National Guard, having become painfully conspicuous, a motion was made at noon on the 24th, to confer absolute power on a Dictator, and

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General Cavaignac was suggested and approved almost unanimously. Some hesitation having been expressed as to the mode of doing this, and the authority to be conferred, M. Bastide cut the discussion short with these words: "If you hesitate, in an hour the Hôtel de Ville may be taken." The appointment was immediately passed by acclamation; and such was the confidence which it inspired, that, in two hours after it was known, twenty thousand additional men appeared in the ranks of the National Guard. The Executive Commission, finding themselves thus superseded, resigned their appointments, and absolute uncontrolled authority was vested in the Dictator.[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 25, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 227, 228; Normanby, ii. 35; Lam. ii. 474, 475.

86. Subsequent actions.

The effects of this great change were soon apparent. Immense was the difference between the hesitation and disunited action of five civilians in presence of danger, and the decided conduct of one single experienced military chief. The first object was to repel the enemy from the vicinity of the Hôtel de Ville. The task was no easy one, for the streets around it swarmed with armed men; every window was filled with tirailleurs, and from the summit of barricades, which were erected across the narrow thoroughfares at every hundred yards, streamed a well-directed and deadly fire of musketry. At length, however, after a dreadful struggle, the nearest streets were carried, and the Hôtel de Ville put for the time in a state of comparative safety. The attack was next carried into the adjoining quarters of the Eglise St Gervais and the Rue St Antoine, while General Lamoricière pushed on towards the Faubourg St Denis, and then, wheeling to his left, commenced an assault on the Faubourg Poissonnière. The combat here was long and bloody, and at the end of three hours' fighting the progress made was far from considerable. The insurgents defended each barricade as it was attacked as long as possible, and when it was about to be forced, they quickly retired to the next one in rear, generally not more than

one or two hundred yards distant, which was stubbornly held in like manner; while upon the column which advanced in pursuit a heavy and murderous fire was directed from the windows of the adjoining houses. In vain Cavaignac threatened to bring up mortars to throw bombs into the houses behind the barricades if they were not abandoned; this threat had no effect; and it was only late in the afternoon that the Place Lafayette was carried, and that with very heavy loss to the assailants.[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 25, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 231-233; Ann. Reg. 1848, 285.

87. Further combats.

While this conflict was raging, General Bedeau was engaged in a fearful strife in the Faubourg St Marceau; but, after sustaining great loss, he at length succeeded in carrying the barricades of the Rue Mouffetard as far as the Jardin des Plantes. General Lamoricière experienced in his progress the most formidable resistance in the Rue St Maur, where a barricade had been constructed of such magnitude and strength that it long repelled all attacks of the infantry. Cavaignac, who hastened to the spot, brought up a gun, but the fire from the barricade and windows was so heavy that in a few minutes all the artillerymen and horses were struck down. A second piece was brought up, but with the same results. Bombs were then thrown from a little distance, and while they were exploding, an assault was made on the barricade, and after a frightful slaughter on both sides it was carried, and the defenders put to the sword. At the same time General Foucher received orders to attack five barricades, erected near the Barrier of Belleville, which mutually supported each other. He did so, and was wounded, as well as General François, in the attack; and although it was made and supported with the utmost resolution, two only of the barricades were taken.[2]

[2] Moniteur, June 25, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 234, 235; Ann. Reg. 1848, 286.

88. Storming of the Pantheon. June 24.

These bloody conflicts decided nothing; and success was so equally balanced, and the loss, especially in officers, so severe, that it was difficult to say to which side victory would ultimately incline. Real success was first gained at one in the afternoon of the 24th, when

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preparations were made for storming the Pantheon. General Damesne, who commanded, did not trust on this occasion to his infantry, however numerous and resolute, but brought up his heavy guns, which battered the splendid edifice for an hour, when, an aperture in the walls having been made, the troops rushed in, and the building was carried. But the insurgents were noways daunted by this disaster: retiring, with comparatively little loss, to the next barricade in the Rue Clovis, they there again presented an undaunted front to their assailants. General Damesne was dangerously wounded in attempting to storm it, and General Brea, who then took the command, was unable to expel the enemy from these strongholds. Equally formidable was the resistance to General Lamoricière in the Faubourg Poissonnière, where the insurgents during the night had reoccupied nearly all the positions which they had lost on the preceding day. The barricade in the Rue Rochechouart was particularly formidable, being twelve feet high, built of solid masonry, and flanked by another of nearly equal elevation at the corner of the Rue Faubourg Poissonnière. The *fusillade* had been extremely warm here during the whole day, and it was not till six at night that the first barricade was carried. Even after this advantage had been gained the flank barricade held out, though battered in front by heavy guns; and it was not till late in the evening that it was at length carried by a sudden rush of the stormers on its flank resting on the boulevards.[1]

[1] Rapport du President de l'Assemblée, June 24; Moniteur, June 25; Ann. Hist. 1848, 235, 236.

89. Murder of General Brea, and storm of the barricades on the left of the Seine. June 25.

It was not surprising that the progress even of the vast and hourly-increasing military force at the disposal of the Dictator had been so slow; for the task before them was immense, and to appearance insurmountable by any human strength. The number of barricades had risen to the enormous and almost incredible figure of *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight*, nearly all of which were stoutly defended. The great strongholds of

the insurgents were in the Clos St Lazare and the Faubourg St Antoine, each of which was defended by gigantic barricades, constructed of stones having all the solidity of regular fortifications, and held by the most determined and fanatical bands. The night of the 24th was terrible; the opposing troops, worn out with fatigue and parched with thirst, sank down to rest within a few yards of each other on the summit of the barricades, or at their feet, and no sound was heard in the dark but the cry of the sentinels. Early on the morning of the 25th the conflict was renewed at all points, and ere long a frightful tragedy signalised the determination and ferocity of the insurgents. General Brea, before renewing the fight on his side, which was at the barrier of Fontainbleau, humanely went with a flag of truce to the headquarters of the insurgents, to endeavour to persuade them to come to an accommodation. They received him, and the aide-de-camp by whom he was accompanied, within their lines; and having done so, they surrounded them, and insisted on the general signing and sending to his troops a written order to surrender their arms and ammunition. Upon the general's refusal to do so, he was overwhelmed with insults, shot down, and left for dead on the ground; his aide-de-camp, Captain Mauguin, was at the same time put to death, and his remains mutilated to such a degree that the human form could hardly be distinguished. After waiting an hour for the return of his general, Colonel Thomas, the second in command, having learned his fate, and announced it to his soldiers, made preparations for an assault. Infuriated by the treacherous massacre of their general, the men rushed on, and carried at the point of the bayonet seven successive barricades. All their defenders were put to the sword, to avenge their infamous treachery. The body of General Brea was found still breathing, but the vital spark was soon extinct. He was cruelly mutilated, his arms and legs having been cut off.[1] This savage barbarity was the

[1] Moniteur, June 26, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 237, 238; Normanby, ii. 51, 52.

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more inexcusable that General Brea was a man of singularly mild character and humane disposition. His character was beautifully drawn by the priest at Nantes, who officiated at the interment of his mangled remains: "The character of General Brea was less that of a military chief than of a Christian. The warrior was forgotten in the gentleness of his disposition, the warmth of his heart, the sincerity of his love, the glow of his charity."

90. Attack on the Faubourg St Antoine. June 25.

Similar contests ensued in all the other quarters, but before evening the superiority of the regular soldiers became very apparent. The arrival of reinforcements, both of troops and national guards, from Amiens and Rouen, as well as a large train of artillery from Bourges, proved of essential service. Success was gained in nearly every quarter, but it was dearly purchased. The barriers near the Faubourg Poissonnière and the Rue Rochechouart, which had been again reoccupied by the insurgents during the night, were all forced in the morning, and the Clos St Lazare stormed. The Faubourg du Temple was soon after carried, and the insurgents were driven out of St Denis and St Martin. Heavy losses, however, attended all these advantages; and in the centre of the city the insurgents were so far from being subdued, that General Duvivier was wounded in the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville, and obliged to relinquish his command to General Perrot. Still the Faubourg St Antoine, the great stronghold of the insurgents, remained in their hands, and till it was wrested from them the victory could not be said to be complete. The position of the enemy there was extremely strong, every entrance being closed by successive barricades of enormous height and thickness, and proof against any but the very heaviest siege-artillery.[1] The troops destined for the assault of this formidable citadel were divided into two columns, one of which, starting from the Hôtel de Ville, followed the line of the quays on the banks of the river, while the other moved by the Rue

[1] Moniteur, June 26, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 240, 241; Normanby, ii. 54, 55; Ann. Reg. 1848, 286, 287.

St Antoine direct on the Place of the Bastile. Both experienced the most determined resistance.

91. Desperate resistance which ensued.

The barricades, and every window in the streets leading up to them, were filled with armed men, animated with a fanatical courage. Two pieces of cannon, placed in the Rue St Antoine, were brought up, and played at point-blank range on the first barricade; but such was the severity of the fire which the insurgents kept up, especially from the windows, that twice over every man at the guns was killed and wounded; and after two hours' firing, the rampart was still but little shaken. Colonel Regnault, with the 48th Regiment, then led on the charge, and carried it by a sudden rush; but he was basely slain, after having surmounted it, by a prisoner whose life he had just saved. Three other barricades, one behind the other, were in like manner stormed after a desperate resistance, and with great loss on both sides. The fifth barricade presented a still more formidable front, for it was constructed of solid square blocks of masonry, and surmounted by embrasures like a regular fortification. For two hours it resisted alike the fire of the guns and the assaults of the troops, but at length it was carried. At the same time, the barriers on the quays were forced by the other column, though the slaughter there was even greater, and General Negrin and the deputy Charbonnel were killed. By these successes the two columns of attack made themselves masters of the Place of the Bastile, where they effected their junction, and both moved on to the attack of the Faubourg St Antoine, the last and most formidable stronghold of the insurgents.[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 26, 1848; Normanby, ii. 55; Ann. Hist. 1848, 241, 242.

92. Heroism and death of the Archbishop of Paris.

But ere the attack commenced, a sublime instance of Christian heroism and devotion occurred, which shines forth like a heavenly glory in the midst of these terrible seasons of carnage. MONSEIGNEUR AFFRÉ, ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS, horror-struck with the slaughter which for three days had been going on without intermission, resolved to effect a reconciliation between the contending

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parties, or perish in the attempt. Having obtained leave from General Cavaignac to repair to the head-quarters of the insurgents, he set out, dressed in his pontifical robes, having the cross in his hand, accompanied by two vicars, also in full canonicals, and three intrepid members of the Assembly. Deeply affected by this courageous act, which they well knew was almost certain death, the people, as he walked through the streets, fell on their knees and besought him to desist, but he persisted, saying, "It is my duty. *Bonus pastor dat vitam suam pro ovibus suis.*" * At seven in the evening he arrived in the Place of the Bastile, where the fire was extremely warm on both sides. It ceased on either side at the august spectacle, and the Archbishop, bearing the cross aloft, advanced with his two vicars to the foot of the barricade. A single attendant, bearing aloft a green branch, the emblem of peace, preceded the prelate. The soldiers, seeing him come so close to those who had so often slain the bearers of flags of truce, approached in order to be able to give succour in case of need; the insurgents on their side descended the barricade, and the redoubtable combatants stood close to each other, exchanging looks of defiance. Suddenly at this moment a shot was heard; instantly the cry arose, "Treason, treason!" and the combatants, retreating on either side, began to exchange shots with as much fury as ever. Undismayed by the storm of balls which immediately flew over his head from both quarters, the prelate advanced slowly, attended by his vicars, to the summit of the barricade. One of them had his hat pierced by three balls when ascending, but the Archbishop himself, almost by a miracle, escaped while on the top. He had descended three steps on the other side when he was pierced through the loins by a shot from a window.[1] The insurgents, horror-struck, approached him when he fell, stanched the wound, which at once was seen to be mortal, and carried him to the neigh-

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 243, 244; Ann. Reg. 1848, 248; Moniteur, June 27, 1848; Normanby, ii. 59.

* "A good shepherd gives his life for his sheep."

bouring hospital of Quatre-Vingts. When told he had only a few minutes to live, he said, "God be praised, and may He accept my life as an expiation for my omissions during my episcopacy, and as an offering for the salvation of this misguided people;" and with these words he expired.

93. Surrender of the Faubourg St Antoine, and termination of the insurrection. June 26.

Immediately after his decease, proposals came for a capitulation from the insurgents, on condition of an absolute and unqualified amnesty. General Cavaignac, however, would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender. This was refused, and both sides prepared for a renewal of the conflict on the following morning. At daybreak the combatants on both sides stood to their arms; the barricades and windows were filled with musketeers, the gunners stood with lighted matches beside their pieces; but ere long sounds were heard which convinced the insurgents that further resistance was hopeless. A loud cannonade, which every minute came nearer, was distinguished in the rear of the faubourg; it was General Lamoricière, who, having forced his way through the Faubourg du Temple, was in a position to assail them in rear. Still the insurgents held out, and ten o'clock, the period assigned for an unconditional surrender, having elapsed without submission, the fire recommenced. An immense shower of bombs immediately fell in the faubourg, which set it on fire in several places. The troops, without waiting for orders, rushed on and attacked it in three columns on the side of the Rue St Antoine, the Rue de Charenton, and the Rue de la Roquette. All attacks proved successful, and at last the enemy capitulated. With it this terrible insurrection came to an end; the Socialists were crushed, and victory remained to the Government and the sword.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 244-246; Ann. Reg. 1848, 288; Normanby, 59-64.

The losses on either side in this memorable conflict were never accurately known; for the insurgents could not estimate theirs, and the Government took care not to publish their own. But on both sides it was immense, as

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Results of the conflict, and losses on the two sides.

might have been expected, when forty or fifty thousand a-side fought with the utmost courage and desperation for four days in the streets of a crowded capital, with nearly four thousand barricades erected and requiring to be stormed. General Negrin was killed, and Generals Duvivier, Damesne, Koste, Lafontaine, and Fouché wounded mortally,—General Bedeau more slightly. Ten thousand bodies were recognised and buried, and nearly as many, especially on the side of the insurgents, thrown unclaimed into the Seine. At the close of the contest nearly fifteen thousand prisoners were in the hands of the victors, and crowded, almost to suffocation, all places of confinement in Paris. Three thousand of them died of jail fever ; but the immense multitude which remained, created one of the greatest difficulties with which for long the Government had to contend. The concourse of troops and national guards who flocked together from all quarters, on the 27th and 28th, enabled the Dictator to maintain his authority, and restore order, by the stern discipline of the sword. The Assembly divided the prisoners into two classes : for the first, who were the most guilty, deportation to Cayenne, or one of the other colonies, was at once adjudged ; the second were condemned to *transportation*, which with them meant detention in the hulks, or in some maritime fortresses of the Republic. Great numbers were sent to Belleisle, and the gloomy dungeons of St Michel, on the coast of Normandy ; but all means of detention ere long proved inadequate for so prodigious a multitude, and many were soon liberated by the Government from absolute inability to keep them longer.[1] This terrible strife cost France more lives than any of the battles of the Empire ;* the number of generals who

[1] Moniteur, June 27, 28, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 247-251; Ann. Reg. 1848, 287, 288; Cayley, i. 120; Cass. i. 462.

* In confirmation of his statements in this section, the Author is happy to be able to refer to the able work of his friend Mr Edward Cayley, entitled *The European Revolutions of* 1848, which exhibits equal industry, accuracy, and acuteness, and proves that the talents which have rendered his father, the Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, so distinguished in Parliament, are hereditary in his family.

perished in it, or from the wounds they had received, exceeded even those cut off at Borodino or Waterloo.

It is painful to be obliged to add, that the savage cruelty exhibited by the insurgents to such prisoners as fell into their hands sullied the character which they had justly acquired for courage and resolution. Towards the Garde Mobile in an especial manner their barbarity knew no bounds: they looked upon them as traitors to the cause for which they had been originally enrolled, and as such they subjected them to the most atrocious barbarities. The women here, as in all similar cases, took the lead in atrocity. One amazon boasted she had cut off the heads of five officers of the Garde Mobile, after they had been made prisoners, with her own hands: others threw vitriol in their faces, and burnt them in so shocking a manner that they implored death to put a period to their sufferings. A pump was found behind the barrier Rochechouart half full of oil-of-vitriol, intended to be used in this manner. In one place they took four or five of the Garde Mobile, perfect children, prisoners; they stuck pikes through their throats under the chin, tied their hands down, and, placing them in front of the windows, fired under their legs, thinking the troops would not return the fire when they saw the uniform. They cut off the head of one, filled the mouth with pitch, lighted a match in it, and, like cannibals, danced round it to the tune of "Les Lampions." The prisoners they took were shot down by dozens at a time; a proceeding which, of course, led to terrible reprisals from the military when they, in their turn, had the power. Such, too, was the exasperation of the insurgents when they became the losing party, that deeds of treachery accompanied the usual barbarities of domestic dissension. After carrying a formidable barricade in the Rue St Antoine, the 48th Regiment made a number of prisoners. One of them resisted, and the soldiers were about to bayonet him, when their colonel, Regnault, came up and saved his life.[1] "Thank you,"

Atrocious cruelty of the insurgents.

[1] Normanby, ii. 74, 75; Cayley, i. 121.

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said the perfidious wretch, and with these words drew a pistol, and shot him dead on the spot.

96. Deeds of heroism on the part of the troops.

Amidst such instances of treachery and cruelty, it is consolatory to have many deeds of an opposite character to recount, proving that, even in its darkest moments, and under the most disastrous circumstances, the national spirit and generosity of the French character were not altogether extinct. The Marquis de la Forte, a nobleman of tall stature and commanding air, was doing duty as a private in the 1st Legion of the National Guard, and when waiting in the front to storm one of the barricades, he found himself beside a little garde mobile, who had already made his valour conspicuous in the combat. They were before a barricade, on which a red flag floated in proud defiance. "Great national guard," said the little hero to his companion, "shall we two take that flag?" "With all my heart," replied the marquis, and with that they ran forward together, and began to ascend the barricade. They were about two-thirds up, when the boy fell wounded in the leg. "Alas!" he said, "great national guard, I shall have no hand in the taking of that flag." "But you shall though," replied the generous marquis, "little garde mobile," and with these words he lifted the boy up in his left arm, and, making his way with his sword in his right, and amidst a general fire from the defenders, got so near that the boy was able to seize the flag and wave it for a few seconds over head; after which the two descended, the marquis still carrying his companion, and reached their comrades in safety. When escorted from the Faubourg St Antoine by a party of the Garde Mobile to the rear, the Archbishop of Paris saw a boy in the ranks whom he had particularly observed combating bravely in the fight. Raising his arms, he took a small rosary, and gave it to the young soldier, whose name was François de la Vignière—"Do not lose this cross," said the prelate; "put it on your heart: it will bring you happiness." He received

it kneeling, and promised never to part with it. Cavaignac, on another occasion, took the cross of the Legion of Honour from his breast, and gave it to one of the Garde Mobile, whom he had seen particularly distinguishing himself. "How happy this will make my father!" said the recipient, without a thought of himself.[1]

[1] Normanby, ii. 66, 73, 77.

97. Disturbances in the provinces, and continued dictatorship of Cavaignac.

The victory once decidedly gained, Cavaignac lost no time in abdicating the dictatorial powers conferred upon him during the strife. But the Assembly were too well aware of the narrow escape which they had made, to entertain the thought of resuming the powers of sovereignty. If they had been so inclined, the accounts from the provinces would have been sufficient to deter them, for the insurrection in Paris was contemporary with a bloody revolt at Marseilles, occasioned by the same attempt to get quit of the burdensome pensioners at the Ateliers Nationaux, which was only put down after three days' hard fighting by a concentration of troops from all the adjoining departments. At Rouen and Bordeaux the agitation was so violent that it was evident nothing but the presence of a large military force prevented a rebellion from breaking out. Taught by these events, the National Assembly *unanimously* continued to General Cavaignac the powers already conferred upon him, and prolonged the state of siege in the metropolis. The concourse of troops to Paris was soon immense; that capital had not been surrounded by so many armed men when it was environed by the allied armies in 1814 and 1815. Supported by this force, the reality of military government—the only one practicable in the circumstances—was soon brought home to the inhabitants; and on the motion of M. Martin of Strasbourg, the dictatorship was formally bestowed on General Cavaignac, with the title of President of the Council, and the power to nominate his ministers. The last privilege was slightly contested in the Assembly, but passed by a large majority.[2] The powers of the dictator

June 22.

[2] Moniteur, June 29, 30, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 247-251; Cass. i. 468, 469, 471; Normanby, ii. 79.

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were to last till a permanent president was elected either by the Assembly or the direct voice of the citizens; and in the mean time General Cavaignac proceeded to appoint his ministers, who immediately entered upon their several duties.*

98. First measures of the Dictator's Government. July 4.

The first care of the new Government was to remodel the armed force of the metropolis, and extinguish those elements of insurrection which had brought such desolation, bloodshed, and ruin upon the country. The Ateliers Nationaux were immediately dissolved: this had now become, comparatively speaking, an easy task, for the most formidable part of their number, and nearly all who had actually appeared with arms in their hands, had either been slain or were in the prisons of the Republic. Those legions of the National Guard which had either hung back or openly joined the insurgents, on occasion of the late revolt, were all dissolved and disarmed. This, too, was easy, for the immense body of national guards which had been brought up by the railways, *especially from La Vendée*, upon whom entire reliance could be placed, rendered all resistance hopeless. The licentiousness of the press and the clubs next attracted the attention of the Dictator. Already, on June 25th, when the insurrection was at its height, a decree was issued, which suspended nearly *all* the journals of a violent character on either side, and even M. Emile Girardin, an able writer and journalist of moderate character, was arrested and thrown into prison. These measures, how rigorous soever, were all ratified by a decree of the Assembly on the 1st of August, and passed unanimously.[1] "The friends of liberty," says the contemporary annalist, "observed

Aug. 1.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 252, 253; Moniteur, Aug. 2 and June 26, 1848.

* The Ministers were: Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide; Interior, M. Senard; War, General Lamoricière; Finances, M. Goudchoux; Public Works, M. Recurt; Commerce and Agriculture, M. Tourret (de l'Allier); Justice, M. Bethmont; Public Instruction, M. Carnot; Marine, Admiral Leblanc; Chief of the National Guard, General Changarnier. Admiral Leblanc having declined the Ministry of the Marine, it was given to M. Bastide, and General Bedeau became Minister of Foreign Affairs.—*Moniteur*, June 29, 1848.

with grief that the Republic had in a single day struck with impunity a severer blow at the liberty of the press than the preceding governments had done during thirty years." [1] At the same time the clubs, those great fountains of treason and disorder, were closed.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 259.

99. Conclusions to be drawn from these events.

Thus was another proof added to the innumerable ones which history had previously afforded, that popular licentiousness and insurrection, from whatever cause originating, must ever end in the despotism of the sword. This, it will be said by superficial observers, is a truism which no one denies, and therefore why repeat it? It would be well for the world if no one *in reality did deny it*, and no deeds were done in every succeeding age inconsistent with the denial. But even if it were as universally admitted in action as it ever must be by well-informed persons in theory, that only makes it the more essential that the observation should be here repeated. The most important use of history is, in successive ages, to deduce old maxims from new facts, for that proves the unchangeableness of the moral laws of nature.

100. Continued.

But in truth there is more in the case than this; and a new political lesson of the very highest importance may be deduced from the memorable four months of popular rule which followed the fall of Louis Philippe. Since the fall of Napoleon, two governments had been established, the first by foreign influence, and the last by domestic choice in France, and both had been overturned by popular insurrections. Each one, as it successively arose, was more rigorous and despotic than its predecessor; the government of Cavaignac was as much severer than that of Louis Philippe, as the latter had been than that of Louis XVIII. or Charles X. The despotism of the Dictator, however, was an escape to France from the still more rigorous and oppressive government with which they were threatened from the Socialists; for their principles were that property was the first and greatest of public robberies, and that "the only state of society in which universal

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felicity was practicable, was that of *labour and families in common*, with the Government for the sole director over all." [1] The conclusion to be drawn from this is not merely that popular insurrection inevitably leads to military despotism, but that the *rigour and severity of that despotism are in the exact proportion of the degree in which the popular element has been instrumental in bringing about the insurrection;* and that, grievous as may be the oppression which follows the crushing of the revolt, it is less galling than that which would have succeeded its triumph.

[1] Proudhon, Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire, c. xi.

101. The revolutionists punished each other for their sins.

It is impossible, in contemplating these memorable events, not to be struck with the providential manner in which not merely the guilt of the revolutionists was punished, but they themselves were made to inflict that punishment upon each other. Not the loyal inhabitants of La Vendée, not the royal guards of Charles X. or Louis Philippe, caused them to feel the consequences of their actions. The revolutionists had freed themselves from every restraint but the slavery of their own passions. But *they* remained to work out the purposes of Omnipotence, and vindicate the justice of the Divine administration. The most memorable retribution recorded in history was inflicted on the party which had achieved those guilty triumphs; but they were inflicted, not by their conquered adversaries, but by their victorious selves. Their insane passions did the work of the Almighty; the avenging angel was found in their own bosoms. They were compelled by an overruling power to inflict punishment on their most guilty ringleaders with their own hands; the other nations looked on in silence while they wrought out upon each other the behests of supreme justice.

CHAPTER LI.

FRANCE FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAVAIGNAC TO THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON—JUNE 24 to DECEMBER 10, 1848.

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1. Extreme embarrassment of the French finances.

THE removal of M. Duclerc from the Ministry of the Finances, and substitution of M. Goudchoux in his room, tore aside the veil which had hitherto been thrown over the financial affairs of the republic, and revealed in their real nakedness their disastrous position. M. Duclerc, in a report framed expressly to conceal the truth, had estimated the probable deficit at 140,000,000 francs, and he had exhibited a variety of extraordinary resources, amounting to 500,000,000 francs, consisting of loans, sales of forests and public domains, by which he expected to meet that deficit, and the probable failure to a still greater amount in the indirect taxes. But M. Goudchoux dispelled the illusion, and demonstrated July 3. that, of all those supposed resources, none could be relied on as really available but the loan of 150,000,000 francs from the bank. To this loan he proposed to add a third more from extraordinary resources; but the loan would be more than overbalanced by the deficiency in the indirect taxes, and the extraordinary expenses in which the republic had been involved. The 45 per cent added to the direct taxes proved but a feeble resource for these multiplied necessities.[1]

[1] Rapport du Ministre de Finance, July 3, 1848; Moniteur, July 4; Ann. Hist. 184-188, 255-257.

These financial measures were immediately succeeded

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2. Inquiry on the revolts of May and June.

by another of scarcely less urgency and importance. This was the commission of inquiry appointed to investigate the insurrections of May and June, and report to the Assembly who were the parties implicated, and what should be done with them. The members of the commission were appointed on the 28th June, and immediately commenced their labours. A great number of witnesses were examined, whose depositions clearly showed the causes of the insurrection to have been the extravagant but seducing doctrines taught by the Socialist leaders, which, by exciting hopes which could never be realised, necessarily led to discontent and a desire to subvert the existing government. The report of the commission was apparently in entire conformity with the evidence adduced, that the movement in May was intended to dissolve the Assembly and establish a committee of public safety; but that the insurrection in June, nominally directed to the establishment of a social and democratic republic, was in reality meant to forward pillage and murder. "There is abundant proof," it adds, "that M. Louis Blanc and M. Caussidière were no strangers to the organisation of the movement of May, with Barbès, Blanqui, and Ledru-Rollin. Though, fortunately, on that occasion conquered, the cause of anarchy was never discouraged. New assistance came to its aid; anarchical speeches were sent free of charge to the departments; the fury of the clubs was fomented; their organisation improved, and power augmented. Nocturnal meetings were held in the hotel of the Minister of the Interior (Ledru-Rollin), at which projects were formed for centralising the clubs and dominating the elections, and afterwards annulling such as were hostile to the Government. The "Club of Clubs," under M. Sobrier, had collected 30,000 cartridges and several hundred muskets before the 15th May; the club of the "Rights of Man," composed of 14,000 men in Paris and 14,000 in the provinces, had

established manufactories of arms, and openly prepared for war. All this went on in a still greater ratio before the insurrection in June. It was the excitation of the clubs which occasioned the civil war in that month. The insurgents had their manufactories of powder and arms, their military organisation and chiefs; but the police did nothing to impede their movements. Caussidière, the head of the police, gave no orders; his subordinates knew not what to do without his directions; some saw him behind the barricades, and many more heard him defend the insurrection. M. Proudhon was also seen behind the barricades by more than one member of the Assembly; and the only explanation he could give is, that he remained there "to admire the *sublime horror of the cannonade.*" In pursuance of this report, the Assembly, after fully hearing MM. Louis Blanc and Caussidière in their defence, formally authorised the Procureur-Général to prosecute them for their accession to the revolts of May, though not of June following. They withdrew, however, and found refuge in England, the common asylum of refugees of all nations and parties; and with their flight terminated the public career of these able but vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous men.[1] *

Aug. 25. [1] Moniteur, Aug. 3 and 27, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 259-262; Ann. Reg. 1848, 289, 290; L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. 287.

Upon their removal, M. Proudhon stood forth as the leader of Socialist doctrines. He was more prudent, however, than his predecessors. Taught by the defeat of the insurrections of May and June, he no longer fomented

* M. Proudhon, perhaps the most violent of the Socialists, admitted to the Commission d'Enquête that the insurrection of June was the work of the Socialists. His words were:—"Le 23 Juin j'avais crié que c'était une conspiration des prétendants, s'appuyant sur des ouvriers des Ateliers Nationaux. J'étais trompé comme les autres. Le lendemain *j'ai été convaincu que l'insurrection était Socialiste.* Les Ateliers Nationaux n'en ont été que la cause occasionelle. La cause première déterminante de l'insurrection c'était la question sociale, la crise sociale—le travail, les idées. Il m'en coûte de le dire, moi qui suis Socialiste."—Commission d'Enquête—Déposition de M. PROUDHON. A happy expression of M. Trélat in the Assembly made a great impression at the time: 'La vérité me force de dire que dans ses rapports avec les ouvriers M. Louis Blanc les excitait plutôt qu'il ne les apaisait, et leur inspirait la haine Espagnole plus que la fraternité Française."—*Annuaire Historique*, 1848, p. 265.

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3. Violence of M. Proudhon, the next Socialist leader.

open revolt. He adopted the tactics of the Liberals in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign ; his whole efforts were directed to *discrediting* his opponents. In this attempt he displayed great ability ; but he was more successful, as is often the case in similar undertakings, in blackening his adversaries than in whitewashing himself, and accordingly another reaped the fruits of all his exertions. He attacked all the institutions of society in the most violent manner ; denounced them as violations of the rights of man, and the prolific fountain of every social suffering. He stigmatised God as "the enemy of society," priests as "paid hypocrites," property as robbery, government as usurpation. He received, in consequence, the warm acknowledgments of those of the one sex who live by crime, of the other by prostitution ; and this he has himself recorded as one of his titles to public confidence.* As time went on, he promulgated his ideas more fully in various publications, in his *Journal du Peuple*, under the title of "La Banque d'Estrange," and "Son Testament de Vie et de Mort."† The object of all these efforts was to provide a substitute for capital in the maintenance of labour, realised wealth being deemed the greatest enemy and chief curse of society. "The people's bank," said he, "would have rendered you honest and real labourers; will the Revolution ever do as much for you ?"[1] His wrath exhaled in an especial manner at the Jacobins, whom he considered as having betrayed the cause of the people for their own selfish ends. "The

[1] Journal du Peuple, April 15, 1849.

* "Les prostitués et les forçats m'ont adressé des félicitations dont l'ironie obscène témoignait des égarements de l'opinion."—PROUDHON, *Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*, ch. xi. xii.

† He formally brought forward a motion for the establishment of the "rights of labour," declaring, at the same time, that if it was not conceded, there would remain only to the people the "sacred right of insurrection." The Assembly, indignant, by a great majority, passed to the order of the day, on the ground "that the proposition of the citizen Proudhon is an odious attack on the principles of public morality, a flagrant violation of the right of property, the bane of social order, and a direct incitement and appeal to the worst passions, and disgrace to the Revolution of February, by deducing such corollaries from its success."—*Moniteur*, August 1, 1848.

demagogues," said he, "so well known in France during the last sixty years under the name of Jacobins, are nothing but the *Juste Milieu*, disguised under an affectation of violence and revolutionary zeal. Jacobinism desires offices, not institutions; it is the hypocrisy of progress."[1] The termination of the public career of this dangerous zealot was neither the crown of martyrdom nor the sceptre of power; it was an ignominious end, which discredited him as much as he had his opponents. Brought before the "Cour d'Assises" on the 28th March 1849, he was condemned to pay a fine of 3000 francs (£120), and to be imprisoned three years. He has not been since heard of in French history.[2]

[1] Proudhon, Conf. d'un Revol. c. 2.

[2] Moniteur, March 29, 1849; Cass. i. 448.

Other changes were introduced, less exciting at the moment than these doctrines, but more important in their consequences to the country. The old restrictions upon the periodical press, which had been so much complained of in Louis Philippe's time, especially that which compelled them to find caution to meet fines imposed, or damages awarded against them, were restored. A permanent law, nominally regulating, in reality suppressing, the clubs, was passed by an immense majority. The law of 2d March, imposing the restriction of ten hours on labour in Paris and eleven in the country, was repealed, and twelve hours fixed for both; and the *octroi* on butcher-meat in towns was re-established. Imprisonment for debt, which had been abolished by a decree of the Provisional Government on March 9th, was restored, after a long and animated discussion, on the 1st September. An important modification in the law regulating the formation of juries was introduced, after a vehement opposition from the extreme Liberals. By this change, the jury lists, instead of being made up, as heretofore under the Republican regime, of the whole inhabitants without distinction, who had attained the age of twenty-one years, were to be made up in each canton by a committee composed of the councillor-general of the

4. Repressive legislative measures.

July 25.

Sept. 8.

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canton, a *Juge de Paix*, and two members of the municipal council in the cantons, who were empowered to exclude persons entirely illiterate, or who had been condemned to above a year's imprisonment. At the same time the legal age of jurymen was raised to thirty, and the majority requisite to convict was reduced from nine, to which it had been raised by a decree on 7th March,

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to eight. The important matter of public education underwent an anxious discussion, and was the subject of several narrow divisions. By the law, as finally adopted, primary instruction was declared to be gratuitous, and at the expense of the State. But this was rather in appearance than reality; for those among the peasantry who received tuition for their children were to pay for the schools in their local taxes; those who did not require it

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were to pay double. Several minute regulations were laid down for securing the appointment of proper teachers, and giving a control over their nomination to the council-general of the department. A proposal, brought forward by M. Crémieux, to re-establish the liberty of divorce, which had been sanctioned by the laws of the Revolution and Consulate, was rejected; and an attempt was made by the Minister of Public Instruction to establish agricultural schools at the public expense in the Departments. Thus, on all sides, legislation was retracing its steps, and seeking to re-establish those restraints on popular licence which the experience of mankind in every age has proved to be indispensable.[1]

[1] Moniteur, July 26, Sept. 2, 9, Oct. 19, 29, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 268, 283.

5. M. Goudchoux's plan for assessing income as well as land.

M. Goudchoux, the Finance Minister, brought forward a plan of taxation, suggested rather by utter desperation at the state of the public treasury than by any possible hopes of success, which deserves attention, as well from the principles on which it was founded as from the statistical facts which it brought to light. His plan, based on the immense disproportion between the taxes affecting land or houses, and those attaching to movable property or professional income, proposed to remedy the injustice by

imposing a tax on incomes of the latter description, so as to equalise the burdens on heritable and movable property.* By this means he hoped to attract capital to the cultivation of the soil, at present repelled from it by the enormous weight of the direct taxes exclusively affecting real property. The entire movable revenue which would then be brought within the pale of taxation he estimated at 3,000,000,000 francs, and this property he proposed to tax two per cent. The almost unanimous resistance which this financial project awakened, and which occasioned the fall of the minister who had brought it forward, is a very remarkable circumstance, singularly illustrative of the prostrate condition of French real property and agriculture. Land in France at this time was very heavily taxed ; it paid £14,000,000, while the greater part of movable income was entirely exempted; yet this proposal of the Finance Minister, to lay even the moderate burden of two per cent on movable property, was almost unanimously rejected ! Considering that at least two-thirds of the deputies were the representatives of rural constituencies, this result is very remarkable, and apparently inexplicable. It strangely contrasts with the overthrow of the Derby Ministry in England in 1852, which resulted from an equally equitable attempt to extend the house-tax to houses rented from £10 to £20 a-year.[1] It seems to have arisen from the ignorance, poverty, and consequent inefficiency of the great majority of the rural electors, which rendered them incapable of any joint movement even in their own

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 295, 296.

* The Minister stated the movable income of France as follows :—

	Francs.
Profits of Farmers (exclusive of rent of land),	1,066,000,000
Trade and Commerce,	1,100,000,000
Government Offices,	300,000,000
Public Offices,	260,000,000
Salaries,	300,000,000
Dividends, Government Annuities, &c.,	510,000,000
	3,536,000,000

—*Moniteur*, August 5, 1848.

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defence, and illustrates the remark, forced upon the mind by so many passages of French history in the last half-century, that the effect of the Revolution has been to reduce the rural inhabitants of France to the condition of the ryots of Hindostan.

6. Discussion on the Constitution.

These discussions yielded in magnitude and ultimate importance to those on the FORMATION OF A CONSTITUTION, which now forced itself upon the Assembly. The duty of framing a constitution had been devolved, in the beginning of June, on a committee composed of the most enlightened members. A preliminary question arose whether the state of siege, voted by acclamation during the revolt of June, should be continued; and General Cavaignac earnestly and emphatically declared that it should, as it was not the executive power, but the Assembly itself, which was invested with the dictatorial power, which he only wielded. The Assembly acquiesced in this view, and, by a majority of 529 to 140, determined on its continuance till the discussions on the constitution were terminated. Several journals, among others the *Gazette de France*, were suppressed; the *Constitutionnel* itself made a narrow escape during the general crusade against free discussion. These, however, were mere preliminary or precautionary measures; the real question at issue was the construction of a constitution. The discussion commenced on the 2d July, and was only concluded by the formal adoption of the constitution, as then modified, on 23d October. On the important question whether the legislature should be in one or two chambers, the debate was conducted by two distinguished men, Lamartine and Odillon Barrot, whose speeches on this occasion are well worthy of being studied.[1]

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[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 299, 301.

7. Argument of Lamartine for a single Chamber.

"I have witnessed," said Lamartine, "the misfortunes and catastrophes which have befallen a nation governed by one legislature; but I have seen the same under a government resting on two; and I see no identity between the situation of the countries in which the latter

form is established and that of our country. The examples of Great Britain and America are not applicable. In these, two assemblies existed in consequence of the nature, ambiguity, and interests of those two great nations. Has France any aristocracy like England? No! we may say, with Pascal: 'What is true beyond the Pyrenees is not true on this side of those mountains.' The considerations which led to the adoption of a senate in America are widely different from those which have inspired the proposal for a second chamber in this country. The Senate thus represents the federal principle, which is the basis of their union, but which is not so of a republic one and indivisible. But the idea, in the present social state of France, of clothing what must be a second democratic chamber with aristocratic forms, is a dream—a chimera. It would be a real danger, a perilous step, to attempt to resuscitate an aristocracy in a democratic society. What are you all? Revolutionary statesmen; and if you would act up to that character you must divest yourselves of all historical recollections, and of all the fictions on which the royal power has recently been rested.

8. Continued.

"How is a constitution to work in which there is a president invested with the executive powers of two chambers? He has not the power of dissolving either. Then if a difference arises between them, or between either and himself, how is he to reconcile the difference? How are the elections of the senators to be regulated? Are they to be chosen on account of their fortunes or their age? If so elected, would they form an aristocracy in one sense of the word? Would they not rather form the representatives of the bankers and the Chaussée d'Antin? They would be, not the Chevaliers de l'Epée, but the Chevaliers de la Bourse. Would you be justified in laying down a certain age or fortune as an indispensable preliminary to an election for the upper chamber? Could you say to Franklin, or to Royer-Collard, 'your years

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do not admit of your sitting in the junior chamber; go to the chamber of the ancients, to the Luxembourg, and leave this chamber to its youth and inexperience'? Menaced on all sides, society as at present will for long be under the necessity of recurring to the protection of a dictator. In such a case who is to elect him? Is the choice to be confided to the two assemblies, almost certain in that event to be at variance with each other, or is it to be intrusted to the one to the exclusion of the other? If committed to one man to avoid the difficulty, what security have we that the choice would be rightly exercised? It might be between a monk and a Napoleon."

9. Answer of Odillon Barrot.

"The project of establishing a single chamber," said M. Odillon Barrot in reply, "is one of the most insane, and fatal to democracy itself, which can enter into a human head. What we are now called upon to organise is a permanent convention. To found a constitution, a constituent assembly is necessary—unity is indispensable to the work of creation. Every power effecting a revolution, demolishing an old edifice, should be single. The Convention, assailed by foreign and domestic foes, did not establish by its side an independent executive power, but a power which it could send to the scaffold if its mandates were disobeyed or proved unsuccessful. If the Assembly now votes one chamber with a dependent executive, it will restore the Convention in all its omnipotence, for the executive power which itself has created must either yield obedience to its mandates or be itself destroyed. The question then is, whether it is either necessary or expedient to resort to so extreme a measure when not impelled to it by any necessity; to do that when at peace with all the world, and distracted by no internal convulsion, which was only justified formerly by the assault of Europe and the dangers of the Vendean war.

"What is the cause of the universal uneasiness and perturbation which prevail, and the general feeling in

favour of a dictatorship? It rests upon the opinion so often proved by experience, now generally admitted, that democracy cannot regulate or moderate itself. All democracies have begun by establishing one single legislative power, but experience soon taught them that a balance was indispensable, and that a power responsible to none—the most omnipotent that can be desired—must soon fall from its very weight if uncontrolled. It is true there is now no aristocracy in France, and it is also true that France can never become, like America, a federal union of separate republics. There is but one force in France, the democratic force; but does it follow from that circumstance that that single force is to be altogether uncontrolled? Can democracy not be tempered by democracy, and can we not discover in republican institutions such a controlling power? The Council of State cannot act as such a controlling power; it is a mere consulting council, to whom projects of change are to be submitted before they are brought before the Assembly. During eighteen years I have laboured in vain to consolidate this constitutional system under the monarchy; but all those efforts were rendered nugatory the moment Louis Philippe resolved to liberate himself from control, and to establish on the throne a system abhorred by the country. What I failed in doing to the monarchy I now would wish to render to the republic. Pretenders are not to be feared; democracy has no other enemy to fear but itself; and it will be saved only on the day when it is organised and regulated." [1]

1848. 10. Continued.

[1] Moniteur, Sept. 28, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 312-314.

The Assembly, as might have been anticipated, decided in favour of one chamber by a majority of 530 to 289. The "sovereign power" of legislation accordingly was vested in a single Assembly, and Lamartine, who was not without a secret hope of becoming its ruler, was triumphant. But the all-important question remained, by whom was the president of the Chamber to be appointed, and what were to be his powers as the avowed chief

11. Result of the debate. Sept. 27, 1848.

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magistrate of the republic? Opinions were much divided on this point, some adhering to an election by the Assembly, others to a direct appeal to the people. Contrary to expectation, M. de Lamartine supported the nomination by the whole inhabitants of France. M. Leblond was the chief orator on the other side; and as it was fully anticipated that the people, if left to themselves, would choose a conservative president, he was supported by the whole extreme democratic party in the Assembly.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 317-319; Moniteur, Oct. 4, 1848.

12. Argument in favour of an election of the President by the Chamber.

"When the people make choice of their representatives," said he, "if they commit an error in their selection, they soon have it in their power to rectify it, either by dismissing him at the next election, or by neutralising his vote by that of others more to their mind. The choice of good men may be thus made to compensate those of bad ones. But who is to correct a mistake in the choice of a President of the Republic? What incalculable consequences may flow from the unhappy choice of such an officer! and how much are the fruits of a false step in this particular aggravated by its requiring to be taken in the first years of the republic! What a combination of qualities is required in such a magistrate at this time! Dignity to sustain the reputation of France abroad; firmness, mingled with moderation, to restrain its passions within; the hand which can at once protect liberty and restrain its excesses; modesty and disinterestedness, alike proof against the seductions and the mortifications of power. Will not his responsibility give him more right in imposing on him more rigorous duties? Will he not be naturally anxious to illustrate his brief tenure of power, and to leave in history some larger record of his reign than a mere date? Under the constitutional regime ambition centres on the minister's portfolios, and their keepers may be changed. But who is to change an immovable president, a king whose reign is to last four years? Can anything be so insane, therefore, as to intrust the choice of such a powerful and lasting

magistrate, not to an assembly whose members have been selected for their eminence, and enlightened by their experience of public affairs, but to a huge body of general electors, the vast majority of whom must necessarily be ignorant alike of the qualities required in a president, and of those which distinguish the different candidates for that office?"

13. Reply of Lamartine.

Powerful as these considerations were, they did not deter M. de Lamartine from strongly supporting the direct appeal to the people. He could not be convinced of the fatal blow which his popularity had received from his coalition with Ledru-Rollin. He still thought he was lord of the ascendant, and would be the people's choice if the nomination was vested in their hands. "If you desire," said he, "a president of the republic, he must be named by the republic. Appointed by the Chamber, he would never be more than its delegate. Such a system would virtually destroy the executive. Would he not be of necessity pledged to the majority which had elected him—a majority, it may be, of only ten or twenty votes? What a phantom of authority would a president thus elected prove! and what influence could he have either in asserting externally the dignity of France, or in repressing within its internal factions? Even supposing the people, impelled by a general and irresistible impulse, should fix their choice upon some dangerous character, my decision would be the same—*Alea jacta est:* the die is cast; let God and the people declare the result. We must leave something to Providence.

14. Concluded.

"Possibly we may perish in the undertaking: and I say this not in the spirit of a menace to myself or my friends, but as a title to glory. I hope better things, however, of France: I hope so firmly and confidently. Should it, however, prove otherwise, and the people be deceived in their choice; if they are determined to disavow us and themselves, and resolved to renounce the immense hopes which may legitimately be formed

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from popular rule; if they are determined to repudiate their security, their future, their liberty,—on their heads rests the responsibility, and not on us, whose merit it has been to have restored their liberty, and left them only the task of guarding and protecting it. But I repeat it: if they are resolved to recur to the conditions of the monarchy; if they will throw away the future which lies before them, to pursue some delusive meteor, they are their own masters: they may do so; they are their own sovereign. It is not for us to say, Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther; or here shalt thou go, and not there: if they are determined to ruin themselves, we shall say with the vanquished at Pharsalia,

'Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.'

[1] Moniteur, October 7, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 317, 319.

And that protest, which will be the eternal accusation of a nation imprudent and abandoned enough thus to abandon its liberty, will be a sufficient vindication of us in the eyes of posterity."[1]

15. Result of the division on the subject. Oct. 7.

When language of this very remarkable kind was used by one who had been the principal mover of the Revolution in February, and for long the idol of its supporters, it was evident that some very marked change, known to and understood by all, had taken place in the ruling power in the Republic. This was really the case: by extending the suffrage to all France, the revolutionists had dug the grave of their own power. The result, accordingly, decisively demonstrated the strength of this feeling even in the first Assembly elected under universal suffrage, and how well founded were the mournful prognostications of Lamartine as to the approaching extinction of liberty by the very completeness of the triumph of its supporters. In the final division on the subject, it was carried by a majority of 391—the numbers being 602 to 211—that the choice of a President should be referred by the Assembly to the people. This was equivalent to electing Prince Louis Napoleon at once to that high office,

as it was perfectly understood that the great majority of the electors would choose him for President. It appears at first sight strange how, when this was the real object of the large majority in the Assembly, they did not adopt the shorter and straightforward course of themselves electing him. But the motive, when once revealed, is perfectly intelligible : it was terror. They resolved to throw the responsibility of his election on the people at large, for the same reason that the Girondists advocated the appeal to the people, with the design of saving Louis XVI. In both cases the National Assembly sought to do indirectly what they wished, but had not the courage openly to propose.[1]

[1] Moniteur, October 8, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 319, 320.

16. Adoption and proclamation of the Constitution. Nov. 4.

The formation of the constitution having been at length concluded, it was finally adopted, on 4th November, by a majority of 737 to 30 votes. Among the dissentients were MM. Pierre Leroux and Proudhon, extreme Communists, and MM. Berryer and de Larochejaquelein, Royalists. Victor Hugo and M. de Montalembert were also in the minority, though no two men could be found whose opinions on general subjects were more opposite. So decided had the bent of the nation now become to conservative principles, that out of fifteen members elected for the Assembly to fill up vacancies in October, only three were republican ; and of these, two—MM. Arago and Laudrin—were decidedly opposed to Communist principles. On the evening of the day on which it was adopted by the Assembly, the intelligence was communicated to the Parisians by 101 guns discharged from the Invalides. The sound at first excited the utmost alarm, as it was feared the civil war was renewed : when it was known that it was *only the announcement of a constitution*, the panic subsided, and the people, careless and indifferent, dispersed to their homes. The formal proclamation took place on the Sunday following, amidst the roar of cannon, and all the pomp of military display.[2] But the people had been too much accustomed to those

[2] Moniteur, October 8, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 302; Ann. Hist. 1848, 322-324.

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pageants, and were too well aware, from dear-bought experience, of the fragile nature of such constitutions, to evince any enthusiasm on the occasion. The weather was dark and gloomy, and by some it was deemed of sinister augury that, before the spectacle was over, a heavy fall of snow chilled the feelings and dispersed the crowds of the spectators.

17. Summary of it.

By the constitution thus adopted, the form of government in France was declared to be republican, the electors being chosen by universal suffrage, and the president in the same way. The right of the working classes to employment was negatived, it being declared, however, that the Government, so far as its resources went, was to furnish labour to the unemployed. The punishment of death was abolished in purely political offences. Slavery was to be abolished in every part of the French dominions. The right of association and public meeting was guaranteed; voting, whether for the representatives or the president, was to be by ballot; the representatives once chosen might be re-elected any number of times. The president required to be a French citizen, of at least thirty years of age, and one who had not lost on any occasion his right of citizenship. He was to be elected for four years, and a simple majority was to determine the election. The return of votes was to be immediately forwarded by the returning officers to the Assembly, who were to scrutinise them. Should no candidate have an absolute majority of the whole votes, the Assembly were to choose the president from among the five standing highest on the list. The president was re-eligible after having served the first four years; he was to reside in the palace of the Assembly, and receive a salary of 600,000 francs a-year. A vice-president, also for four years, was to be appointed by the Assembly on the nomination of the president, within a month after his election, and in case of his absence or illness he was to exercise the power of president; but in the event

of death or resignation, a new president was to be chosen by the people at large. The whole ministers of state were to be appointed by the president, who also was to command the armed force, declare peace and war, conduct negotiations with foreign powers, and generally exercise all the powers of sovereignty, with the exception of appointing the judges of the supreme courts in Paris, who were to be named by the Assembly, and to hold their offices for life. Political offences were to be tried by jury. The *Juges de Paix*, as well as all subordinate judges and functionaries, were to be appointed by the president. The armed forces were never to deliberate; substitutes for military service were prohibited, all the citizens being called indiscriminately to the duty of defending the country. The Legion of Honour was maintained, but its statutes were to be remodelled in conformity with the democratic principle. The Assembly was to frame the organic laws of the republic, and the president was to be elected immediately after the adoption of the constitution.[1]

[1] See Constitution, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 40-47; Doc. Hist.; Moniteur, Nov. 5, 1848.

Disguised under the form of a republic, this constitution was in reality monarchical, for the president was invested with all the substantial power of sovereignty; and as he was capable of being re-elected, his tenure of office might be prolonged for an indefinite period. The extreme republicans distinctly perceived this; and as a sure instinct told them that Prince Louis Napoleon was sure to be elected president, they wished to make the best use of the intervening time to renew the most violent democratic agitation. Taking advantage of the article in the constitution which permitted political associations and meetings, the clubs were all reopened, and the most vigorous efforts were made to recover the democratic power. But though the attempt led to several local disorders and tumults, which had sometimes a threatening aspect, the movement had very little success. The flame of democracy had burnt out, or been extinguished in the

13. Renewed but abortive club agitation.

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blood of the barricades. The chief Socialist leaders were in prison or exile on account of their real or supposed accession to the insurrection in June; and such as remained found it impossible to restore the passions which had led to such disastrous results. All eyes were now fixed on the election of the president; and though there were several candidates for that high office, yet it was soon apparent that the suffrage would really come to be divided between two—General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 327-329.

19. Return of Louis Napoleon, and his entry into the Assembly.

The door had already been opened to the latter by an election which took place at Paris on the 17th September, when the young Prince was again elected by a large majority. Four other departments in the country had already elected him. On this occasion he no longer hesitated, but accepted his election for the department of the Seine. He took his seat on the 26th September, and made the following speech on the occasion, which was very favourably received by the Assembly: "Citizen representatives, I can no longer maintain silence after the calumnies of which I have been the object. I require to announce openly, and on this the first occasion on which I have been permitted to take my seat among you, the sentiments which animate, and have always animated me. After three-and-thirty years of proscription and exile, I at length find myself among you, I again regain my country and my rights as one of its citizens. It is to the republic that I owe that happiness; let the republic then receive my oath of gratitude, of devotion; and let my generous fellow-citizens, to whom I am indebted for my seat in its legislature, feel assured that I will strive to justify their suffrages, by labouring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, the first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the country is entitled to reclaim. For long I have been able only to consecrate to France the meditations of exile and captivity; now the career on which you have entered is open to me;

receive me into your ranks, my dear colleagues, with the same sentiments of affection with which I am inspired towards you. My conduct, ever guided by a sense of duty and respect for the laws, will prove, in opposition to the passions by which I have been maligned and still blackened, that none is more anxious than I am to devote myself to the defence of order and the consolidation of the republic." [1]

[1] Moniteur, Sept. 27, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 329, 330.

Threatened by this formidable entrant into the Assembly, and alarmed at the manifestation of conservative feeling which was every day becoming more conspicuous, the Socialists and extreme Democrats had recourse to the tactics which had proved so successful in the last days of Louis Philippe's reign. They got up a series of banquets both in Paris and the provinces, at which the retrograde policy was violently assailed, and the universal misery which prevailed ascribed, not to the Revolution, but to the Assembly which had receded from its principles. M. Ledru-Rollin attended one of these festivals held in Paris on 22d September, and indignantly asked, "What has been done since the 24th of February? I much fear that we have not advanced far in that time, and that we are already very far from the principles of February. The men of February are now, under the pressure of the majority, excluded from all the situations which they then held." On the same day a banquet, presided over by the prefect, was held at Toulouse, where, amidst thunders of applause, the most inflammatory language was used: "'Mort aux réclus,' 'Mort aux Prêtres,' 'A bas l'Assemblée Nationale,' 'Vive Barbès,' 'Vive la Guillotine,'" were heard on all sides. A similar demonstration took place on the same day, accompanied by similar excesses, at Bourges; but although these revolutionary orgies excited great uneasiness in Paris, and were the subject of warm debates and bitter reproaches in the Assembly, they were in reality not formidable. The revolutionary action was extinct in France; all classes, except a few agitators who hoped to profit by them, sighed for a ter-

20. Renewed banquet agitation.

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mination of the convulsions, and a return to the paths of peaceful industry. So evidently was this the national wish, so immense the majority who were actuated by it, that although the banquets still continued, and anarchical toasts, amidst loud applause, were drank both in Paris and the departments, the Assembly felt it safe to terminate the state of siege in the capital, which was brought to a conclusion on the 19th October.[1]

[1] Moniteur, October 20, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 332-336.

21. Contest of Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon for the Presidency.

Meanwhile the contest for the presidency was daily becoming more vehement between General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon. Had it taken place at an earlier period, before the nation had had practical experience of the effects of revolutionary government, it is probable that the former might have been the successful candidate, for he had many advantages in his favour, a character long established for republican principles, undaunted resolution in the suppression of anarchy, and the actual possession of supreme unlimited power, with all the patronage consequent on its enjoyment. But at this stage of the movement the chances had turned against him. His reign was inseparably connected in the minds, especially of the rural electors, with the prolongation of the revolutionary regime, and with it its *emeutes*, its bankruptcies, and total cessation of prosperous industry. What they desired was a MONARCH, who might terminate all these evils, and restore the prosperity which, ever since the convulsion of February, had been unknown in France. This monarch they hoped to find in Louis Napoleon. The elder Bourbons were banished; the younger branch discredited; but the Napoleon dynasty remained unstained by faction, undiscredited by folly; and it was under the shelter of its illustrious name that the country could alone hope to regain tranquillity. Beyond all doubt, the great majority of the rural electors thought that, in voting for Louis Napoleon, they were closing the republican regime, and in effect enthroning an emperor.[2] Prudent and sagacious, waiting his time, and careful "not

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 331-335; Moniteur, Oct. 25, 1848.

to pluck the pear till it was ripe," the future president, while these ideas were spreading in men's minds, was cautious not to alarm the jealousy of the republicans by any open disclosure of his ultimate views. On the contrary, they were, when imprudently revealed by his partisans, studiously and emphatically denied by himself.*

22. Position and views of General Cavaignac.

Meanwhile, General Cavaignac, supported by his cabinet and all the official persons by whom he was surrounded, could not be brought to perceive the truth as to the chances of his succeeding in the election. He was not, however, without misgivings as to the result, and was alternately sanguine in his hopes and gloomy in his anticipations. The greatest difficulty with which he had to contend, was to repel the assaults made upon him in reference to his military conduct on occasion of the revolt in June. Civilians, of whom the great majority of the Assembly was composed, could not be brought to understand why the insurrection had been allowed to acquire such a head before it was seriously attacked, and indignantly asked where were the 20,000 regular troops at his disposal when the half of Paris was occupied by the insurgents, and barricades in every direction were erected on the evening of the 23d June. His assailants even went so far as to reproach him with being actuated with ambitious motives on that occasion, and involving the capital in bloodshed and massacre in order to secure the conferring of dictatorial power upon himself. The reply of the General was nervous and eloquent. After recounting the military reasons which rendered it indispensable not to divide his forces in presence of so formidable a mass of insurgents, and the disastrous consequences which might have followed

* "Des personnes bien informées ayant averti le Représentant Louis Buonaparte que des insensés travaillent dans l'ombre, et préparent une émeute en son nom, dans le but évident de le compromettre aux yeux des hommes d'ordre, et des Républicains sincères, Louis Napoleon a cru devoir faire part de ces bruits à M. Dufaure, Ministre de l'Intérieur. Il a ajouté qu'il repoussait énergiquement toute participation à des menées *si complètement contraires à ses sentiments politiques*, et à la conduite qu'il a tenue depuis le 24 Février."—*Journal des Débats*, Oct. 24, 1848.

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the defection or defeat of any considerable body of regular troops, he added: "Be explicit in your charges. Say, have you not endeavoured to drag to that bar a General charged with being negligent, inert, incapable? speak out boldly, for he is before you. He takes the nation for his judges. If you wish to denounce him as a mere ambitious villain, a traitor, who has sought to cut a path to the dictatorship for himself across blood and ruins—speak now; let there be no false delicacy, no equivocation. It is not my ability which is at issue, but my honour; it is no longer the statesman who speaks, but the soldier, and him you will not refuse to hear. You think to serve the Republic by your violence; the day will come when it will be seen whether you or I have most effectually served it. I know not whether M. Ledru-Rollin has separated from me or I from him; but this I do know, that a separation exists, and that, so far as I am concerned, it is likely to be eternal." Upon this debate General Cavaignac was supported by a majority of 583 to 170; a result highly gratifying to his feelings, and such as was obviously conformable to the justice of the case.[1] *

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 22, 26, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 340-342; Normanby, ii. 290, 294, 315.

Previous to going to the poll, General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon issued addresses to the electors,

* "The following conversation, recorded by Lord Normanby, between General Cavaignac and the members of the Provisional Government on the evening of the 23d June, will explain better than anything else the General's military reasons for his conduct on the 23d June: "Une dernière tentative fut faite auprès du Général, MM. Arago, Marie, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, avec M. Barthélemy St Hilaire le pressant de commencer l'attaque. Le Général fut inflexible, et les instances dont il était l'objet irritant sa colère, 'Croyez vous,' dit-il, 'que je sois ici pour défendre vos Parisiens, votre Garde Nationale? Qu'elle protège la ville et ses boutiques? Je ne veux pas disséminer mes troupes,—Je me rappelle 1830; je me rappelle Février. Si une seule de mes compagnies est désarmée, si nous subissons encore cet affront, je me brûle la cervelle: je ne survivrai pas au déshonneur.' On eut beau représenter au Général que son suicide ne remédierait à rien, qu'il s'agissait d'enlever les barricades qu'il avait laissé former. Aucun argument ne put le décider à donner l'ordre de l'attaque; le moment décisif ne lui parut pas encore venu. On ajoutait que les insurgés gagnaient à tout instant du terrain. 'Que m'importe?' répondit le Général: 'eh bien, s'ils sont maîtres de Paris, je me retirerai avec mon armée dans les plaines de St Denis, et je leur livrerai bataille.'—'Oui,' dit M. Arago, 'mais ils ne vous y suivront pas.'"—NORMANBY, ii. 322.

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23. Address of Cavaignac to the electors.

which are of value as indicating the political parties and principles which they respectively represented. Cavaignac said: "The existence of the Republic is essentially linked with the maintenance of political and social order. The Republic without order, order without the Republic, are now alike impossible, and he who would attempt to separate them is a dangerous citizen, whom reason condemns and the country should disavow. Strive to imbibe these ideas, and to diffuse them among the citizens by whom you are surrounded. Founded on the great principle of universal suffrage, as it is now definitively fixed in its application, the constitution of the Republic gives full liberty to discussion, and thereby takes away all excuse for insurrection or revolt; for on what pretext can a faction, which is in a minority by the vote, pretend to be in a majority by rebellion? On the other hand, in presence of the incessant application of universal suffrage, where is the authority which could even dream of attempting to corrupt it? Universal suffrage is in itself the entire Revolution; every other principle is but an emanation and corollary from it. In the very first rank of those consequences you must consider that which places power under the action and immediate control of the majority. In the new condition which the Revolution has imposed on the Republic, to forget these principles would be a grave fault in any one; but a positive crime in one who, invested with any species of authority, should come to forget its source and foundation. The first result, the first danger of such an error, would be the annihilation of the power which had thus denied its origin and belied its principles."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 10, 1848.

24. Louis Napoleon's address.

Louis Napoleon's address was more specific in the delineation of the policy which, in the event of success, he would pursue as chief magistrate of the Republic. He thus expressed himself: "I am *not so ambitious as to dream sometimes of the Empire*, sometimes of war, sometimes of the application of subversive theories. Educated in free countries, in the school of misfortune, I shall always

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remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages may impose upon me. If I become President, I will recoil from no danger, no sacrifice, to defend society so audaciously attacked: I will devote myself, body and soul, without *arrière pensée*, to the consolidation of a Republic wise by its laws, honourable by its intentions, great and powerful by its actions. I shall consider my honour pledged at the expiration of four years to leave to my successor power confirmed, liberty intact, real progress accomplished. Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people; and my support is pledged beforehand to any government which may re-establish order in men's minds, as in material things; effectually protect religion, family property, the eternal bases of every social state; which may anticipate practical reforms, calm hatreds, reconcile parties, and permit a disquieted country to count upon the morrow. To re-establish order is to restore confidence, to provide by credit for the passing embarrassment of our finances, to restore the revenue, to reanimate commerce. To protect religion and family rights is to secure liberty of worship and education. To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the produce of labour, to guarantee the independence and security of possession, the indispensable foundations of civil liberty.

25. Continued.

"As to possible reforms, the following appear to me to be the most indispensable: To admit every economy which, without disorganising the public service, may permit an alleviation of the imposts most burdensome to the people; to encourage enterprise, which, by developing the riches of agriculture, may, in France and Algeria, furnish work to the unemployed; to provide for the relief of old age by encouraging foresight among labourers, and to introduce into the laws affecting industry modifications which, without ruining the rich for the benefit of the poor, may found the wellbeing of each upon the prosperity of all: to restrain within just limits the number of employ-

ments which depend on power, and often convert a free people into a nation of beggars: to avoid that fatal tendency which prompts the State to undertake itself what can be better done by private individuals. The centralisation of interests is the policy of despotism; the nature of a republic excludes the idea of monopoly. In fine, to preserve the Press from its two dangers—arbitrary oppression, and its own licentiousness.

26. Concluded.

"War would bring us no alleviation of our evils. Peace is the dearest object of my desires. France, during the first Revolution, was warlike because Europe compelled her to become so. She answered invasion by conquest. Now that it is not provoked, it is at liberty to consecrate its resources to pacific ameliorations, without renouncing a loyal and resolute policy. A great nation should either remain silent, or never speak in vain. To think of the national dignity is to think of the army, whose noble and disinterested patriotism has so often been misunderstood. It is necessary, while maintaining the fundamental laws which constitute the strength of our military organisation, to lighten and not increase the burden of the conscription. It is time to devise measures for the present and future well-being not only of the officers, but of the sub-officers and soldiers, and to procure for men, who have long served their country, a comfortable existence. The Republic should be generous, and have trust in its fortunes. For my own part, having known exile and captivity, I daily invoke for my country the day when it can with safety terminate all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil wars. The task is difficult, the mission immense, but I shall never despair of executing it when calling to my aid all those, without distinction of party, whom public opinion has recommended, by their enlightened intelligence and approved probity. When you have the honour to be at the head of the French people, there is a sure mode of doing good, which is to wish it."[1]

[1] Histoire de Napoleon III., par M. Guy, 174-176.

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Embarrassment from the events at Rome.

This remarkable letter is well worthy of a place in general history, not only from its containing a complete abstract of the opinions and policy of the very eminent man who has since played so memorable a part on the imperial throne, but because it bears in itself unmistakable traces of his own thought and composition. It contributed greatly to increase the chances in his favour; and they were still further added to by a calamitous series of events, to be detailed in the succeeding chapter, which involved the Italian revolution in murder, convulsion, and disgrace. Count Rossi, the French representative at the court of Rome, had been foully assassinated by a band of Roman desperadoes on the steps of the Hall of the National Assembly, and the Pope reduced to such straits by the violence of the revolutionists that he had in the most abject manner solicited assistance from France, not so much to reinstate him in his authority as to save his life, which appeared to be in imminent danger. To this request General Cavaignac had acceded, and an expedition was fitted out to take possession of Rome. To this step General Cavaignac was moved by the consideration that, if France did not render the aid requested, Austria would, and the influence of a rival power be thereby established in an important point of the Italian peninsula. But the tendering the solicited aid was attended with a difficulty to the executive government, of a peculiarly embarrassing character, on the eve of the election for a chief magistrate of the Republic. The succour was to be sent, not to aid the Italian movement, but to check it, and this by a Government of a decidedly revolutionary character, and which only eight months before had owed its existence to the overthrow of an established sovereign! The obvious inconsistency of this struck the zealous French Liberals with astonishment, and filled them with indignation. However weighty might be the political considerations which induced the French Government to support the Pope in order to ex-

clude the Austrians, they were less exciting than the prospect of extending the cause of Liberalism by openly aiding the insurgents; and General Cavaignac found himself not a little embarrassed by this charge of inconsistency in the contest for the presidency. Another incident, scarcely less damaging to the revolutionary Government, was the discovery that, among the persons to whom national recompenses had been awarded, were to be found the names of nearly all the assassins who had attempted the lives of the late King or of the royal family.[1] *

[1] Normanby, ii. 333-337; Ann. Hist. 1848, 342-345.

28. Result of the election.

As the time of the election approached, the anxiety of General Cavaignac and his friends painfully increased, and the influence of Government was used in the most unsparing and unblushing way to secure his success. But it was all in vain. When the day arrived, although in a few great towns Cavaignac had the majority, the most stunning accounts poured in from all sides of the great adverse majorities in the departments; and at length, when the lists were summed up, there appeared no less than 5,334,226 votes for Louis Napoleon, and only 1,448,107 for Cavaignac! The other numbers were so much below that they were not worth mentioning. Ledru-Rollin had only 370,119 votes; the socialist Raspail, 36,226; Lamartine, 19,900; General Changarnier, 4700! The National Assembly, as a matter of course, declared Louis president, and he took the prescribed oath, which was in these terms: "In the presence of God, and of the French people, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic Republic one and indivisible, and to discharge all the duties imposed on me by the constitution." [2] Never had the voice of a nation spoken out more decidedly than that of France did on this occasion. The result completely demonstrated the truth of General

Dec. 20.

[2] Moniteur, Dec. 21, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 342-344; Normanby, ii. 375.

* La Femme de Pepin et ses enfans une pension de . 500 fr. chacun.
La Sœur de l'assassin Lecomte, . . . 500 francs.
Boucheron, assassin des Duc d'Orléans et Nemours, . 500 do.
Coffineau, voleur, condamné à six ans de détention, . 300 do.
—*Ann. Hist.* 1848, p. 343, note.

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Cavaignac's remark to Lord Normanby; "The Revolution was the work of a *tyrant minority*." "It remains only," said M. de Tocqueville, "to be seen whether it is the *Revolution or the Revolutionists* whom the country cannot abide."

29. Results of the election on public men.

Although Cavaignac did his utmost to bear his defeat with dignity, he could not avoid a little display of ill-humour when the ceremony of inauguration was going on; and when Prince Louis, at its close, went up and held out his hand to him, though he took it, he turned aside his head, and did not rise up. Lamartine's character as a public man was completely lost, as was proved by the miserable minority which voted for him: he had never recovered his unprincipled coalition with Ledru-Rollin to secure a place in the Government chosen by the Assembly, and he had lost the only opportunity which presented itself of regaining it, which was by making a bold and manly speech when the insurrection of June was under discussion. He had in private been loud and unmeasured in his abuse of General Cavaignac for his conduct on that occasion, and he was known to be in possession of its secret history; but he never mounted the tribune when it was under discussion. When Garnier Pagès descended from it, he said to Lamartine across several other members, "Now, if you do not speak, you are ruined as a public man." He did not do so, and sank to rise no more. Serious apprehensions were entertained of popular violence on occasion of so great a defeat of the Radical party, and the funds fell rapidly; but the precautions taken by the Government were so complete that the eventful day which terminated the popular reign passed over without any disturbance.[1]

[1] Normanby, ii. 371-375; Ann. Hist. 1848, 345.

The first care of the new President was to appoint a Ministry, the list of which appeared in the *Moniteur* the day after his election. The ministers chosen were probably the best he could have got under the circum-

stances, but they presented few names of note. M. Odillon Barrot was the President of the Council; M. Drouhyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Léon de Maleville, Minister of the Interior; General Rulhières, Minister at War; M. de Tracy, of the Marine; M. de Talloux, of Public Worship and Instruction; M. Bixis, of Agriculture and Commerce; M. Hippolyte Passy, of Finance. The Cabinet was the representative of the opposition which had overturned the Orléans dynasty. It was an ominous circumstance, however, that none of the experienced statesmen of the Orléans time were to be found in the Administration. The new President had declared that he would select his Cabinet from men of acknowledged ability, of whatever party: but neither M. Guizot, nor M. Thiers, nor M. de Lamartine, nor M. de Montalembert, were there. Mediocrity was its characteristic; pliant ability appeared to be the chief recommendation to admission into it. This is always the case with governments selected under popular influence, save when instant danger compels the people to give themselves masters, not servants, by placing real ability at the helm. Aristocracy is jealous of talent when not entirely subservient, but democracy is much more so.[1]

1848. 30. Appointment of a Ministry. Dec. 21.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 345; Moniteur, Dec. 21, 1848.

The first care of the new Ministry was to endeavour to provide for the financial necessities of the State. This was a subject which could no longer be delayed; for the exigencies of the country, from the increase of expenditure on the one hand, and the diminution of income on the other, had come to such a point that absolute bankruptcy stared the nation in the face. The Government being now changed, the veil was rudely drawn from this important subject, and the difficulties in which the Revolution had involved the country were presented in undisguised colours. From the statement of the Finance Minister it appeared that the expenses of the year had been 1,802,000,000 francs, while the receipts were only 1,383,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 419,000,000

31. Deplorable state of the finances.

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francs, to be provided for by loans or extraordinary resources. To meet this deficit, no less than 103,790,000 francs had been borrowed from the sinking fund, 250,000,000 francs from other sources, and a floating debt of 150,000,000 francs from the Bank of France! The estimate for the succeeding year was equally alarming. The demands of Government for that year would exceed those of the present by 32,000,000 francs, and the probable deficit at the end of the year would exceed 400,000,000 francs! With truth did the Finance Minister say, that "these figures were more eloquent than any words which he could utter." No less than 270,000,000 francs of this large sum were occasioned by the extra expenses of the Provisional Government and Assembly. The expenditure of France in this year was nearly double of what it had been in the latter years of Charles X., when it had been 940,000,000 francs.[1]

[1] Rapport du Ministre de Finance, Ann. Reg. 1848, 348-352; Moniteur, Nov. 1, 2, 1848.

32. Failure of the indirect taxes and of imports.

The comparative produce of the direct and indirect taxes in France during the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 is still more descriptive of the effect of the social convulsions on the industry and prosperity of the country. Between the years 1847 and 1848, the falling-off in the indirect taxes was 125,000,000 francs; and the direct taxes, which were calculated on as producing, with the 45 per cent, 623,456,000 francs, realised only 527,994,000 francs,—leaving a deficit of no less than 95,462,000 francs on the part of the direct imposts, even with the heavy addition made to this amount, which, on paper, was estimated at 162,524,000 francs! The imports and exports did not present a more flattering aspect. Taken together, they exhibited a falling-off of 599,000,000 francs, or about 23 per cent on the produce of the preceding year. The "special commerce," as the French call it, which is the imports for national consumption, and the exports of the produce of national industry, exhibited a still more alarming decline: they had sunk, taken together, 26 per cent; and the importations, taken

alone, no less than 43 per cent. The shipping had fallen off in a similar proportion ; it had declined from 3,146,000 tons in 1847, to 1,965,000 tons in 1848, which showed a sinking of 27 per cent. The decline in articles imported required in manufactures showed how grievously they had suffered : those of silk had sunk from 76,000,000 lb. to 38,000,000 lb. ; while the decline on the duty on sugar showed how seriously the consumption by the working classes of that necessary article had been affected, for it had decreased in amount and value no less than 48,000,000 francs.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 354-358.

33. The Revolution had been buried in the grave of universal suffrage.

When such had been the result of the Revolution to the material interests of the nation, it was not surprising that all classes were discontented with it, and that the repose was universally sighed for which the convulsion had so violently interrupted. Revolution had worked out its natural fruits in ruining the industry of the whole nation. The continuance of its regime was desired only by the insurrectionary leaders who had been, or hoped to be, elevated to greatness by a continuance of the public disturbances. To them, however, the result of the election of the President had been a matter of the most unbounded astonishment and of extreme mortification. Nothing could bring them to see that the domination of the Parisian clubs was regarded with very different eyes in the solitude of the fields, from what it was in the streets of the metropolis. The result, however, is fraught with a political lesson of extreme importance, and which, though often enunciated in former days, had been well-nigh lost sight of amidst the mingled enthusiasm and heartburnings consequent on the French Revolution. This is, that while the strength of democracy is always to be found in the *prolétaires* of great towns or mining and manufacturing districts, that of Conservatism is to be sought in the *country* proprietors ; and that that State is most likely to stand the shock best which contains the greatest number of independent *rural* freeholders.

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Beyond all doubt it was the multitude of these which was the main cause of the triumphant return of Louis Napoleon for the President's chair. The peasant proprietors understood they were voting for an emperor, and the suppression of the clubs of Paris, when they recorded their suffrages for him. Tenacious beyond any other class of their little possessions, and averse to burdens being imposed on them, the determination of these proprietors was taken the moment they heard of the Ateliers Nationaux at Paris, and the addition of forty-five per cent to the direct taxes to maintain them.

34. Which would not be the case in Great Britain.

But it is not to be supposed from this that the same will hold in *all* countries placed in different circumstances, or that because universal suffrage has at last proved the grave of democracy in revolutionised France, therefore it would prove the same in *un*-revolutionised England. It was not so at first. Universal suffrage on the other side of the Channel in 1792 produced not the Assembly of 1848, but the Convention. It placed at the helm, not a Louis Napoleon, but a Robespierre. A nation which has gone through a revolution may be expected to return to conservative principles when intrusted with the powers of self-government; but one which has not done so will most assuredly plunge into the vortex. Nothing is so perilous as to trust to the good sense of a large body of men when their passions are strongly inflamed. Reason and knowledge cannot be supposed to rule the great majority, although passion and delusion may. Nothing but bitter and dear-bought experience can be relied on to withstand their fascination. Before revolution a "Tory democracy" is a myth; after such an event it may sometimes prove a reality.

35. Ireland makes an important specialty.

In addition to this there is one important specialty in the political condition of Great Britain at this time, which renders it peculiarly hazardous to act on the dream of a Tory democracy. There are at this time in Great Britain about an equal number of persons dependent on

agriculture and on manufactures: each are about ten and a half millions. Supposing these different bodies of men to be swayed upon the whole by their respective instincts and traditions, the number of their representatives should be about equal, and in that event the balance would be cast by the members for Ireland. As above two-thirds of them sit for counties, this in the ordinary case should secure a majority for the Conservative interests. But in Ireland the case is just the reverse; the most violent members of the movement party are to be found in its county representatives. This is the consequence of the unhappy religious divisions which have so long distracted that unhappy country, and of the social position of the great majority of the electors, which, blinding them to their real material interests, renders them the passive instruments of spiritual ambition. As the elevation and advancement of their own church is the exclusive object of the Romish clergy, so everything which tends to embarrass or endanger the Protestant Establishment is sure in time to come, as it has done in time past, to receive their cordial support. As they know well that nothing is likely to do this so effectually as the overthrow of the English aristocracy, the majority of the Irish county members may be permanently relied on as a direct support to the movement party in Great Britain. This important peculiarity in our present social and political condition, directly the reverse of what might under other circumstances have been expected, should always be kept in view in any changes that may hereafter take place in the representative system of the United Empire.

CHAPTER LII.

ITALY FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN JANUARY 1848, TO THE PEACE BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND SARDINIA IN AUGUST 1849—FEBRUARY 1848 TO AUGUST 1849.

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1. State of Italy in the spring of 1848.

AGITATED at once by the most violent social and political passions, ITALY, in the beginning of 1848, was in such a state of excitement that it did not require the shock of the French Revolution to throw the whole peninsula into convulsions. So strongly, indeed, was the Italian mind stirred at this period, that it appeared probable that the outbreak would take place sooner to the south than the north of the Alps. The concessions already made to the demand for reform had produced such a ferment, that the whole Liberal party of Italy, so far from being satisfied with what they had gained, passionately longed for still farther victories, and were everywhere prepared to take up arms to gain them. To the thirst for social amelioration and political power was added the still stronger desire for national unity, by which alone, it was thought, either could be secured: and thus the strongest mundane passions which can agitate the human heart—the love of freedom and the love of independence—were roused together, and caused for a time to draw in the same direction. It is not surprising that one of the most general revolutions and bloody wars of modern times arose from their united influence, and that the sacred cause "della unita et libertade Italiana" warmed every

generous heart, and nerved not a few powerful arms, in their beautiful country.

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2. Proximate causes of the Revolution in Italy.

The reforms of Pio Nono, the democratic concessions of Charles Albert, the more sweeping innovations of the King of Naples, had so strongly stimulated the revolutionary passions in Italy, that it was only a question of time when the smothered fires were to break forth to involve the peninsula in one general conflagration. Various events contributed to accelerate its approach. On the 22d December 1847, on occasion of some disorders which had taken place at Modena and Reggio, some Austrian troops, at the request of the Duke of Modena, entered the duchy to preserve the peace, which was immediately represented as an intervention in the affairs of Tuscany. At Milan the popular party passed a resolution against smoking in the streets, in order to diminish the imperial excise; and the attempt to enforce this resolution against the Austrian officers led to several quarrels, in which the latter made use of their arms. At Venice, a fanatical demagogue, named Tommasio, openly preached revolt; while at Rome, as already mentioned, the carriage of the Pope was surrounded by a tumultuous mob on 1st January, and a tricolor flag was insolently waved over the vehicle when his Holiness was still in it. At Genoa, on 3d January, a crowd assembled with the cries, "A bas les Jésuites!"—"Vive la garde civique!" and the citizens were forced to sign a petition to the King, praying for farther reforms, couched in language so violent that even the Liberal ministry refused to receive it. Disorders of a still more serious character broke out at Leghorn a few days after, attended with consequences of a grave description. An immense mob assembled under the windows of General Sfroni, the governor of the city, with cries of "Morte a Sfroni!"—"Viva Guerrazzi!"—the latter being a briefless advocate, the head of the Radical party. The governor had the weakness to appoint Guerrazzi to the command of a civic guard which a commis-

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Jan. 3.

Jan. 1.

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sion was appointed to organise. The consequence was, that he immediately issued a proclamation calling on the people to revolt; and the disorders were only arrested by the arrival of a considerable body of troops despatched by the Grand Duke from Florence.[1] In Naples and Sicily, as already mentioned, the cause of revolution was entirely triumphant, the King having been obliged to proclaim a constitution, framed according to the demands of the Radical party; while in Sicily a provisional government was established, and severance from the continental dominions of the King openly proclaimed. Following the example of his southern neighbour, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on 11th February, proclaimed a representative government; and in Rome a commission, with M. Rossi, the French ambassador, at its head, was appointed to examine and report upon the question how far such a constitution was consistent with the ecclesiastical government.[2]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 17, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 528-531.

Feb. 11.

[2] Ante, c. xlix. § 87; Ann. Hist. 1848, 533-535.

3. Effect of the Revolution of Paris at Rome and Venice.

When such was the temper of the public mind in Italy, it may be conceived what impression the Revolution of February in Paris made. The effect was instantaneous. Both parties immediately prepared to act upon it; the aristocratic, by almost unlimited concession—the democratic, by preparations for instant revolt. The Pope dismissed his ministers and formed a new cabinet, composed of *ten* of the laity, and only three ecclesiastics—a proportion heretofore unheard of. A new constitution was promised, and the general arming of the people, mobilisation of part of the civic guard, and organisation of a powerful reserve. On the 16th the news reached Venice, and the agitation immediately became such, that the governor, General Palfy, saw no means of resisting it: on the day following, Tommasio and Manin, the leaders of the former disturbance, were liberated by his orders, and the formation of a civic guard decreed, for which crowds immediately inscribed their names. At the same time intelligence arrived of the reception of

March 10.

March 16.

March 17.

the news from Paris at Vienna, and the submission of the Imperial Government. No bounds were then set to the general joy. The people rushed out of their houses into the streets, congratulating each other without any previous acquaintance, and the transports found vent in a general illumination. The governor seeing no means, March 19. with the limited force at his disposal, of making his authority respected, and uncertain how to act, when the Government at Vienna itself was yielding, resigned his appointment in favour of General Zichy, the commander of the military force. That officer, hearing of insurrections in Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and the whole Italian Tyrol behind Verona, thought his situation desperate, and deemed himself fortunate in being able to sign a capitulation on the 22d, in virtue of which he was per- March 22. mitted to embark his troops and proceed to Trieste, but on condition of leaving his guns, ammunition, and military treasure, and Italian soldiers, who immediately entered the ranks of the insurgents, bringing with them the advantage of the arms and discipline of soldiers. On the day following, a provisional government, with March 23. Tommasio and Manin at its head, was instituted, and the old colours of the Republic, amidst indescribable transports, hoisted on the Place of St Mark, which again resounded with the ancient war-cry, "Viva St Marco!"[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 535-537.

4. Forces of the Austrians in Italy.

The Austrian force which at this period occupied Lombardy, and the Imperial provinces in Italy, was about 80,000 strong; a considerable force, without doubt, though less by 70,000 than that general had represented as necessary to keep the country in submission amidst the double dangers of foreign invasion and internal revolt. The efficiency of this force was seriously diminished by the circumstance of 25,000 of the whole number being Italian soldiers, who, on the first rupture between Austria and their native country, might be expected to take part with the insurgents. This arose from the Imperial mode of recruiting, which always leaves the third

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or depot battalion in its native district to superintend the getting recruits. At least two-thirds of these depot battalions consisted of young men who had acquired enough of military discipline to be formidable in the field, but not so much as to render obedience and attachment to their king and colours paramount to their feelings as citizens. Such as it was, this army was divided into two corps. The first, that commanded by Baron d'Aspre, held Lombardy, and one of its brigades lay along the Ticino on the Piedmontese frontier. Three brigades, mustering ten thousand combatants, were stationed in Milan, the capital of the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice; the remainder were scattered over the cities of Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, to the north, and of Parma and Placentia to the south. The second corps, under the orders of Count Wratislaw, was stationed in the Venetian provinces, and its chief brigades formed the garrisons of Venice, Mantua, Padua, and Verona, with detachments or single regiments in the lesser towns, which formed part of the important military line of the Mincio.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 13-20, (translated from the German).

5. Biography of Marshal Radetsky.

But whatever the position of the Austrians in Italy wanted in strength to resist a severe external and internal shock, was more than compensated by the extraordinary vigour and capacity of the veteran general who was at its head. JOSEPH RADETSKY, descended of an ancient Bohemian family, was born in 1766, so that at this period he was in his eighty-third year. He entered the Austrian service as a cuirassier in 1781, at the age of sixteen; and in that regiment he rose to the rank of captain. During the fourteen years that he was with it, he was engaged in the wars of the Imperialists against the Turks, and also in the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 in the Low Countries. In 1797 he was promoted to the rank of major, and in 1799 to that of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he was, on account of his remarkable abilities, transferred to the staff, and formed part of the

état-major of Suwarroff in 1799 in Italy and Switzerland, and Milan in 1800, and in the campaign of Marengo in 1806. In the campaign of 1805 he commanded a cavalry brigade, and in that of 1809 he was lieutenant-general, and bore a part in the battles of Aspern and Wagram. During the memorable campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815, he was chief of the staff to Prince Schwartzenberg, in which situation his genius for war became so well known that in 1829 he was appointed general of cavalry —a very high grade in the Imperial service ; in 1832, commander-in-chief in Italy, then threatened with immediate war ; and in 1836 he received the baton of field-marshal. Thus, during his long and eventful career, he had learned the art of war in the best of all schools—under Suwarroff, and the Archduke Charles, and opposed to Napoleon.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 31-32.

6. His character.

He was gifted by nature not only with the eye and decision of a great general, but with the physical qualities which in the field are almost equally necessary for memorable achievements. A firm-knit frame, and constitution of iron, enabled him to retain at eighty-three the vigour and elasticity of youth. The youngest of his staff could scarcely keep up with the old marshal in his rides. At this time, though his hair was white, his eye had lost nothing of its youthful fire, his mind nothing of its activity and decision. Frank and courteous in his manners to all of whatever grade who approached him, considerate in his regulations, and especially attentive to the health and comforts of his soldiers, he was yet steady in maintaining discipline, and rigorous in enforcing obedience to his orders. He thus became the idol of his men, who looked upon him as their father, and came to place in him that unbounded confidence which is so important an element in military success. In reverses he was never depressed ; in victory he was not elated. Ever exposing his own person freely, he was also the first, when the victory was gained, to enjoin mercy to the vanquished ; and though

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the victorious leader in civil strife, he never stained his hands in the blood of the unresisting or the defenceless.

7. General Hess, his chief of the staff.

General Hess was Radetsky's chief of the staff through the Italian campaigns, and by his consummate military talents contributed much to their astonishing successes. He was consulted on all occasions; and so completely were their ideas in unison, that it is difficult to say to which the chief part of the merit is to be ascribed. No jealousy or petty feelings divided these great men. Equally animated by devotion to their king and country, alike sensible of each other's merits, they mutually, like Marlborough and Eugene, ascribed the chief share in the triumphs to the other. The subsequent appointment of General Hess to the command of the grand Austrian army, destined to the invasion of the Principalities, proves how sensible the Government were of his transcendant merits.

8. Feeling in Lombardy on the war and Austrian rule.

Although the feeling of the people in the great towns in the north of Italy was decidedly national, and opposed to the Austrian rule, yet this was by no means equally general in the rural districts; and even in the great cities the habits of the people in all ranks were essentially unwarlike, and none of them had the qualities either of mind or body essential to the maintenance of a prolonged struggle with the Imperial forces. The nobility, which formed the entire body of the considerable landed proprietors, were for the most part discontented, and cordially detested the Austrian rule. They were so because they had been ousted by the Austrians from the government of the country, and the situations of power and emolument in it which appeared to be their birthright. The mechanics and artisans in towns also, with the whole professors of literature, education, and the arts, were still more discontented, and for the most part belonged to the *Carbonari* or other secret societies. The latter were actuated by the desire of political consideration and power which naturally grows upon the middle

order of society with the acquisition of wealth, and by the jealousy which intellectual strength invariably feels for the domination of mere physical force. This body was numerous, highly intellectual, very democratic, and strongly banded together for the acquisition of political independence and social freedom. But its members wanted individual honesty and rectitude. Deeply imbued with the profligacy which results from a long course of prosperity in great cities, the Italian republicans regarded revolution as a game of hazard, which was worth entering for the stakes; but they had none of the earnestness and determination of purpose which results in honest hearts from strong natural conviction. The rural population, with few exceptions, were satisfied with the German rule. The Imperial government was strong, and upon the whole equitable; the taxes were heavy, but they were levied with equal hand on the rich and the poor. There was little disposition, accordingly, in the country people to exchange the leaden yoke of Austria for the fiery rule of the Milan republicans; and it was mainly owing to this indifference that Italy was preserved to the Austrians; for if the inhabitants of the country had been as zealous in the cause of democracy as those of the towns, beyond all doubt the foreigner must have succumbed.[1]

[1] Balleydier, Rev. d'Italie, i. 141-146; Ellesmere, 20-27; Ann. Hist. 1848, 533-539.

9. Insurrection at Milan, and retreat of the Austrians from thence. March 18.

The convulsion at Milan, at once the stronghold of Austrian power in Italy, the headquarters of Radetsky, and the chief seat and school of Italian liberalism, was very violent, and attended with a lamentable effusion of human blood. The receipt of the intelligence from Paris in the first week of March, followed quickly by that of the overthrow of the Government at Vienna, produced such a ferment that insurrection could not be averted. It broke out on the 18th March, and the combat continued without intermission for the six following days. Never were the difficulty and dangers of street-fighting evinced in more clear colours. Radetsky had at his disposal, in the first

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instance, 18,000 men; but they were quickly reduced, by the defection of the whole Italian troops in the Imperial service, to 13,000, while the revolted troops carried to the side of the insurgents the advantages of military skill and organisation. This rendered the conflict comparatively equal; for the insurgents, quickly supported by reinforcements from Pavia, Parma, Como, Brescia, and all the neighbouring towns, soon numbered 10,000 regular Italian soldiers, aided by the desultory efforts of double that number of armed tirailleurs and musketeers, who, though incapable of action in the open field, were extremely formidable firing from windows, or from behind loopholed walls. In the first outbreak of the revolt, the insurgents gained the great advantage, by a sudden and unexpected attack, of making themselves masters of the governor's palace, on which the Italian colours were immediately hoisted. With such rapidity were barricades erected in the streets leading to the palace, as far as the bridge of St Damiens, and with such resolution were they defended, that all the efforts of the Austrians were unable to dispossess them of this stronghold.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 23-30; Ann. Hist. 1848, 531; Balleydier, i. 150-152.

10. Final victory of the insurgents.

The contest continued over the whole city till the 23d; but although the Austrian troops combated with the greatest resolution, and were most ably directed by Radetsky, the superiority of the insurgents, who fought with uncommon courage, at length became manifest. Such was the enthusiasm with which they were animated, that the women poured boiling oil and vitriol on the assailants, and, to their shame be it said, cruelly massacred the prisoners who fell into their hands. On the fifth day of this terrible conflict, the ammunition and provisions of the Imperialists were found to have failed. Water was awanting under a burning sun, and the troops, worn out by so long-continued a contest, were in no condition to maintain it longer.[2] To add to the difficulties of his situation, Radetsky, who still retained possession of the palace of the military com-

March 23.

[2] Radetsky's Desp., Mar. 25, 1848; Moniteur, April 14; Ann. Reg. 319, 320; Ann. Hist. 1848, 535, 536; Balleydier, i. 161-164.

mander, learned that Pavia and Brescia were in open insurrection, and that the Archduke, the son of the Viceroy, had been made prisoner. In these circumstances, wisely judging that the first thing to be attended to was the safety of his troops, and that if he preserved them intact, victory might soon reconduct the Imperial troops to Milan, Marshal Radetsky ordered a general retreat, and withdrew in two columns to Crema.

11. Immense effects of this victory to the insurgents.

Immense was the enthusiasm which the retreat of the Imperial eagles from Milan occasioned over the whole of the Italian peninsula. Coming as it did immediately after the overthrow of Louis Philippe at Paris, the subversion of the Imperial government at Vienna, the revolution of Venice, and the successful insurrectionary movements in Naples and Sicily, it inspired the belief that the triumph of freedom was at length secured, and that a league, formed of all liberated states, having France and united and independent Italy for its foundations, would ere long form the basis of the liberty of the world. The provisional government of Milan immediately published a proclamation, in which, with just pride, they recounted their great triumph, and foretold yet more glorious victories from the aid of the prince who was advancing from Turin to join in the great work of Italian emancipation.* On his side Marshal Radetsky issued a brief address to his soldiers, in which he said—"The treachery of our allies, the fury of the enraged people, and the scarcity of provisions, oblige me to abandon the city of Milan,[1] for the

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 320, 321; Ann. Hist. 1848, 536; Balleydier, i. 168-174.

* "We have conquered: we have compelled the enemy to fly, oppressed as much by his own shame as by our valour. But scattered in our fields, wandering like wild beasts, united in bands of plunderers, he prolongs for us all the horrors of war, without affording any of its sublime emotions. The arms we have taken up, that we still hold, can never be laid down as long as one of his band shall be hid under the cover of the Alps. We have sworn it—we swear it again, with the generous prince who flies, with the common impulse, to associate himself with our glory. All Italy swears it, and so it shall be. To arms, then—to arms, to secure the fruits of our glorious Revolution—to fight the last battle of independence and of the unity of Italy."—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 321.

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purpose of taking a position on another line, from which at your head I can return to victory."

12. Spread of the insurrection, and retreat of Radetsky to the Mincio.

Radetsky at first hoped that he would be able to maintain the line of the Adda, and accordingly the army was stationed in the outset along its banks, head-quarters being established at Lodi. But it soon became apparent that this was impossible. Not only did the insurrection spread through all Lombardy, but the Italian troops stationed in Bergamo, Cremona, Brescia, Rovigo, and all the towns at the foot of the Alps, revolted and joined the insurgents, and the most violent fermentation broke out even in the important fortresses of Verona, Mantua, and Palma-Nuova, though all strongly garrisoned by Imperial troops. The last was surrendered by the Italian garrison which held it, with thirty-eight guns, to the revolutionary bands, and Padua was abandoned, as its garrison was required to reinforce that of Verona, which with difficulty held that important fortress against the inhabitants. By these means the military communication with Austria was placed in danger; and this was soon seriously augmented by the intelligence received from the Italian Tyrol, which was all in arms, and the important castle of Rocco d'Anio, with the whole eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and the steamers on the lake, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents. It was also now ascertained that the Piedmontese government had resolved to take part, on a great scale, and with all their forces, with the Italian revolutionists, and that Charles Albert, with the whole disposable troops of that monarchy, full forty thousand strong, would ere long be in the very front rank of the battle. Thus Radetsky would soon have on his hands an army of 60,000 regular troops, formidable both from its courage and discipline, composed of the Piedmontese forces and the revolted Italian troops; while his own force, though weakened only by 700 men during the conflicts in Milan, had lost fully a fourth of its amount by that great defection, and by three entire

regiments, which, in virtue of the capitulation of Venice, had been conveyed to Trieste and Illyria. Add to this, that Venice had fallen, with all its arsenal, magazines, and treasure, into the hands of the insurgents, who had thus acquired an important base of operations directly in his rear. In these circumstances it was evidently indispensable to retire from the advanced position on the Adda; and the retreat was accordingly continued to beyond the Mincio, headquarters being established at Verona, with only an advanced rear-guard occupying Lonato, on the right bank of that river.[1]

March 31. April 2. [1] Ellesmere, 38-44; Ann. Hist. 1848, 537, 538; Balleydier, i. 175-180.

13. Forces and movements of Charles Albert.

When Charles Albert resolved to embrace the cause of Italian independence, he had very considerable forces at his command, and his accession to the league, of which he immediately became the head, might well inspire patriots less enthusiastic than those by whom he was surrounded, with the belief of ultimate and decisive success. The regular forces of the Piedmontese monarchy at this period were seventy-five thousand strong.* This army, as was abundantly proved afterwards in the Crimean war, was admirably organised, equipped, and disciplined, and commanded by a body of officers worthy to lead such an array. Charles Albert had no cause of complaint against Austria, and did not pretend to have any in the proclamation which he issued on taking up arms. He appears to have been actuated by the general fervour which at that period had come in so remarkable a manner to pervade the Italian people, which had led many to imagine that they saw the finger of God in the universal enthusiasm; and he could not be insensible to the brilliant prospects which opened to himself and his own country from placing it at the head of the movement.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 537, 538; Ellesmere, 36-38; Balleydier, i. 180-185.

* Guards—2 Grenadier and 1 Rifle regiment, . 6,600
Infantry—19 brigades, 2 regiments each, . . 59,400
Cavalry—6 regiments, ... 3,600
Artillery, Sappers, and Engineers, . . 5,000, with 96 guns.
74,600

—*Almanach de Gotha*, 1851, pp. 650, 651.

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14. Biography and character of Charles Albert.

CHARLES ALBERT, though still a young man, had gone through many and various adventures. In early youth, when the democratic movement in 1821 began in Italy, he had, when heir-presumptive to the throne, allowed himself to be placed at the head of the revolutionary party. He soon, however, repented having allowed himself to be so far seduced by the Liberals; and to wipe away the stain which thereby attached to his name, he entered two years as a volunteer into the French service, and acted as a subaltern with great courage in the assault of the Trocadero in 1823, which won for him from Austria the Cross of Maria Theresa. Intimate in former days with the Carbonari, and acquainted with their ulterior designs, he had sense enough to see that, on the throne at least, he had no interest to favour their projects. His system of government was for long the old-fashioned one—to lean on the nobility and the clergy, whom he supported in their privileges, to keep the middle class in check, and to protect the peasant from oppression. Latterly, however, the stream of innovation had become so violent that he was reluctantly obliged to yield to it, and he ere long saw in these concessions the means of elevating his country to a rank which it had never yet attained. His reforms soon made him popular, and he was universally regarded as the head of the league upon which all hopes rested for the assertion of Italian independence. Passionately desirous of military distinction, he now came forward as the chief of the Lega d'Italia, and, sacrificing his horror at revolution to his thirst for glory, drew the sword against Austria, and threw away the scabbard.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 37, 38; Balleydier, i. 134-137.

15. Revolution and civil war in Sicily. Jan. 12.

While a desperate war was thus breaking out in northern Italy, the other extremity of the peninsula was hardly less agitated, and popular license assumed a still more terrible form. The concessions of the King of Naples, liberal as they had been, were far from satisfying the desires of the Sicilian revolutionists, as indeed

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it was impossible they could, seeing the object of the latter was not social reform, but external separation and independence.[1] The catastrophe occurred on the 12th January. On that day the King had promised that his Lieutenant-General, the Duke of Serra-Capriola, should arrive at Palermo, and inaugurate the necessary reforms; but his arrival having been prevented by contrary winds on the voyage from Naples, he had not yet come in the evening. The people, suspecting they were to be deceived, immediately flocked to the Club of the Casino, the centre of the Liberals of Palermo, where they received instructions immediately to take up arms. They were not slow in obeying the injunctions. Before nightfall, menacing crowds occupied the principal squares and streets, bands of armed peasants had descended from the neighbouring mountains, and several detachments of the Neapolitan troops had been disarmed and made prisoners. So active were the insurgents during the night, that next morning the whole of the city was in their hands; and the royal troops had all retired into the forts, when preparations were made for a bombardment. Meanwhile the Court of Naples were not idle, for no sooner did they receive intelligence of the insurrection than they despatched nine vessels of war, having 6000 men on board, to aid in the reduction of the revolted city; and with such vigour were the preparations pushed forward, that the expedition set out from the Bay of Naples on the evening of the 14th.[2]

[1] Ante, c. xlix. § 86.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 531; Ann. Reg. 1848, 332, 333; Balleyd. i. 190-197.

16. Bombardment of the city, and concession of the Government.

The French Consul with some difficulty obtained a suspension of the bombardment for twenty-four hours; but at length it began, and was continued, without any decisive result, for the next forty-eight hours. The town took fire in several places, and great destruction of property ensued; but the leaders of the insurgents showed no disposition to yield, and the Count d'Aquila, brother of the King, having arrived at Naples from the seat of war, gave such alarming accounts of the state of affairs that the Government determined on yielding. On the 18th

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January four decrees were issued by the King, which embodied a concession of the chief demands of the revolutionists. The first and third regulated, on a more liberal basis, the Council of State, the powers of which were extended, and declared that it was to consult the provincial assemblies on matters connected with their several localities; the second abolished the promiscuous occupation of offices by the Neapolitans and Sicilians, and reserved the principal places in each for their own inhabitants; the fourth appointed the Count d'Aquila Lieutenant-General of Sicily, and nominated a minister and council, all of known liberal opinions, to assist him in his deliberations.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 531, 532; Ann. Reg. 1848, 333; Balleyd. i. 200, 201.

17. Which leads to increased demands from the insurgents.

These concessions were in themselves great, and they are worthy of note, as indicating what were the chief grievances of which the Sicilians in the outset complained. But instead of being appeased by them, the Provisional Government and insurgents of Palermo were only the more determined in their demands for a separate parliament, and the constitution of 1812. With these demands began to be mingled others of a still more ominous character, and already the cries of "Viva l'Indepenza Siciliana" were heard in the streets. The royal commanders, however, showed no disposition to yield, and they occupied the following positions, which effectually commanded the city: The King's palace was strongly garrisoned, and inhabited by the Count d'Aquila; and in addition to this, the fort of Castellamare, the barracks of La Mole, the Finance Palace, and the barracks near the royal palace, with the prison between the Mole and the city, were in the hands of the royalists. Meanwhile the forces of the insurgents were hourly on the increase; one unanimous feeling in favour of national independence appeared to have seized upon all classes; and so universal was the fervour, that when the four decrees arrived from Naples, thirty thousand men, for the most part armed, were in possession of those parts of Palermo not actually garrisoned by the royal troops.[2] But events succeeded each

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 532, 533; Ann. Reg. 1848, 333.

other with such rapidity at Naples that they outstripped even the swift march of Sicilian revolution.

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When the news of the revolt at Palermo first reached the King of Naples, he seemed disposed to act with the utmost vigour in crushing it, and the rapid fitting out of the expedition for Palermo proved how well he was seconded by his ministers. But in a few days he became sensible that resistance was no longer in his power. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the determination of the Sicilians to hold out for the constitution of 1812, than the ferment became so violent, that Del Caretto, the chief anti-revolutionary minister, was obliged to take refuge on board a steamer to save his life. An entire change of ministry took place, and at the head of the new cabinet was the Duke de Serra-Capriola, who had formerly been ambassador of Naples at Paris. The Prince di Torilla, Prince Dentici, and several other ministers, all of liberal opinions, including M. Bozzili, who had been Councillor of State under Murat, formed the ministry. They declared they could not retain office an hour unless a constitution were granted, and on the 28th January a decree appeared, promising to concede. The decree was placarded next morning over all Naples, and speedily converted the revolutionary fervour into transports of joy. These were increased on the following day, when it was known that orders had been sent to Palermo to withdraw the troops, and the publication of a general amnesty on 1st February. The basis of the proposed new constitution was soon after published by the King, to the effect that the Roman Catholic religion should be the religion of the State, and *no other tolerated;* that the person of the King should be sacred, and his ministers responsible; that the land and sea forces should be commanded by the King, but a National Guard be organised over the whole country;[1] and that the press should be free, subject only to a repressive law against

18. The King of Naples agrees to give a Constitution. Jan. 28.

[1] Constitution of 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 333, 334; Ann. Hist. 1848, 533, 534; Balleyd. i. 207, 209.

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such offences as might offend religion, the King, or public morality and order.

19. Spread of the Revolution in Sicily. Jan. 28.

But these concessions, great as they were, proved inadequate to restrain the revolution in Sicily, which was now directed to the acquisition of separation from Naples. The news that the movement was taking this direction speedily spread it over the whole country. On the 28th January an insurrection broke out at Messina, and the city was immediately bombarded, as well from the citadel and forts as from an armed steamer in the harbour. Captain Codrington, who commanded an English frigate off the harbour, did his utmost to mediate between the contending parties, but in vain. The peremptory demand of the insurgents that none but native troops should be employed in the island, rendered all attempts at an accommodation fruitless. On the 21st February the insurgents carried the fort of Real Basso, at Messina, by storm, and the royal troops were confined to the citadel and fort of Salvador. Great preparations were now made on both sides for the renewal of the fire, and it began with uncommon vigour on the 7th March, and continued with little interruption till 2d May, when, from the effects of mutual exhaustion, an armistice was agreed on. At the same time a furious combat was going on between the insurgents and the royal castle at Palermo; but the King having decided on submission, sent an order to the garrison to capitulate, which terminated hostilities in this quarter.[1]

Feb. 21.

March 7.

May 2.

Feb. 4.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 335, 336; Ann. Hist. 1848, 534, 537; Balleyd. i. 212-214.

20. Defeat of the insurgents in Naples by the Swiss. May 14.

Meanwhile matters were nearly in as disturbed a state in Naples itself, where the King with great difficulty maintained his ground against the Liberal Chamber and a disaffected army. On the 14th May the Chamber met, and the preliminary matter which occupied their attention was the nature of the oath which the members were to take. The King insisted for a simple oath of fidelity to the Constitution as it stood; but the Liberals in the Chamber contended for an oath to the Constitution with

such changes as the Chamber might introduce into it. The dispute soon became so warm that it was evident it could be adjusted only by an appeal to force. On the day following the erection of barricades began; and the King, seeing no means remaining of resistance, agreed to yield, and desired the National Guard to remove the barricades. The insurgents, however, declared they would resist this till the decree for which they contended was actually issued; and during the parleying which went on, the musket of a National Guard having accidentally gone off, his comrades thought the Swiss Guards were attacking them, and fired a volley, which was immediately returned by the Swiss, and a most sanguinary conflict ensued, which lasted eight hours. But never was the superiority of regular troops of steady fidelity more decisively proved than on this occasion. The National Guard and revolutionists were totally defeated, with the loss, it was said, of eight thousand men; and as the lazzaroni all joined the royal forces, the scenes of horror which ensued equalled any in a city taken by assault. At length the French admiral, Baudin, succeeded in putting a stop to the effusion of blood by the threat of landing his marines and forcibly interposing between the contending parties. But before this was done the victory of the King and his faithful Swiss Guard was complete; martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard disbanded, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved.[1]

May 15.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 335, 336; Ann. Hist. 1848, 549, 550; Balleyd. i. 214-226.

21. Dethronement of the King of Naples, and election of the Duke of Genoa as King of Sicily. April 13.

Matters, however, took a very different turn at first in Sicily, where the victory of the revolutionists was as complete as their discomfiture at Naples had been. On the 13th April the Sicilian Chamber met, and the leading Liberals immediately demanded that the Royal Family of Naples should be dethroned, a new sovereign elected, and Sicily joined to the League for promoting the independence of Italy. Both Chambers passed resolutions to that effect; and the choice of a sovereign next came under consideration. Much difficulty was expe-

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rienced on this subject, but at length the choice fell on the Duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, King of Piedmont. He was accordingly formally installed by the title of Albert Amedée I., King of Sicily. But foreseeing an endless war between Naples and Piedmont from such an accession to the partition of the former, he had the prudence to decline the proffered crown, and meanwhile the King of Naples drew up and published a formal protest against the threatened partition; and fitted out a powerful expedition to restore the island to obedience.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 336, 337; Ann. Hist. 1848, 570, 571; Balleyd. i. 228-230.

22. Desperate contest at Messina.

Sept. 2.

The expedition, which consisted of 14,000 soldiers, with a powerful train of artillery, set out from Naples on the 29th August, and arrived off Messina on the 2d September, under the command of General Filangieri. The first care of this experienced commander was to revictual the fort, still held by the royal troops, who, owing to their long blockade by the revolutionists, were reduced to great straits, both in provisions and ammunition. The city was then summoned to surrender, but the proposal was indignantly rejected. The bombardment began at

Sept. 3.

daybreak on the 3d, was kept up with the greatest vigour the whole day, was resumed at daylight the following morning, and continued with the utmost violence on both sides till night. The Bulldog, British vessel, and Hercule, French, then arrived; but although they made the utmost efforts to interpose between the combatants, and stop so terrible an effusion of blood, they were unable to bring the parties to an accommodation. Gradually, however, the superiority on the part of the Neapolitan forces became very apparent. Though the citizens fought with the greatest desperation, their efforts were sensibly becoming weaker: great part of the city was laid in ruins, ammunition was becoming scarce, and the insurgents were scarcely able to stand to their guns. On the other hand, the situation of the royal troops was daily improving. Two thousand fresh soldiers, with ample supplies of ammunition, were landed in safety on the

evening of the 4th, followed on the morning of the 6th by six thousand more brought in a fleet, consisting of two frigates, thirteen steamers, and nineteen gun-boats. On the day following, the steamers which had returned from Reggio landed additional forces; and the bombardment being renewed with the utmost vigour, the city was soon on fire in every quarter, while, the ammunition of the insurgents being exhausted, they were not able to return a single shot. It was no longer a battle, but a massacre; the whole remaining inhabitants fled from the scene of desolation. No less than ten thousand were humanely taken on board the French and English vessels, and the Neapolitan colours were hoisted on the heights behind Messina.[1]

Sept. 4. Sept. 6. Sept. 7.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 570, 571; Ann. Reg. 337, 338; Capt. Robb's Desp., Sept. 6, 1848; Balleyd. i. 234-242.

23. Change of Ministry in Rome. March 10.

The capture of Messina was an immense advantage to the royal cause in Sicily, as it gave them a secure base of operations, and safe mode of communicating with Naples. Although, therefore, vigorous preparations for defence were made in Palermo, and movable columns were ordered to be stationed in camp at Milazzo, Taormina, Syracuse, Girgenti, Catania, Palermo, and Trapani, yet it was not expected they would be able to make any protracted resistance. Meanwhile occurrences at Rome and in Tuscany precipitated the march of events, and involved the whole of central Italy in the conflagration. Yielding to the demand for innovations which he himself had so large a share in promoting, the Pope had in the beginning of January issued a plan for a new organisation of the Executive Department of the Government. But when all thoughts were occupied at Rome with this all-engrossing topic, the Revolution at Paris suddenly excited such a ferment that immediate political change became indispensable. On the 14th March, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, in which the Supreme Pontiff declared his intention of granting a new constitution, on a liberal basis, to his subjects. In this state paper he stated: "As our neighbours have

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decided that the people are ripe for representative institutions, not merely *consultive* but *deliberative*, we are unwilling to think less worthily of our own subjects, or to repose less faith in their gratitude, not only towards our own humble person, for which we desire none, but towards the church and the apostolic see, the inviolable and supreme rights of which have been committed to our custody by Almighty God." At the same time, he gave the most decisive proof of his sincerity by forming a new cabinet, composed of *ten* of the laity, and *three* ecclesiastics. Nor did the acts of the new ministry belie their origin; for they immediately set about the formation of a constitution, the extension of the National Guard, and the organisation of part for active service in the field.[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 250-261.

24. The Pope is at last obliged to declare war against Austria. May 1.

Still, however, his Holiness was inclined to peace, and especially averse to a war with Austria, which he was well aware might soon be required to come to his aid as the last refuge of the Papal Government. Such, however, was the enthusiasm which the war in Lombardy and the revolutions at Milan and Venice produced, that it became ere long impossible to avoid being drawn into hostilities. A body of Roman volunteers, without any authority from the Papal Government, organised themselves in the ecclesiastical dominions, and joined the army of Charles Albert on the Mincio. This, if not an overt and avowed, was at least a real act of hostility; and a device was soon adopted by the Liberals which increased still more the ferment in Rome. An artist of some note, Signor Caffi, had joined the Liberal expedition. His body was found hanging on a tree near Verona, with the inscription appended to the corpse: "This is the way in which the crusaders of Pius IX. are treated." The obvious remark, that if this act had been the work of the Austrians they would never have affixed this inscription, never occurred for a moment to the Romans; the thing was implicitly believed in the capital; and the populace, with loud cries, demanded an instant declaration of war. On the other

hand, the Pope held out, and on the 29th April addressed the cardinals in conclave, declaring that the expedition had been formed without his orders, and that it had crossed the frontier contrary to his commands. Upon this a mob arose, and, surrounding the post-office next day, got possession of the letters, some of which proved that the cardinals were preparing for the worst, and making arrangements to leave the city. The public excitement increased to the very highest pitch; tumults and riots took place in several parts of the town; the fidelity of many of the troops of the line and the whole National Guard was more than doubtful; and the Pope was forced, against his will, to declare war against Austria. This was immediately followed by the formation of a new cabinet, composed entirely of men of the most liberal opinions, at the head of which were Cardinal Ciacchi and Count Marchetti; and they soon after published a proclamation, in which they declared "the present ministry will hold especially dear the sacred cause of Italy and the triumph of right, to which all their attention will be applied, convinced that the first efforts of ardour must not be repressed, but, on the contrary, stimulated and increased." Such, however, was the unwarlike character of the inhabitants of the Ecclesiastical States, that the addition of their forces to those of the Italian League brought scarcely any accession of strength to the legions on the banks of the Mincio; and it is a melancholy and instructive fact, illustrating the influence of sacerdotal government on national character, that the addition of the power of Rome scarcely affected the balance in the quarrel of two of the most inconsiderable provinces of its ancient empire.[1]

1848. April 29. April 30. May 1. May 5.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 534, 535; Ann. Reg. 1848, 329, 330; Balleyd. i. 274-281.

25. Forces at the disposal of Charles Albert.

Following the examples of Rome and Naples, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on February 11, issued a proclamation establishing representative institutions in his dominions, though he did not at once join the League of

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Italy. But it was not by the accession of raw recruits from central Italy that the contest was to be determined. Austria and Piedmont were the principals in the fight; it was with their brave and disciplined battalions that victory lay. A pause of about a week ensued after the retreat of the Austrians to the Adige, for both parties had time to await the coming up of reinforcements expected from the rear. The army of Charles Albert had crossed the Ticino, and entered the Austrian territories on the 25th March, accompanied by his two sons, the Dukes of Savoy and Genoa; and his troops had followed the Austrian line of retreat, also in two columns, the one by Brescia and the other by Cremona. But although the disposable forces of Piedmont were 40,000 strong, not more than 25,000 were collected round their standards when they reached the Mincio, the remainder being on march from the depots of their respective regiments. These troops, however, were in the very highest state of discipline and equipment, brave, warlike, and experienced, with the true military spirit in their bosoms, and an ancient military reputation to sustain. Some of them, in particular the light infantry called Berzagliers, were among the finest troops in Europe; and by the delay of a few weeks, 30,000 men might be expected to be concentrated at the decisive points on the Mincio and the Adige.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 35, 38.

26. Other forces of the Italian League.

It is true these troops might be expected to be ere long much augmented by accessions from different parts of Italy; for not only were Lombardy and the Venetian States on fire, but, even before their governments had joined the League, corps of zealous volunteers were formed, who flocked of their own accord to the theatre of war. With these also were united some old corps, which might be expected to render good service in the contest which was approaching. From Parma a fine battalion of infantry, 1000 strong, and a battery of artillery, were got; from Tuscany 4000 men, including a strong regiment of

old grenadiers; from Modena, 1500 old troops and 4000 ill-disciplined militia. The Papal troops were much more formidable, for they embraced four battalions of Swiss infantry, and a battery of eight pieces; and in addition, the Pope's Italian Guards consisted of 7000 infantry, two batteries, and a regiment of horse admirably mounted. The Neapolitan forces were much more numerous; but the Sicilian revolt absorbed them so completely, that no reliance could be placed on their rendering any aid in the contest on the Adige. In addition to these, however, three regiments, composed in part of Italian soldiers in the Austrian regiments which had revolted, were formed in Lombardy, and as many in the Venetian States; but their organisation was not as yet so complete as to enable them to join in the earlier operations of the campaign. Twenty thousand additional troops were ordered to be levied in the Piedmontese dominions, which, however, could not be ready to take the field for some months. Thus, on the whole, Charles Albert, without reckoning on the volunteers and new levies, might be expected to have, before many weeks were over, 50,000 regular troops at his disposal; and some of them, in particular the Swiss Guards of the Pope and the Piedmontese light infantry, were equal to the best in Europe in equipment, discipline, and courage.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 45-51; Balleyd. i. 281-294.

27. Radetsky's forces and position.

The forces at the disposal of Radetsky were less considerable; and such was the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy that no considerable reinforcements for a long time could be expected to join his standards. Weakened as they had been by the defection of the whole Italian regiments, and by the loss for the time of the whole garrison of Venice, which had been sent under capitulation to Trieste, he could not, in the first instance, collect more than 30,000 men under his orders, and they had to garrison the whole fortresses on the Mincio and the Adige, besides keeping open the communication with Vienna through the Italian Tyrol, which was all in insurrection.

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Thus, for operations in front and in the field he could not reckon on above 18,000 men. This force, it is true, was supported by the lines of the Mincio and the Adige, which for a considerable distance run parallel to each other, and form the true military frontier both of Germany and Italy in the north-east. The first of these, issuing from the lake of Garda, descends from thence in a deep channel to the Po. The line on its banks thus leans with its right on the lake and the Alps, and its left on that great river; and being supported by Peschiera and the fortress of Mantua, it presents a very strong position. The line of the Adige in its rear, however, is still stronger; for that river, after flowing down through the precipices of the Alps, overhung by the Montebaldo and the plateau of Rivoli, issues into the Italian plains beneath the walls of Verona, and thence continues its course in a deep bed with a rapid course parallel to the Mincio, as far as the fortress of Legnago, when it suddenly turns to the eastward, and flows to the Adriatic in a line not far distant from the Po. Thus these two lines of defence were both formed of rivers issuing from the Alps and stretching to the Po, resting at either extremity on strong fortresses; circumstances which explain the vast importance which they have lately assumed in all the wars between Italy and Germany.[1]

[1] Personal knowledge; Ellesmere, 49, 50.

28. Its weak side, in consequence of the insurrection in its rear.

The importance and strength of these defensive lines, however, were much lessened at this time by the spread of the insurrection over the whole Venetian States and province of Friuli in their rear, which placed the direct line of communication with Austria in the hands of the enemy. Add to this, that as the Venetian States adjoined the Roman, and the whole fortresses of both were in the hands of the insurgents, an easy entrance was afforded by Ferrara and the Lower Po to the Papal troops, into the direct rear of the Austrian position. Thus it was indispensable for Radetsky, should he be driven from the line of the Mincio, which was more than probable,

to maintain himself at all hazards at Verona and on that of the Adige; for it was alone by holding them that he could preserve his communication with Germany and the northern Tyrol, from whose inhabitants the most important succour was expected. Should he be driven from the line of the Adige, his only line of retreat would not be perpendicular to his front, but parallel to his right flank—a most dangerous movement in presence of an able and enterprising enemy, who could fall upon it in any weak point, and cut the retiring columns and convoys in two.

29. Measures to recover and secure the Tyrol. March 27.

Even this last and vital line of communication to the Austrian troops was on the point of being lost; for not only had the insurrection spread up the whole western side of the Lago di Garda, but its eastern shores were in a very disturbed state; while on the great road by Trent and Roveredo, in the Italian Tyrol, convoys were frequently surrounded and cut off, especially in the neighbourhood of the Montebaldo, and between that and Trent; and the latter important town was in a state little short of open insurrection. The whole disposable forces in the Tyrol itself consisted of two weak brigades, which were entirely absorbed in guarding the posts of Bolzano and Botzen, with the Brenner Pass, and the newly constructed fortress of Franzens, situated to the north of Brescia, and commanding the junction of the roads northwards to Innspruck, and eastwards to Carinthia. In these circumstances, Radetsky intrusted to Colonel Baron Zobil and a weak brigade the important task of securing Trent, and getting the command of the adjacent country. He executed his mission with such vigour and ability, that though he had in the first instance only eight hundred men and three guns at his disposal, yet he contrived to make his way through the hostile streets into the castle, from whence, by the threat of a bombardment, and giving the town up to pillage, he succeeded in overawing it. The principal leaders of the revolt, all Italians, were

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arrested, the citizens disarmed, the wearing of party badges forbidden, and the magistracy, secured in the German interest. Meanwhile the Government, sensible of the vital importance of the Tyrol to the maintenance of their Italian possessions, and relying on the well-known and oft-tried fidelity of their Tyrolese subjects, issued a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants to take up arms in defence of their king and country. The call was nobly responded to by all of the German blood; and even in those valleys which lie on the Italian side of the Brenner and the crest of the mountains, it met with more success than could have been expected. The German race, as every traveller who has visited that interesting country knows, had spread over the Alpine ridge down the valleys, and with them had been diffused the fidelity, loyalty, and honesty of the German character. Before many weeks were over, sixty companies of riflemen were in arms and fully organised. Rusty swords were furbished up and sharpened; rifles, which had hung unused since 1809, were unslung and cleaned; ball-practice was established in every parish; and not only did the peasantry everywhere take up arms, but the students from the Tyrol, who were at the university of Vienna, separated from their comrades who were in open revolt, and rejoined the standard of their fathers on their native mountains. They were accompanied by Haspinger, the famous companion of Hofer in 1809. The well-known red beard, which had then been such a terror to the enemy, was now a silver grey; but the gait of the hero had undergone no change, his eye lost none of its ancient fire. He had the satisfaction to meet in Bolzano with Captain Gasser, a comrade of ancient days, who, like him, had come forth to resist the encroachment of Italian liberalism as they had done the invasion of French democracy.[1]

[1] Personal knowledge, Ellesmere, 58-60; Ann. Hist. 1848, 541, 542; Balleyd. i. 301-306.

This burst of loyalty in all the inhabitants of German descent in the Tyrol was much promoted by an imprudent

1848. 30. Measures of the Provisional Government at Milan. March 28.

proclamation issued by the Provisional Government at Milan, in which, regarding rather geographical divisions than political or moral distinction, they had assigned the Brenner and the crest of the mountains separating Italy from Germany as the frontier line between the Austrian territories and those of the Italian Republic. This line would have detached a great number of districts strongly attached to the House of Hapsburg from the Imperial rule; among the rest, the valley of Passeyr, the birthplace and residence of Hofer himself. The German inhabitants of these districts entertained a bitter recollection of the French rule when they formed part of the Regno d'Italia, under the vice-royalty of Prince Eugene; and they were resolute to resist a repetition of the evils then endured. It is worthy of remark, that, while the revolutionary government of Lombardy was thus busied with detaching ancient and attached provinces from the Austrian empire, it itself was threatened with a similar process of dissolution in rear from the revolutionary government of France. The democrats of Savoy, taking advantage of the detaching of the chief Sardinian garrisons from their territory, resolved to set up for themselves, and invited the patriots of Lyons to co-operate in the movement. They were not slow in answering the appeal. On the 3d April, a corps of eighteen hundred free volunteers from thence crossed the frontier, and advanced without opposition to Chambray, which they occupied, and established a provisional government. But being unsupported by the government forces, this inroad soon came to a disgraceful termination. Next day the peasants from the adjoining mountains, who were attached to their ancient sovereigns, descended from their hills, armed with rusty fowling-pieces and scythes, and chased the intruders ignominiously back into their own territory.[1]

April 3.

April 4.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 540, 541; Ellesmere, 57, 58; Balleyd. i. 306-310.

These, however, were mere episodes in the war; the real contest lay on the Mincio, and there it commenced in good earnest in the beginning of April. The great

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First operations on the Mincio. April 6.

inferiority of Radetsky's force rendered it impossible to hold that line permanently; but he resolved to maintain it as long as possible, in order to gain time for the provisioning and arming of Peschiera and Mantua, which, by the unaccountable negligence of the Austrian government, had not yet been done. It was now set about, however, in good earnest, and the aged governor of Mantua, Count Gorjakowski, exhibited in this important duty an energy which rivalled that of Radetsky himself. By his efforts during the week that Charles Albert was doomed to inactivity awaiting his reinforcements, four months' provisions were swept into both places; and Mantua, which during the long peace had lost much of its warlike aspect, was again rendered a fortress of the first order. Hardly

April 8.

was this done, when Charles Albert, having at length got his army well in hand, directed it, in several columns, on the Mincio. General Bava, with four thousand Piedmontese and sixteen guns, made the first attack, by assailing the village of Goito on the extreme Austrian left, which, after an obstinate defence, was carried by the gallantry of the Piedmontese riflemen, with the loss of two hundred men and four guns to the vanquished, and the bridge taken, the Austrians retiring to Mantua. Among the Austrians killed were two nephews of Hofer, who, with the whole Tyrolese regiment to which they belonged, had fought with the utmost courage. Radetsky wrote to the Tyrolese, announcing their loss: "The regiment, your children, whom you have sent me, is worthy of your country." The Piedmontese loss was equal to that of the Austrians; but the latter were undoubtedly worsted, as the town was taken, and the passage of the Mincio forced; and this was a matter of no small importance in the outset of the campaign.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 540, 541; Ellesmere, 61-63; Balleyd. i. 312-317.

Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster on his left, Radetsky immediately concentrated his whole disposable forces, amounting to 19,000 men, at Villafranca, between Goito and Verona, and at first seemed disposed to give

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battle instead of abandoning the line of the Mincio. But he was soon induced to alter his views. His force was so inferior to that of the enemy, that he could hardly hope to deliver a general battle with any prospect of success, and the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy not only precluded the hope of any considerable reinforcements to compensate losses, but rendered the little army under his command in a manner the last hope of the monarchy. Charles Albert, meanwhile, was not the man to halt midway in the career of success. On the day following the capture of Goito, two other corps effected the passage of the Mincio at Valeggio and Mozambano, in spite of a heavy fire from the Austrian batteries, and the Piedmontese forces were solidly established on the left of the river. Seeing this, and having accomplished the provisioning of Peschiera and Mantua, Radetsky resolved to retreat; and on the 10th the whole army retired behind the Adige, leaving only a detachment on the right bank of that river to keep up the communication between the headquarters at Verona and the fortress of Peschiera, which it was anticipated would be the first object of attack.[1]

32. Radetsky retires behind the Adige.

April 10.

[1] Ellesmere, 61-64; Ann. Hist. 1848, 540, 541; Balleyd. i. 321-324.

So far brilliant success had attended the Piedmontese arms, which were obviously wielded with courage, as well as directed with skill. Such early advantage, of importance in all wars, is doubly so in those of a revolutionary character, in which so much depends upon the excitement consequent on triumphs; and against a less experienced commander than Radetsky, it might possibly have led to decisive results. But the character of that great general was precisely the one fitted to erect a barrier against which the waves of revolutionary fervour would beat in vain. The importance and vast strength of the line of the Adige was now apparent, as well as the value of the time gained by Radetsky for provisioning the fortresses covering its flanks. It was impossible to force the line of the Adige between Peschiera and Mantua while both

33. Difficulties of Charles Albert's position.

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of these places were in the hands of the enemy; and yet, to reduce either, with an able and enterprising enemy, ready to fall on the besieging army, was evidently an undertaking exposed to great hazard. Charles Albert, therefore, wisely resolved to await the arrival of reinforcements before he hazarded the bulk of his forces beyond the Mincio; and he merely, in the mean time, sent advanced guards over the river to observe the country between it and the Adige, holding in strength all the bridges, so as to give him the means at pleasure of commencing more important operations, which he designed, in the first instance, to direct against Peschiera.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 541; Ellesmere, 65-67; Balleyd. i. 316-320.

34. Invasion of the Tyrol by the free corps.

The generals and colonels of the free revolutionary corps, which had been raised in Lombardy, earnestly pressed the King to allow them to take advantage of this delay to make a grand incursion into the Italian Tyrol. They were encouraged to hope for great results from this operation, from the friendly disposition of the whole inhabitants of Italian descent in the Southern Tyrol, the most of whom were already in arms for the cause of Italian independence. Charles Albert at once perceived the great advantages which this enterprise, if successful, would produce, by endangering, if not entirely cutting off, the Austrian communications by the valley of Trent with Vienna, and he readily gave his consent to the undertaking. He had so little confidence, however, in the steadiness of these allies, that he refused to allow two battalions of light troops with two guns, which were earnestly pressed for, to accompany them. The expedition accordingly set out from Brescia, under the command of General Allemandi, consisting of four thousand men, on the 9th of April, in columns of five or six hundred men each, and moved up the valleys leading to the Alps, which soon fell, without opposition, into their hands. Their progress was so rapid, that by the 17th April they were in possession of the wide tract of country stretching from Cler to the Lago di Garda,[2] and all the

April 9.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 542, 543; Ellesmere, 70-72; Balleyd. 324-327.

roads leading to Trent were in their possession. It was their intention to have made a concentrated attack on that important town, which, if taken, would have entirely cut off the communications of the Austrians with their own dominions.

Great was the enthusiasm in the Italian free corps at this auspicious commencement of their operations. The poetry of the war was represented by Signora Bettroni, a heroine who commanded a detachment of one hundred men. But never was more clearly evinced the utter inadequacy of raw troops to resist the onset of regular forces, even though greatly inferior in number. General Weldon, who commanded the Austrian forces in Trent, drew two battalions of regular troops from the Vorarlberg, where the declared neutrality of the Swiss rendered their presence no longer necessary, and with these, and as much as was disposable of his little garrison, resolved to advance and anticipate the attack of the enemy. He divided his force into two small columns, one of which moved from Trent into the valley of the Sarca against Allemandi's right, the other on Cler, in the Val di Sali, so as to menace his left; while at the same time the little garrison of Riva, on the Lago di Garda, sallied forth, and totally defeated another of the columns six hundred strong. The first of Weldon's columns encountered a body of free volunteers at Silemo, in the valley of the Sarca, and speedily put them to the rout; the second in a few minutes dispersed Allemandi's principal force near Cler. The effect of these victories was, that the free bands fled headlong out of the Tyrol, and regained the plains of Lombardy in the utmost consternation and total disorganisation. So complete was the rout, that, after a great deal of mutual abuse and recrimination, the whole of these free bands were dissolved; and such of them as remained, incorporated with the regular army of Piedmont.[1]

35. Total defeat of the expedition. April 19.

April 19.

April 20.

[1] Ellesmere, 72-76; Ann. Hist. 1848, 542; Balleyd. i. 316-324.

Shortly after this check, Charles Albert deemed him-

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36. Charles Albert's plan of operations.

self in sufficient strength to undertake the operation he had long meditated, which was to occupy in force the Venetian States in the rear of Radetsky, and at the same time throw forward his own left along the eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and seize upon Rivoli. By these means he hoped to turn both flanks of the Austrian position, and cut Radetsky off at once from the reinforcements which were hastening to him through the Tyrol, and the army of reserve which was beginning slowly to collect on the banks of the Isonzo. With this view he sent General La Marmora, one of the best officers in his army, to Venice, to hasten the formation of the levies there; while the Papal troops, some of which, as already noticed, were foreigners of excellent quality, under General Durando, supported by the Tuscan and Roman levies that were ready for the field, received orders to cross the Lower Po and occupy the Venetian territory, including Friuli. At the same time the Piedmontese army on the Mincio, now fully in hand and strongly reinforced by the arrival of troops from the rear, was to commence operations on their own left by the blockade of Peschiera. On their side, meanwhile, the Austrians were not idle. The Archduke John hastened to the Tyrol and pressed the armaments in that warlike and faithful province, and moved southward into the Italian valleys; while General Nugent, who commanded the Austrian army of reserve on the Isonzo, passed that river, and was slowly advancing towards Udine, the capital of Friuli, so that he might soon be expected to come in contact with General Durando, who commanded the Papal troops, which were to converge towards the same point from the Roman frontier.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 542, 543; Ellesmere, 79, 80; Balleyd. i. 330-341.

37. Commencement of the attack.

It is evident that this design was well conceived, and made the most of the forces at the disposal of the Piedmontese sovereign. It was open, however, to the usual danger of such flank attacks—viz. that of one of the columns of attack being suddenly assailed and crushed

before the others had time to hasten to its relief. This accordingly happened in the present instance. On the 23d April a grand reconnaissance was made by Charles Albert in person, at the head of twelve battalions and a brigade of horse, in the direction of Peschiera; while a similar movement with a like force was made at the extreme right by the Duke of Savoy, who crossed the Mincio at Guidizzolo, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Mantua. The result was that it was ascertained that the enemy remained shut up in Verona, and behind the batteries of Mantua. The King in consequence in person superintended the construction of a strong bridge at Goito; and from the number of troops which were moved at all points across the Mincio, it became evident that he intended to concentrate the bulk of his forces between that river and the Adige, and that his first attack would be directed, after blockading Peschiera, against the Austrian positions covering the defile which leads by the banks of the latter river to Trent and Germany.

1848. April 23.

April 25.

33. Successful attack on Pastrengo, and retreat of the Austrians behind the Adige. April 29.

PASTRENGO, situated three leagues above Verona, on the road to Trent, has always been found to be a strategical point of the greatest importance in the wars on the Mincio, as it is placed at the point where the great road from Mantua to the Tyrol enters the mountain. The possession of it therefore covers Rivoli, the plateau of which is the key of the southern Tyrol, and gives the command of the whole defile leading to Germany. No sooner did Radetsky perceive that the attack was to be made in this quarter, than he sent orders to General Weldon to strengthen himself as much as possible on the plateau; and to gain time for doing so, he placed a brigade in Pastrengo, and another at Bussolengo, so as to threaten the right flank of an enemy moving on it. On the 29th April the King advanced in person against the former position, and a warm action ensued for the heights of Romaldola, the dominant ridge of the hills lying at the foot of the Alps in that quarter. It finally

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remained in the hands of the Piedmontese, who, with valour and skill equal to their opponents, had the advantage of superior numbers. The Austrians retired to

April 30.

Pastrengo. There the combat was renewed next day with larger forces and equal resolution on both sides. General Wocher commanded the Imperialists, consisting of two brigades, who defended the position with the utmost resolution. The Piedmontese attack was made by an entire division under General Federici, supported by the whole centre and left wing of their army, numbering not less than twenty thousand combatants. At the first cannon-shot, Radetsky, with his staff, approached the spot; but after viewing the enemy's position and forces, he did not deem himself in sufficient strength to hazard a general battle in defence of the post. Orders were therefore sent to Wocher to retire behind the Adige, which was done in good order, but with considerable loss. In this action the Imperialists lost nine hundred men, including three hundred prisoners; the King not more than half the number. After the battle, the village of Bussolengo was also abandoned, and the Austrian army retired entirely behind the Adige.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 544, 545; Ellesmere, 82-87; Balleyd. i. 341-348.

39. Blockade of Peschiera and Mantua.

While these engagements were going on, the garrison of Peschiera made a vigorous sally, which, however, was repulsed. By the occupation of Pastrengo and Bussolengo, and the retreat of the Austrians across the Adige, Charles Albert was enabled to complete the investment of that fortress, and thereby render his left comparatively secure; while with his right, into which he threw his principal force, he was preparing to effect the blockade of Mantua, which had not yet been completed, owing to the immense extent of the works of the place, and of the inundations by which they were surrounded. Afraid of the pestilential exhalations from these marshes, Charles Albert employed a Tuscan division to form a considerable part of the blockading force, and sent them across the Mincio by Governolo to cut off the communication

with Legnago, which hitherto had remained open. No sooner did the governor of the fortress learn that the Italian troops were across the river, than he made a sally and routed them, with such loss that they were driven from their ground back to Governolo, which was even attempted to be carried, though without success. In consequence of this disaster, the Italian division made no further attempt to extend the blockade to the left bank of the river, and left the communication with Legnago entirely open. About the same time, the last remnants of the Italian free bands were attacked at Storo by a detachment sent out by General Weldon, which totally defeated them, and sent them headlong out of the Austrian territory.[1]

April 27.

[1] Ellesmere, 81-91; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544, 545.

40. Unsuccessful attack of the King on Rivoli. May 5.

Charles Albert shortly after made an attempt to gain the heights of Rivoli, but it was done in a very feeble manner, and the inadequacy of the force employed was perhaps the greatest fault committed by him during the whole campaign. On the 4th May the remains of the free corps were transported across the Lago di Garda from Salo to L'Assize, where they were joined by a strong Piedmontese regiment and a half-battery of artillery. Next day the united force, about five thousand strong, scaled the heights which lie between the lake and the valley of the Adige, and began the ascent of the Montebaldo. The Austrian outposts fell back to the main body, which, securely posted amidst rocks and thickets, kept up so heavy a fire that the assailants were quickly obliged to retire. Convinced by this repulse that no impression was to be made on the extreme Austrian right resting on the rocks of Rivoli, the King directed his whole attention to their centre, which lay in front of Verona, though not under the cannon of that place. The position of Radetsky there was, however, strong, standing on a spacious plateau covered in front by the villages of Crocebianca, San Massimo, and Santa Lucia, and extending in rear to the glacis of Verona.[2]

[2] Ellesmere, 103; Ann. Hist. 1848, 551, 552; Balleyd. i. 350-354.

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There the veteran field-marshal resolved to give battle, for he could not retire farther without exposing Verona to bombardment, and endangering his communications by Trent with Germany.

41. Battle of Santa Lucia. May 6.

At six in the morning, of the 6th May, the whole Piedmontese army, forty-five thousand strong, with sixty-six guns, stood to their arms, and shortly after advanced to the attack. The different divisions advanced swiftly across the plain which separated the two armies, preceded by their guns, with their flanks covered by a cloud of skirmishers. The fire by nine was extremely warm on both sides, and the Piedmontese troops were advancing with great steadiness and loud shouts to the attack, when their progress was checked by the fire, on their left flank, of an Austrian battery. The weight of the attack was upon this directed by the King against the village of Santa Lucia, which was strongly occupied, and obstinately defended by the Imperialists. The attack, however, by the Piedmontese was not less determined; house after house, street after street, was successively carried; the church and churchyard, after a sanguinary struggle, were stormed by the assailants, and at length the whole village was conquered, and the Imperialists in sullen dejection stood firm, still ready to give battle in its rear. Elated by their success, the Piedmontese were rushing out of the village to renew the attack on the other side, when their flank was torn by a discharge from an Austrian-Italian battalion, who immediately after charged with the bayonet and drove them back. In vain they repeatedly endeavoured to debouch and renew the attack; they were as often checked by the fire of grape and musketry which issued from the Austrian lines. Seeing this, and regarding Santa Lucia as the decisive point, the King hurried forward the brigade of guards to support the attack, and posted himself at their head. But the Austrians meanwhile brought up reinforcements not less powerful; Count Clam arrived with three battalions, and with them a general attempt

to retake the village was made. The King, on his side, upon this advanced the whole division of General d'Arvillars; and the combatants on either side, broken into small bodies by the intervening gardens and enclosures, fought hand to hand with equal valour and resolution, but without the Imperialists being able to retake the village. Meanwhile the battle raged with equal fury along the whole front, especially when General Broglia, with the Piedmontese left, attacked the villages of Crocebianca and San Massimo on the Austrian right. But no decisive advantage was gained in that quarter; and at four o'clock the King, finding that nothing beyond the bare possession of the village had been gained by his attack on Santa Lucia, gave orders for a general retreat. It was conducted in good order, under cover of the brigade Coni, headed by the Duke of Savoy; but not without some disorder among the Italian troops, several hundred of whom were made prisoners. The Piedmontese loss was ninety-eight killed and 694 wounded; that of the Austrians nearly as considerable.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 105-107; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544, 545; Balleyd. i. 360-368.

42. Results of the battle, and views of both parties.

Although the result of this battle was noways decisive, it had a material effect upon the issue of the campaign, and modified in an important way the measures both of the Imperialists and the Piedmontese. On the one hand, Charles Albert became convinced that he could not, with his present forces, assail with success the Austrian position on the Adige, or force the important plateau of Rivoli, the bulwark of their communication with Germany; on the other, the Imperial general felt that the campaign to him had hitherto been a losing game, and that it taxed his utmost strength to maintain himself in the last defensive position in Italy, formed by Verona, Legnago, and the line of the Adige. Thus both parties were in a manner compelled to pause in their operations; and this was the more advisable, as each had considerable reinforcements shortly to expect. The King hoped for the speedy arrival of the Papal troops, including the Swiss

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Guard, and something might be expected, at least for guarding convoys and keeping up communications, from the numerous Tuscan and Lombard volunteer corps forming in his rear. Radetsky had still more material succour to expect from the army of reserve under General Nugent, which the Imperial Government, notwithstanding the straits to which it had been reduced, had contrived to form on the Isonzo, and which was now beginning to threaten Friuli, and make its weight felt in the most important way in the rear of his position.[1]

[1] Radetsky's Desp., May 7, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 323, 324; Ellesmere, 106, 107; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544, 545.

43. Count Nugent and the army of reserve on the Isonzo.

Count Naval Nugent, Master of the Ordnance, and General-in-Chief in Lower Austria, one of the most distinguished veterans of the Imperial army, had in the commencement of the war offered his services to collect and conduct the army of reserve which the Cabinet of Vienna had ordered to be formed on the Isonzo. Forty years' service in the Imperial army, and presence in above a hundred battles, had matured, by the lessons of experience, a mind formed by nature to discharge the most important duties of a general. His offer was accepted; and on the 4th April he reached Gortz, and established his headquarters there, to superintend the formation of the army of reserve. It already consisted, at least on paper, of 20,000 men, of whom 1700 were cavalry, with sixty-four guns and two rocket-batteries. No less than 8000 of the infantry were several marches in the rear, and great part of the artillery was without horses, and therefore incapable of immediate service. The troops were composed of two classes—the reserves forwarded from the depots in the interior to the Austrian regiments in Italy; the Croat volunteers, forwarded by COUNT JELLACHICH, BAN OF CROATIA, who, although all but dethroned by the rebellious Magyars in his own dominions, had in the noblest manner despatched every disposable man to the support of his veteran comrade.[2] So slowly, however, did the troops arrive, and such was the state of destitution to which the artillery was reduced,

[2] Ellesmere, 92-96; Ann. Hist. 1848, 545; Balleyd. i. 370-381.

that it was not till the 25th April that he was able to move forward, and then it was only with 13,000 men and forty-six guns.

44. Fall of Udine, and advance of Nugent to Sacile. April 23.

General Zucchi commanded the Italian forces in Friuli; but they consisted only of 3000 regular troops, forming part of the regiments in the Imperial service which had revolted, and 8000 volunteers and national guards, on whom no reliance could be placed. Fearful of a collision in the open field with the German forces, Zucchi shut himself up in the fortress of Palma-Nuova with 8000 men, leaving the remainder to aid the garrison of Udine. Both towns were soon invested by Nugent; and as Udine was surrounded by an old wall, and the streets were strongly barricaded, a desperate resistance was anticipated. It all ended, however, in smoke. On the 21st, the Austrians commenced a bombardment, which, after lasting two hours, struck such terror into the inhabitants that they proposed a capitulation, which was concluded on favourable terms to the citizens on the 23d. The capitulation was to include Palma-Nuova and all the towns in the province; but they refused to take advantage of it, and Nugent, leaving these merely observed by inconsiderable blockading forces, advanced slowly with the main body of his troops to Pordenone, which he reached on the 30th, his advanced guard being posted at Sacile.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 97-99; Ann Hist. 1848, 551, 552; Balleyd. i. 320-384.

45. Passage of the Piave by the Austrians. May 11.

Nugent, who, though a brave and experienced officer, belonged to the old school in war, advanced so slowly that before he reached the Piave the Italian forces had gained time to break down the bridges and collect on the opposite bank. They were under the command of General Durando, and amounted in all to 15,000 men, of whom 5000, with 8 guns and 700 horse, were the Swiss Guards, the best troops in all Italy. To cross a broad and deep river, in presence of such a force, with one of little greater amount, was an undertaking of no little difficulty. The Swiss contingent, which was so formidable, was posted

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near Monte-Bellano, with its front towards Feltre. This body was worth more than the whole of the rest of the army put together, for the remainder consisted of undisciplined Italian volunteers, who were likely to disband on the first serious danger. The Austrians continued to advance; and when they arrived at the Piave, finding the bridges destroyed, and their own pontoon-train too short to effect the passage, turned to their right, and marched up the left bank to Belluno. Upon this Durando, who found the whole Austrian army directed against his single division, retired, but not on the two other Italian divisions, who were posted in front of Treviso, but on Bassano, at the entrance of the Val Sugana—an eccentric movement, which entirely separated him from the rest of the army, and exposed both to the most serious dangers. The Austrian general immediately availed himself of his advantage. Rapidly countermarching, he again approached Treviso, concentrated his troops

May 11. at Visnadello, and, after a sharp action, obliged the Papal troops to retire, leaving Treviso, garrisoned only by 3500 of the free bands, to its fate. Ferrari, who commanded the Italians, withdrew to Mestre, intending to unite with the garrison of Venice; while Durando moved down the stream of the Brenta in the same direction, hoping to regain his comrades there. Nugent was now obliged to resign the command from ill health, and it was assumed by Count Thurn, who on the

May 18. 18th concentrated his whole force, 18,000 strong, at Visnadello. The Italian generals had no force at their command capable of withstanding such a mass; and it advanced against Vicenza, in obedience to pressing orders received from Radetsky to hasten, with every disposable sabre and bayonet, to the decisive point on the Adige.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 551; 552; Ellesmere, 107-111.

So pressing had affairs now become on that river, that though Vicenza lay on the direct road to Verona, and a vigorous attack upon it with the force at the disposal of the Austrian general could hardly fail of

success, yet Thurn, to avoid delay, resolved not to attempt its reduction, but to make a circuit round it and continue his march to Verona. This he did accordingly. On the 20th his advanced guards fell in with Radetsky's posts in the rear, and on the 21st the much-wished-for junction took place, and the force on the Adige was increased by nearly twenty thousand good troops. Radetsky, however, was anxious not to leave so important a town as Vicenza in the hands of the enemy, and he ordered Thurn to retrace his steps and attack it. He did so accordingly, and an assault was delivered. But the barricades were strong, the resistance stout, the guns of heavy metal, and a Swiss battalion, which meanwhile had been thrown into the place, displayed the most undaunted valour. The result was, that the attack failed; and, after a useless carnage, Thurn drew off his men, and rejoined the commander-in-chief on the 25th at Verona, leaving Vicenza still in the hands of the enemy.[1]

46. Junction of the army of reserve with the army of Radetsky. May 21.

May 23.

[1] Ellesmere, 111-114; Ann. Hist. 1848, 552-554; Balleyd. i. 390-396.

47. Important effect of the counter revolution at Naples.

During these events, the important counter-revolution took place at Naples, on the 15th May, which completely restored the royal authority, and occasioned an immediate change in the foreign policy and disposal of the military force of the State. Previous to that event the Neapolitan troops, 20,000 strong, including part of the formidable Swiss Guards, were posted on the Lower Po; and the government being completely in the hands of the democratic party, this large force was intended to have co-operated with the Papal troops. But when the King had triumphed over the democratic party in the streets of Naples, a change of ministry and measures immediately took place, and orders were issued to the army on the Lower Po to return. When these counter orders reached the army, which was under the command of General Pepe, a strenuous Liberal, a struggle ensued in the army as to which party they should obey. Matters came to a crisis on the 28th May, when Pepe, disobeying the orders of his government, instead of re-

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turning towards Naples, gave orders to a division to cross the Po, and advance into the Venetian territories. Several regiments resisted, and, headed by their officers, began to march homewards. In vain the populace of Bologna gave the most strenuous support to the Liberal party in the army. Pepe persuaded two battalions of volunteers and a battery, all Italians, to cross the river; but when the remaining troops of the line approached its banks, General Klein issued a counter-order, and all the Swiss and German regiments flocked to his standard, and formed a camp at Cento ready to obey their sovereign. Pepe soon found that all he could do was to retain the Italian volunteers on his side. At Venice also, the Neapolitan troops, which had been embarked in the fleet, were recalled, and none but the Italian volunteers remained. These events were by far the most important which had yet occurred in the course of the war; for at the very time when the junction of the army of reserve added 20,000 men to the forces of Radetsky, the change at Naples withdrew as large a force from the league of Italian independence![1]

June 10.

[1] Ellesmere, 122, 123; Ann. Hist. 1848, 552; Balleyd. i. 289-291.

48. State of the armies on the Adige, and refusal of the Crown of Lombardy by Charles Albert.

Their importance became the more conspicuous from what was occurring at the same time in the main armies on the Adige. The Austrians had, during the three weeks' inaction which succeeded the battle of Santa Lucia, greatly strengthened their position, and, in fact, converted it into a large intrenched camp in front of Verona. Charles Albert did the same, and exerted himself to the utmost to get up troops from the rear to cover the siege of Peschiera. But though he received considerable reinforcements from his own dominions, the Milanese levies went on so slowly that only six or seven hundred of the line were as yet in the front, and as many volunteers. The enthusiasm of the Lombards all evaporated in civil meetings, illuminations, and operatic applause—measures little calculated to resist the onset of the Transalpine legions.[2] Nor were internal divisions of a still more seri-

[2] Ellesmere, 121, 122; Ann. Hist. 1848, 554; Balleyd. i. 294-296.

ous character awanting to paralyse the energy by which alone the independence of Italy could be secured. The leading democrats in the several towns were so divided, and so jealous of superior authority, that Charles Albert, in despair, resolved to have nothing to do with them, and declined the proffered crown of Northern Italy.

49. Siege of Peschiera. May 18.

The King, however, was not remiss in those warlike measures by which alone the independence of Italy could be secured. His whole attention was, in the first instance, directed to the siege of Peschiera, the operations against which were becoming serious when the army of reserve was approaching the Adige. This fortress, situated at the point where the Mincio issues from the Lago di Garda, though not of the first order, was of considerable strength, and the garrison, which was sixteen hundred strong, had orders to defend itself to the last extremity. The King fixed his headquarters with the covering force at Monzambano, about a league from the place; the Duke of Genoa was intrusted with the direction of the artillery and besieging force, which consisted of two Piedmontese brigades and a battalion of marines. The batteries were armed early on the 18th May, and at 1 P.M. on that day the fire began at the distance of from six hundred yards. Though no practicable breach had been made, the garrison were, chiefly from the effect of the vertical fire and the loss of two outworks, soon reduced to great straits, and no provisions remained but dry maize. Summoned to surrender on the 26th May, however, the governor refused, trusting to the measures which the commander-in-chief was meditating for his relief.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 124-127; Ann. Hist. 1848, 554, 555.

50. Radetsky's able movement to raise the siege. May 27.

The position of Charles Albert covering the siege was so strong that Radetsky despaired of success from a front attack. He resolved, therefore, to effect the object of raising the siege, by threatening another part of the enemy's position; and this he did by a bold but most able operation. Leaving Count Thurn with the

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greater part of the army of reserve, sixteen thousand strong, consisting for the most part of young soldiers, to defend the intrenched camp in front of Verona, he himself set out late in the evening of the 27th May, with thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and one hundred and fifty guns, divided into three corps, and took the direction of Mantua. The operation was a delicate and hazardous one; for the army, in making this cross-march, showed a long flank to the King, who might have assailed it with advantage at any point, "a species of attack," says Napoleon, "which never fails." But the risk of being so assailed was much lessened by the possession of the fortified towns of Verona and Mantua at its two extremities, which, in any event, secured the two extreme points of the line of march, and prevented its being turned or assailed in rear. Charles Albert, however, had his army well in hand, grouped on the summit of the Somma Campagna, from which the dust, and even the carriages, in the long procession were visible. But with such wonderful skill did the old marshal conduct his march, and so well was he seconded by the discipline and steadiness of his troops, that, though the King stood on the heights ready to take advantage of any opening or opportunity of attack, none such presented itself. The divisions were so closed up and arranged for instant battle, that the whole army resembled a moving close column flanked by horsemen, ready at any point, with artillery and cavalry in their proper places, to wheel about and give battle at a few minutes' notice: and on the evening of the 28th the whole army bivouacked, without having fired a shot, on the glacis under the cannon of Mantua.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 127, 128; Ann. Hist. 1848, 554, 555; Radetsky's Desp., May 3, 1848.

51. Storming of Curtatone by the Austrians. May 29.

On the following morning the Austrian Marshal resumed his march at daybreak from Mantua, and now his design was apparent: he took the road to Vicenza. The Austrian advanced-guard, pursuing their line along the right bank of the Mincio, and on the southern shore of

the lake in which Mantua stands, came in contact, at the bridge over the Canal Ossone, which issues from it, with the Tuscan division, six thousand strong, with eight guns, which was prepared to dispute the passage. The village of Curtatone, through which the road passed, was strongly barricaded and loopholed, and every preparation had been made for a vigorous defence. Some delay occurred in reaching this post, from the deep ditches which flanked the chaussée on either side, requiring to be filled up before the columns could pass along. At length, however, the leading brigade, under Count Clam, reached Curtatone, and the stormers, under Prince Felix Schwartzenberg, were formed for the attack. Three times that gallant officer led his troops to the barricades, and three times they were repulsed by the steady fire of the Tuscans. At length, however, on the fourth rush the defences were carried, the guns taken, four hundred and eighty men killed and wounded, and two thousand men made prisoners. This advantage, great as it was, had been dearly purchased by the Imperialists: they lost ninety-five killed, and five hundred and fifteen wounded. The proportion of officers struck to the men proved how bravely they had stood to the front to lead on their troops; the number of officers in action compared with the men was one in thirty, the number hit was one in sixteen.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 131-133; Ann. Hist. 1848, 554-555; Radetsky's Desp., June 1, 1848.

52. Repulse of the Austrians at Goito. May 29.

Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, Charles Albert moved from his position on Somma Campagna, and marched to Goito, moving a part of his troops to the right bank of the Mincio, in order to cover his communications with Lombardy, which he imagined the field-marshal intended to threaten. It was full time he should do so; for on the evening of the 29th, the Austrian army, without losing a moment, began its march towards Milan, in two columns—the one following the high-road to that capital, by Cremona, on the left bank of the Po, the other by parallel roads. The field-marshal had no intention of giving battle: his object was to force the enemy to

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abandon the line of the Mincio, and raise the siege of Peschiera, in order to preserve his communications with Milan. It fell out otherwise, however, and the Imperialists sustained a severe check in consequence of the division of their forces into two columns, which exposed the one to attack while the other was not at hand to support it. General Bava, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, to stop this advance hastily drew together twenty thousand men and fifty-four guns at Goito, which he disposed in the most skilful manner to defend that important town, with its passage over the Mincio. The Austrian advanced-guard was, at a turn of the road, at the foot of the high ground above the town, suddenly saluted by a fire from a heavy battery, to which they had nothing to oppose. So eager were the Imperialists to engage that the field-marshal was in a manner compelled to bring up brigade after brigade to the attack, after the first had been repulsed. It was all in vain, however: the Piedmontese stood to their guns manfully, and had the advantage of fighting under cover, while the Austrians were exposed. The Duke of Genoa directed the artillery with coolness and judgment: the King, who hastened to the front when the firing began, received a slight contusion on the ear, and after four hours' fighting, the Austrians drew off.[1]

[1] Radetsky's Desp., June 2, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544-555.

53. Fall of Peschiera. May 31.

While his right was thus seriously menaced, the King, with equal courage and judgment, stood firm before Peschiera—not a gun or a man was withdrawn from the siege; and the Piedmontese and Austrian troops, alike fearful of each other, stood within their lines awaiting the issue of the conflict going on. But meanwhile the garrison of Peschiera were reduced to the last extremities. Forty thousand bombs and cannon-shot had been discharged into the place, and with such effect that two-thirds of the guns on the ramparts were dismounted; and for such as remained on their carriages, only two gunners a-piece remained fit for duty. The vertical fire of the

Piedmontese had reduced the garrison to a third of their numbers; the mills had long since been destroyed; and the resource of horse-flesh and roughly-pounded maize had begun to fail. A last armistice of twenty-four hours expired on the evening of the 30th, and on that evening the governor received a final summons to surrender, accompanied by an account of the affair at Goito, which was magnified into a decisive victory. Upon this all further hesitation was at an end; a capitulation was agreed to on condition of a free march to Ancona. On the 31st, at mid-day, the Piedmontese troops entered the fortress, and on the day following the King visited the place and heard mass in the church. The artillery taken in the fortress amounted to one hundred and eighteen pieces, nearly all damaged by the fire to which it had been exposed, and part of very old construction.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 137-139; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544.

54. Dangerous position and difficulties of Radetsky. June 3.

These repeated disasters rendered the position of Radetsky very critical. Notwithstanding his success at the Canal Ossone, the object of the expedition to that place had failed. Peschiera had fallen, while the repulse at Goito had both restored the hopes of the Italians and somewhat damped the spirit of his own troops. To add to his embarrassment, advices were received two days afterwards of the events of the 26th May at Vienna, which had led to a total revolution in the government of that capital. On the other hand, everything seemed to smile on the Piedmontese sovereign. By the capture of Peschiera he had secured his left flank, and acquired a solid base of operations both against Rivoli and Verona; while by his victory at Goito he had caused his right to be respected, and in a great measure compensated the injurious effect on public opinion of his defeat at Ossone, and the withdrawal of the Neapolitan troops from the theatre of war. Above all, the revolution at Vienna had entirely paralysed the forces of his adversary, and rendered it more than doubtful whether Radetsky's army might not ere long receive orders from a provisional

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government to unite their forces to those of the leader of liberated Italy. Impressed with these ideas, the field-marshal resolved on a general retreat and concentration of his forces in the intrenched camp under the cannon of Verona. But an ordinary retreat would be too hazardous under the circumstances; and he therefore determined, before doing so, to take advantage of the concentration of his forces on his left to strike a blow which should compel the enemy to keep at a respectful distance. With this view he resolved to march with his whole disposable force on Vicenza.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 140, 141; Ann. Hist. 1848, 555.

55. Movements of the Austrians.

The advantages of this movement, in a strategetical point of view, were very great. It would reopen a new and secure communication with the Tyrol and Vienna, entirely *within* the Austrian territory, which could not be said of that by Trent, now that Peschiera was taken and Rivoli threatened; restore the direct road with Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, by Trieste, and render available the whole country in his rear between the Alps and the Po for the supply of his army. To insure success it was necessary to throw the whole centre and left on Vicenza, leave the right shut up within the intrenched camp in front of Verona, and abandon Rivoli, the object of such fierce contention in former wars; for the garrison of Vicenza was fourteen thousand strong, amply provided with artillery, and embracing the Swiss Guards of the Pope. But if Vicenza was gained, and the interior line of communication by the Arca valley in consequence opened, the loss of Rivoli was of no importance; nay, it would rather prove an advantage by distracting the troops and attention of the enemy from the real point of attack.[2]

[2] Ellesmere, 139-141; Ann. Hist. 1848, 554.

56. March against Vicenza.

On 2d June, the army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of Goito, was drawn back in an ostentatious manner to Mantua, and reports were circulated that a general retreat had been resolved on. General Zobel was left with a single brigade in Rivoli, with

orders to withdraw from that post as soon as it was seriously threatened, and join the intrenched camp at Verona. On the 5th the field-marshal left Mantua with his whole disposable force, amounting to 24,000 infantry, 5000 horse, and 150 guns, and took the road to Vicenza, and on the evening of the 8th he was in sight of Vicenza. Passing round the group of beautiful hills called the Monte Berici, he approached the town on the eastern side, thereby cutting off all communication with Venice. Here he was joined next morning by four regiments, called up from Verona, which by great skill had succeeded in making their way through many natural and artificial obstacles, and raised his force to thirty-six thousand men. The enemy under Durando, however, had in the interim not been idle. The Papal Guards, 5000 strong, had been mingled with the Roman volunteers, 10,000 more, and the artillery, consisting of 38 pieces, stationed on the most commanding eminences near the town, and strong intrenchments and barricades thrown up to prevent an entrance being effected at any point.[1]

June 5.

June 8.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 555; Ellesmere, 144-146; Balleyd. ii. 24-29.

57. Storming of the Monte Berici.

Having got all his forces well in hand, on the evening of the 9th the field-marshal made his dispositions for a general attack on the morning of the 10th. The key of the enemy's position evidently was the Monte Berici, and its occupation would secure the fall of the city. The action commenced at seven in the morning by an attack on the village of Santa-Margherita, which was soon carried, as was the villa of Casa-Ramboldo, situated on the spur of the hills, which had been converted into an ammunition store, and was blown up by a discharge of rockets. At 2 P.M. the general attack on the Monte Berici commenced. The assault was made by the Austrians with the utmost gallantry, nobly led on by their officers, who sustained in consequence a very heavy loss. The resistance, however, of the Swiss Guards was not less determined; and for long these dauntless antagonists of the Teutonic race held the issue in suspense. At length,

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however, the great superiority of the Austrian artillery determined the conflict; under cover of a tremendous vertical fire of mortars, Prince Frederick of Lichtenstein carried the suburb of Padua, while that of Santa Lucia was also forced. Still the Swiss Guards held out, and nobly in that trying hour did they sustain the ancient fame of their fathers. But the Pontifical troops having fled, they were obliged to retire into the town, which they did, surrounded but unconquered, and firing all the way. They endeavoured to make a last stand in the noble colonnade, supported by one thousand columns, which leads from the summit of the hills to the town, but they were at length forced to give way. The white flag was immediately displayed at some points, the red flag at others; but all uncertainty was soon at an end by the arrival at midnight of a flag of truce to treat for a capitulation. It was at once agreed to by Radetsky, and the convention signed at six on the following morning. By it the Papal troops were to begin their march at noon for the right bank of the Po, with their artillery and baggage, by Este and Rovigo, but not to serve against Austria for three months. The free bands for the most part dispersed upon learning of this capitulation. This great success was not gained by the Austrians without heavy loss; it amounted, on their side, to Major-General Prince William Taxis and 17 other officers killed, and 285 men; 2 colonels, 28 officers, and 650 men wounded and missing. On the other side, the Swiss alone, who went into action 3000 strong, lost 600 men in the fight. Their wounded were treated like brothers by the Austrians, the field-marshal himself visiting them in the hospitals.[1]

June 11.

[1] Ellesmere, 145-148; Ann. Hist. 1848, 555; Ann. Reg. 1848, 324.

58. Return of Radetsky to Verona, and capture of Rivoli. June 13.

No sooner was this great victory gained, which at once restored the Austrian communications with Roveredo and the Tyrol, than Radetsky set out to return by forced marches to Verona, where he was well aware the garrison of the intrenched camp would be reduced to the last

extremity during his absence. With such expedition did he move, that General Giulay, who had headed the stormers at Vicenza on the 10th, reached Verona on the evening of the 12th, and the bulk of the army followed on the 13th. Hardly had the wearied soldiers reached their old lines when they were again hurried to the front to combat the King in person, who, with twenty thousand men, was descending from Villa-Franca to attack the intrenched camp during the absence of the greater part of the army at Vicenza. The determined air of the outposts, however, and the dense battalions which appeared behind them, soon convinced him that he was too late. He drew off his forces, accordingly, after a sharp reconnaisance, and contented himself with the capture of the plateau of Rivoli, which, in obedience to the orders of Radetsky, had been abandoned by General Zobel when pressed by the forces of the King the very day of the attack on Vicenza. The intelligence of the conquest of Rivoli by the Italians excited the most unbounded transports at Paris and Milan, where it was thought to be, as it had proved in the wars of Napoleon, decisive of the campaign; ignorant as they were of the new line, cut since 1796 through the mountains from Vicenza by the Val d'Arca to Roveredo, which deprived it of its great strategetical importance. The Austrians brought back in triumph to Verona from Vicenza 44 guns, 18 powder-waggons, and 681 muskets. Their loss from 7th May, when the counter-march to Mantua began, to 12th June, when they returned to Verona, was 2232, of whom 304 were killed.[1]

June 16.

[1] Ellesmere, 140-153; Ann. Hist. 1848, 555; Ann. Reg. 1848, 324, 325.

59. Great results of the capture of Vicenza.

The capture of Vicenza made a prodigious sensation in Europe, and at once restored the lustre of the Austrian arms. It proved a withering blow to the Italians, and seriously damaged the reputation of Charles Albert, who, with his whole army well in hand, had accomplished nothing more during the absence of the field-marshal than the occupation of Rivoli, which had ceased

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to be of any value. Its immediate fruits at the theatre of war were not less important to the Imperial arms, for it opened the resources of the mainland of Venice to them, and facilitated the operations of a second army of reserve, which the Government of Vienna had begun to collect for operations against Venice. The extreme difficulty, however, of collecting the recruits from the depots in the rear, and the undisguised hostility of all the inhabitants of the country to the Germans, which is perhaps stronger there than in any other part of Italy, rendered the formation of this second army of reserve a very tedious affair; and it was not till the end of May that Weldon was able to collect such a force as enabled him to commence the offensive, and even then he had only 2500 men, and *one mortar!* About the same time, an Austrian movable column from Weldon's little force entered the
June 10. mountain districts which had revolted, and occupied Cadore, thereby re-establishing the communications with Austria by the great road of Belberrio. Shortly after, Weldon invested Treviso, and advanced his right wing to Bassano, up the defiles of the Val Sugana. The Italians, taking advantage of a strong position in the defiles of the Brenta, by rolling down stones, and a heavy plunging fire of musketry, for two days repelled the enemy; but in the night of the second, four companies of Tyrolese militia climbed the heights in their rear, and compelled the insurgents to retire. By this means the direct communication between Bassano and Roveredo, by the Val Sugana, was restored, and the value of the position of Rivoli to Charles Albert entirely lost. This was followed by the forcing of the passage of
June 12. the Val d'Arca by the Austrians, on the 12th June, who arrived on the 15th at Roveredo, thereby opening the direct passage from Vicenza, and restoring, by two lines, the communications between the Venetian provinces and the German Tyrol. Such was the consternation excited by these events, that, on the 13th, Tre-

viso capitulated, with its garrison of 4185 men, to General d'Aspre, with a single brigade, on the same terms as those which had been accorded to Vicenza. Padua, on the same day, followed the example; and the whole Venetian mainland being now abandoned, the insurgents shut themselves up in Venice, and the whole shores of the Lagunes were occupied by the Austrian troops.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 156-160; Ann. Hist. 1848, 356.

60. Pause in military operations, and preparations of both parties.

A pause now ensued of a month's duration in military operations. The interval was spent by both parties in getting up reinforcements to compensate their losses; in repairing the equipment of the troops; collecting supplies of ammunition, guns, and provisions from the rear, and strengthening their positions in the front. So equally balanced were the two hosts, that neither made any attempt to interrupt his opponent; and the positions of each, in consequence, grew into the most portentous strength. That of Radetsky, in front of Verona, was protected by works which rivalled the far-famed lines of Torres Vedras. He at the same time greatly strengthened the fort of Riva, at the upper end of the Lago di Garda, and established a flotilla on it, which gave him the entire command of the lake. The whole *Civica* or National Guard in the Venetian territories were at the same time disarmed, and strong garrisons established in Vicenza, Padua, Bassano, Treviso, Palma-Nuova, and the other recovered towns in the continental provinces of Venice, as well as on the shores of the Lagunes themselves. But though by these means the Austrian position was rendered much more secure, and extensive supplies were obtained for their troops, the disposable force which they could bring to the front was only weakened. The reinforcements which they got up from the rear were not adequate to repair the losses and tear and wear of the campaign, and at the same time occupy in sufficient strength the numerous towns in their rear;[2] and Radetsky was mortified to find, that, after all his efforts and victories, he could not collect above forty-four thousand effec-

[2] Ellesmere, 158-160; Ann. Hist. 1848, 556, 557.

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tive men for offensive operations in the field; and with these he required not only to make head against Charles Albert in front, but to protect a long and double line of communication in his rear.

61. Reinforcements obtained.

The efforts of the Piedmontese King had been equally vigorous to restore and reinforce his army, during the pause in active operations. The filling up of the Piedmontese battalions with Lombard recruits, so long recommended, had now begun to be carried into effect, and added considerably to the strength of the battalions, though by no means in an equal degree to their efficiency in the field. A camp of reserve battalions was formed in the rear, which furnished seven thousand young but good soldiers. The material of the army was also improved by large importations of artillery and arms from abroad. But these acquisitions by no means equalled the reinforcements which, in the end of July, began to pour into the Austrian army. A new levy of twenty thousand men had indeed been decreed at Turin, and the battalions were beginning to be formed, but some months must elapse before they could by possibility take the field.

June 20.

An energetic proclamation had been issued by the Provisional Government at Milan, calling on the Lombards to take arms; but it was responded to so slowly that the Italian army, instead of increasing, was diminishing every day, and it was evident that the cause of Italian independence would receive no effective support from the inhabitants of the plains between the Alps and the Apennines. On the other hand, the strength of the Austrian army was materially increased in the end of July by the addition of the corps of Count Thurn, with twelve thousand men from Weldon's army, and the arrival of numerous recruits from the Austrian provinces. By these means the army at the disposal of the field-marshal was raised to 126 battalions, and 60 squadrons, with 240 guns. The total combatants, if they had been all up and effective, would have been 132,000; but

12,000 were sick or wounded, an equal number on march, and at least 40,000 were required to garrison the towns in the rear and keep up the communications; so that not more than 60,000 could be relied on for operations in the field, of whom 40,000 only could be collected in one field of battle by the field-marshal. The Piedmontese active army was not less numerous, because, though the sum total of the forces at the disposal of Charles Albert was not, including the garrison of Venice, above 90,000, yet, as the country in his rear was all friendly, he was not in an equal degree weakened by detachments and garrisons to keep up the communications. But the efficiency of this army had been much impaired, by the large intermixture of recruits which had taken place to fill up the chasms among the old soldiers—a circumstance which had seriously lessened their steadiness and their power to move under fire.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 161-165; Ann. Hist. 1848, 556, 557.

62. Distracted state of the Austrian Monarchy.

But whatever advantage the Austrian field-marshal might have over Charles Albert in the forces immediately under his command in the field, was compensated, and more than compensated, by the distracted condition of the Austrian monarchy, which was in such a state that its immediate dissolution, without external stroke, seemed imminent. Bohemia, in open insurrection, had only recently received its first check, by the bombardment of Prague by Windischgratz. It was this success which had enabled Count Latour to forward the large reinforcements which he had lately despatched to the Adige. But Hungary was distracted by a frightful schism, which threatened to deprive the empire of its best soldiers and most powerful support. The Tyrol was firm and loyal, and Croatia sent forth gallant bands to encounter the Magyars on the Hungarian plains; but Vienna was in a state of smouldering insurrection, and it was impossible to say how soon the Imperial rule might pass entirely into revolutionary hands. In these circumstances, it was impossible to overrate the importance of the defensive position held by Radetsky on

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the Adige, or the calamitous results which would ensue if his gallant host were to experience any serious reverse. Caution and prudence were thus imposed, as a matter of necessity, on the Austrian commander, for defeat, in any considerable degree, might prove the forerunner, not merely of the defeat of an army, but of the dissolution of an empire.

63. Movement of Charles Albert against Mantua, and its dangers.

The forces on the opposite sides being more equally balanced, Charles Albert resolved to take the initiative in offensive operations by the investment of Mantua. He was too good a soldier not to be aware of the dangers with which such an undertaking would be attended in the presence of such a general as Radetsky, himself holding an impregnable position on the flank of the blockading army; but, in truth, he was no longer the master of his own movements. The revolutionary press in his rear opened upon him such a torrent of abuse for his so-called inactivity after the capture of Rivoli and victory of Goito, that he was compelled, against his better judgment, to undertake an enterprise which was the immediate cause of his and their own ruin. Compelled by the same ignorant and senseless external pressure to give up none of his acquisitions, he resolved to hold the plateau of Rivoli on his left, and the works in front of Verona in his centre, while he accumulated the mass of his forces against Mantua on his right. This weakening of his centre and left, directly in front of the fortified position of Radetsky, whose forces were concentrated under its guns, was a grave fault in a military point of view, savouring rather of revolutionary enthusiasm than experienced wisdom, and would be a lasting reproach to the military conduct of Charles Albert, were it not that he was not, in so doing, his own master, but was overruled by a council of heated revolutionists in his rear, whose ignorance of military affairs was equalled only by their presumption in assuming their direction.

The siege of Mantua having been resolved on, the

movements of the Piedmontese to commence the investment began on the 13th July, on which day the headquarters of the King were moved to Roverbella in the vicinity of that place. On the same day an Austrian corps of five thousand men was detached by the field-marshal, under Prince Lichtenstein, for the relief of the citadel of Ferrara, which had remained in the hands of the Imperialists ever since the beginning of the war, but was now beginning to be hard pressed for provisions by the Piedmontese force which held the town. The passage of the Po having been very skilfully effected by means of boats, the Austrian column appeared before the place at mid-day on the day following, and the Piedmontese blockading force, being much inferior in number, immediately agreed to a convention, in virtue of which the citadel was to be regularly supplied with provisions every two months. Having secured this object, Lichtenstein immediately recrossed the Po. After this success, the Austrian commander, agreeably to his instructions, moved upon Governolo, a fortified town of some importance, situated at the junction of the Mincio and the Po, and which was held by a small Austrian detachment. The object of this was to cross the Mincio at Governolo, and threaten the rear of the force blockading Mantua, which was at the same time to be disturbed by a sally from the place. No sooner, however, did Charles Albert hear of this movement than he detached General Bava, with six battalions and fifteen guns, who carried the place before Lichtenstein could reach it. Finding himself thus anticipated, the Prince took up a position at Sanguinetto, where he was in a situation to prevent any movement against General Weldon's corps, which maintained the blockade of Venice and the line of the Lower Po.[1]

64. Blockade of Mantua, and relief of the citadel of Ferrara. July 13.

July 14.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 558; Ellesmere, 168-171.

But more important events were now on the wing, and those great strategetical operations were about to commence which were destined to decide the contest in Italy. Radetsky's plan was to direct his real attack on his own

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left against the Piedmontese force grouped around Mantua under the King in person, but to disguise this design under a subordinate attack on Rivoli on his right, which might induce the King to make considerable detachments in that direction. The better to conceal both designs, he published a bulletin, in which he announced a farther prolongation of the defensive system; and while every one was reading this, and expressing surprise at his inactivity, now that his army had been so largely reinforced, he was silently preparing for both expeditions. On the evening of the 21st, twenty-three companies were put under the command of Count Thurn, and the rendezvous appointed for them was a post on the Monte Baldo near Aqua-Negra. There they assembled at five in the morning of the 22d, and immediately proceeded to the attack of the Piedmontese positions defending the approaches to the plateau of Rivoli. The Austrians, under Count Lichnowsky, advanced up the valley of the Adige with great intrepidity to the attack; but they were met by 3000 Piedmontese, with four guns, at the village of La Zuanne, where the ascent of the slope, of which the plateau is the summit, commences; and after sustaining severe loss, they were compelled to retire. Count Thurn, who descended the Adige with his force, met with no better success; his troops were so exhausted by their mountain march before they reached the enemy, that they were unable to make any impression on the Piedmontese, who stood to their guns with the utmost resolution, and drove him back to San Martino, where he passed the night. Although, however, the Piedmontese had thus been successful at both points of attack, yet the numbers of the Austrians were so superior, and their position was such, that they could not fail of obtaining success on the following day when their columns came into united action. The Piedmontese commander, therefore, abandoned the position of Rivoli in the night, and withdrew to Peschiera,[1] leaving the plateau to be occupied by the Aus-

Repulse of the Austrians before Rivoli.

July 20.

July 21.

July 22.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 558, 559; Ellesmere, 171, 174; Ann. Reg. 1848; 324.

trians. In these untoward affairs the Austrians sustained a loss of eight officers and two hundred men.

66. Movement of Radetsky against the Piedmontese centre and right.

Having by these means fixed the attention of the enemy on his own right, Radetsky prosecuted with the utmost vigour his projected attack on the enemy's right and centre before Mantua. On the evening of the same day, July 22d, on which the Piedmontese had evacuated Rivoli, the field-marshal collected his forces in the intrenched camp before Verona, and prepared for the great and decisive trial of strength with the enemy. The intrenched camp, strongly guarded, was left under the orders of an able officer, Field-Marshal Haynau, and the field force was divided into three columns. The first, consisting of seven brigades, was under the orders of the field-marshal in person, and Count Schaffgotsche; the left, also of seven brigades, was directed by Count Wohlgemuth and Prince Schwartzenberg; while the reserve, which was moving up midway between the two a little in the rear, was under the orders of Lieutenant-Marshal Count Haller. The Austrian forces were not less than 40,000 strong. The Piedmontese force was very strongly posted, but greatly inferior in number, the brigade of Savona having been drafted off to defend the plateau of Rivoli, and that of Piedmont to the extreme right for the blockade of Mantua. For the defence of the intrenched position threatened with attack, only two brigades and some cavalry could be relied on, mustering not more than 12,000 combatants.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 170, 171; Ann. Hist. 1848, 558, 559; Ann. Reg. 1848, 325; Baleyd., i. 247-249.

67. Battle of Custoza. July 23.

The Austrian troops, during the night march, encountered a heavy storm of rain, and the darkness was such that the troops could not find their way in the thickly enclosed country through which the march lay; and the advance, which had been ordered for one o'clock in the morning, was necessarily suspended till daybreak, when it was resumed. The Piedmontese position, which was about two leagues in length, extended along the range of heights which stretches from CUSTOZA to the

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Mincio, and covers, against an enemy advancing from the north, the whole plain which extends in the rear towards Mantua. It was here that the Piedmontese centre was placed; and it was this range of heights which it was Radetsky's object to force; striking thus, after the manner of Napoleon, a decisive blow at the enemy's centre when imprudently weakened and exposed to attack. The battle began at seven in the morning by the storming of the heights of Sona, which, after a brave struggle, were carried by the Hungarian regiment of the Archduke Ernest. On this occasion, the assault and resistance were both so desperate that in some cases the Hungarians seized with their hands the enemy's muskets, which were protruded through the embrasures, tore off the bayonets, and fired through the loopholes in return. This success was followed by the storming of the height of Madonna del Monte by the brigade of Prince Lichtenstein; and shortly after the cavalry of Schaffgotsche's brigade, converting what was designed for a false attack into a real one, carried the heights of Santa Giustina. Lichtenstein's brigade pursued the enemy into San Georgio in Salire, from whence they were driven to their last tenable position of Castel-Nuovo, from which they were expelled by assault. While this great success was gained by Baron d'Aspre on the centre and right, General Wohlgemuth was assailing with the Austrian left the Piedmontese right, which was defended by three thousand men, with four guns, strongly posted on the summit of the Somma Campagna. After a stout resistance, it too was carried by the impetuous attack of the brigade Strapoldo, led on by Wohlgemuth in person. The enemy, finding his defences now broken in and pierced at all points, retreated rapidly towards the Mincio, which their left wing crossed; the Austrians followed, and before evening the heights of Custoza were fully occupied by their advanced column, and the reserve established in San Georgio in Salire, where headquarters were placed.[1] By the

[1] Ellesmere, 174-179; Ann. Hist. 1848, 559; Balleyd., i. 311, 312.

operations of this day, Radetsky had entirely succeeded in his object; the whole intrenchments of the Piedmontese centre had been carried, their left wing driven across the Mincio, and the Imperialists established on the entire heights which covered to the north the Mantuan plains as far as that river.

68. Movements after the battle.

So far the most brilliant success had attended the Austrian operations: but Radetsky's position after his victory was by no means free from danger; for while the bulk of his troops were pressing forward on the fortified heights near the Mincio, Charles Albert had concentrated a large force at Villa-Franca, in the plain behind the field-marshal's left, which was strongly fortified, but had been merely observed and passed by the corps moving on to the heights. The possession of this important point gave him the means either of raising the siege of Mantua, and giving battle with his entire force before theirs was concentrated in the plain in front of that fortress, or, throwing the bulk of his forces behind their left, of menacing their communications. In truth, the two armies were in a very peculiar situation, for they had mutually passed each other, and each threatened his opponent's communications; but there was this difference between them, that Charles Albert had his forces better in hand, and was in a more favourable situation, notwithstanding his recent discomfiture, to engage in a general and decisive battle. Both generals were aware of the circumstance, and both exerted themselves accordingly,—the King to make a sudden assault on the enemy while still, in a manner, on a line of march—the field-marshal to close up his columns, and put them in a position to resist. The former had nine brigades and a division of cavalry concentrated in Villa-Franca, and with these he determined to commence the offensive.[1] Accordingly he moved forward, on the evening of the 24th, directly against the Austrian left and communications. The Duke of Savoy led the left, the Duke of Genoa the

[1] Ellesmere, 182-185.

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right; the centre was under General Bava, the cavalry covering the plain on the side towards Verona.

69. Success of Charles Albert on the Somma Campagna. July 24.

A great advantage in the first instance attended this daring yet wise movement of the Sardinian king. The advance of his concentrated columns perpendicularly against the Austrian line of march soon brought them into contact with the enemy, when leisurely pursuing the cross march to close up in their front. The brigade Simbschen was the first to be attacked, when in loose array on the summit of the Somma Campagna. In an instant it was pierced through; the regiment Haynau, which was the leading one, suffered severely; the regiment Prince Ernest, cut off from the others, was surrounded and made prisoners. The entire brigade was obliged to retire to Verona, with the loss of 1317 men, of whom 1100 were prisoners. Here, again, the immense advantage gained by the party which can attack in column an enemy in flank, disposed over a line of march, was very apparent; and if Charles Albert erred by extending himself over a line thirty miles in length, from Rivoli to Mantua, in the first instance, he nobly redeemed his error by his attack on the Somma Campagna in concentrated columns, while still bleeding under his defeat.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 182-185; Ann. Hist. 1848, 559.

70. Movements of the two parties.

This brilliant stroke well-nigh re-established the king's affairs. He had now regained possession of the range of hills east of the Tione from Custoza to the Somma Campagna, which nearly neutralised the advantages gained by the victory on the preceding day. No sooner, therefore, did the field-marshal receive intelligence of this defeat than he resolved to make a great effort to regain the ground he had lost. For this purpose his troops, during the night of the 24th, were disposed for a general attack on the troops on the ridge of Sona and the Somma Campagna.[2] On his part the Sardinian king, encouraged by his brilliant success, was not less anxious to renew the conflict, and had made all his arrangements

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 186, 187; Ellesmere, 186, 187.

for a general attack on the Imperialists from the Somma Campagna to Oliosi, and from Custoza to Valeggio. The fate of Italy would in all probability depend on the issue of the battle to be delivered on the following day.

71. Second desperate battle of Valeggio.

The morning arose clear and bright, and the sun shone forth with unclouded brilliancy, with all the heat of the dog-days in Italy. About eight, General Bava marched against Valeggio, on the Austrian left; but he was received with so terrible a fire of grape and musketry in front, aided by charges of cavalry on his flank, that he soon became convinced that no impression could be made there till the heights behind, on which Clam's brigade was posted, were won. Towards noon the Austrian brigade Giulay, which had got the start of the Piedmontese in the occupation of Sona and Madonna del Monte, made an attack on the heights of Somma Campagna, and after sustaining several repulses, at length succeeded in carrying them, chiefly through the gallantry of the Vienna volunteers. Farther to the right, Lichtenstein's brigade was engaged in the attack of the Casa Berattara, and the adjacent heights as far as the Monte Bosconi. This affair was deemed of so much importance that the old field-marshal rode with the advanced posts, encouraging the soldiers by his voice and example. They were at length carried by a desperate storm of the Hungarian infantry. Such was the heat in the afternoon that great numbers on both sides perished by sun-stroke on the field of battle. At length, however, the Imperialists were successful, after a desperate struggle at all points: the Piedmontese fell back on Custoza, and thence on Villa Franca; while the heights which protected Valeggio were carried by Clam's brigade, and the enemy finally driven down into the plain. In the night the Piedmontese army collected around Villa Franca,[1] and at midnight commenced their retreat in two columns towards the Mincio, thus finally abandoning to the Austrians the long-contested ridge of eminences between that river and

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 559; Ann. Reg. 1848; Elles-mere, 185-191.

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the Adige, and as a necessary consequence raising the siege of Mantua.

72. Results of the battle, and retreat of the Piedmontese. July 26.

In the two battles of Custoza the Austrians lost, besides what had been sustained on the 24th by the brigade Simbschen, 18 officers and 237 men killed, 51 officers and 1039 men wounded, 1 officer and 628 men made prisoners—in all, 1974; which, with the 1317 lost on the 23d, amounted to above 3300 men. The Piedmontese loss was probably not less considerable, but it has never been published on official authority. The retreat was directed on Goito, as the best point for crossing the river, and conducted with the utmost precision and regularity. The field-marshal, on his side, without a moment's delay, prepared everything for a vigorous pursuit. By daybreak on the following morning he was on horseback, and his corps were advancing on the traces of the enemy at all points. The 1st corps crossed the Mincio at Monzambano, while the 2d, after collecting on the heath of Pretiana, moved upon Valeggio. At Salionze a portion of the 3d corps crossed the river, in order to invest Peschiera, already blockaded on the left bank. After passing Valeggio, the brigade of Prince Frederic Lichtenstein came in contact, in moving on Volta, with the Piedmontese brigade of Savoy. A fierce conflict ensued, both on the evening of the 26th and on the following morning, in which the Piedmontese were successful, and the Austrians sustained a loss of 347 men, including 160 prisoners. The King's troops, however, were at length compelled to retire, by the arrival of fresh forces on the enemy's side, and the retreat was continued towards the Oglio, abandoning the line of the Mincio at every point. The field-marshal, upon this, moved on to Goito to superintend the passage of his troops over the river; the investment of Peschiera was completed, and intrusted to Count Haynau; while the garrison of Mantua, now entirely relieved, made incursions into the adjoining country, and drove back far towards the Oglio the whole blockading force.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 559; Ellesmere, 191-195; Ann. Reg. 1848, 324, 325.

After this disaster the progress of the Austrian arms was a continued triumph. On the 30th they crossed the Oglio without opposition, as it was known that river afforded a bad line of defence against an enemy advancing from the eastward, and on the 31st the Piedmontese continued their retreat across the Adda, closely followed by the Austrians. Serious resistance was nowhere attempted, for sixty thousand men, flushed with victory, thundered in close pursuit, and the retiring force already was beginning to melt away under the discouragement which, especially with young troops, always attends a long-continued retrograde movement. Large bodies, especially of the Italian new levies and volunteers, threw away their arms and returned to their homes; and even the Piedmontese regulars were far from exhibiting on all occasions the steadiness which can alone avert disaster in the course of a long retreat; and the King, dreading the entire dissolution, at least of the volunteers of his army, if the retreat were further continued, proposed an armistice to Radetsky, with the Oglio as the line of demarcation between the two armies. These terms the field-marshal at once rejected, demanding on his side that the Piedmontese should retire behind the Adda, and surrender the fortresses of Peschiera, Pizzighettone, and Rocca d'Arco, with the withdrawal of their troops from Venice, Parma, and Modena, and the release of the whole Austrian officers who had been detained at Milan since the commencement of the war. The King was not so far reduced as to submit to such terms, and hostilities continued.

73. Retreat of the Piedmontese across the Oglio and the Adda.

During this retreat, which continued without intermission towards Milan by Cremona and Lodi and the course of the Adda, decisive evidence was obtained that, unlike the inhabitants of the towns, the rural population were attached to the Austrian in preference to the Italian rule. This appeared not merely in the acclamations, which in every country attend the advance

74. Continued to Milan.

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of a victorious army, but in substantial acts of kindness, which, when fortune was adverse, the peasants had evinced to the sick and wounded of the Austrian force. In the village of Le Grazie, near Mantua, the Imperialists found upon their advance an hundred of their sick and wounded, abandoned during the former retreat, whom they had concealed, unknown to the Piedmontese, in a church, and carefully tended, till relieved by the second advance of their countrymen. Near Mantua, every peasant was suspected by the Piedmontese as an Austrian spy. Meanwhile, the utmost agitation prevailed in Milan; and the

Aug. 1.

Provisional Government issued a decree ordering every man capable of bearing arms to take them up, and repair forthwith to the Adda. This decree, without adding one man to the military force of the country, only increased the general consternation by universally diffusing the belief that the cause must have been hopeless before resort was had to so desperate a measure. A decree was passed, at the same time, hastily uniting Lombardy and Piedmont into one kingdom; but already a divergence of interests as well as passions had appeared between them; and the retiring Piedmontese columns, which had fought so nobly for Italian independence, were exposed to insult while traversing the streets of Milan. The Austrian field-marshal, without a moment's delay, continued his advance in pursuit of the enemy, by Lodi and Corona, to Vigliano—where three thousand Piedmontese endeavoured in vain to make a stand—and to Brescia on the right. Thence the King continued his retrograde movement on Milan, and the Austrian bugles joyfully sounded for the last advance on the Lombard capital.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 569-572; Ellesmere, 196-200.

75. Capitulation of Milan. Aug. 6.

A sharp combat of the Austrian advanced with the Piedmontese rear guard took place on the 4th August near Gamboloito, in which the retreating army, though finally worsted, exhibited the courage in disaster which is the most honourable attribute of soldiers. But all

was unavailing; the decree of Providence had been pronounced, and Italy was again to pass under foreign dominion. Already the Austrian left had occupied Pavia, and pushed its advanced guard to the Gravellone, an arm of the Ticino, thus threatening the communication of the King with his own dominions. The centre was grouped in appalling strength within a league of Milan; while their right, advancing between that city and the Alps, had already occupied Monza, and cut off from the capital the band of Garibaldi, formed of six thousand Italian volunteers. The King, seeing the abandonment of Milan inevitable, had already sent his reserve park across the Po to Placentia, and ammunition was awanting for any protracted defence of the city. A capitulation was proposed and discussed on the 5th; but no Aug. 5. sooner did the people hear what was going forward, than they assembled in tumultuous masses, surrounded the King's quarters, calling out, "Death to the Piedmontese!" and loudly demanded the construction of barricades, and "Guerra a morte!" with the Austrians. Shots were actually fired in at the windows from the crowd outside; and so irritated were the Piedmontese at this ungrateful conduct on the part of their recent allies, that it required the utmost efforts of their officers to prevent them from sallying forth and avenging the insult to their sovereign. In the night the King was extricated from his perilous situation by a detachment of his guards; and at the earnest request of the civic authorities, who, with reason, dreaded indiscriminate plunder on the retreat of the Piedmontese rearguard, which took place during the night, the barricades were removed, and the Austrians entered the city in triumph at ten on the following morning. They came in by the Porta Romana, headed by d'Aspre's corps, which had taken so memorable a part in the war. They swept by in superb order, to the triumphant strains of military music, amidst the deathlike silence of all who witnessed it. The dreams of

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the enthusiasts had passed away—the vision of Italian independence had melted into air—the iron had entered the souls of the Milanese. Many recollected the words which the veteran field-marshal had addressed to them before a shot had been fired, and which had proved prophetic,—"The sword I have borne for fifty-six years with honour in the field, yet remains firm in my grasp. May I not be compelled to unfurl the standard of the double-headed eagle: its strength of wing will be found unimpaired!"[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 200-208; Ann. Hist. 1848, 563-568; Ann. Reg. 1848, 325, 326.

76. Armistice, and desperate measures of the Radicals. Aug. 9.

On the day following the entrance of the Imperial troops into Milan, the King proposed an armistice, which was accepted by the field-marshal only on the condition of an entire exchange of prisoners; and, meanwhile, a large body of Austrians was advanced to Placentia, with a view to an immediate passage of the Po in the event of hostilities being resumed. This, however, was not the case. On the 9th, General Salasco made his appearance at the Austrian headquarters, with proposals for a six weeks' armistice, with a view to negotiations for peace. It was concluded on condition of the Piedmontese troops retiring within their own territories, the frontier of which was to form the line of demarcation between the two parties. The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Arco, and Osopo, were to be surrendered to the Austrians; the duchies of Parma and Modena to be evacuated by the Piedmontese, and that of Placentia to the extent of the town, and a circle of three thousand paces round it. This armistice, which was warmly supported by the English minister at the court of Turin, was afterwards prolonged and continued through the whole year. On the day following their entry, the field-marshal published an order of the day to his brave soldiers, in which he said, with deserved pride: "The Imperial flag is again waving from the walls of Milan; there is no longer an enemy on Lombard ground." On their side, the Revolutionists, headed by MAZZINI, exclaimed: "The war of

kings has terminated; that of the people is about to commence." He set out professedly to enrol himself in the corps of a partisan named Garibaldi, who was forming a band of volunteers at Genoa. But on the approach of an Austrian column he fled to Lugano, from whence he sought refuge in Switzerland, leaving, as a legacy to his countrymen, a pamphlet, in which he stigmatised the "moderate traitors" who had combated on the Adige, while the real patriots were making speeches at Milan.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 564-566; Ann. Reg. 326, 327; Ellesmere, 204-209.

77. Increased excitement in Italy after the fall of Milan.

The war of the people accordingly began; but its issue was even more calamitous to the cause of Italian independence than that of sovereigns had been. The Austrian occupation of Milan, in the first instance, so far from tranquillising the peninsula, only increased the general agitation, and seriously augmented the difficulties with which the governments had to contend. The armistice between Piedmont and Austria was indeed prolonged; and the British and French governments, sincerely and in good faith, laboured to bring about a lasting accommodation between them. The former, in particular, which had from the outset disapproved of the treacherous advantage taken by the Piedmontese Government of the revolution at Milan, and earnestly dissuaded from the war, was now earnest in its endeavours to mediate between the contending parties. But this was every day becoming more difficult, for the violence of the revolutionists was augmented in proportion as the danger increased; and the direction of affairs, under the pressure of general excitement, passed out of the hands of experience and wisdom into those of ignorant zeal and presumptuous enthusiasm. The Austrian army, under General Weldon, on the 3d August passed the Po, in pursuance of the general plan of advance consequent on the battle of Custoza, and moved forward to Ferrara and Bologna, which they occupied. The intelligence of

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this invasion of the pontifical territory, and of the disasters on the Mincio and the Oglio, excited the greater sensation at Rome, that it was received immediately after a report had been spread of a pretended victory by the Piedmontese troops, and in the midst of fêtes given by the Liberals to the volunteers who had capitulated at Vicenza. As the Roman troops had taken part in the crusade against the Germans, of course they had no right to complain of this incursion. It produced, however, a violent explosion of revolutionary fury at Rome, which terminated in the fall of M. Mamiani the prime-minister, and the installation of a more radical administration. The ministers of England and France betrayed the secret leaning of their governments by protesting against this violation of the ecclesiastical territory. The Austrians, Aug. 6. after having occupied Bologna, withdrew in consequence of these remonstrances, lest the war should become general. But the duchy of Modena was occupied by Prince Aug. 8. Frederick Lichtenstein on behalf of its lawful sovereign; and on the 14th, Count Thurn, amidst general acclamations, again hoisted its sovereign's colours on the walls of Parma. Peace was thus restored for the rest of the year to Northern Italy, only broken by a feeble incursion of Garibaldi into the Lombard territory with a few thousand liberal refugees from the neutral territory of Switzerland, who, after some partial successes, was forced by General d'Aspre again to seek refuge in the recesses of the Alps.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 567-569; Ellesmere, 210-214; Ann. Reg. 1848, 329, 330; Balleyd. i. 379, 380.

78. Events at Florence and Leghorn.

At Florence, the agitation consequent on the defeat of the Piedmontese and the advance of the Austrian armies was not less violent than at Rome; but the Tuscan territory was protected from invasion by the powerful shield thrown over it by the ministers of France and England, which the victorious Austrians had orders to respect. They could not prevent, however, an explosion of revolutionary violence at Leghorn, which, as a great seaport and commercial city, had become the common resort

of the discomfited Liberals from all quarters. French and Polish refugees, mingled with Italian enthusiasts and banditti, encumbered its streets, and presented ready-made all the elements of a democratic convulsion. It broke out, accordingly, under the guidance of Guerrazzi, at whose voice mobs speedily arose, and traversed the streets exclaiming, "Vive la Republique!" A deputation to confer with the Grand Duke at Florence, with Guerrazzi at its head, was despatched, and preferred claims to an independent sovereignty, which the extreme party had meantime assumed. Their demands were not formally acceded to, but they were not absolutely rejected; the Government at Florence had no armed force at its command; and the Grand Duke, as a reward for his liberal concessions, was compelled to wink at the assumption of independence by a considerable part of his dominions.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 569, 570; Admiral Parker to Lord Hardwicke, April 16, 1849, MS.

79. New Ministry at Rome under Count Rossi.

The revolutionary passions were still more violent at Rome, where they had first been fostered by the innovating philanthropy of Pius IX.; and before the end of the year, they led to a frightful tragedy in the Eternal City. During the whole autumn it presented little more than a scene of anarchy in the people, and impotence in the Government. The cardinals were so grossly insulted that they could no longer venture to appear in public; the word "Republic" was often heard in the streets; and the weakness of the executive became so painfully evident, that the Count Rossi, formerly ambassador of France, was intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet. He himself took the arduous post of Minister of the Interior and of Finance, and Cardinal Seglio was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the difficult circumstances in which Italy was now placed, Rossi perceived the absolute necessity of pursuing a pacific and temporising policy. The proud adage, "Italia para da se!" had been tried, and found awanting. Charles Albert himself, in the

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proclamation which followed the evacuation of Milan, had made the mournful confession that Italy, standing alone, could not resist Austria.* Rossi, conscious of this, and thinking it probable the war between Piedmont and Austria would be renewed, was anxious to effect a confederation of all the states for mutual defence, and actually drew up the scheme of a convention for that purpose; but it came to nothing, as Piedmont, actuated by its own ambitious views, kept aloof. Meanwhile his administration proceeded vigorously in correcting real abuses and effecting reforms; and with such success were these labours attended that confidence was in a great measure restored, and even Bologna chose him for its deputy. But this did not by any means answer the views of the extreme democrats, who did not wish the correction of abuses, but that they might get into power and profit by them. Seeing, accordingly, that the revolution was taking quite a different direction from what they either expected or desired, they spared no pains to discredit the administration in general, and Rossi in particular, with the people; and at last the revolutionary party were worked up to such a pitch of frenzy against him as led to the commission of a hideous crime, which has affixed a lasting stain on their cause.[1]

[1] Cayley, ii. 301-303; Ellesmere, 216; Ann. Hist. 1848, 572, 573; Balleyd. i. 290-294.

80. Murder of Rossi. Nov. 15.

The 15th November was the day appointed for the opening of the Chambers. Considerable excitement prevailed, and the ministry were the objects of severe animadversion for not proceeding more rapidly in the career

* On August 10th, Charles Albert issued a proclamation, in which he said: "The enemy increased. My army was almost alone in the struggle. The want of provisions obliged us to abandon the position we had conquered. With my army I retired to Milan; but, harassed by long fatigues, it could not encounter a new battle-field, for even the strength of the brave soldier has its limits. The interior defence of the town could not be maintained: money, provisions, and ammunition were wanting. The courage of the citizens might, perhaps, have resisted for some days, but only to bury us under the ruins, not to conquer the enemy. A convention was begun by me. The Milanese adopted and signed it. The throbs of my heart were ever for Italian independence; *but Italy has not yet shown to the world that she can conquer alone.*"—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 326.

of Revolution; but no disorder was apprehended, far less the commission of any serious outrage. The seditious, however, were busy; the secret societies had determined that the principal minister was to be assassinated; they had decided by lot who was to strike the blow, and the assassin had practised on a block where to strike, which was on the great artery in the neck. The minister received several anonymous letters, warning him of his danger, and a priest even violated the confessional to put him on his guard: but in vain; he was too brave either to fear death or take precautions against it. He said it was his duty to go to the Chamber, and go he would; if any one desired his blood, there were plenty of opportunities for shedding it. At noon he went to the Chamber in the Cancellaria in his carriage. A number of persons, armed with daggers, and decorated with the Vicenza medal, lined each side of the court as he entered, and a howl of execration arose when the carriage drove in. Righetti, the depute-minister of finance, was on his left hand; but when they alighted, he was separated from him in the crowd, in which cries arose and daggers were gleaming. Some one addressed him, and when Rossi turned to answer, he was suddenly stabbed in the neck, and dropped dead. The Vicenza heroes, decorated with their medals, clustered round the fallen minister, and under cover of this the assassin quietly walked off. Not an attempt was made to seize him, though all had seen the thing done. It was only in May 1854 that the murderer was discovered and convicted; he proved to be a sculptor of the name of Constantadini. Upon the dreadful event being known in the Chamber, a cry of horror arose, and the deputies disappeared. The Pope's remaining ministers vanished; with Rossi the whole Government fell to the ground. Nothing was done to provide the means of defence against further violence, or guide the vessel of the State amidst the breakers by which it was surrounded.[1] The revolutionists were not equally

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 581, 582; Ann. Reg. 1848, 330; M. Harcourt à M. Bastide, Nov. 17, 1848; Moniteur, Nov. 25. Balleyd. ii. 17-30.

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supine. The clubs met in the evening, and preparations were made for taking advantage of the consternation to force an entirely revolutionary government on the pontiff.

81. Revolution at Rome, and flight of the Pope. Nov. 16.

In pursuance of this design, a crowd, composed of a few hundred bravoes and desperadoes from the secret societies, met early in the morning, and, followed by an immense concourse of spectators, proceeded to the palace of the Quirinal, bearing aloft a flag, on which were inscribed the names of the popular ministers who were to be demanded from and forced upon the Pope. The Swiss Guards, though only an hundred in number, seeing the formidable aspect of the procession, closed the gates, and prepared to defend their sovereign. A few shots fired over their heads soon made the mob recoil, and the victory seemed gained for the Government, when suddenly an unexpected apparition came on the scene, and turned the tide the other way. As the crowd were retiring, they were met by the Civic Guard, several thousand strong, in uniform, with a military band at their head, who joined the retreating insurgents, and opened a sustained fire upon the gates and windows of the palace. The Swiss, however, fought well, and kept up so vigorous a discharge upon the assailants that they were obliged to bring up cannon, which blew open the gates, upon which the Pope ordered the firing on his side to cease. A prelate had been shot dead in the Pontiff's ante-chamber, upon which he turned to the diplomatic body who surrounded him, and said he was no longer a free agent, and must yield to necessity. The whole *corps diplomatique* showed the greatest courage on the occasion, and hastened on the first alarm to surround the Pontiff. A list of ministers, composed of the most decided Revolutionists, with Mamiani and Galtelli, two favourite leaders, at their head, was now presented to him to sign; but he refused, saying, "I cannot sign that; it is against my conscience." Upon this being known outside, the tumult redoubled, and the cries,

"Sign! sign!" were heard on all sides, till at length he was obliged to sign the list. Loud cheers immediately broke from the crowd which traversed the streets, great part of which were illuminated, shouting, "The Sovereign has given us a republic!" Thereafter the Pope remained a virtual prisoner in his own palace. He took no part in public affairs, though the government of the Revolutionists was carried on in his name; and on the 24th, finding his situation insupportable, he mounted, in the disguise of a servant, the box of the Bavarian minister's carriage, on which he was fortunate enough to pass the gates undetected, and arrived in safety at Gaeta in the Neapolitan territory, leaving the government of the Pontifical States entirely in the hands of the Revolutionary ministry.[1]

Nov. 24. [1] M. D'Harcourt à M. Bastide, Nov. 17, 1848; Moniteur, Nov. 25; Ann. Reg. 1848, 331; Ann. Hist. 1848, 583-585; Cayley, ii. 347.

82. Designs of the Italian Revolutionists after Rossi's death.

The war on the Po having been for the time suspended, and the Papal authority overturned at Rome, the revolutionary party throughout Italy began to disclose their plan of operations. They had no intention of establishing, like the Jacobins of Paris, a republic one and indivisible; the ambition of the numerous democratic leaders in the many great towns of Italy forbade any such projects. As this brought into the field a multitude of clashing interests, a confederacy of republics seemed to be the only alternative, and this accordingly was the project which Count Rossi had laboured so assiduously to promote. But the only return which he received was the stroke of an assassin; and after his death the revolutionists seemed set only on forwarding their own separate plans of aggrandisement. Knowing that the shield of France and England was thrown over Tuscany and the Roman States, and that the Austrian troops would not venture to cross their frontier, the extreme democrats looked upon these states of Central Italy as their own peculiar domain, where every revolutionary project might be carried into effect with impunity. The revolutionary party in Rome, after the flight

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1848. Dec. 11. of the Pope, and some ineffectual negotiating to induce him to return to his dominions, agreed to appoint a provisional government of three persons, chosen by the Chambers, who were to exercise all the functions of government. A decree to this effect was passed by the Chambers, and the choice fell on Prince Corsini, a helpless old noble; M. Zucchini, leader at Bologna; and M. Macerata, the mayor of Ancona. But these names Dec. 17. inspired no confidence; and within a week of their nomination the clubs at Rome demanded the convocation of a constituent assembly, with a view to the organisation of a republic. So violent did the clamour become that the ministry of Mamiani was obliged to retire, and was succeeded by another of a still more democratic character. A ministerial crisis also ensued in Turin, Dec. 15. and a new ministry appointed, the condition of whose existence was the renewal of the war with Austria. In the Pontifical and Tuscan states, under the protection of the English and French flags, the anarchy became so complete that it could not be said at the end of the year that government any longer existed. Meanwhile the Pope, having in vain launched the thunders of the Vatican at his insurgent subjects, which only met with derision, addressed a formal appeal for protection and aid to the European powers, in which, after narrating his early and voluntary acts on behalf of his people, he declared that in all his later measures, in particular the war against Austria and recent revolution, he had acted under direct compulsion. And to complete the strange picture presented by Italy at this time, the last elections in Naples, carried through under the influence of indignation at the Sicilian revolt, were so decidedly reactionary that, when the Chambers met on 30th November, the chief difficulty of the King was to restrain within the bounds of moderation the ardent desire of his subjects to seek refuge in the tranquillity of absolute despotism.[1]

Nov. 30.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 587-589; Note of Pio Nono, Feb. 10, 1849; Moniteur, Feb. 22, 1849; Ellesmere, 225-227.

In the distracted condition of the Papal States it was no

easy matter for the Swiss Guards, who formed so important a portion of the ecclesiastical troops, to know how to act or to which side to incline. Their commander, Count Latour, who was stationed with the brigade in Bologna and Forli, had hitherto served with honour, but his moral resolution was not equal to his personal courage, and when an order arrived from the Pope, directing him to move his forces to the Neapolitan frontier for the protection of their sovereign, he at first temporised, and at length refused to obey, and remained at Bologna fraternising with the civic authorities there, from whom he was constantly receiving the most fulsome flattery. Many of his officers, and the greater part of the common soldiers, considered this conduct treasonable, and a breach of the proverbial good faith of the Swiss, and not a few left their colours and returned home in consequence. Had they obeyed the orders of their sovereign, it is probable that the revolution at Rome would have been stopped, and the whole calamities which afterwards befell that city prevented. As it was, this defection of Latour and a part of his troops brought matters to a crisis in the Papal dominions. Part of the Swiss Infantry took service with the revolutionists; the artillery did so in a body; and Garibaldi collected a band of volunteers and refugees, with whom he made his way across Lombardy and Tuscany, and established himself, with three thousand followers, in Rome in the end of January. The consequence of this accession of strength was that the revolutionary party acquired the complete ascendancy in Rome, and the Constituent Assembly, which had now assembled, dethroned the Pope, and proclaimed a republic. Florence and Leghorn, a few days after, declared also for a republic, with Rome as its centre. The Grand Duke, after a vain attempt to raise the peasants for his support, finding that the regular troops had deserted him, and that a body of auxiliaries promised by Charles Albert could not be furnished, saw his case was hopeless, and embarked for Gaeta.

83. Proclamation of a Republic in Rome, and defection of the Swiss Guards. Jan. 27.

Feb. 14.

Feb. 18.

Feb. 20.

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The democratic revolution was now complete in Central Italy; republics were everywhere proclaimed; a large part of the regular troops had fraternised with the people; the sovereigns were all dethroned and in exile; and "war to the knife" was universally proclaimed against the Austrians. "The war of the people," of which Mazzini had boasted, had now in good earnest commenced; and if decrees on paper could fight battles, it would furnish no inconsiderable accession of strength to Charles Albert, for the provisional governments of Florence and Rome ordered the immediate preparation of an army of twelve thousand Tuscans and fifteen thousand Romans to march without delay towards the Po.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 227-229; Cayley, ii. 316-326; Ann. Hist. 1848, 587-589; Balleyd. ii. 24-37.

84. Renewal of the war between Piedmont and Austria.

It was not, however, by decrees of revolutionary governments that the Austrian arms on the Ticino were to be withstood. Notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the British and French ministers at the Court of Turin to bring about an accommodation, the mutual irritation of Piedmont and Austria, so far from diminishing, was rapidly increasing, and in the beginning of 1849 had reached such a point that a renewal of the war was imminent. Each had abundant causes of complaint, some well founded, some imaginary, against the other. The Austrians complained that the Piedmontese fleet had wintered in the Adriatic, where it had repeatedly furnished supplies to the revolutionary garrison of Venice, and that considerable funds had been forwarded to them by the Piedmontese Government; and that Piedmontese agents were in the Austrian ranks, encouraging the Hungarians and Italians to desert. On the other hand, the Piedmontese maintained that negotiations should be entered into for a cession of territory to indemnify Piedmont for the expenses of the war; and complained of an infraction of the treaty by a passing entry of the Austrian troops into Ferrara on 7th February, to obtain satisfaction for the assassination of three of their soldiers returning from the hospital to the citadel, which had

been in point of fact given, and the troops retired the day after. It is of little moment to inquire further into the mutual complaints of the Austrian and Piedmontese diplomatists, because they were neither the real causes of the rupture of the armistice which followed, nor the matters on which the attention of the opposite parties was chiefly fixed. It was to Hungary that all eyes were turned; it was to the exploits of the Magyars that young Italy looked for deliverance. A Hungarian emissary, Baron Spleny, had for some time resided in Turin, and spread the most exaggerated reports of the success of the Hungarian insurrection. Turin swarmed with Lombard refugees, who gave equally flattering accounts of the warlike disposition of their countrymen, and the numerous armed bands who would join the ranks of independence the moment the Piedmontese standards were unfurled on the banks of the Ticino. The Austrian monarchy seemed to be falling to pieces on all sides, even without external stroke; the only question was, whether or not Italy was to take advantage of a crisis more favourable than could possibly have been hoped for, or than might ever occur again, to establish its independence. It was universally believed that Pesth had yielded to the arms of the Magyar insurgents, an event which really did occur, but not for ten weeks after. The democratic party in the Chamber loudly demanded a renewal of the war; a courageous deputy, Lanza, who had the courage to say that the Austrians by treaty had a right to enter Tuscany, was hooted down, and obliged to retire from the Chamber. On 5th March the Chamber of Deputies presented an address to the King in favour of war; the Italian Council on the same day did the same. In vain the English and French ministers represented the extreme hazard with which the renewal of hostilities would be attended; the King was well aware of this, but he was no longer a free agent.[1] "I must declare war," said he, "or abdicate the crown, and see a republic estab-

March 5.
March 12.

[1] Balleyd. ii. 38-44; Ellesmere, 226-235; Cayley, i. 344-348; Ann. Hist. 1849, 231-237.

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lished." On the 10th March the ministers obtained from the Chambers the necessary credit to carry on the war; and on the 12th the armistice was formally denounced.

85. Forces of the Piedmontese on the renewal of the war.

War having in this manner been forced upon him, Charles Albert made every disposition which the circumstances would admit to carry it on with promptitude and vigour. The suddenness of the event, however, was such that he was far from being at the moment prepared for it. His troops, though formidable on paper, were by no means equally so in reality; their nominal strength was 135,000, but the muster-roll on March 20th showed only 83,629 effective men, including 5000 cavalry, with 152 guns. The old soldiers, inured to war, and familiar with its dangers, had no confidence in the result; the young ones alone, heated by the declamations of the clubs, were zealous in the cause and hopeful of success. The bad result of the former campaigns was not ascribed to its real cause—viz. the pressure of the democratic leaders on Charles Albert, which had forced the King, against his better judgment, to undertake the siege of Mantua while still occupying the line from Rivoli to the Po—but to the incapacity of the generals or the lukewarmness of the native aristocratic officers. "Give us," it was said in the clubs, "a foreign general, a Lamoricière or a Cavaignac, and the army will soon recover its spirit. Remove the aristocratic *fainéants*, and all will be well." These clamours prevailed against the opinion of the King. General Bava, without regard to his great services, was removed from the command, which was bestowed on a Polish general, Chrzanowski, who had received the scientific education of an engineer at the military academy at Warsaw, and had afterwards joined in the revolt, and served with distinction in the war of independence in 1831. The Italians had good cause to regret the consequences of the change.[1]

[1] Cayley, i. 347, 348; Ellesmere, 238, 339; Ann. Hist. 1848, 282-284; Balleyd. ii. 54-62.

The Austrian army had received considerable rein-

Forces of the Austrians.

forcements since the termination of the last campaign. Several new battalions and corps of cavalry had joined the army during the interval of hostilities. Among the rest were the famous Sereschuners, from the military colonies on the Croat frontier, a present of the faithful Ban of that province, whose picturesque attire, and weapons of Oriental fashion, recalled the pandoors of the last century. The entire force of the army in the beginning of March was somewhat above 150,000 men, but of these 30,000 were in hospital, and 40,000 in observation of Venice, or in Central Italy: so that, at the very utmost, not more than 80,000 could be reckoned on for operations in the field. But these troops, though hardly superior in number to the Piedmontese, were decidedly so in discipline, equipment, and spirit. The loyalty and steadiness of the German character had now come to tell decidedly on the fortunes of the war, as much as the vacillation and instability of the Italian had weakened the other side. All the elements of weakness had been sifted out of the Teutonic army during the last campaign, and even the recruits, by constant outpost duty, had been hardened into the consistency of old soldiers. The harmony among the generals, and brotherly union among the officers, as well as the spirit of the entire army, were such as to inspire the most sanguine hopes of the result. The fidelity even of the Magyar soldiers had resisted all the efforts to seduce them (and they had been many and alluring) by the revolutionary party in Lombardy: even such of them as had reserve battalions or depots in Hungary which had joined in the insurrection, were content with mourning in silence the delusions under which their brethren laboured, without attempting to follow their example. At the end of the first day's march, these regiments, sensible that they must, in some degree, labour under suspicion, sent a deputation to the field-marshal, requesting to be allowed the post of honour to prove their fidelity. Such is the spirit by which the

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Austrian army is animated, and by which, in the last extremity, the Austrian empire was saved. It is not new in the annals of its military fame; the same spirit, two hundred years ago, had animated the cuirassiers of Dampier and Piccolomini, on occasion of Wallenstein's revolt, immortalised in the pages of Schiller, and, eighty years before, the heroic garrison of Schweidnitz. It is the unseen bond which holds together the empire, and has enabled it so often to rise superior to all the storms of fortune.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 240-243.

87. Different feelings of the two armies on the renewal of the war.

The armistice ceased, under the notice given, at mid-day on the 20th March. Its close was received in a very different spirit in the two armies. In the Piedmontese it produced silent uneasiness: the confidence felt by the democratic leaders was far from being shared by the soldiers who were to face the dangers of the conflict. In the Imperial ranks, on the other hand, the intelligence was universally received with joy; and the soldiers immediately all appeared with green boughs in their caps, the well-known and prescriptive badge of military exultation in the Austrian army. The addresses issued by the two commanders evinced the same difference: Charles Albert spoke of the conflict as unavoidable from the ambition of Austria. Radetsky's address was different: "Forward, with Turin for your watchword."[2] *

[2] Ellesmere, 242-244; Ann. Hist. 1849, 593, 594.

88. Description of the theatre of war.

The theatre of war on which the decisive battle which was to decide the question of Italian independence was to be fought, was the great plain watered by the Po, which lies between Turin and Milan, and cut at right

* "The attitude of Austria has shown that no honourable peace can be hoped for unless won by arms. By waiting longer we should have wasted our strength without any result: our finances would be exhausted, and our army, now so efficient and patriotic, would have felt its spirit broken if it had been compelled to remain longer inactive. You understood it, gentlemen, when a few days ago you manifested the wishes of the nation—*you raised the war-cry:* the Government has heard it. It is well aware of the perils attending the struggle about to recommence, and of the evils which will be its sad and unavoidable consequence. But between these perils and the shame of an ignominious peace, which would not insure Italian independence, the King's

angles by the Ticino, which descends from the Alps to that great river, and the high-road leading from the one capital to the other. The strongest ground on which the advance of an enemy from the eastward towards Turin can be resisted, is on the right or southern bank of the Po, with a flanking corps on the left, as there are several strong positions there capable of arresting an invader. On this side, also, the defending force has the advantage of resting on the important fortresses of Alessandria and Genoa, more valuable as a base of operations than Turin itself. The experienced General Bava accordingly had fixed on the right bank as the line of the main army's advance. But his successor, being overruled by the democratic clubs at Turin, was compelled to alter this judicious plan of operation, and, abandoning altogether the right bank of the river, to concentrate his force at NOVARA, on the direct road to Milan: the object of this was to favour an insurrection in that capital and the whole Lombardo-Venetian provinces, which had been formally enjoined by proclamation from Prince Eugene of Savoy Casignan, in order to celebrate the anniversary of the Austrian retreat from Milan, on the 23d of the preceding year, by a triumphant entry into that capital. They fully expected that Radetsky would abandon the capital without striking a blow:[1] to confirm them in this belief, the veteran field-marshal spread abroad the report

March 17.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 594-596; Ann. Reg. 1849, 282; Ellesmere, 243, 244.

Government could not, and ought not, to hesitate. On the 12th, at noon, the cessation of the armistice was announced to Marshal Radetsky."—*Speech of* M. RATAZZE, *Minister of the Interior*, March 14, 1849; *Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 281.

"Soldiers! your most ardent wishes are fulfilled. The enemy have announced the termination of the armistice! Well, we are ready to meet them, and shall dictate in their capital the peace we so generously offered them. The contest cannot be long. You are to combat the same enemy you overpowered at Santa Lucia, Somma Campagna, Custoza, Volta, and under the walls of Milan. God is with us, for our cause is just. To arms, soldiers! Follow once more your old General to war and victory. I will witness your last exploits. It will be the last joyful act of my long military career if, in the capital of a perfidious enemy, I can decorate the breasts of my brave comrades with the emblem of valour, conquered with blood and glory. Let our watchword be Forward! Forward to Turin! where alone we can find the peace for which we are fighting.—RADETSKY." *Moniteur*, 18th March 1849.

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that he was about to retire from Milan, and take his stand as before on the Adda or the Adige; and preparations were ostentatiously made for removing the heavy carriages of the army behind the former river, and transporting the crown jewels to Mantua.

89. Advance of the two armies, who mutually cross each other. March 20.

Deceived by these artifices, and impelled by the democratic leaders at Turin, who never doubted they were advancing to certain victory, Charles Albert, with the whole left wing of his army, twenty thousand strong, crossed the Ticino on a bridge between Trecata and Buffalora, on the direct road from Novara to Milan. The Austrians made no attempt to dispute the passage, but hastily withdrew towards Milan, where a large force, consisting of the whole reserves of the army, was concentrated between that city and the Adda. The bulk of the Piedmontese army was concentrated at Novara: Ramorino alone, with six thousand Lombards, stood at Casteggio, on the right bank of the Po. His orders were to cross the river and show a front to the enemy, should the latter advance from Pavia. On the right bank of the Po, the true battle-field for Turin, there would then only remain three thousand men under Colonel Belvidere. The Austrian general was not slow in taking advantage of these arrangements. The plan of operations suggested by General Hess, his chief of the staff, to the field-marshal, was "to concentrate the army at Lodi, cross the Po at Pavia, cut off the enemy's detachments on the right bank of the Po from the main body, and deliver battle *probably at Novara.*" Little doubt was entertained of the issue of the battle; and having gained it, the Austrian army was to wheel to the left, cross the Po at Casale, fall upon the right wing of the enemy, and having dispersed it, march direct upon Turin. It was no small recommendation of this plan, that by thus countermarching up the course of the Ticino the bulk of the army was brought so near to Milan that, in the event of a revolt breaking out in that city, an overwhelming force might be at its gates in a few

hours. With such celerity were the orders in pursuance of this plan given and executed, that twenty-four hours had not elapsed from the declaration of hostilities when the most distant detachments were already in motion for the Adda, while those at Milan and its neighbourhood were moving to the rear towards Lodi, and those on the Ticino direct on Pavia. The effect of these movements was to bring the bulk of the army to Pavia and the left, from whence the Ticino could be passed on two bridges between Vigivano and that town.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 246, 247; Ann. Hist. 1849, 594-596; Ann. Reg. 1849, 282, 283.

90. Concentration of the army at Pavia. March 20.

The field-marshal, after issuing a solemn admonition to the inhabitants of Milan as to their conduct during his absence, broke up from that capital on the evening of the 18th, and marched, not on Pavia, but to St Angelo, on the road from Lodi to it. The object of this seemingly strange movement was to deceive the enemy as to his real intentions, and to spread abroad the belief that he was about to take up a defensive position between Lodi and Cremona, or even to retire behind the Adda. So completely were the designs of the veteran general kept secret, that even officers of high rank at Pavia were astonished when they heard, on the morning of the 20th, that the field-marshal had slept at Torre-Bianca, only two leagues in the rear of that town, and that the army, in great strength, was concentrated at its gates. With such precision were the orders for uniting at Pavia executed, that at the same hour on the morning of the 28th the converging columns approached its walls. "By all the streets," says an eyewitness, "which led from east to north through Pavia, advanced the columns of the Imperial army. It took about three hours to arrange the different columns in the order in which they were to enter the enemy's territory. The eye of the spectator was fascinated by the spectacle of the variety of uniforms and equipment discernible in the living masses; the ear was saluted by an equal variety of sounds by which the different nations interchanged their exultation—German,

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Bohemian, Italian, Magyar, Polish, and Croat. When at last the signal for march was given, and the dense masses were put in motion, the bands struck up enlivening airs, and all, in the finest order and the highest spirits, moved, with a proud step, from north to south through the town. As the field-marshal was recognised in a balcony, the vivats and hurrahs were deafening. The acclamations were renewed as the columns reached the opposite bank of the Ticino, and set foot on the hostile territory. The fate of Italy seemed sealed, for sixty battalions, forty squadrons, and one hundred and eighty-six guns, with carriages and equipment complete, mustering fifty-five thousand combatants, had invaded at one point the Piedmontese dominions.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 247, 248; Ann. Hist. 1849, 596; Ann. Reg. 1849, 282.

91. Effect of these movements, and combat of Mostara.

Entirely deceived as to the real point of attack, General Ramorino, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, six thousand strong, opposite Pavia, left only two weak battalions on the left bank of the Po, and hurried with the greater part of his force to the right bank, where he expected to find the enemy. His orders were to defend the course of the Lower Ticino and the passage of Pavia, and, if forced back, to retire on Mortara and San Nazzaro, still on the *left* bank of the Po. When, therefore, instead of doing so, he crossed the Po, and left the direct road from Pavia to Turin open, he violated his instructions, and incurred the displeasure of his commander, by whom he was deprived of the command, and sent to a court-martial.* In the forenoon of the 21st March, the Austrian advanced-guard moved

March 21.

* Ramorino, who was said to be a son of Marshal Lannes, was impressed with the idea that Radetsky would advance by the right bank of the Po, as Napoleon had done before the battle of Marengo, and that the point to guard was the defile of Stradella, where Marshal Lannes had sustained so rude a shock in advancing to that memorable field.—See *History of Europe*, c. xxxix. §§ 79, 80. But he had to deal with a general who adopted the spirit of Napoleon's generalship, not *copied* his footsteps; and Ramorino was severely blamed for this deviation from orders. It does not appear, however, that, had his instructions been implicitly carried out, the result would have been materially different, or that the Austrians would have been delayed more than half a day longer than they actually were.

upon Mortara, followed by Baron d'Aspre with the main body, and advanced by the main road from Pavia. The whole army followed in rapid succession ; and on the evening of that day the Archduke Albert carried Mortara, after a severe contest of four hours, took 1700 prisoners and 5 guns, with a loss only of 60 killed and 240 wounded. Such was the consternation produced by this defeat, that several battalions of newly-raised troops fled in disorder to Vercelli and Casal, where they disbanded, spreading the report that all was lost. While this took place at Mortara, the brigades of Strasoldo and Wohlgemuth sustained, to the right, a very severe action at Gamboldo with a Piedmontese column advancing from Vigevano. By this success a very great advantage was gained by the Imperialists, for the centre, consisting of two brigades, was driven back in disorder towards Turin, while Ramorino, with 6000 men on the right bank of the Po, was entirely cut off from the remainder of the centre and right, which had fallen back to Novara, 30,000 strong. Sensible of these advantages gained by his opponent, Chrzanowski collected his troops with the utmost expedition in the plain around Novara during the 22d, drew back the divisions which had advanced across the Ticino, and made preparations for battle on the following day. By great exertions his forces were all collected, except Ramorino's division, which was beyond the Po, and they amounted to fifty thousand ; but they were sadly deficient in the spirit and enthusiasm by which their antagonists were animated. The issue of the combat at Mortara had spread universal discouragement, while the Austrians were proportionally elated by their early and brilliant success. Add to this, that, by his march against the Piedmontese rear, Radetsky had cut them off from their base of operations at Turin and Alessandria, and left them no retreat, in the event of disaster, but the Lago Maggiore and the Alpine valley of the Ticino.[1] It was the exact counterpart of the

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 597, 598; Ellesmere, 255-261; Hist. of Europe, c. xxxi. § 95.

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advantage gained by Napoleon's march across the St Bernard in 1800, which compelled the Austrians to fight at Marengo with their faces towards Vienna and their backs to the Maritime Alps.

92. Position of Novara and of the two armies.

NOVARA, where the decisive battle for Italian independence was to be fought, is an old town, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants, half a league from the left bank of the Agogna stream. To the south of the town, where the attack was to be expected, the ground was eminently favourable for defence, being intersected by watercourses, lines of trees, garden-walls and villas, which afforded at every step the means of checking an assailant. A great rise of the ground to the north from the south also presented an advantageous position for the action of the artillery of the defending party. A broad and deep canal, which runs from the right along the front of the position about a cannon-shot from the Citadella Villa, and bends to the east, also impeded the access to the position in front. Charles Albert drew up his army on this ground on the morning of the 23d, with as much skill and in as advantageous a manner as the circumstances would admit. His line extended from the road of Mortara to that of Vercelli, its left resting on a strong eminence on which the village of Biecosa was built, his right on the plateau of Nuova-Coste and the canal, and his centre covered for the most part by the canal, and occupying in strength the Citadella Villa. Here were collected, on the morning of the 23d, 50,000 men of all arms, including 3000 horse, with 111 guns. On the Austrian side it was imagined, not without reason, that the principal effort of the enemy would be directed to his right, to regain the communication with Turin and Alessandria, which the field-marshal had cut off, and accordingly a considerable part of the army was directed towards Vercelli.[1] This misconception had well-nigh lost them the battle; for it brought a comparatively small part of the Imperialists in contact with the whole of

[1] Ellesmere, 263-265; Ann. Hist. 1849, 598, 599; Ann. Reg. 1849, 282, 283.

the enemy's army, concentrated in a position eminently advantageous for defence.

Baron d'Aspre, with his division, first encountered the enemy at Olengo about eleven o'clock on the 23d. General Appel followed him in support, and behind him the reserve. The Archduke Albert headed the attack on the village, which, in the first instance, succeeded. The Piedmontese Bersagliers, great part of whom were now under fire for the first time, were driven back in disorder, and many of them dispersed ; but the advance of the pursuers was checked by the 2d Regiment of Savoy, which came up singing the Marseillaise and shouting vivats. So impetuous was their onset that the Hungarians, whom the Archduke led, were driven back, and lost all the ground they had won, while their flank was torn by a cross fire of artillery from the Piedmontese batteries. Upon this the Archduke brought up four more Hungarian battalions, the very flower of the army, supported by the 2d Vienna Volunteers and the 1st Kinsky ; but so violent was the cross fire from the Piedmontese batteries, that they were all repulsed with heavy loss. On the right of the road, however, Count Kollowrath had won, after a hard struggle, several villas ; but the Duke of Genoa now brought up the 2d Regiment of Piedmont, turned the Austrians at this point, forced them back to Olengo, which was stormed with great slaughter by the Duke with the division Pignerol. Between three and four P.M. the whole division of Baron d'Aspre had been brought into action, had been warmly engaged, and lost great numbers of their bravest soldiers, besides several hundred prisoners, without having won any ground. They were overmatched, for an Austrian division had been engaged with the greater part of the Piedmontese army.[1] The moment was critical in the extreme : if the Imperialists could hold out another half-hour, their remaining divisions would come up, and the battle was gained : if they were driven back, the advantageous ground, the key of

[1] Radetsky's Desp., Mar. 24, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 283; Ellesmere, 266-268; Ann. Hist. 1849, 569.

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the position, was lost, and the utmost they could hope for would be to renew the action on the following day, before which the Piedmontese might retire behind the Sesia, and recover their lost communication with Turin.

94. Victory of the Austrians.

In these momentous circumstances the conduct of the leaders on both sides was worthy of their high descent, and the important duties with which they were intrusted. Emulating the example of his great father, the Archduke Charles, at the battle of Aspern, forty years before,[1] the Archduke Albert put himself at the head of the Hungarian Grenadiers, reanimated their sinking spirits, and, under circumstances which seemed all but desperate, prolonged the defence. The Duke of Genoa did the same: his valour and conduct were worthy of the heroic house of Savoy. Again and again he led his troops to the attack, and exhibited alike the skill of an experienced general and the courage of an indomitable leader. At four o'clock the division of General Appel, consisting of seven fresh battalions, came up, and was immediately led into action; but such was the weight of the Piedmontese fire that even this formidable reinforcement failed in turning the scale in favour of the Austrians. The Duke of Genoa in person brought up the reserve, and by their aid succeeded in repelling the fierce onset of the Imperialists. At this moment General Chrzanowski ordered General Bes, whose division had as yet suffered little, to wheel to the left and attack the Austrian centre, supported by General Durando. But this able movement, which at an earlier period of the battle might have been decisive, came too late. The field-marshal, on the other side, appeared on the field followed by six choice battalions, preceded by twenty-four guns, which opened a tremendous fire on the Piedmontese centre. Their shock was irresistible, and decided the day. The Piedmontese left yielded, and many regiments disbanded and fled to Novara. The reserve, under the Duke of Genoa, performed prodigies of valour, and did

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. lvii. § 55.

all that man could do to arrest the disorder and cover the retreat of the army; but in vain. The Austrian divisions had now come up, and the combat had become as unequal against the Piedmontese as it formerly was against the Imperialists. The day was lost, and a general retreat had become unavoidable. Twelve guns were taken by the Austrians in the pursuit, but only a few prisoners.[1] The Piedmontese old soldiers retired, firing at intervals, and in admirable order: the Genoese and Lombard volunteers and new levies fled in utter confusion, and for the most part disbanded, and were no more heard of.[1]

[1] Radetsky's Desp., Mar. 24, 1849; Ann Reg. 1849, 282, 283; Ellesmere, 268-271.

95. Results of the battle.

Such was the battle of Novara, which decided the war, and has determined, probably for ages, the cause of Italian independence. The loss on either side was considerable, but by no means so great as might have been expected in a shock between such hosts, attended with such important results. The Austrians lost 13 officers and 396 men killed; 40 officers and 1992 wounded, and 1 officer 1070 missing, either prisoners or dispersed—in all 54 officers and 3456 soldiers. Five-sevenths of this loss fell on the first corps, which, with heroic constancy, had maintained the conflict against two-thirds of the whole Piedmontese army. The Piedmontese lost 31 officers and 374 men killed, 71 officers and 2026 wounded, and 3000 prisoners. In the town of Novara, into which their army poured during the night, the most dreadful confusion prevailed. Plundering immediately began; the cavalry charged the fugitive crowds through the streets, and they were soon seen streaming in wild confusion over the roads to Duomo d'Ossola and Arona, the only ones left open to them. All retreat to Turin or Piedmont was cut off: they had nowhere to retire to but the inhospitable barrier of the Alps, where no supplies could be obtained for the army, and the passage of the artillery and waggons through the narrow valleys would soon have become impossible.[2] It was this which rendered the defeat so deci-

[2] Ellesmere, 273, 274; Ann. Hist. 1849, 599, 600; Radetsky's Desp., March 24, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 283.

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sive: the army was cut off from its base, and driven up against an impassable barrier of mountains. The next day would have seen 30,000 prisoners, and 150 guns brought into the Austrian headquarters. Nothing could save the army but an armistice concluded before the pursuit of the morrow commenced.

96. Abdication and escape of Charles Albert.

Charles Albert, who throughout the day had discharged all the duties both of a skilful general and a gallant soldier, understood the state of affairs in this light. About seven in the evening, when the battle was evidently and irrecoverably lost, he suffered himself to be led away by General Durando, but still lingered under the walls of Novara, under a storm of bullets, saying,—"General, this is my last day; let me die." About nine o'clock, having been at length prevailed on to withdraw, he called his generals and principal officers around him, and declared his unalterable resolution to resign the crown in favour of the Duke of Savoy. He then repeatedly announced to those around him, that from that moment Victor Emmanuel was their sovereign. "I have sacrificed myself," said he, "to the Italian cause. For it I have exposed my life, that of my children, my throne. I have failed in my object. I am aware that I am individually the sole obstacle to a peace now become necessary to the State. I could not bring myself to sign it. Since I in vain sought death, I will give myself up as a last sacrifice to my country. I lay down the crown, and abdicate in favour of my son, the Duke of Savoy." Having said these words, he dismissed his attendants, sat down and wrote a farewell letter to his wife; and at one in the morning made his appearance unannounced at the Austrian outposts, where he narrowly escaped being saluted by a discharge of grape. He gave his name as a Piedmontese count, the bearer of proposals for an armistice, and was conducted to Count Thurn, to whom he revealed his real character, and with whom he had a long conference.[1] He was allowed a passage through

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 600, 601; Ellesmere, 274, 275; Ann. Reg. 1849.

the Austrian lines, and pursued his journey to Nice, where, before long, his eventful life came to a termination.

97. Proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin. March 24.

Immense was the sensation which the intelligence of these events, and, above all, of the abdication of the King, produced on the National Assembly at Turin. They had been deceived, as is usual in such cases, by false reports which represented the taking of Pavia and passage of the Ticino as part of a deep-laid plan, which was to draw the Austrians into Piedmont in order to destroy them. When, in the midst of these delusions, intelligence arrived of the disasters of Mortara and Novara, the agitation in the Assembly was extreme, and the most absurd plans were proposed and carried by acclamation, as that a levy *en masse* should be ordered, and they should all march against the enemy. But these transports gave place to more sober and worthy sentiments when M. Buffa, one of the ministers, read the abdication of Charles Albert, announced in a letter of the Duke of Savoy. M. Tosti then rose and pronounced these just and noble words,—"Shall we sink from want of resolution? Is it always to be matter of reproach to Italy that she wants energy in her own cause? For myself, when I consider the littlenesses with which I am surrounded, I see only one great and noble figure raise itself above its contemporaries, and that figure is that of Charles Albert." At these words all the deputies rose and exclaimed,—"Honour to Charles Albert! long live the champion of Italy!" The enthusiasm was intense and universal: there was scarce a dry eye in the whole Assembly. Pointing to the picture of Charles Albert, which hung in the hall, the orator continued,—"There is the image of the martyr of Italy! Your acclamations will be re-echoed through the entire peninsula.[1] History will do him justice—posterity will recompense him; and at last, when the hour of Italy's deliverance shall have struck, it will avenge his memory, it will crown with im-

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 600, 601; Moniteur, April 1, 1849.

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mortality the king who has so valiantly drawn the sword for its deliverance."

98. Conclusion of an armistice, and its conditions. March 26.

Electrified by these eloquent words, and feeling the justice of this eulogium, the Assembly voted by acclamation several decrees, of no practical use in the circumstances, but characteristic of the spirit by which they were animated. The whole national guards were put on permanent duty from eighteen to thirty-five years of age; they voted by anticipation a great addition to the taxes, and issued proclamations calling on the peasants to rise *en masse*—an invitation with which they were by no means disposed to comply. But meanwhile the fate of the kingdom was determined by cooler heads, which appreciated justly the real state of affairs. At the first intelligence of the disasters of the army, the minister besought the ambassadors of France and England to intercede, in order to obtain an armistice on the most favourable terms possible—an invitation to which they immediately and cordially acceded. The chief difficulty was the financial part of the arrangement; for the demands of Austria, pressed as she was by almost hopeless embarrassments at home, were at first immense. Radetsky was instructed to demand 200,000,000 francs as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. The impossibility of raising such a sum in the little kingdom of Piedmont was so evident, that the field-marshal himself represented to his government the necessity of modifying their demands. At length, by the strenuous intervention of the French and English ministers, an armistice was concluded, on condition of Piedmont paying to Austria the expenses of the war, without specifying their amount, and the fortress of Alessandria being jointly occupied by an Austrian and Piedmontese force. The Sesia was to be the line of demarcation between the two armies.[1] Eighteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were to be stationed by the Austrians between the Sesia and the Ticino; ten regiments of

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 284; Ann. Hist. 1849, 602, 603; Ellesmere, 276-278.

Hungarians, Poles, and Lombards, in the Piedmontese service, were to be disbanded, all the places occupied by them in Lombardy, Parma, Placentia, and Modena, evacuated, and their fleet withdrawn from the Adriatic.

When this convention was read aloud in the Piedmontese Chamber, which was done after an entire change of Ministry had taken place, the most violent agitation prevailed. A resolution, proposed by M. Lanza, to the effect that the armistice was unconstitutional, and that the Ministry which had concluded it had violated the social contract, was carried by a majority, as also that the Chamber should declare its sittings permanent; and that if the Ministry permitted the entrance of Austrian troops into Alessandria, or withdrew their fleet from the Adriatic, before the convention was approved by Parliament, they should be held guilty of high treason. These, however, were vain words merely; the Chamber had no means of arresting the march of the Imperialists; and but for the powerful intervention of the French and English ministers, the field-marshal would in a few days have planted his victorious standards on the walls both of Turin and Genoa. But the Austrians, fearing the addition of these two formidable powers to the league of their enemies, wisely stopped short in the career of conquest; and the new King of Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel, finding the Chamber utterly unmanageable, and set on war to the last extremity, prorogued it on the 30th of March, and dissolved it by proclamation a few days after.[1]

99. The Chamber rejects the armistice, and is dissolved.

March 30. April 5.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 600-606; Ann. Reg. 1849, 284, 285; Ellesmere, 277-279.

The armistice was received and obeyed in peace in many places; with thankfulness in every part of Lombardy, except Milan and Brescia. In the former, the excitement was extreme, and the depression of the people very great; but the presence of a powerful Austrian garrison, and the speedy arrival of General Appel with his division, detached by Radetsky on the conclusion of the armistice, rendered any outbreak

100. Revolt at Brescia, which is suppressed.

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impossible. The latter, however, not being equally overawed, became the theatre of a serious revolt, the more to be lamented that it was alike aimless and hopeless. No sooner did the news of the battle of Novara and the armistice arrive within its walls than the people rose, made prisoner the quartermaster-general of the 3d corps, who was in the town, and shut the garrison up in the castle. Upon this General Nugent approached, with 2500 men and 4 guns, and summoned the town, which contained 50,000 inhabitants, to surrender. The time allowed having more than elapsed, the troops on the outside advanced to the assault of the town, while

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the garrison of the castle commenced a bombardment from thirty pieces of heavy artillery. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides for two entire days; and such was the exasperation of the combatants that some of the Austrian officers who fell wounded were literally hewn in pieces by the insurgents, and thereafter the Imperialists gave no quarter in any house from which a shot had issued. At length the resistance was overcome, and the town subdued. The Austrian loss was very severe, the regiment of Baden alone having lost two hundred men, and on the side of the insurgents above two thousand fell. The field-marshal gave the command of the town after the victory to General Haynau, who contented himself with executing a few guilty of sanguinary acts, and mulcted the citizens only by a heavy contribution. On the 28th March the field-marshal entered Milan in great pomp at the head of his grenadiers, thus bringing the reality of conquest before the eyes of the Milanese.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 281-284; Ann. Reg. 1849, 287, 288.

101. Insurrection in Genoa, and defeat of General Azarba. March 28.

Genoa ere long became the theatre of an effort at revolution still more serious. No sooner did intelligence of the armistice arrive, than Avezzana, the commander of the National Guard, summoned the citizens to arms. The gates of the city were closed, and the tocsin sounded. General Azarba, the commander of the garrison, thinking that the

only object of the people was to make a stand against the Austrians, allowed them to occupy the two forts, Della Sperone and Del Bergato. It soon became evident that the movement was directed more against the Piedmontese Government than the German. Barricades were erected in the streets, and a provisional government proclaimed, at the head of which was Avezzana, and David Murchio, an advocate. This Government called upon General Azarba to surrender the citadel to the insurgents, and he having refused, a severe conflict took place in the streets. The arrival of 15,000 muskets from France at this critical juncture, intended for the Piedmontese Government, which fell into the hands of the insurgents, gave them such a superiority that Azarba was obliged to capitulate, and left the city at the head of 5000 men.[1]

April 3.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 608, 609; Ann. Reg. 1849, 286, 287.

102. Vigorous conduct of the Piedmontese, who reduce the city.

As soon as the Piedmontese Government received intelligence of this revolt, they took the most vigorous steps to suppress it. Troops, now happily disengaged by the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, were hastily assembled, and directed with the utmost expedition against the insurgent city. General La Marmora, to whom the command of the force was intrusted, broke up from Parma on the 28th March; and with the force he commanded, which rapidly swelled as he advanced, arrived before Genoa on the 4th April at the head of 30,000 men, with a considerable artillery. Unable to resist forces so formidable, the insurgent leaders proposed to enter into a capitulation, and meanwhile an armistice was agreed to, in pursuance of the arrangements made by the Earl of Hardwicke, and La Marmora occupied the suburb of Saint Pietro d'Arena. The terms of a surrender were agreed to, but the revolutionists in the city, composed in great part of strangers and desperadoes from all countries, suddenly broke the armistice and opened fire at all points. Upon this La Marmora brought up his forces, stormed the forts of L'Essione and Bergato, and from them opened a heavy fire upon the town.[2] A second armistice was now

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[2] Ann. Hist. 1849, 640, 641; Ann. Reg. 1849, 287.

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concluded, but it too was broken by the insurgents, headed by Avezzana, who set free and armed all the prisoners in the jails, and recommenced the fight.

103. Intrepid conduct of Lord Hardwicke.

Their object was, by a sudden attack on the King's troops and the guards of the municipality, to make themselves masters of the naval arsenal and batteries, and liberate the galley slaves, and commence a general pillage. Fortunately an English vessel of war, the Vengeance, lay off the harbour, having been stationed there by Admiral Parker, the commander on the Mediterranean station, to protect the lives and property of British subjects in the event of a crisis. So persuaded were the democrats by the general policy pursued by the British Government in relation to the Italian revolution, that they in reality favoured the movement, that they could not at first be brought to believe that it had not been stationed there to afford succour to the insurgents; and they accordingly gave hints of such being their understanding to the British commander, the Earl of Hardwicke. But they soon found they had to deal with a man of a very different stamp from what they supposed. Being made aware by the municipal authorities of the danger which was impending, and the urgent necessity for succour, the Vengeance was anchored under the mole, with springs on her cables, and cleared for action, in such a position as to command the batteries and overawe the insurgents. Such was the effect of this vigorous act, and such the influence of the flag of England when waved by a commander with moral courage equal to the crisis, that the conflict, which had already begun a second time, both inside and outside of the town, between the King's troops and the insurgents, was quelled, and Genoa saved from probably the greatest calamities ever endured in its long and glorious annals. On the 11th April the town was wholly occupied by the Piedmontese troops.[1] The rage of the disappointed democrats had previously exhaled in an insolent letter to the Earl of Hardwicke, which, of course, met with the contempt it

April 7.

April 11.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 610, 611; Ellesmere, 292, 296.

merited, but which deserves to be recorded as a specimen of the braggadocio style of the Italian Liberals of the day, and strikingly contrasts with the temperate and dignified letter of the British commander.*

104. Counter-revolution at Florence.

Driven from Lombardy and Genoa, the extreme democrats took refuge in the mountains which lie between Piedmont and Tuscany, where they remained for some time uncertain whither to direct their steps, and the Austrian troops were restrained from following them by the apprehension of incurring the hostility of France and England. But meanwhile a revolution of an unexpected and reactionary character broke out at Florence. On the 10th April the citizens of that city, who were sincerely attached to the Grand Duke their sovereign, rose in a body, and displaced the revolutionary authorities. Guerrazzi,

April 10.

* "In the struggle for liberty you have taken part against the people: you have been active in your unasked-for advice: you have personally thrown the shots overboard from the battery of the people. You have threatened to fire on said battery; you have hauled your ship into the mole, and placed her in a situation for action; in fact, your ship is now ready for fight, with springs on, tompions out, hammocks in your tops, and has the appearance of an enemy, contrary to the wish of the English people.

"Now, Sir, by such conduct you have shown yourself and the ship under your command without the pale of honour. Circumstances would warrant me to fire on you instantly; but as I wish to take no unfair advantage of your *imprudence*, I hereby inform you that I will grant you till six o'clock to consider your course; and if your ship is not then in a peaceful attitude, the battery of the people will be turned on you, and I will sink your ship at her anchor; a circumstance that will teach your Government that when they give the command of their national vessels *to men of rank, they should be also men of sense.*" —General Avezzana *to* Lord Hardwicke, *commanding Her Majesty's ship Vengeance, Genoa.*

To this insolent letter Lord Hardwicke replied: "Sir,—This is to acknowledge the receipt of your most extraordinary and most insolent letter. The only answer I can make to such a communication is to let you know that I have received and carefully considered its contents, and for your satisfaction I now enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to Her Britannic Majesty's allies in the port of Genoa.—Hardwicke, Captain."—The French captain's answer was strongly approving of Lord Hardwicke's conduct; Admiral Parker's was more guarded, rejoicing at the termination of the crisis, but strongly recommending strict neutrality, and no co-operation with the Royal forces of Sardinia, except in defence or protection of British lives or property.—Admiral Parker *to the* Earl of Hardwicke, 16th April 1849.

The Author is indebted for these valuable and instructive papers to his friend the Earl of Hardwicke, to whom he is happy to make this public acknowledgment.

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the dictator, was shut up in the fort of Belvidere, the old constitution restored, the National Guard remodelled, and the clubs shut up. All the other towns of Tuscany, except Leghorn, immediately followed the example of Florence. But the revolutionary party in that great seaport were too strong to yield without a struggle; and it was fortunate that it took place, because it opened the eyes of the world to what might be expected if that faction generally got the ascendancy. The extreme democrats, chased from Florence, took refuge in Leghorn, and immediately adopted the most vigorous measures for their de-

April 23.

fence. On the 23d April a mob broke into and plundered the customhouse and municipal buildings, carrying off all the money that they found, and the arms, even those reserved for the guard of the galley slaves. Next they levied a contribution of 300,000 francs (£12,000) on the city: a burden at least equal to £24,000 in Great Britain, and which fell with extreme severity on a place not containing 100,000 inhabitants. The Revolutionary Government at Rome cordially supported this movement at Leghorn, and took into its pay a body of 7000 refugees from Lombardy, who had assembled in La Spezzia. It was necessary to bring this state of anarchy to a termination, and this was done by the joint interposition of France and Austria. The French frigate the Magellan, which lay in the Gulf of La Spezzia, hindered the embarkation of the refugees in that town, while the Austrian corps of Count

May 3.

d'Aspre crossed the frontier at the earnest request of the

May 11.

Government of Florence, and advanced to Leghorn, and soon forced the revolutionists to submit. The town was surrendered, and the most decided of the insurgents embarked for Rome, without any opposition from the English cruisers, whither they had been already preceded by General Avezzana, with 450 of those engaged in the insurrection in Genoa.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 297-299; Ann. Hist. 1849, 613, 614; Ann. Reg. 1849, 286, 287.

But Bologna, Venice, Rome, and Sicily still held out, and, under circumstances which all well-informed persons

1849. 105.

saw to be desperate, still maintained the war of independence. The obstinacy of the insurgents in Bologna led to a prolonged conflict, though it was apparent that successful resistance was out of the question. Count d'Aspre summoned the town to surrender, but this was indignantly refused by the ruling triumvirate, at the head of which was Alessandrini, a literary professor, and General Ballini, the military commandant. The garrison consisted only of three thousand men; but with them were incorporated some hundreds of the Swiss Guards in the Papal service, and they made a stout resistance. An attempt made by the Austrians to blow open the Porta Galliera, by bringing up their guns, was defeated, with the loss of fifty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded, and the guns themselves narrowly escaped capture. A similar attack on the Porta Castiglione was repulsed with heavy loss by the Swiss Guards, who left the gate open, but kept up a murderous fire from the walls and houses, shouting out at the same time, "Come on, this is no Vicenza." The Austrians then contented themselves with blockading the place till the heavy artillery arrived from Mantua on the 12th May. The town was then again summoned, but the Government returned for answer, that the *Madonna was all for resistance*, and had repeatedly turned aside the Austrian rockets! They soon, however, had convincing proof that the Madonna was either powerless, or had deserted them on this occasion. A sally, to aid the entrance of a body of insurgents approaching from eastern Romagna, was defeated, with the loss of one hundred Swiss; and a heavy bombardment having commenced, in an hour the white flag was hoisted, and the town capitulated. The insurgents surrendered their arms, but were allowed to retire whither they pleased: the barricades were removed, the trees of liberty cut down, and the Austrians entered on the following day. At the same time Ferrara was occupied by Count Thurn without resistance, with four thousand men.[1] After this

Capture of Bologna by the Austrians. May 14.

April 29.

May 14.

[1] Ellesmere, 304-306; Ann. Hist. 1849, 614; Ann. Reg. 1849, 296.

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success, Ancona was besieged, and being a strong place, required approaches in form; but they were made, and the place capitulated on the 10th June.

106. Affairs of Naples.

"Radetsky has drawn a bill upon us, which we must discharge." So said the veteran General Filangieri, commander of the army, to his staff officers at Taormina, when the news of the battle of Novara arrived. He was as good as his word. Yet was the task one of great difficulty; for not only were the Sicilians ardent, and possessed of numerous troops and strongholds, but England and France had been prodigal of aid, not only in diplomatic protection, but in warlike stores and assistance. Great Britain had furnished arms and ammunition to the insurgents of the value of £420,000, and French officers had superintended the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns in their hands. The Sicilian troops amounted to 20,000 men, who were certainly a match for as many Neapolitans; and they had a foreign legion in their service, composed of Poles, Swiss, French, and Germans, who might measure swords with the redoubtable Helvetian Guard which had put down the insurrection in Naples in the preceding year. Above all, it was certain that in the event of the royal arms being attended with success, Great Britain and France would immediately interpose in behalf of the discomfited insurgents, and arrest the march of the victorious party. Thus the contest was by no means so unequal as it might at first sight appear, and it required vigorous and decided action on the part of the Government to bring it to an early and successful issue.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 285; Ann. Hist. 1849, 614, 615.

107. Renewal of the war after failure of negotiations.

During the lull of active hostilities which followed the reduction of Messina, in the preceding year, negotiations were set on foot, under the auspices of the English and French ministers, to effect an accommodation between the contending parties. The demands of the King of Naples were moderate in the extreme, and indicated the terror

which the recent moral earthquake in the Italian peninsula still excited. His ultimatum was that the two Sicilies were to have one sovereign, one army, one fleet, and one administration of foreign affairs; but Sicily was to have a separate parliament, finances, tribunals, and municipalities, with the constitution of 1812, under certain modifications. Four millions of francs of taxes in arrear, with one million as the expenses of the war, were to be paid by the Sicilians, who, in return, were to obtain an unqualified amnesty. This was as near an approach to a federal union as was in the circumstances practicable; but, though strongly recommended by the English and French ministers, it was rejected by the Sicilian leaders, and both sides prepared to decide the contest by the sword.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 616; Ellesmere, 285, 286; Mr Temple to Prince Cariati, Dec. 16, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1849, 309, 310.

108. Fall of Catania.

The troops embarked from Naples on the 31st March, and in the afternoon of the 2d April were in sight of Taormina. A feeble attempt to defend a strong mountain pass near the ruins of Taormina was defeated, and the royal troops appeared before Catania. Twenty thousand armed men, of whom eight thousand were real soldiers, were within the town, commanded by a Polish general named Microslawski. Notwithstanding this formidable body of opponents, the German Guard advanced with vigour over the lava street at the foot of Mount Ætna, and soon reached the barricades at

* The following proclamation announced the resumption of hostilities to the Sicilians:—"Sicilians! The shout of war to you is a cry of delight. The 29th March, when hostilities with the despot of Naples are to recommence, will be hailed by you with the same welcome as that of the 12th January, and with good reason, for liberty can only be gained at the price of blood. The peace you were offered was ignominious: it destroyed at one blow every interest created by the revolution. Even though victory be not certain, when honour is at stake, a nation, like an individual, has the superior right to immolate himself. Better to be consumed in the flaming ruins of our country than to exhibit to Europe the spectacle of vile cowardice. Death is preferable to slavery. But no, we shall conquer. Look at the flaming desolation of Messina! War is to us the symbol of vengeance and of love. One city of Sicily alone remains under the yoke of the enemy of liberty. To arms! To arms! We must conquer or die."—*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 312.

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the entrance of the town. Here a desperate strife ensued. The barricade was first carried by a sudden rush by the Germans, again recovered by the insurgents, and only in the end carried by a Swiss regiment from Berne, the advance of which excited the admiration of all who witnessed it. This body reached the barricade at half-past seven, P. M. Colonel von Muralt, who commanded the regiment, conducted the attack with skill and judgment. He made his men advance in single file close to the wall on either side, with orders to fire at the opposite windows whenever a light or living object showed itself. Two howitzers advanced up the middle of the street, followed by two more in reserve, which fired alternately with those in front, so as to render the discharge of artillery incessant. Behind them came the column of grenadiers, which, at every fifty paces, moved to the front, halted, and fired. Every house from whence a shot issued was broken into and set on fire. In this manner the great street was carried, and three guns taken—the officers leading their men with the utmost courage. The "Piazza del Cathedrale" was next carried by a simultaneous attack up two streets leading to it by the Swiss Guard. Two batteries, one of three, one of four guns, were next stormed, and by midnight Catania was entirely in the hands of the victors.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 287; Ann. Hist. 1849, 617, 618; Ann. Reg. 1849, 313.

109. Submission of Palermo, and end of the war in Sicily.

The insurgents had cruelly tortured and cut into pieces a Swiss officer who fell into their hands early in the action, which exasperated his comrades to such a degree that thereafter they gave no quarter. The success was gained by the royal troops with the loss of 38 officers and 340 men—a most unusual proportion, being 1 to 8, and proving how gallantly they had led their troops. On the side of the insurgents, 352 were buried, and 215 prisoners made, mostly wounded. Dear-bought as this success was, it was attended with most important consequences; it terminated the war in Sicily. A few days

after, a defensive position taken up by the Sicilians was forced, and next day Syracuse and Augusta surrendered. Continuing his march towards Palermo, Filangieri was met by a deputation from the city, with the archbishop at its head, to propose a capitulation. The moderate party, however, from whom this proposal came, soon lost their ascendancy ; the National Guard, assailed by the populace, was obliged to take refuge on board the royal fleet ; and when the king's army descended the hill towards the city, their advanced guard were assailed by the armed multitude, and driven back. The arrival of the Swiss restored the combat, and the insurgents were driven back into the city. Negotiations were now resumed, and soon came to a successful issue. Filangieri had the good sense, as well as humanity, to award an amnesty, which, at the earnest request of the revolutionists, was made to include offences of every description. The chiefs of the insurrection, who had already escaped, were alone excluded : they had disappeared, despite their appeals to the people to conquer or die, the moment danger approached. On the 15th May, the anniversary of the victory of the royalists in Naples the year preceding, the royal army entered Palermo. Gergenti and Trapani also surrendered, and peace was restored in the whole of the island.[1]

1849.
April 9.
April 10.
April 22.
May 15.

[1] Ellesmere, 290, 291; Ann. Hist. 1849, 618.

110. Recoil of the insurgents from all quarters to Rome.

The overthrow of the insurrection in Genoa, Leghorn, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the capture of Ancona and Brescia, and counter-revolution in Florence, caused the revolutionists, closely followed by the Austrians, to recoil from all quarters to Rome. Venice still hoisted the colours of independence, but it was strictly blockaded ; the Eternal City alone presented an accessible rallying-point to the discomfited insurgents, and it was in consequence rapidly filled by them. It was under the command of the most noted leaders from all parts of Italy—Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Avezzana. The first brought to the cause the aid of unbounded revolutionary enthusiasm,

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devout trust in human perfectibility, considerable powers of eloquence, and unscrupulous ambition; the second led under his standard all the ardent spirits and refugees who had been expelled from Lombardy and Tuscany by the Austrian arms; while the third, who had come from Genoa with five hundred followers, and been created Minister at War, imported the knowledge of command which he had acquired when at the head of the National Guard of Genoa. But though the real powers of government were shared among these three persons, the triumvirate in whom they were formally vested were, Mazzini, Annellini, and Saffi; the first of whom was a Lombard, the two last Romans, by birth. Avezzana, when called before the Constituent Assembly at Rome to state what forces he had at his disposal, declared they did not exceed ten thousand men, for the most part young troops; the remainder, eight thousand in number, were on the Neapolitan frontier. But the arrival of Garibaldi in Rome, with some thousand refugees from the combats in the north of Italy, inspired such terror or confidence, that all thoughts of an accommodation were laid aside, and the most determined resistance was resolved on.[1]

April 14.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 297, 298; Ann. Hist. 1849, 621, 622.

111. The French Government resolves to attack Rome.

The resolution of the Romans to resist brought a strange and unexpected champion on the field, and opened a new phase in the history of modern Italy. It has been seen that Great Britain and France had throughout the contest covertly but very effectively aided the insurgents; in one case by actually supplying them with arms and ammunition, and elsewhere by throwing the shield of diplomatic interference over them the moment they experienced a reverse, and the Austrians threatened to drive them into an ignominious peace. In pursuing this conduct the British Government appear to have been actuated by the vague and popular feeling, that the British empire was interested in the establishment of constitutional monarchies in every part of Europe. But the

French rulers were less influenced by this cosmopolitan principle than by a material consideration, which acquired additional weight as the war rolled on. They contemplated with secret uneasiness the progress of the Austrian arms in Northern and Central Italy, and were seized with serious alarm when they beheld Piedmont vanquished, and the fortresses of Romagna and Tuscany occupied by the Imperial forces. Influenced by these considerations, Louis Napoleon gladly availed himself of an invitation addressed to the cabinets of Paris, St Petersburg, Naples, and Berlin, to co-operate for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. It was part of this plan that a French expedition, with troops on board, should appear off Civita Vecchia, at the mouth of the Tiber, and the Neapolitan forces cross the frontier of the Abruzzi, and invade the Papal territories from the south, while the Austrians passed the Po at all points, and occupied the northern part of the same dominions. In conformity with these proposals a joint military and naval expedition was with the utmost haste collected at Toulon. The land forces of this armament consisted of three brigades, mustering six thousand combatants, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, under the command of General Oudinot, son of the celebrated marshal of the same name in the Empire. They embarked at Toulon on the 22d April, and appeared off Civita Vecchia on the 25th of the same month.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 309, 316; Ann. Hist. 1849, 621-623; Ann. Reg. 1849, 207, 208.

112. The French approach Rome, and are repulsed. April 29.

So completely had the Italian Liberals been misled by the diplomatic interferences of France, along with England, in their favour, that when the French armament first appeared off their shores, they never doubted that they were coming as friends. Accordingly they allowed April 25. the troops to land without opposition; and for some days the French and Roman soldiers mounted guard side by side. They were soon, however, undeceived. The French advanced steadily towards Rome, without paying any regard to the protests of the triumvirate

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there, or the indignant proclamations calling upon the people to resist. On the 29th of April they were before the walls of Rome, and Oudinot replied to a deputation sent out to warn him that if he attempted to enter the city he would be resisted, "Take care how you oppose me, for my troops are good." The advanced guard incautiously approached the walls, and was received with cannon-shots. Oudinot upon this brought up reinforcements, and the French, hearing the Marsellaise sung in the streets, thought the town was taken from the Portesi Gate, which also was attacked, and advanced, so as to get close to the gate of San Pancrazio. Here, however, they were received with a discharge of grape, from two guns placed under the archway, and driven back. In the retreat they were surrounded by the Lombard legion of Garibaldi and a battalion of regular troops, and 200 men were made prisoners. At the same time the attack on the Porta-Portesi was also repulsed with heavy loss, and Oudinot, convinced that the town was not to be taken without regular approaches, sounded a retreat. In this untoward affair the French lost 4 officers and 180 men killed, 11 officers and 400 men wounded, and 11 officers and 560 men made prisoners, while the entire loss on the side of the Romans was only 320.[1]

[1] Ellesmere, 315, 316; Ann. Hist. 1849, 623, 624.

113. Additional preparations on both sides.

Had this bloody repulse not been sustained, the French general would have had some difficulty to explain the conduct of his government, or find a decent pretext for the siege and military occupation of a city heretofore in alliance with France, and over which she had recently thrown the shield of diplomatic protection. But after this reverse there was no longer any difficulty experienced by the French Government in recognising the rational feelings in regard to the war. The French army had sustained a serious reverse; nothing but victory and the capture of Rome could wash out the stain. Oudinot retired to Palo, a league from Civita Vecchia, to await reinforcements, which, on the first receipt of the disas-

trous intelligence by the Government at Paris, were despatched from Toulon in great numbers. In the course of May and the first week of June eight additional regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a considerable train of siege artillery, were sent. Meanwhile the Neapolitan army, consisting of seven thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, and fifty-two guns, under General Casella, crossed the southern frontier of the Papal States, and advanced slowly towards Rome. But the French general refused to admit of any co-operation of the Neapolitans with him, which enabled the Roman chiefs to send out Garibaldi, with the whole Lombard legion, against the latter. The Neapolitans advanced without much resistance to Albano, but finding that the French "reserved the occupation of Rome for their own troops," they retired to their own frontier; and a Spanish auxiliary corps of six thousand men, which had disembarked at Gaeta, to aid in the restoration of his Holiness, advanced to Terracino, and occupied without resistance the southern parts of the Papal dominions.[1]

May 9.

May 26. June 3.

[1] Ellesmere, 318-321; Ann. Hist. 1849, 624-626; Ann. Reg. 1849, 299-301.

The proceedings of the French led to more decisive results. In order if possible to attain their object of occupying Rome to the exclusion of the Austrians, the Cabinet of Paris sent out M. Lefrege as a diplomatic agent, to mediate between the Roman triumvirate and the enraged army, panting for revenge, encamped without the walls. The views of the pacific negotiator and the military commander were soon found to be irreconcilably at variance. The former in the end of May entered into a convention, in virtue of which the French troops were not to enter Rome, but to take up quarters outside the walls; and the restoration of the Pope, or the choice of another form of government, was to be left to the unbiassed determination of the inhabitants.[2] This convention, which was meant to throw a veil over the open attack of a revolutionary republic by the great parent democracy, was far from being satisfactory either to the

114. Renewal of the siege of Rome.

May 31.

[2] Convention, May 31, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 627, 629; Ellesmere, 321, 327; Ann. Reg. 1849, 299, 300.

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French President or General Oudinot. Accordingly the latter refused to abide by it, and on 1st June he signified this to the Roman triumvirate.

115. Forces on both sides, and progress of the siege.

The military authorities in Rome had turned to good account the breathing-time afforded them since their brilliant success at San Pancrazio. The walls were repaired and strengthened, additional heavy artillery placed on the ramparts, and the barricades inside brought to an unprecedented state of perfection. They had even established a defence of the latter description capable of being moved from place to place, which was very much admired. Their hope was to prolong the defence by these means till the autumn, when the pestilential air of the Campagna might be expected to destroy the besiegers. Their hopes in this respect were not so illusive as might be imagined; for they had 20,000 armed men and 200 pieces of artillery within the town, with ample supplies of ammunition; and not only had the spirits of the troops been much elevated by their success, and by the subsequent retreat of the Neapolitan army, but their real efficiency had been materially improved during the interval of rest thus procured for them. Garibaldi in particular, and the officers of his Lombard Legion, were intoxicated with their triumphs, which they ascribed entirely to their own prowess, without any reference to the French jealousy of Neapolitan interference, and anticipated from this commencement a long train of glories equal to those which had immortalised the Roman Republic in ancient story. But if the means of defence had increased, those of attack had augmented in a still greater proportion. Oudinot had under his command, in the beginning of June, 28,000 men, with a train of 90 pieces of artillery: and the troops, besides being in the highest state of discipline and equipment, were burning with anxiety to wipe out the affront which they had recently experienced.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 628, 629; Ann. Reg. 301, 302; Ellesmere, 321, 323.

The armistice having been denounced, the French general commenced operations by an advance to the

Ponte Molle, which was occupied without resistance on the 2d June. Having thus secured his communications, he moved on, and established his troops on the Monte Mario, which overlooks the walls on their north-western extremity, and began regular approaches. The Roman Triumvirate meanwhile issued a proclamation, in which they declared their resolution to discharge to the last extremity the duty intrusted to them of defending the standard of the Republic, and the capital of the Christian world.* The first serious attack was made on the Villa Pamphili-Doria, which was carried after a sharp encounter, in which they lost two hundred killed and wounded, by the French troops, who made as many prisoners. Thereafter the siege was conducted in a regular manner, by pushing forward the sap and forming trenches. The attack was directed against the front of the Janiculum, and the utmost care was taken to avoid private houses, or any of the stately monuments of antiquity with which the city abounded. It would have been an easy matter to have stormed the salient angle, on which St Peter's and the Vatican stood; but this was not attempted, from a laudable desire to preserve the inestimable treasures of art which they contained. The Villa Corsina, during the course of the approaches, was three times taken and retaken, but finally remained in the hands of the French. Though the progress of the besiegers was steady, the besieged made an honourable defence, being supported by the hopes of a democratic revolution overturning the government of Paris, and converting formidable enemies into powerful friends. The sap having been pushed close to the walls of the Janiculum, and a practicable breach formed, an advanced bastion was carried

116. Siege and capture of Rome. June 2.

June 3.

June 30.

* "We never betray our engagements. In the execution of the orders of the Assembly, and of the Roman people, we have undertaken the engagement of defending the standard of the Republic, the honour of the country, and the capital of the Christian world. We will keep our word."—*The Roman Government to* GENERAL OUDINOT, 14th June 1849. *Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 363.

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by assault at three in the morning of the 1st July, and the defenders, four hundred in number, precipitated over the walls, or put to the sword.* By this success the French were established in a solid manner within the walls, and the guns of the bastion of which they had got possession commanded the inside of the gate of San Pancrazio, which was no longer tenable. Further resistance was impossible; at six in the morning the entire Janiculum was evacuated by the besieged, and their troops brought back to the Strada Longara, the principal street of the Transtevere suburb. In the forenoon of the same day the Assembly met, and after discussing several extravagant propositions for defence brought forward by Garibaldi, it was agreed that a surrender was unavoidable. At four o'clock the white flag was hoisted on the Castle of St Angelo; at midnight Garibaldi marched out of the city, with Mazzini, the chief of the government, and five thousand men, chiefly of the Lombard Legion: at noon

July 3.

on the 3d, Oudinot entered at the head of his troops, and on the 8th he heard high mass in the Church of Saint Louis, the patron of France. The city was immediately declared in a state of siege; all the Papal troops who were in it were placed under the command of French officers, and all the others disarmed. In the first instance the French colours were hoisted on the Castle of St Angelo and the walls; but after a week they were replaced by those of

* Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, the Triumvirate addressed the following proclamation to the Roman people: "Romans! In the darkness of the night, by means of treason, the enemy has set foot on the breach! Arise, ye people, in your might! Destroy him, fill the breach with his carcasses! Blast the enemy, the accursed of God, who dare touch the sacred walls of Rome. While Oudinot resorts to this infamous act, France rises up and recalls its troops from this work of invasion. One more effort, Romans, and your country is saved for ever. Rome, by its constancy, regenerates all Europe. In the name of your fathers, in the name of your future hopes, arise and give battle. Arise and conquer! One prayer to the God of battles, one thought to your faithful brethren, one hand to your arms. Every man becomes a hero! This day decides the fate of Rome, and of the Republic.—MAZZINI, ANNELLINI, SAFFI."—It was hardly to be expected, after issuing this high-sounding proclamation, that the authors of it dared steal out of Rome in the following night, with Garibaldi, the general, and five thousand men, leaving the city and their fellow-citizens to their fate.—*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 305.

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the Pope, in whose name the government was carried on. The Supreme Pontiff remained at Gaeta, being unwilling, after Rossi's murder, to intrust his person to his rebellious subjects; but later in the year he issued a *Motu Proprio*, establishing a council of state to carry on the government, confirming the provincial councils and municipal corporations, and promising further administrative reforms. An amnesty was afterwards published, but containing so many exceptions, that it rather retarded than promoted the reconciliation of the Pontiff with his subjects.[1]

Aug. 14. Sept. 18.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 629-631; Gen. Oudinot's Desp., ibid. 255; Ellesmere, 325-327; Ann. Reg. 1849, 304-307.

117. Flight and dispersion of Garibaldi's band. July 31.

After leaving Rome on the night of the first July with five thousand men, Garibaldi took the road to Naples. Finding, however, that the approach to that capital by Terracina was shut by Marshal Nunziante with a large force, while another was moving on his flank through the Abruzzi, he altered his course, taking a cross road to Terni. On the 16th July he reached Orvieto, where the Neapolitans could not pursue him, as it was occupied by French detachments. His followers, destitute of everything, committed so many acts of violence that the peasantry fled on their approach, and they were soon reduced to the greatest straits from want of provisions. Two days after he entered Tuscany, still keeping in the mountains. Several Austrian columns, however, were now on his track, and it was impossible he could long escape. On the 31st his band, now reduced by fatigue and desertion to one thousand men, encountered at St Leo, near San Marino, the brigade of the Archduke Ernest, and nine hundred surrendered at the first summons. Garibaldi himself, with a hundred desperate adherents, escaped to Cesenatico, where they seized some fishing-boats and put to sea. The greater part were captured by the Austrian cruisers; but Garibaldi himself again contrived to escape almost alone, and has since been a wanderer in the wide world. Most of his followers found their way back to their homes.[2] Some took to the mountains, and, in bands of twenty and thirty, swelled the

[2] Ellesmere, 328, 329.

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troops of robbers who have so long infested the Papal and Neapolitan frontiers.

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118. Blockade of Venice.

Of all the states in Italy which had taken part in the revolutions of 1848, none was now in arms but Venice; and its inhabitants owed this distinction, not so much to their superior courage or constancy, as to their insular situation, and the powerful flotilla at the disposal of the insurgent Government, which kept the Austrian vessels at a distance. In addition to these natural advantages, the Venetians had formidable forces at their command: the regular soldiers were 15,000, and 2500 marines, without including the burgher guard; 350 guns were mounted on the defences, with a strong outwork at Malghera, the *tête-de-pont* of the railway bridge of 222 arches, 4000 yards long, which connected the mainland with the city; and the whole was under the command of General Pape, an officer of skill and determination, who was supported by Manin, a man much beloved by the people, who had been invested since March 1849 with the powers of dictator. After the Milan armistice the defence was prolonged, in the hope of a favourable diversion from the side of Hungary, Piedmont, or Paris; and the operations of the Austrians were limited to a strict blockade both at sea and along the shores of the Lagunes. A diversion in favour of the Piedmontese, attempted when the armistice was denounced by Charles Albert on the 20th March, which at first was attended with some success, was in the end repulsed just as news arrived of the battle of Novara; and as soon as the second armistice was concluded between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, General Haynau, who commanded the blockading force, received orders to undertake the siege of Fort Malghera.[1]

March 20.

[1] Ellesmere, 331-333; Ann. Hist. 1849, 635.

119. Siege and capture of Fort Malghera; surrender of Venice.

This small fortress, constructed by the French in 1807, situated on the mainland on the edge of the Lagunes directly west of Venice, was a pentagon, with earth walls and wet ditches, bomb-proof barracks, and regular outworks. It was intended to cover the bridge-head which

connected the city with the mainland, and therefore its reduction was an essential preliminary to an attack on the city. Trenches were opened against it on the 20th April, at first armed with a very insufficient artillery, which was entirely overmatched by the enemy's guns, admirably served by their cannoneers. The Austrians, whose operations were much impeded by heavy rains, were obliged to send to Mantua for a larger siege-train, which arrived on the 20th May, when the bombardment was renewed, and this time with such effect that on the night of the 26th May, the ramparts being untenable, and the breach ready for an assault, the place was evacuated by the garrison, who withdrew into the city after a most honourable defence. Notwithstanding this disaster, the insurgents prolonged their resistance, though even the English agents earnestly counselled a surrender, being buoyed up with hopes of a decisive intervention by the efforts of the Hungarian insurrection. Batteries were meanwhile constructed by the Austrians along the nearest points of the Lagunes, which opened a fire on the city; but the distance was so great that very few of the shot took effect, though from the 29th July to the 22d August the average number discharged was four hundred and fifty 24-pound shot and four hundred shells daily. But the Hungarian insurrection having been suppressed by the Russian intervention, and the war in Italy terminated by the capture of Rome, the contest had evidently become hopeless, and the war had no longer a legitimate object. On the 22d August a deputation from the Venetian chiefs arrived at the Austrian headquarters, and a capitulation was speedily concluded on the most liberal and humane terms on the part of the conquerors. Excepting a few of the Imperial officers, who had deserted their colours and gone over to the insurgents, a universal amnesty was accorded to the people, and all duties on imports were immediately removed to assuage the sufferings of the labouring classes, who had become much straitened for the necessaries of life.[1] On the 25th

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April 20.

May 26.

Aug. 22.

Aug. 25.

[1] Ellesmere, 341-343; Ann. Reg. 1849, 291; Ann. Hist. 1849, 635.

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August the Austrian colours were again hoisted on all the forts, batteries, and islands of Venice, amidst cheers as loud, if not so sincere, as had resounded when they were lowered on the 23d March in the preceding year.

120. Restoration of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and peace between Austria and Piedmont. Aug. 6.

To complete the picture of the Italian revolution, it only remains to add that the Grand Duke of Tuscany resumed possession of his states, where he was received with unanimous demonstrations of joy, and that a definitive treaty of peace between Austria and Piedmont was signed on the 6th, and ratified on the 17th August. The terms were moderate in the extreme : no concessions of territory were exacted ; an amnesty was accorded ; and the only difficulties experienced in conducting the negotiation, related to the sum to be paid by Piedmont as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the number of exceptions from the amnesty which were to be admitted. At length the first was fixed at 75,000,000 francs (£3,000,000) ; and the last reduced to 86,—all from the Austrian provinces in Italy. Happily the greater part of them had already escaped into Switzerland or elsewhere, and no great energy was shown in seeking them out, the Austrians being chiefly anxious to get the dangerous characters out of the country.

July 28. Charles Albert died at Oporto on the 28th July ; and the profound indifference of the rural population for their electoral rights acquired during the revolution, and still subsisting, having left the elections entirely in the hands of the urban Liberals, the Chamber returned was almost

June 30. entirely democratic, of which they gave proof by electing, the moment they assembled, M. Parito, one of the leaders of the Genoese insurrection, president. All efforts to render the Chamber manageable having failed, the King, in order to carry on the government, was obliged to have recourse to a dissolution.[1] He made a noble appeal to the country, without attempting any change on the representative system introduced, during the fervour of the revolution, by Charles Albert : the rural electors listened

Aug. 20.

[1] Treaty signed Aug. 6, and ratified Aug. 17, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 199, App. 636.

to his voice, and came forward to give their votes, and a Chamber was returned giving a majority of fifty to the friends of constitutional monarchy.

121. The Austrians had previously acceded to a separation of Lombardy from Austria.

The conditions thus accorded to Austria, however, were much more favourable to that power than those which, at an earlier period, the Cabinet of Vienna would have been willing to accept ; for such had been the exhaustion of the monarchy from the double war which was raging in its vitals, and such the straits to which the government had been reduced by the successes of the Hungarian insurgents, that they had acceded to the proposal that a separation of the *Regno Lombardo-Veneto* from the Imperial dominions should take place. This the Cabinet of Vienna regarded as the only mode of preventing the armed intervention of France, which they were well aware would at once turn the balance against them in Italy. A long negotiation on this subject went on between the Cabinets of London and Vienna, by the former of whom it was warmly supported, in the hope of averting French intervention. The basis of the proposal was, that Austria should abandon the whole dominions which she held in Italy, and the inhabitants should elect a sovereign totally independent of Austria or any other power. The new kingdom was to have its own parliament, finances, and treasury, on condition only of paying 10,000,000 florins (£1,000,000) annually as their contribution to the debts of the Empire. The Austrian minister declared, at the same time, that if the French troops crossed the Alps, and advanced into Lombardy, they would oppose no resistance to them, but retire first behind the Mincio, and then behind the mountains of Carinthia, leaving Italy to the full enjoyment of the blessings of French intervention.[1] This arrangement, which was proposed and even urged upon Great Britain by the Austrian Government, proved abortive, partly from the disinclination of the Milanese to take upon themselves any part of the Austrian debt, partly because

May 12.

[1] Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, Vienna, May 12, 1848; M. Himmelane to Lord Palmerston, May 23, 24, 26, 1848; Baron Wissenberg to Count Carabi, June 13, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1849, 191-195, Doc. Hist.

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it did not meet the ambitious views of any of the parties who had instigated the insurrection.

122. Reflections on the conduct of Great Britain on this crisis.

The conduct of the British Cabinet, under the direction of Lord Palmerston, during the whole of the critical period which followed the Italian Revolution, cannot be regarded by any impartial observer with approbation. Admitting that the circumstances were complicated and difficult, and that it was essential to leave no pretext for French interference, their conduct went much beyond the real neutrality which Great Britain should ever observe in regard to the intestine dissensions of other nations. She did not remain neutral; on the contrary, she interposed covertly, but most efficiently, in support of the insurgents. The language of her official agents and ministers in urging organic changes upon the Italian governments, universally inspired the belief that they secretly favoured the Liberal cause, and that, in the last extremity, the insurgents might confidently rely on their interposition. Nor were they disappointed in these expectations, for repeatedly France and England interposed on their behalf, and arrested the arms of Austria when on the point of achieving decisive success. Incalculable were the evil consequences of this one-sided policy both upon the internal concerns of Italy and the general interests of Europe, for it led the Italian Liberals to reject all terms of accommodation, and thus needlessly prolonged the war under circumstances evidently hopeless. It weakened the influence and damaged the character of England, by spreading the belief that she lacked the means or wanted the courage openly to support a cause which she had secretly fomented. Still more disastrous were the effects of this policy upon the general balance of power in Europe, for it led to the occupation of Rome by the French, and division of the Italian peninsula, in respect of influence, between them and the Austrians; and, by proving to Austria that she could not rely on the support of Great Britain, it threw her into

the arms of Russia, induced the Muscovite intervention in Hungary, and brought about that vast increase of the Czar's influence in the East which led him to invade Turkey in 1854, and which was only checked by the blood poured out at the Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol.

123. Conduct of the military commanders on both sides.

The conduct of the military commanders on both sides, in the memorable Italian campaigns of 1848 and 1849, is worthy of the highest praise, and must ever render their operations a subject of deep interest to the military student. Both stood up boldly and manfully for the cause with which they were intrusted; each struck redoubtable blows at his antagonist, and each showed the greatest military skill, both in following up a success and retrieving a disaster. Of the two commanders, the higher praise must be conceded—at least in the earlier part of the war—to Radetsky, for he was at the head of an army which was daily melting away from the insurrections in the provinces from which it was drawn, was greatly overmatched in point of numbers, and had to contend with a superior regular army in front, and an insurgent population, not merely among his enemies, but in the very provinces and cities which his forces occupied, and which threatened his communications in the most serious manner. He was enabled to contend against these disadvantages, and finally to rise victorious over them entirely, by the skilful use of an interior line of communication and by rapidity of movement, which counterbalanced inferiority of force. Perhaps the most signal instance of that, the highest feat of strategy, was afforded by Lord Clyde in the relief of Lucknow and defeat of the Gwalior Contingent at Cawnpore in 1857,—an achievement the more memorable that it was effected by less than six thousand men against sixty thousand; that the troops defeated were inferior to none in the world in the defence of strongholds and fortifications; that among the garrison safely brought off were above two thousand sick, or women and children, not one of whom was lost.

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124. To what the defeat of the Italians was owing.

Struck with astonishment at the wretched figure cut, with very few exceptions, by the Italian volunteers in this war, the nations of Northern Europe have generally settled into the belief that the Italians are incapable of self-defence; that a double efflorescence of civilisation has emasculated their character; and that independence is hopeless, because the virtues have been lost which are necessary to assert it. It cannot be denied that the facts of the case, at first sight, seem to warrant this conclusion. Never had a country such an opportunity for asserting its independence as Italy had in 1848; never were circumstances so favourable for maintaining it. An enthusiastic passion for liberty and independence animated the whole urban, and a considerable part of the rural population; and the regular army of Piedmont, superior in numbers at first to that of Austria, was equal to it in valour and efficiency. Austria, on the other hand, was so distracted by the discordant passions of race, as well as the rising ones of civilisation, that the only army she could rely on was that which the veteran Radetsky commanded. The population of the Italian peninsula exceeded twenty-five millions; and if the compactness of the territory, the extent of sea-coast, and the incomparable riches of the soil, are taken into consideration, its material resources greatly exceeded those of the Austrian Empire. It is no wonder that, when all the efforts of the Italians to achieve their independence in these circumstances were unsuccessful, the opinion should have become general that they failed because they wanted the military virtues necessary to insure success.

125. Their divisions occasioned it.

It is hard to arrive at such a conclusion regarding the descendants of the ancient Romans; and events were not awanting, in the course of the contest, which proved that, when properly disciplined and led, the modern Italians were capable of emulating the deeds of their forefathers. The soldiers of Charles Albert were equal to any in

Europe, and they maintained this character in the great tournament in after-times in the Crimea. Even the new levies and volunteers exhibited on some occasions—particularly in the defence of Rome and Messina—a courage worthy of a different fate. The real causes of the failure of the Italians were two, either of which is sufficient to account for it. The first of these was their own divisions. Their passion was for freedom and independence, and their rallying-cry "Liberty and *Unity!*" It was evident that the first could be won only by commencing with the last. How did they set about it? The Sicilians, in the very outset, revolted against the Neapolitans, and drew upon themselves the Swiss Guard, which might have turned the scale in the contest in Northern Italy; next the Romans rose up against the Pope, the first leader in Italian reform, and paralysed the Papal Guards, previously engaged on the side of Italy; the Lombards, on the first reverse, besieged Charles Albert in his hotel at Milan, and fired into his windows; the Venetians set up for themselves in their islands on the Adriatic; the inhabitants of Leghorn rose in insurrection against the authority of Florence; the people of Tuscany expelled the Archduke from his dominions; the Liberals of Genoa strove to shake off the rule of Piedmont, and yielded to the dream of a Ligurian Republic; Rossi attempted, out of these discordant materials, to form a league for mutual defence, and they murdered him. Thus, at the moment when Charles Albert was contending with one of the greatest military powers on the Continent, intestine division paralysed all the forces from which he should have derived support in his rear. It is in these lamentable divisions, the result of separate interests and selfish ambition in the leaders of the movement in the chief Italian cities, that the chief cause of their common subjugation is to be found. What would have been the fate of England, if, when contending for life or death

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with Napoleon, Scotland had risen up against England, Wales against Scotland, Cornwall against both, and all Ireland had universally followed the seductive voice of the great Liberator?

126. Total want of military organisation in Southern Italy.

But though these divisions were without doubt the main cause of the overthrow of the Italians in the war of independence, they were not the only ones. Another source of weakness, scarcely less powerful, was to be found in the almost entire want of any regular military force in the Italian States, with the exception of Piedmont, when the war broke out. Except the guards of Naples and the Pope—which, being for the most part composed of Swiss or German mercenaries, were admirable soldiers—the states of Central and Southern Italy had scarcely any military forces. This want of real troops was deemed of no importance by the enthusiastic Liberals; they thought the ardour for freedom, the passion for independence, would soon produce invincible soldiers. They ere long found out their mistake. The volunteers of Lombardy and Rome soon disappeared from the ranks of war on the Adige; the new levies of Central and Southern Italy are scarcely ever mentioned, except to record their defeats, in the subsequent annals of the contest. We should err if we ascribed this uniform want of success to any inherent want of courage in the Italian people. It was the absence of previous preparation and military organisation which was the chief cause of their overthrow. No opinion is so erroneous, however generally entertained, as that it is possible to *improvise* soldiers, and that long previous preparation is unnecessary, because it is expensive, and they can be raised when required. Three or four years' training is required to make a real soldier. A nation which disregards this truth is always on the verge of destruction, because, on the first breaking out of hostilities, it is sure to be defeated.

Perhaps, however, the senseless retention of these political divisions, and this general want of previous

The Italian mind was inconsistent with the exercise of freedom.

military preparation, in the Italian States at the commencement of the struggle, is to be itself ascribed to another and a more general cause. Nature has not been lavish of *all* her gifts to any one people, and experience has abundantly proved that the passionate longing after the ideal, which is the main-spring of excellence in the fine arts, is inconsistent with the practical view of things and sound good sense which is essential in this world to the attainment of the real. The Italians had fixed their desires on a confederacy of little republics, like the Greeks in ancient and their forefathers in medieval times; and they shut their eyes to the evident truth, that such a league could not maintain its ground for a month against the assault of any of the great military monarchies of Europe. Separate interests, individual ambition, prevailed over all considerations of the general good. In works of genius and imagination, in all the fine arts save poetry, the Italians are superior in modern, as the Greeks were in ancient times, to any other people: Great Britain or France can exhibit nothing to compare with their painters, sculptors, and musical composers. But while the modern Italians, like the ancient Etruscans, have been absorbed in the contemplation of the ideal in the fine arts, the inhabitants of England and France, like the Romans in former days, have been intent only on the means of subduing mankind. Great Britain has not produced a painter like Raphael, a sculptor like Michael Angelo; but she has colonised America and Australia; she has conquered India; and her language will be spoken over half the globe.

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent;
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

Æneid, vi. 849.

CHAPTER LIII.

GERMANY, BELGIUM, AND DENMARK, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 TO THE PACIFICATION OF THE NORTH BY THE TREATY OF OLMUTZ IN 1850.

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Agitated state of Central Europe at this period.

More even than the imaginative people of the Italian peninsula were the inhabitants of Germany shaken by the moral earthquake which cast down the throne of Louis Philippe in France. Among the Germans were found united nearly all the qualities likely to render that event the parent of great results—the Teutonic love of freedom; a turn of mind eminently speculative; an ardour which mocked at difficulties; an enthusiasm which despised danger. Widespread and profound had been the discontent which pervaded the German mind, when the solemn promises of free institutions, which had been made by the sovereigns during the war of liberation, were either openly broken or kept only in name, and Germany remained subject to military and despotic government, at a time when its inhabitants were teeming with energy, its cities resplendent with genius, its fields overspread with labourers, its commerce whitening the ocean with its sails. Many and zealous had been the efforts made by the people in every part of Central and Northern Germany to obtain from their sovereigns the performance of their promises; but all their efforts had proved unsuccessful.

In addition to these vehement political and social passions, there were others, of yet deeper origin and more

lasting endurance, which were adding to the convulsion. The religious division of the northern and southern states, which had formerly so violently agitated the country, was indeed in a great measure lulled; but the opposite turn of mind which the Protestant and Catholic creeds had produced, still retained its influence. The free-thinking student of the universities in Hanover or Prussia, who had adopted the whole creed of Rationalism, and aspired to introduce its independence into political institutions, was as much divided from the devout Austrian or Tyrolese, who mingled in their prayers the names of the "Heilig Vater" and "Kaisar," as the Jacobin of Paris was from the peasant of La Vendée. But in addition to this, there had now sprung up, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire, a still more serious and enduring cause of discord, in the ancient and now revived passions of RACE. Exposed by their geographical situation on the eastern frontier of Europe to the perpetual inroad of the Asiatic hordes, the oriental states of Germany contained in their bosom various and antagonistic families of mankind. Numerous and opposite conquerors had at different times swept over the land, and left on its surface descendants animated by passions as warm, and hostility as implacable, as had impelled their fathers from their native seats. The firm hand of government and weight of military power, resting on the strong martial passions of the people, had hitherto restrained these discordant feelings, and turned them to national rivalry rather than intestine broils; but the passions of race were compressed, not extinguished, and, on the first removal of the superincumbent weight, were ready to flare up in fearful violence.

2. Passions of religion and race.

AUSTRIA was, from its local situation, the most exposed to those discordant passions, and at the same time, by its weight and power, the most important state in the German confederacy. Beyond any other country in Europe it had been exposed from the most remote antiquity to the

3. Different races in Austria.

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inroads of those barbarous nations which, impelled by hunger or the lust of conquest from the wilds of Tartary, sought in the southern and highly-cultivated countries of Europe at once the relief of their necessities and the gratification of their desires. Vienna was on the direct line from Scythia to Rome. Hungary was the great alluvial plain which, however, attracted the wandering tribes bent on the invasion of the Lower Empire. Wave after wave of these formidable invaders has rolled over the country, according as the accumulation of other barbarians in rear impelled them forward, or the decline of the Empire in front weakened the barriers which kept them back. The dark-haired Celts first appeared, and being the original invaders, for the most part passed on and settled in Gaul, Italy, and the British Isles; the blue-eyed Goths, with their flowing yellow locks and sturdy feelings of independence, next appeared, and having rested on the banks of the Danube, formed the basis of the present population of Upper and Lower Austria and Tyrol; the Sclavonians succeeded, during the declining days of the Roman Empire, and, spreading over Moravia, Bohemia, Gallicia, and the north of Hungary, have left in their descendants the half of the whole present inhabitants of the Austrian Empire. The Magyars, an entirely distinct race, pre-eminent for their courage and energy, settled in the great plains of Middle Hungary, and have ever since formed the ruling power over its whole surface, while the Wallachians occupied Transylvania and the eastern parts of Hungary; and the descendants of the original Celtic invaders, pushed forward by the pressure from behind, penetrated the valleys of the Alps, and overspread the beautiful plains of Lombardy. Some of these races, especially the Magyars in Hungary and the Germans in Austria Proper, held the Celts and Sclavonians in subjection on the same territory, and thence a lasting source of mutual irritation and heart-burning, which were the main cause, when the bonds

of society were loosened, of the extreme violence of the revolution, which all but dissolved the Austrian Empire.*

PRUSSIA was not so much distracted by variety of race and the effects of successive conquests as its great southern neighbour, but it contained other elements of discord not less formidable. Its inhabitants, consisting of Goths from southern Scandinavia, were the descendants of a bold and intrepid race, which had maintained on the banks of the Elbe, and in the Hyrcanian Forest, a desperate conflict with Charlemagne in the plenitude of his power, in defence of the gods and rites of their fathers. Second to no people in the world in courage and martial zeal, they were distinguished by that ardent love of freedom, mingled with the reverence for antiquity, which in every age has distinguished the Teutonic race, and which, by separating the passion for liberty from the desire of headlong innovation, has rendered its progress slower but more certain, and its ultimate triumph secure. This peculiarity in their character had caused them to embrace with ardour the doctrines of the Reformation, when they made their appearance in the latter part of the sixteenth century, while the slower and less energetic inhabitants of Southern Germany slumbered on in subjection to the dictates of the Vatican. The prevalence of the Protestant doctrines, which are eminently favourable to variety and independence of thought, had reacted in

* The inhabitants of the Austrian Empire at this period were classified, according to the best statistical authorities, as follows :—

	Souls.
I. Germans in Upper and Lower Austria, Tyrol, part of Styria and Carinthia,	7,285,000
II. Sclavonians in Moravia, Bohemia, Gallicia, Illyria, Croatia, Servia, and Northern Hungary,	17,033,000
III. Magyars in Central Hungary,	4,800,000
IV. Italians in Lombardy, Venetian States, and Southern Tyrol,	5,183,000
V. Wallachians,	2,156,000
VI. Jews,	475,000
VII. Gypsies,	128,000
Total,	37,060,000

—*Kötnische Zeitung*, 1848.

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its turn, in the most powerful manner, on the progress of liberal opinions; and the ardent soldiers who had taken up arms in 1813 in the great war of liberation, returned home, after their triumphs, chanting the odes of Körner, and dreaming of the freedom of the Fatherland. The passion for liberty, accordingly, was much more ardent and widespread in Prussia, Saxony, Westphalia, Hanover, and the lesser central states of the confederacy, than in Southern Germany, where knowledge was much less generally diffused, and the people were in general ranged for or against the new opinions according as they inhabited the towns or the country. Prussia was not without the causes of discord which spring from diversity of race and the heartburnings of successive conquests, for Silesia and Old Prussia contained great numbers of Sclavonians, and in the provinces which had fallen to the lot of Prussia in the recent partition of Poland that race formed a decided majority of the inhabitants. But the heartburnings inevitable on that iniquitous act had been almost obliterated in Prussian Poland by the wise legislative measures and paternal administration which, as already explained, had so greatly improved the condition of the people, that they had ceased to sigh for the restoration of their stormy Comitia and the license of a democratic noblesse.[1] *

[1] Ante, c. xlvi. § 14.

Two most important effects had followed the triumph of the German arms in the latter years of the revolution-

* Landed property in Prussia is very much subdivided, and the number of separate possessions has greatly increased since 1848—a sure proof, when coupled with simultaneous augmentation of industry, of general well-being. From a statistical table published lately it appears that

In 1849 the landowners in Prussia were . .	1,790,869	
In 1855, ...	2,049,543	
Waste lands reclaimed since 1848, . .	7,782,932	acres.
Possessions from 5 to 30 acres—in 1849, . .	562,208	„
„ „ in 1855, . .	587,914	„
Possessions below 5 acres—in 1849, . .	990,846	„
„ „ in 1855, . .	1,040,547	„

—*Statistical Table*, 1858, p. 47.

5. Great and general prosperity of Germany during the peace.

ary war, and the formation of the confederacy which had secured for them the inestimable blessings of internal peace for three-and-thirty years. The first of these was the great increase of wealth, industry, and population, which had taken place during that long period of repose. The benefit of this suspension of all strife was felt the more sensibly from the contrast which it had exhibited to the ceaseless wars which had watered the German fields with blood, almost from the foundation of the states of modern Europe. Immense was the change when, by the triumphs of 1813 and the establishment of the formidable German confederacy, the evils consequent on these desolating wars were terminated—when the Rhine or the Niemen were no longer crossed by hostile hosts, and the German disposition, eminently pacific and industrious, had free scope for its exercise within the protected limits of the confederacy. During the three-and-thirty years, accordingly, which elapsed from 1815 to 1848, Germany over its whole extent, but especially in the north, had made extraordinary advances both in wealth and population.* The inhabitants of Prussia dur-

* Population of the undermentioned States of the German Empire at the undermentioned Periods.

States.	Population in 1818.	Population.	Extent in Germ. sq. miles.	Propor. to sq. mile.
1. German states of Austria,	9,496,753	11,725,540 in 1839	3580.5	3,325
2. „ of Prussia,	8,187,220	11,388,168 „ 1840	3365.94	3,639
3. „ of Bavaria,	3,513,490	4,440,327 „ 1843	1394.3	3,231
4. Saxony, . .	1,206,034	1,757,800 „ 1843	271.83	6,755
5. Hanover, . .	1,314,490	1,755,592 „ 1842	698.65	2,517
6. Würtemberg, . .	1,397,451	1,701,726 „ 1841	360.4	4,815
7. Baden, . .	1,001,630	1,335,200 „ 1843	278.5	4,846
8. Hesse-Cassel, . .	545,208	732,073 „ 1846	208.9	3,501
9. Hesse-Darmstadt, .	633,626	852,679 „ 1846	177.	5,409
10. Holstein and Lauenburg,	359,985	526,850 „ 1845	175.5	3,002
11. Luxembourg, . .	214,058	389,319 „ 1847	86.7	3,853
12. Nassau, . .	302,769	412,298 „ 1843	82.27	5,082
13. Brunswick, . .	209,527	268,946 „ 1843	72.68	3,731
14. Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	351,908	528,163 „ 1848	228.	2,317
15. Oldenburg, . .	275,471	278,909 „ 1846	113.95	2,448
16. Frankfort-on-Maine, .	47,372	68,240 „ 1846	1.8	37,911
17. Hamburg, . .	129,739	188,054 „ 1846	7.1	26,559

—*Gazetteer of World, voce* "Germany," p. 572. London, 1856.

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ing this period had increased sixty per cent; they had swelled from ten to sixteen millions. Its industry and resources had advanced in a still greater proportion.* The same was the case almost in the same degree with the lesser central states, and even the huge Austrian monarchy had felt in an extraordinary degree the vivifying influences of the period of repose. With the enjoyment of peace and prosperity had sprung up, as a natural consequence, a general desire for the free institutions enjoyed by other countries in a similar state of civilisation and advancement; and the long eluding of the promises made for their concession had at length inflamed this desire into a perfect passion.

* Mean Value of Exports from and Imports into Austria, 1831-1845.

Years.	Imports—Florins.	Exports—Florins.	Custom Receipts.
1831-35	80,641,128	87,605,000	11,940,622
1836-40	102,854,914	102,184,185	15,218,659
1841-45	115,455,060	111,854,587	16,282,945

—*Gazetteer of World, voce* "Austria," p. 466.

In the Zollverein, in Northern Germany, the movement of industry since the peace may be judged of by the following figures :—

Years.	Zollverein Customs. Thalers.	Population.
1834, ...	14,515,000	23,478,000
1845, ...	27,422,532	28,498,000

Value of Exports and Imports into Zollverein.

	Exports—Dollars.	Imports—Dollars.
1845, ...	178,035,000	219,693,000
1846, ...	170,764,000	221,488,000

—*Ibid.*, "Germany," p. 578.

Roman Catholics in Germany in 1846, exclusive of Hungary and Poland, ...	18,016,000
Protestants, ...	12,030,000

Population of Austria in

1818, ...	29,813,586
1837, ...	35,878,861
1848, ...	36,201,671

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 467.

Religious Division of Austrian Empire in 1841.

Catholics, ...	24,685,527
Greek Church, ...	6,450,396
Protestants, ...	3,237,575
Jews, ...	665,447
Other sects, ...	49,764

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 468.

Great extent of education in Germany.

The next circumstance which had generally prepared the German mind for revolutionary convulsion was the universal diffusion of education. The care of this important branch of public economy had not been left to individuals, but had been almost everywhere taken up by the Government; and the education by parents of their children was in many states not merely recommended as a duty, but enforced as an obligation by the executive. No less than 21,000 primary schools existed in Prussia, and 1000 colleges or academies, almost all maintained at the public expense. In all Germany there are 6,000,000 children at school, being 1 in 7 of the entire population. Those in Prussia are 2,328,000, out of 15,473,000 inhabitants in 1843; in Saxony 303,506, out of 1,709,000 souls. The German rulers having great standing armies at their command, and, in the Catholic states at least, the entire control of the books which were to be read, both at school and for the most part after it, deemed it perfectly safe to give this vast extension to general education—nay, they thought, with Napoleon and the Chinese emperor, that, by affording the means of regulating the *thoughts* of men, they would succeed in establishing government on a much stronger basis than could ever be done by means of material coercion, because they would take away from their subjects even the desire to revolt. They were yet to learn that, whatever may be the enervating effect of the universal power of reading, while coexisting with a despotic government, and a press enslaved either by the bayonets of soldiers or the precepts of a priesthood, nothing but tumult and dissension were to be anticipated from it when first introduced into a country where free discussion has become unavoidable, either from external influence or internal determination.[1]

[1] Ante, c. xxvii. § 7, 8, 9.

A third circumstance at this period rendered revolution in a peculiar manner formidable and hard to resist in Germany, arising from the general arming of the

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7. Great effect of the military system in Germany.

people, which had been forced upon the country by the severities of the French invasion. It has been already explained how Baron Scharnhorst, when Prussia was constrained, by the treaty forced upon it by Napoleon in 1806, to have only forty thousand men under arms, contrived to elude it by keeping the soldiers only three years with their colours, and thereby training triple the number to the use of arms who at any one time were present with the standards.[1] Beyond all doubt it was this admirable system which was the main cause of the resurrection of Prussia in 1813, and the glorious stand which she then made on behalf of the liberties of Europe. The perception of the advantages derived by Prussia from this system led to its general adoption by the lesser German states, and to its becoming in a manner a fundamental principle of government in the whole of northern and central Germany. Everywhere the whole male inhabitants, without distinction of rank, between eighteen and twenty, were liable to serve in the ranks of the regular army, in which they did duty for three years, and then retired into pacific life, to make way for others, who were to go through the same system of military training and discipline. In this way the whole male population was trained to the use of arms. Immense was the effect of this military organisation both in war and peace, but with directly opposite tendencies. As much as it multiplied the means of defence and national strength, in the event of foreign invasion or external warfare, did it augment the public danger when internal dissensions arose, and Government was called on to make a stand against internal revolt; for it brought them into contact, not with undisciplined mobs, but with experienced soldiers. Hence the common saying in Germany in 1848, that it was no wonder the sovereigns were overthrown, for their enemies were all old soldiers, and their supporters were young recruits.

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. li. § 14.

To these observations on the tendency in periods of

civil trouble of the military organisation of Germany, an exception, and a very important one, must be made of the Austrian army. The great military force of this vast monarchy, amounting on its peace establishment to 286,000 men, besides 54,000 in the military colonies, was raised on a different principle. The soldiers were there all enrolled for twenty-one years, whether raised by voluntary enrolment or conscription; and every regiment consisted of three battalions, two of which were on active service in any part of the monarchy, while the third remained as a depot in the circle to which it belonged, to train the recruits to their military duties. The early disasters which Radetsky sustained on the breaking out of the revolution in Lombardy, were, as already mentioned, mainly owing to this cause. The whole depot battalions in Lombardy, forming nearly a third of the effective military force to the south of the Alps, went over to the insurgents on the first raising of the standard of independence in Milan. But in other parts of the Empire the fidelity of the troops, owing chiefly to this peculiarity in their organisation, was attended with the most important effects. Generally speaking, with the exception of the Hungarians, with whom the war speedily assumed a national character, the troops remained loyal; and even these continued faithful to their colours in Radetsky's army. Beyond all doubt, it was this fidelity of the soldiers, in the midst of the defection of the greater part of the nation, which saved at its utmost need the Austrian monarchy.* The soldiers formed—as they generally come to do when long embodied, and especially after having gone through real service together—a body apart, with which military honour and fidelity to their colours were the ruling motives to action. The citizen had come to be forgotten in the soldier.[1] There is no doubt that the

8. Different military organisation of Austria.

[1] Ellesmere, 272-274; Duc de Ragusa's Voyages, ii. 236-241; Universal Gazetteer, 472 (Austria).

* The soldiers of the Austrian army, when the insurrection broke out in 1848, were divided by race as follows:—"105,486 Germans; 104,000 Sclavonians; 44,000 Hungarians; 60,000 Italians."—*Universal Gazetteer*, 473, "Austria." A proportion perilous in the extreme when a war of races begins.

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growth of such a military caste at the command of government may often be attended with danger to public liberty; but, situated as the Austrian Empire was, composed of various and hostile races, and surrounded by powerful military monarchies, it was the only force which could either defend or hold together the State.

9. Division of parties on the principle of representation in Germany.

The great question at issue between the aristocratic and democratic party in Germany, as in Great Britain at the passing of the Reform Bill, was the principle on which the national representation should be founded. The former contended for a representation of "estates," that is, of *classes of society;* the latter for a simple representation of numbers, told by head, as in Spain by the constitution of 1812. The dispute on this subject was of very old standing, and had begun when the terms of the Federal Act first came under discussion. Baron Stein, the celebrated and able Prussian minister, then proposed that the famous 13th clause of that act, which embraced this subject, should run thus: "A *popular* representation shall be *introduced* into every state of the confederacy." This was strenuously opposed by Prince Metternich, who contended that it should be altered to this: "Assemblies of *estates* shall find a place in every state of the confederacy."* The difference here was more than verbal; it lay at the foundation of the whole question. Nearly all the German states already had a "Standische Verfassung," or representation of the people in their several classes; and they were divided into four classes—the clergy, or "Geistlichkeit;" the higher nobility, or "Herrenstand;" the common landowners, or "Ritterstand;" and the citizens of towns, or "Burgherstand." In the Tyrol, as in Sweden, the peasants, or non-noble owners of land, formed an order by themselves, and the whole nobility, higher and lower, one

* Stein's article was,—"In jedem Bundestaat soll eine *Volksvertrettung* eingefuhrt werden;" Metternich's,—"In jedem Bundestaat eine *Standische Verfassung* wird Staat finden."—BAUER, Wiess, 1848.

only. All the members of the estates met in one house, and the votes were taken by head. They had no legislative power, their duties being chiefly to apportion the public burdens among the different classes of society, and to regulate matters of local interest. The influence of Austria prevailed in this dispute, and the 13th article was drawn as Metternich desired. This, however, was very far indeed from meeting the views of the Liberal party. They desired to have one deputy for every seventy thousand inhabitants. The parties, therefore, split upon a vital point, regarding which it was next to impossible to effect a compromise ; for the concession of the demands of the Liberals would have vested the uncontrolled government of the country in the lowest class, because the most numerous ; and the retention of the existing system would have continued it, without any effectual restraint, in the privileged ones.[1]

[1] Turnbull's Austria, ii. 217.

10. Constitution of Hungary.

The system of estates in Hungary differed essentially from that in the proper German states : it was purely aristocratic, without any intermixture of the other classes, or any semblance even of control over their proceedings. The legislature there consisted, as in Great Britain, of two chambers, but there the resemblance to the English constitution ceased. The House of Lords consisted of hereditary greater magnates ; the Elective, of deputies from the higher clergy, the free towns, the lesser landholders, and the widows of magnates. But of these the deputies from the country, who required to be themselves magnates, and elected by magnates, were alone entitled *to vote ;* the deputies of the free towns were only entitled to sit and speak, without voting. The whole legislature was thus in the hands of the magnates, who were, with very few exceptions, Magyars, and thus influenced not only by the interests and prejudices of rank, but by the still more inveterate and dangerous feelings of race. This difference rendered the revolution much more widespread and perilous in Hungary than in any other coun-

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try of Europe; for there it was not so much the revolt of the people against the Government, as a great aristocratic movement of a third of the inhabitants, composing the dominant race, to secure their exclusive privileges alike against the sovereign above and the burghers and working class below them.[1]

[1] Turnbull, ii. 226, 227.

II. Great extent of the exclusive privileges in Hungary.

The exclusive privileges which, in this highly aristocratic state, the nobles had come to enjoy, far exceeded those in possession of the French nobility before the Revolution, and were such as would seem incredible, if not proved by undoubted evidence. They are thus described by one of the latest authorities on the subject, whose testimony is the more valuable that he belongs to the aristocratic interest: "So great were the privileges of the Hungarian nobility, that the person of the noble and his property were alike inviolable: no creditor could either arrest the former or attach the latter. He and his servants were relieved from every impost, national or local. The charges of the State were borne exclusively by the *misera plebs contribuens*, as they were called. To such a length had the abuse of these privileges been carried, that the nobles and their servants paid no toll on passing the bridge of Pesth, though it constituted one of the principal sources of revenue enjoyed by the town. The peasants, bourgeoisie, and mechanics were alone burdened with it. The peasant alone paid the hearth-tax; he alone contributed to the expenses of the Diet and the county charges; he paid the dues of the schoolmasters, guards, notaries, clergy, and curates; he alone kept up the roads, the bridges, the churches, the public buildings, the dykes, and the canals; he alone paid the whole war-taxes, and furnished the recruits to the army; and in addition to all this, he was compelled to hand over a ninth of his income to his lord, and to give him fifty-two days' service in the year. In fine, besides the charge of transporting wood for his lord's family, he was burdened exclusively with the quartering of soldiers; and he was

compelled at all times, and for a merely nominal remuneration, to furnish such to the county authorities or their attendants. The Spartan Helots were kings in comparison." [1] There are certainly sufficient causes here to account for a revolution, and probably render it inevitable; but the extraordinary thing is, that it began in, and was mainly supported by, not the *misera plebs contribuens*, but the haughty Magyar nobles, who lived upon these iniquitous exactions.

[1] Balleydier, Rev. d'Autriche, i. 22, Introduction.

12. Demand for unity in the Empire.

The demand for equal and uniform representation was not the only one which had long been made in Germany. Another cry had arisen, connected with the former, and deemed indispensable to secure its full and secure development; this was the wish in Germany, as in Italy, for UNITY. The inhabitants had felt so long and so bitterly the evils of divided government and the contests of sovereigns within the confederacy, that the first desire, when invested at all with the power of self-government, was to mould the confederacy into a real empire, ruled by one government, governed by one set of laws, and directed by one sovereign. Comparing the distracted state of Germany anterior to the formation of the confederacy in 1815, with the power and influence of France on the one side, and Russia on the other, they were impressed with the idea, which was undoubtedly in a great degree well founded, that the superior strength and weight of these powers were owing to their homogeneous character and unity of government. If Germany, with its forty millions of inhabitants and two thousand walled cities, were similarly united, it would, from the advantages of its central situation, compact territory, fertile and yet varied surface, and numerous navigable rivers, soon acquire still greater influence, and become, beyond all question, the leading state in Europe, commanding at once internal peace and securing external respect.[2] Such was the dream of the patriots and Liberal leaders in Germany—a dream largely intermingled with

[2] Dr Schutte, Die Wiener Oktober Revolution, 32-47.

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truth, and rendered difficult of realisation only from the contending interests and separate jealousies of the various nations and chiefs composing the confederacy.

13. The Prussian Zollverein; its objects.

The jealousy of the Cabinet of Berlin of Austrian influence, and their desire to establish a preponderating ascendancy in the north of Germany, had led to another change in political institutions some time before, which powerfully contributed to swell the same cry for unity in the central government. The Prusso-Bavarian league which, under the name of ZOLLVEREIN (toll-alliance), was established at the time when the ferment of Liberal opinions was very strong in 1833, and came into full operation in 1834, had this effect in a remarkable degree. This league embraced Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, and a number of lesser states, including all Central and Northern Germany, and containing a population of twenty-four million souls. Its object was twofold: 1. To establish a perfect freedom of commercial intercourse, and mutual abolition of all duties on import and export within the states of the union, and levy one uniform rate of impost on all foreign productions; the produce of the taxes being remitted to a common treasury, from whence it was proportionally divided between the states comprising the union. 2. To establish so considerable a tax on all imports, as should effectually exclude the competition of foreign industry. This last part of the system was specially levelled at the English manufactures. "We should not have complained," said the *German Kunke*, in 1835, "that all our markets were overflowing with British manufactures—that Germany received in British cotton goods more than the whole British subjects in India—had not England, while she was inundating us with her productions, insisted on closing her markets to ours. Mr Robinson's resolutions in 1815 had in fact excluded our corn from the ports of Great Britain. She told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals. We vainly hoped that a sense of

her own interest would lead to reciprocity ; but we were disappointed, and we were compelled to take care of ourselves." This is a manful statement of the principles of free trade ; and if the Germans had *acted* accordingly, they would be entitled to credit for having thus early enunciated them. But they have not done so ; their reciprocity has been all on one side. England took off the whole duties on grain in 1846, and materially lowered those on foreign animals and other rural productions ; but the governments of the Zollverein have made no advance towards a similar concession ; and through all the states of the union the import duties, where not raised, continue at the original rate—nominally of ten per cent on the declared, in reality of from thirty to fifty per cent on the real value. Nay, in 1845, the very year when free trade was in course of being carried in Great Britain, increased duties were introduced over the whole of the Zollverein on foreign iron, raw and manufactured, and cotton yarns, the principal articles of British export.[1]

[1] M'Gregor's Germanic Customs Union, 171-177; Newdegate, Tariffs of all Nations, 78-88.

14. Effects of the Zollverein on the material resources of the country.

The effects of this change have been very great, both upon the material prosperity and the moral feelings of the German people. Since it was introduced, the internal trade of the different states of the union with each other has very much increased, and their industry, being in a great measure sheltered from foreign, and especially British competition, has largely augmented. In 1834, when the population of the Zollverein states was 23,478,000, the customhouse receipts were 14,515,000 thalers ; in 1845, when the population was 28,498,000, they had risen to 27,422,000 thalers ; and in 1850, when the population had swelled to 29,803,000, the receipts were still 22,144,000 thalers, notwithstanding the effects of the monetary crisis of 1847 and Revolution of 1848 in checking both consumption and industry. The industry of the union, as measured by its imports and exports, had increased in a similar proportion. Great as had been the

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effect of this expansion of domestic industry upon the material prosperity, it was still greater upon the moral and political feelings, of Central and Northern Germany. The influence of Prussia was greatly increased by the change, for the lesser states thereby found their own prosperity wound up with hers; and, by making the petty sovereigns chiefly dependent for their future revenues on the permanence of the union, she rendered their fidelity to her in peace and war the condition of their existence as independent sovereigns.[1]

[1] M'Gregor, Germanic Customs Union, 27-34; Gazetteer of the World, 577.

15. Vague and imaginary ideas afloat in society in Germany.

While so many causes were conspiring to spread far and wide in Germany the passion for change, and longing after an undefined future, which is the first stage of the revolutionary fever, another circumstance, arising partly from the original character of the mind, partly from their geographical and political circumstances, rendered the malady in its case peculiarly violent and dangerous. The situation of the empire in the heart of Europe having rendered the maintenance of great standing armies the condition of existence, the larger states had at their command huge bodies of armed men. Relying on the support of these formidable prætorians, the Governments everywhere thought there could be no danger, but rather the reverse, in permitting an unlimited freedom of writing and publishing upon all subjects, excepting such as touched on the forbidden field of politics, or as concerned the actual administration of affairs. This state of things fell in singularly with the peculiar turn of the German mind, which, especially in the north, eminently imaginative and speculative, was by nature turned rather to the contemplation of the ideal than the improvement of the real. Thus the minds of men, in a country where education and the power of reading were universal, were habituated to the most perilous of all exercises in a political point of view—that of bringing to the solution of subjects of thought, not the powers of reason, but the flights of imagination; not the lessons of experience, but the visions of fancy.

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So completely had the minds of men in Germany been prepared by these causes, and the skilful use which the Liberal leaders in Switzerland and Italy had made of them, for a great and general convulsion, that when the news arrived of the revolution in Paris and the fall of Louis Philippe, it seemed as if the match had been suddenly applied to a train previously laid, with branches in every direction. Unlike the first French Revolution, when the progress of the new opinions had been slow, and they had to surmount vigorous resistance from the privileged classes at every step, it was immediate and almost universal. Instead of taking up arms, as they had done both in 1792 and 1830, in their own defence, the Governments of the adjoining states at once yielded to the tempest, and sought only, by immediately bending, to escape its fury. Great resistance was made in several quarters in the end, and the conservative cause was generally at last triumphant; but in the beginning nothing of the kind was thought of, and the annals of the German states for some months are nothing but a series of encroachments imperiously made by the revolutionists, and concessions weakly yielded by the sovereigns.

16. General yielding of the established Governments to the French opinions.

BELGIUM was the country where, from proximity of situation, and the news of the Paris convulsion being first received, the shock was earliest felt, and where at the same time, from the government being of a revolutionary character, it might be expected to be most violent. The effects of the blow, however, were lessened, and the throne of Leopold surmounted the concussion, partly by moderation on the part of the Liberal leaders, partly by wisdom and address on that of the sovereign. Knowing that he had no legal title to the throne, unless his election by the people could be esteemed such, Leopold most prudently took the initiative. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the fall of Louis Philippe, than he convoked the council of his ministers, and after reminding them that the throne of Belgium had been none of his seeking, offered to resign

17. Belgium survives the shock.

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if his ministers thought it would avert calamity, or conduce to the public welfare. The ministers replied that the form of a constitutional monarchy was the one best adapted to the wishes of the Belgian people; that the republican form of government was neither suited to their habits nor adapted to their wishes; and that the existing constitution, having been approved by a constituent assembly, the organ of the public will, and nominated by an immense majority of electors, might be considered as a fair index to the wishes of the people. The result proved that their opinion was well founded: the spirit of the nation was still, as in former days, religious and monarch-

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ical, not freethinking and revolutionary. The King retained the throne: the democratic societies in Brussels all met on the following evening, and attempted a revolutionary movement; but although at their bidding some crowds assembled in the streets, there was no general movement, and a few of the leaders were arrested without

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difficulty. On the day following, the Minister of the Interior announced an electoral law, in virtue of which the franchise was fixed at the lowest point allowed by the constitution—viz. twenty florins' worth of property (40s.), being nearly the same as the lowest point of the county qualification in England. By this change the number of electors was at once doubled; and the liberal intentions of Government were soon after still further evinced by another law, which reduced the qualification for municipal councils to forty-six francs (36s.) These timely and wise concessions gave general satisfaction, and so completely disarmed the extreme democratic party, that when the French revolutionists, who were by no means satisfied with these temperate reforms, endeavoured to penetrate into the country, they were, as already mentioned, met and with ease defeated by the loyal troops of Leopold.[1] The existing government was soon after still further strengthened by a document from the pen of M. Potter, who had taken so active a part in the revolution of 1830,[2]

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[1] Ante, c. iv. § 37.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 366-371; Ann. Reg. 1848, 359; Moniteur, March 2, 30, 1848.

in which he exhorted his countrymen to rest contented with the real freedom which they enjoyed under their constitutional monarch, and not to endanger it by aspiring after a perilous and impracticable republican regime.

18. Monetary and commercial crisis in Belgium.

But although Belgium thus avoided the great risk of a change of government on the occurrence of the French revolution, yet it could not escape the serious evils arising from the shock given to commercial credit, and through it to general industry. They fell with unmitigated severity in that great emporium of mercantile and manufacturing industry; England itself did not suffer more severely. The discounts at the bank, which in 1847 had been 160,200,000 francs, sank in 1848 to 87,900,000; and the current accounts fell from 183,000,000 to 96,000,000 francs. The general panic soon rendered the payment of notes in cash impossible. The Government acted with equal energy and prudence on this trying occasion. By a law passed on 20th March 1848, cash payments were suspended, and the Bank was authorised to issue inconvertible notes to a limited extent. Under protection of this law, the notes of the Bank in circulation, which during the panic had fallen to 3,000,000 francs, rose before the end of the year to 10,300,000 francs. The other great banking establishment, the "Société Générale de Bruxelles," was at the same time authorised to issue notes of 20 francs and 5 francs to support the circulation during the temporary absence of specie; and their circulation, also protected, rose from a million to thirty-two millions. The notes of neither establishment underwent any depreciation, notwithstanding the large increase in their paper circulation, a clear proof that it was issued in sufficient but not excessive quantities. The consequence was, that public credit was restored by this seasonable support to the banking establishments, and industry revived so quickly, that Government were enabled, before the end of the year, to surrender to the towns the tax on personal property and patents, in consideration of their

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giving up the *octroi* on articles of consumption imported into them, which had been loudly complained of. These changes, and the effects of the crisis, occasioned a deficit in the public accounts for the year of 9,000,000 francs, which in the next was much more than compensated by a great reduction in the army, the cost of which was lessened to the extent of nearly a half of what it had been ten years before. This mode of dealing with the monetary crisis of 1848, which was exactly the same as has been shown to have been adopted in France at the same period,[1] is well worthy of observation, for both were diametrically the reverse of that followed in England during the corresponding time of suffering. France and Belgium sought to supply the want of a metallic currency, temporarily drawn away, and to support a credit for the time shaken, by a temporary issue of notes to supply the place of the former and uphold the latter; England was resolute to adhere to a system which forcibly contracted the notes when credit was all but ruined by the withdrawal of the gold. The former said, "If the beef is taken away, give the soldiers more bread;" the latter, "If the beef is taken away, *take away the bread also*, and all will soon be right."[2]

[1] Ante, c. li. §§ 7, 8.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 369-373.

19. Changes in the Constitution of Holland.

HOLLAND also felt, though in a lesser degree, the shock of 1848, both in politics and commerce. Being the advanced-post of the legitimate monarchies, it was sure to be exposed to the first blows of the revolutionary power, if hostilities broke out; and accordingly military preparations were made on a very extensive scale. The whole militia or landwehr, for 1845, 1846, and 1847, were called out, and a considerable addition was made to the regular army. But these defensive preparations were accompanied by wise and timely concessions to public opinion, violently agitated there as elsewhere by the events which had taken place in France. On the 26th February, immediately on receipt of the news from Paris, a project for certain fundamental changes in the constitution was sub-

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mitted to the King by the Council of State, and approved by him, after which the Chambers were convoked to take them into consideration. The result of their deliberations was a new constitution, which was formally promulgated on the 14th October. By it Holland received the whole immunities of a free government, and her inhabitants came to enjoy nearly the same rights and liberties as those of Great Britain. All traces of the aristocratic privileges retained by the constitution of 1815 were swept away. All citizens were, without distinction of rank or creed, made eligible to all employments; the King's person was declared inviolable, but his ministers responsible. He commanded the forces by sea and land, declared war and made peace, and nominated to all public offices with the advice of his ministers. The States-General were to be still divided into two chambers, but their composition and mode of appointment were changed. The members of the Upper House, who by the constitution of 1815 were all named by the King, were to be no longer appointed by him, but by the provincial estates, and to be taken from a roll of the persons paying the highest amount of direct taxes within their respective limits. They were to be elected for nine years, and to receive an annual salary from Government of 3000 florins, or £300 a-year. The lower chamber was elected for four years, and to be elected by all persons paying above 20 florins (£2), and below 160 florins (£16) a-year. A deputy was to be chosen for every 45,000 inhabitants; and, to be eligible for the second chamber, the candidates required to be above 30 years of age. This chamber was exclusively invested with the right of voting taxes and supplies, which was to be done annually, and with that of proposing and moving amendments to laws. The debates in both chambers were to be open, and published in the newspapers;[1] and the people enjoyed the right of petitioning either the local estates or the general legislature, as well as, under certain limitations, that of meeting

[1] See Constitution, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 377-379.

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in public to discuss their grievances or express their wishes. These provisions contained the whole elements of real freedom, and made as large concessions to democracy as were consistent with its existence.

20. Progress of the Revolution in Germany.

While the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland were reaping in this manner the fruits of a sage administration on the part of their respective governments, and moderation on that of their people, the lesser states in Germany were falling, one after another, with unheard-of rapidity, before the revolutionary tempest. Such was the swiftness with which the storm advanced, and the universality of the overthrow which it effected, that it could be compared to nothing but a tropical tornado sweeping over the land, and overturning in its fury, towers, churches, and palaces. Nothing like it had ever been witnessed in the civilised world before, and probably never will again. On Feb. 29. the 29th February the Government at Carlsruhe, to allay the hourly-increasing effervescence, announced to the Chamber of Deputies that they were about to bring forward proposals for the liberty of the press, trial by jury, and the general arming of the people; and on the evening of the same day the citizens, already armed, thronged the streets, and the rule had slipped out of the hands of March 2. the sovereign. At Stuttgart, on the 2d March, an assembly of bourgeois addressed to the Emperor a petition, in which they demanded the immediate convocation of a German parliament, the institution of trial by jury, the entire liberty of the press, equality in taxes and privileges, the abolition of *Corvées*, and general arming of the people. The immediate convocation of the Estates was the consequence of that petition. In the Duchy of Nassau a similar petition, on the same day, led to a March 3. similar result. On the 3d March the German Diet sitting at Frankfort yielded to the loud and menacing demand of the public voice, passed a decree virtually abandoning all general control or right of direction over the confederacy, and permitting every separate State to regu-

late the liberty of the press within its dominions as it deemed expedient. On the 9th the same body adopted a tricolor flag—black, red, and gold being taken as the arms of the confederation. At Cologne a tumult got up, and a petition was largely signed and paraded through the streets, demanding universal suffrage and popular government, unrestricted liberty in speech and publishing, the abolition of the standing army, general arming of the people, security for employment to all by the Government, and education of all at the public expense.[1]

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March 4.

[1] Balleyd. Rev. d'Autriche, i. 13, 14; Ann. Hist. 1848, 386, 387.

21. All the lesser German Sovereigns yield.

When such extravagant ideas were fermenting in the public mind, it was not to be expected that the sovereigns of the lesser German states could oppose any effectual resistance to the torrent. In truth, they were so thunderstruck by the Revolution at Paris, and so overawed by the great parent democracy on the other side of the Rhine, which they expected every moment to burst in armed bands of liberators upon them, that they nowhere attempted it. Concession to whatever was demanded was universal and immediate. At Munich public discontent had been long excited by the avowed influence of Lola Montes, a celebrated dancer whom the King had created Countess of Lansfeld, over the royal mind, and the Revolution of Paris blew it into a flame. The Countess having taken a body of students, named *Allemannen* under her protection, they were publicly insulted by the other students; and matters became so serious that, by a royal ordinance, the university was closed for a year. This strong step excited such indignation, that tumults arose, in the course of which death ensued, barricades were erected, the King himself was slightly wounded, and the Countess, after having had her hotel pillaged, was obliged to leave the country. Matters being in this distracted state, the intelligence of the French Revolution, which immediately after arrived, brought matters to a crisis. On the 3d March the King dissolved the Lower Chamber, and an-

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nounced the meeting of the new one for the 30th May; but this was far too long a delay for the movement party.

March 4. On the next day a tumultuous mob passed the windows of the royal palace, and proceeded to pillage the arsenal, where they got arms in abundance; and the King, having

March 6. no longer any means of resistance, two days after issued a decree convoking the Chamber for the 16th March, and at once abolishing the censorship of the press, and ordering the army to take the oath of fidelity to the constitu-

March 5. tion. On the 5th March the Grand-Duke of Baden, destitute of all means of resistance, convoked the Chambers, publicly acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, and established a National Guard; the King of Wür-

March 6. temberg engaged to establish civic guards and abolish feudal rights; at Weisbaden similar concessions were made by the reigning prince; while at Heidelberg a body of democrats, self-elected as rulers of the empire, published a declaration, stating that the existing Diet at Frankfort did not possess the confidence of the nation, and appointing a standing committee to arrange the preliminaries for a real representation of the people over the

March 6. whole confederacy. On the same day the King of Saxony published an edict, making an entire change in the ministry in favour of the Liberals, and ordering the immediate convocation of a chamber to settle the basis of a new constitution.[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 13, 14; Ann. Hist. 1848, 386, 387.

22. Disturbances in Prussia. March 6.

It might have been expected that, though the lesser states of the confederacy were unable to resist the storm which set in with such violence from the left bank of the Rhine, the case would be different with the great military monarchies which were farther removed from the scene of danger, and possessed a powerful armed force to support authority and stifle insurrection. But it was just the reverse: the tornado fell with more violence, and speedily produced effects more important, at Vienna and Berlin than at Munich or Dresden. In the Prussian capital the panic was extreme when the intelligence from

Paris first arrived; nothing less than an immediate invasion by the arms of France was anticipated. Meetings in consequence were held, at which petitions were agreed to, and straightway signed, especially at Coblentz, Dusseldorf, and the other cities in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, praying for a general arming of the people, and the immediate concession of all the points on which the two Chambers had agreed at their last sitting; and the King, to appease the public mind, had no alternative but to accede to the demand. On the 11th of the same month, a programme of the changes intended to be introduced was published by the Government, by which absolute liberty of the press was at once conceded in the mean time, and hopes were held out of a law for a common constitution of the whole confederacy. From the early and decided step thus taken by the Prussian Government, which in this manner put itself at the head of the *Liberal Unitarians* of Germany, it was evident that they had in view a great augmentation of the ascendancy of Prussia in the liberalised confederacy, and that visions were already entertained of an imperial crown, supported by the Liberal states, adding fresh lustre to the house of Brandenburg.[1]

March 5.

March 11.

[1] Balleyd. i. 16, 17; Ann. Hist. 1848, 387-389; Ann. Reg. 1848, 376, 377.

This was rendered still more apparent by a royal proclamation, issued on the 18th March, in which the King said, "Above all, we demand that Germany shall be transformed from a confederation of states *into one federal state*. We acknowledge that to effect this a temporal federal representation must be formed out of the chambers of all German states, and convoked immediately. We demand a general military system for Germany, and we will endeavour to form it after that model under which our Prussian armies reaped such unfading laurels in the war of independence. We demand that the German federal army be assembled under one single federal banner, and we hope to see a federal commander-in-chief at its head. We demand a German federal flag; and we expect that

23. Important Proclamation by the King of Prussia. March 18.

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the period is not far remote when a German fleet shall cause the German name to be respected on the ocean. We demand a federal tribunal for the settlement of all differences between princes and their states, as between different German governments. We demand a common law of settlement for all Germany, and an absolute right of all Germans mutually to migrate to any part of the Fatherland. We demand the abolition of all custom-houses which shall impede the internal commerce of all German states; a general Zollverein for the whole of Germany, and an entire uniformity of weights, measures, and coins throughout the entire union. We propose the same liberty of the press throughout all Germany, with the same guarantees against its abuse. To accomplish these our intentions, we convoke the general Diet for the 2d April; and in the mean time the censorship of the press is abolished, all laws relating thereto abrogated, and offences of the press against the government or individuals are sent to the ordinary tribunals." [1]

[1] Proclamation, March 18, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 377.

24. Tumult in Berlin. March 19.

From the terms of this very remarkable instrument, it was evident not only that the King of Prussia was disposed to put himself at the head of the large party professing Liberal opinions in Prussia, but that he had embraced the views of the still more numerous body in the whole confederacy which aspired to restore a German empire, no longer a disjointed confederacy of independent states, but one powerful and united monarchy. It was not difficult to see who was designed for its head; and as it was not to be supposed that Austria would yield the palm, the confederacy, at the very threshold of its Liberal advances, and when panting for pacific union, was threatened with a serious war between the rival aspirants for its direction. But ere this inevitable jealousy could break out in open acts, the direction of affairs was taken out of the hands of the King, and the Prussian government afforded another example of the eternal truth, that those who aspire to acquire or retain

the lead in public affairs by the support of the democracy, end by becoming puppets in its hands. The King of Prussia was virtually dethroned the very day after this proclamation had been issued. On the evening of the same day an immense crowd assembled in the König-Strasse and in the square in front of the palace, to testify their gratitude to the monarch who had thus early made such concessions, and loud acclamations rent the sky when he appeared at the balcony to receive the grateful homage of his subjects. But the extreme liberals and revolutionists had no intention of allowing the direction of the movement to remain in the hands of the Government, and in order to wrest it from them, and excite the popular passions against the sovereign, they determined to provoke a collision between the citizens and the royal troops. For this purpose, in the midst of the tumult and rejoicings at the appearance of the King at the balcony, a few shots were fired from the König-Strasse on a squadron of cavalry, which were drawn up under the windows of the palace. At the same time barricades began to be erected in that street, within sight of the royal dwelling.[1]

March 18.

[1] Proclamation, March 19, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 378; Ann. Hist. 1848, 390, 391.

Upon this the cavalry moved forward to clear the square, but at a walk only, and without unsheathing their swords. At the same time two muskets were discharged from the infantry ranks, whether by accident or command is unknown, which was immediately followed by a general discharge of firearms from the mob in the König-Strasse, and along the square. The students at the University were at the head of the insurrection; but it was soon supported by a battalion of the Guard, the Chasseurs of Neufchâtel, which joined the popular side. The cavalry now drew their sabres, and charged the mob in good earnest. A sanguinary conflict ensued, for the insurgents had among them a great number of old soldiers as well trained to arms as the royal troops, and the students combated with the utmost resolution. The conflict continued till nightfall, and even long after it had become

25. Bloody conflict, and submission of the King.

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dark, by the light of the burning houses, several of which were broken into, and, after, being sacked, set on fire by the combatants. Overwhelmed with terror at this calamitous event, which cost sixty persons their lives, besides four times that number wounded, the King issued a proclamation, addressed to "my beloved Berliners," in which he expressed the utmost regret at the events which had occurred, and declared that the conflict had arisen from accident, and the shots first fired from the König-Strasse. Next morning the King gave token of his submission by accepting the resignation of his whole ministers, who were immediately succeeded by a new cabinet composed of known Liberals, at the head of which was Count d'Arnim, and M. d'Auerswald was made Minister of the Interior.

March 20. On the 20th a general amnesty was proclaimed, and the whole persons in custody on account of the insurrection were liberated without bail, and two additional ministers were appointed, known to belong to the most advanced

March 22. Liberals; and on the 22d, the bodies of the citizens who had been killed in the affray on the evening of the 18th were paraded with great pomp before the royal palace, and the King was obliged to submit to the humiliation of inclining his head before the lifeless remains of those who had perished under the sabres of his guards. At the same time the King published a decree appointing a national guard in the capital, and ordered the royal troops to leave the city; and after riding through the streets in the German uniform, in the course of which he made repeated protestations of his anxious desire for German freedom, he issued two proclamations, in which he openly announced his intention of putting himself at the head of the restored and united German nation.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 391, 392; Ann. Reg. 1848, 379.

26. Revolution in Bavaria, and resignation of the King. March 17.

While these events were passing in Prussia, Bavaria had become the theatre of a revolution less bloody, but still more strange. A report got up, whether well founded or not is unknown, that the favourite, Lola Montes, had returned from her banishment, and was in secret lodged in

the palace. Upon this the populace, dreading the removal of the Prince of Wallerstein, who had been appointed prime-minister on occasion of the former disturbances, rose up, and several conflicts ensued between them and the royal troops, in which the insurgents were generally worsted. But the public discontents soon assumed a more pacific but not less formidable form. A petition to have the favourite dismissed, and the popular demands conceded, was presented to the King, who was constrained to yield, and withdrew from the Countess her patent of naturalisation. An order was even issued to arrest her if she returned to Bavaria. On the 20th, the King, over- March 20.
whelmed with vexation, and seeing himself deprived of all real power, resigned the crown in favour of his son Maximilian, a man of thirty years of age, who immediately ascended the throne. The accession of this prince, who was married to a sister of the King of Prussia, was March 22.
the signal of a speech by the new sovereign to the assembled Chambers, specially convoked, in which he announced a general amnesty, the responsibility of the King's ministers, the liberty of the press, the general election of the deputies to the Lower Chamber by the people, an immediate and complete representation of the Palatinate in the Chamber, the redemption of seignorial rights, the introduction of trial by jury, laws against the Jews, a revision of the regulations regarding the landwehr, and the general arming of the people. This was immediately followed by a change of ministry—the new cabinet being entirely composed of men of the most Liberal principles—Baron Thon de Dittmar, a noted leader of that party, being at its head.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 391-393; Moniteur, March 26, 1848.

27. Divisions in Prussia on the recent changes.

Rapid and decisive as had been the triumph of the Liberals, both at Berlin and Munich, it ere long appeared that the people, as a whole, in neither country were unanimous on the recent changes, and that the seeds of future and frightful divisions were already sown while the *Io Pæans* of victory were still resounding over the

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land. The provinces first hoisted the signal of resistance; and some of them, in assemblies as numerous as that which had effected the revolution in the capital, openly condemned the changes effected on the 18th March, and stigmatised them as concessions extorted from an unwilling sovereign by a rebellious capital. This was in particular done in Pomerania, the old marquisate of Brandenburg, and the circle of Westhawel. The Poles, too, emulous of the movements of their Liberal brethren in Berlin, were already preparing a formidable agitation in the Grand-Duchy of Posen, and demanding an extension to them of the privileges won by their German fellow-subjects. The movement of the Prussian monarch in favour of a new German empire, of which he was to be the head, was loudly condemned in Bavaria and all the Catholic States of the south. At Munich the

March 22. portrait of Frederick William was publicly burnt in the midst of the cheers of an immense concourse of spectators. Pressed by so many difficulties without and within, the Liberal Prussian ministry, installed on the 19th March amidst the smoke of the barricades, found itself unable to carry on the government. Ten days after he was appointed minister, Count d'Arnim found himself compelled to retire from the cabinet, which was remodelled

April 2. by large concessions to M. Camphausen and the extreme Liberals; and the new cabinet with difficulty held its ground till the 16th June, when a third ministry was appointed under the pressure of a second popular insurrection. The Catholics in the monarchy all took part against the Protestants and the new order of things; the Poles were preparing a revolt against both; the inhabitants of the country generally stood aloof, or openly condemned the encroachments of the Liberals in the towns;[1] and Germany, while still resounding with the cry for a great and united Fatherland, was in reality threatened with the horrors of a war of races

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 380, 381; Ann. Hist. 1848, 392-394.

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and a religious strife, superadded to the distractions of a social revolution.

1848. 28. New Prussian Constitution. April 2.

The Prussian Estates, convoked for the 2d April, found themselves suddenly invested with the powers and called to the duties of a constituent assembly. Upon them had devolved the duty of fixing the basis of the new and liberal constitution of Prussia in a manner suitable to the lights of the age and conformable to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. The first thing to be done was to fix the principles on which the elections for the popular part of the legislature were to be conducted—the *Reform Bill* of Prussia—upon which, if it remained durable, its future would in a great measure depend. The King, in opening the Assembly, did not disguise his expectation that Prussia, in taking a lead on this occasion, was in effect laying the corner-stone of the edifice on which the whole fabric of German liberty and independence was to be reared. "His Majesty," said he, "has promised a real constitutional charter, and we are assembled to lay the foundation-stone of the enduring edifice. We hope that the work will proceed rapidly, and that it will perfect a great constitutional system *for the whole German race.* The Government recognises in its mission the invigorating power of the State closing again the broken bonds of order, the reviving of confidence and credit, and the giving an upward impulse to trade and labour. It will endeavour to maintain peace without as long as the honour of Germany will permit, and to the honour of Germany also restore peace within."[1]

[1] Moniteur, April 5, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 382, 383.

29. Its provisions.

Proceeding on these principles, the bases of the new constitution proposed by the King, unanimously and enthusiastically agreed to by the Chamber, were as follows: 1. Every householder of twenty-four years of age, not convicted of a crime, or having received public or parochial relief, to have a vote for the representation in the Lower House. 2. Every five hundred of the primary

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voters to elect one elector, to be determined by the absolute majority of votes. 3. Every householder of thirty years complete, in possession of civil rights, to be eligible as an elector. 4. Two deputies to be chosen for every town or district with a population of sixty thousand inhabitants, according to the census of 1846, and for every forty thousand more one deputy in addition. 5. The investigation of the legality of elections to be conducted by the Assembly itself, and the elections to be determined by a majority of votes written by the electors themselves, and conducted by the magistrates or municipal authorities. 6. The deputies to vote according to their own opinions, not according to any written instructions from their constituents. In regard again to the general constitution of the kingdom, the monarch promised that proposals should be laid before them providing for the freedom of the press, personal liberty, the right of meeting and petitioning, the publicity of judicial proceedings and *viva voce* examination of witnesses; trial by jury, especially in political cases; abolition of heritable jurisdictions; equality of civil and political rights and of all persuasions; a general arming of the people; a popular law of election thoroughly representing all interests; a decisive ascendancy of a simple majority of the popular assembly in the administration and legislation of the State; the responsibility of ministers; and swearing of the army to the constitution.[1]

[1] King's Speech, April 2, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 383, 384; Moniteur, April 5; Ann. Hist. 1848, 394, 395.

30. Dispute of the Prussian with the General Diet.

This regulation of Prussia as to the election of members for their own Diet, of course, could bind no other State, and it was even doubtful how far that Diet possessed the power of electing the representatives of Prussia for the General Diet of the confederacy. Thinking, however, that they possessed that power, the Prussian Diet elected these representatives. This gave great offence to the General Diet, which maintained that, by the existing constitution of the confederacy, its members were to be chosen by direct election for itself, and not

April 10.

by the suffrages of any other body; and as the Prussian Diet insisted on their supposed right, the matter at first assumed a very serious aspect. At length, however, the Prussians gave way, annulled the first election, and agreed to send deputies chosen by direct election. The other states of the confederacy all sent deputies directly chosen, in terms of a resolution of the General Diet on 31st March; and such was the enthusiasm which universally prevailed, that they were practically chosen by universal suffrage, and were generally adopting extreme opinions. One deputy was to be returned for every seventy thousand inhabitants; and the opening of the General Diet, which was to consist of five hundred members, was fixed to be at Frankfort-on-the-Maine on the 4th May, the anniversary of the opening of the States-General of France sixty years before.[1]

April 7.

March 31.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 395, 396; Ann. Reg. 1848, 385-387.

On the 26th March a great meeting took place at Heidelberg, around the ruins of the magnificent castle which has there so long been the object of universal admiration, at which speeches were made eminently descriptive of the German mind at that juncture. The assembly, which consisted of above thirty thousand persons, was addressed in heart-stirring strains by the leading Liberals of Central and Northern Germany. One of these, Welcher, spoke wisely as well as eloquently, and it would have been well for Germany if his counsels had been followed. "Do not," said he, "mistake license for liberty, nor suppose that because much must be remodelled, all must be overturned. Far be such a thought from us! Let us progress, but steadily and thoughtfully. Let us lay the foundation of our freedom, a national parliament: let us be citizens of one united country; but do not imagine such an object can be attained by proclaiming a republic. Look at France. She now for the second time possesses that form of government in which alone, according to some, true freedom is to be found. What has she gained by it? What is her pre-

31. Great meeting at Heidelberg. March 26.

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sent condition?—what her future prospects? To say the least, they are not encouraging; and I am delighted that among my own countrymen no desire has been expressed to follow in her steps. But regard the present condition of England! (Thunders of applause.) Let her be our model. She has long enjoyed free institutions; she alone remains unshaken in the storm which is howling around. It is to her we must look to be our model and guide."[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 363, 364.

32. Elections for the General Diet.

A question both of delicacy and difficulty arose in the very outset as to the mode in which the Assembly was to be elected. It was universally felt that the existing Diet, elected under the old aristocratic regime, could not be maintained. Several meetings in various parts of the country had condemned it, and public opinion had loudly declared itself to the same effect. A self-convoked assembly of Liberal representatives from nearly every part

March 2.

of Germany had met at Heidelberg on the 2d March, and, after passing resolutions in favour of German unity, independence, and the general representation of the people in one assembly, had appointed a committee of seven to draw up the plan of a general German representation. The old Diet, erected under the aristocratic

March 8.

regime, met at Frankfort on the 8th March; and feeling themselves not strong enough to resist the torrent, invited seventeen of the most popular of the Liberal leaders, including the seven appointed by the Radical assembly, to unite with them in framing a scheme for the general national representation; and this proposal was acceded to. A united assembly, accordingly, consisting of three hundred persons, met to discuss the mode of election,

March 30.

and it soon appeared that the extreme Radicals had a decided majority. Resolutions were passed to the effect that a National Assembly for all Germany should be elected on the principle of one deputy for every seventy thousand persons, the lesser states of the confederacy being, however, entitled to a deputy, though containing

a smaller number of inhabitants. M. Mittermayer was chosen president of this preliminary or Vor-Parliament, and MM. Dahlmann, Blum, Itzstein, and Jordan, all decided Radicals, vice-presidents. Having decided the mode of election on this highly popular basis, the Vor-Parliament dissolved itself, having previously appointed a committee of fifty to watch over the public interest till the day of meeting of the new national representatives. Thus was the first great step in the career of revolution made, almost without resistance from any of the aristocratic classes — namely, the fixing of the general federal representation on the footing of the population *told by head*, in direct opposition to the old system in every European state, which was the representation of classes.

33. Composition of the General Diet.

Such was the importance attached by all Germany to the idea of a united federal empire, that it soon came to supplant, in general estimation and interest, the proceedings of the separate Diets in the different states. Even the greatest monarchs looked to this Assembly as the only remaining channel for influence and supremacy. Austria sent the Archduke John, the most Liberal of the Imperial family, as one of her representatives to the General Diet, and openly canvassed for the presidency. But although a prince of the house of Hapsburg was a member of the Diet, that gave no indication of the real inclinations of the Assembly. All the efforts of the princes, dukes, and potentates of the Confederacy could not prevent the representatives chosen being for the most part of the most violent character. In vain the chiefs yielded to the torrent, and everywhere put themselves at the head of the movement, in order to obtain its direction ; in vain they brought forward the most celebrated persons in philosophy and literature as candidates for the suffrages : the Revolutionists were more than a match for them, and the choice of the newly-aroused German people fell on persons of a very different and far more dangerous character.

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M. Dahlmann, the celebrated professor of history in Göttingen, who had obtained additional celebrity by being removed from his chair by the King of Hanover, was rejected in Prussia; M. Albrecht, his colleague, was thrown out in Saxony; M. von Gagern in Hesse; M. Uhland, the beautiful and popular poet, and a distinguished Liberal leader, in Würtemberg; M. Welcher in Baden. It was already evident that these the first apostles of freedom, the original leaders of the movement, were passed in the race by bolder and more unscrupulous men, and that the lead in the German Revolution would fall into the hands of decided Republicans. From the very outset of their meetings extreme opinions were advocated by men destined to acquire a melancholy celebrity in future times; the word "Republic" was heard from the lips of M. Robert Blum, M. Struve, and M. Ronge, the revolutionary representative of Silesia.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 394-397; Ann. Reg. 1848, 363, 364.

34. German encroachments on Schleswig-Holstein.

So strong and general was the passion for German unity, as well as freedom, that before even the new National Assembly had met, and during the sitting of the Vor-Parliament, pretensions of the most iniquitous kind had been put forward by the German democracy, which, if persisted in, would, it was evident, lead to a general war, and could not be carried into effect without the most violent invasion of the rights of other states. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenberg contained a considerable proportion of inhabitants of German descent; but a great number of them were Sclavonians or Celts, and for two centuries they had formed part of the Danish dominions. Under the influence, however, of the events which had taken place in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, a great ferment got up in these provinces, especially among the inhabitants of German descent, and the cry was raised for a union with the Fatherland. The Government of Denmark had recently before sustained a serious loss by the death of the wise and popular King Christian VII., who had mounted

the throne on 3d December 1839, and died on 20th January 1848. He was succeeded by his only son, Prince Frederick, who was born in 1808, and immediately ascended the throne by the title of Frederick VII. His first act was, in conformity with the general spirit of the age, to give a constitution to his subjects. By it a united parliament was constituted for the kingdom of Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. This parliament was to consist of fifty-two members in all, and to be invested with the powers of legislation and laying on taxes. It was to meet within two months of the promulgation of the decree constituting it. The number of deputies was to be one-half for Jutland and the isles, and one-half for Schleswig and Holstein, so that they gained greatly, and obtained, in every respect, a suitable place in the united parliament. The constitution was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy in Denmark proper; but it was otherwise in the duchies, where opinion was much divided, from the desire generally felt for a separate legislature of their own. Matters were in this state when the news arrived in the end of February of the revolution in Paris. The cry immediately arose in the duchies that they should be detached from the Danish crown, and incorporated with the great German Confederacy. This was cordially supported by emissaries from Berlin and the leading German patriots, who encouraged the people to persevere in their demands, and promised them the support of the whole Confederacy in asserting them. The effervescence instantly became extreme over the duchies. Public meetings, very numerously attended, were held in all the great towns, in which a union with Germany was demanded; and the excitement was carried to the highest point by the arrival of summonses from the Vor-Parliament at Frankfort, which, treating them as already parts of the Confederacy, ordained them to send deputies to the approaching General Diet.[1]

1848. Jan. 20.

Jan. 28.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 479, 480; Ann. Reg. 1848, 340.

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1848. 35.

Great importance of this question in a social point of view. The Schleswig-Holstein question.

This step on the part of the German confederative assembly was a most important one, both in a social and political point of view. It was the first assumption of pretensions altogether at variance with existing rights, and evinced a determination to disregard former treaties, how solemn or ancient soever. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had, from a very remote period, been, not a part of the kingdom of Denmark, but an appanage of the Danish crown. The right of the King of Denmark to these duchies was sold in the year 1326, when Waldemar, King of Denmark, gave the duchy of Schleswig or South Jutland to Count Gerhard de Holstein, as a hereditary fief, on condition, however, that it should never be united with the kingdom of Denmark. The states of Schleswig-Holstein, in consequence of this limitation, claimed soon after the right to choose their own duke, and this was agreed to by Christian I., King of Denmark, who on 6th March 1540 acknowledged the right of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig to choose their duke from any son *of his family* that they chose. This right of election, however, remained in abeyance till 1588, when it was exercised by the Estates of the duchies with the sanction of the regnant Queen-mother of Denmark. Thereafter it became obsolete, and in 1608 the Duke of Schleswig executed an entail of the succession to the heirs-male in the Gottorp portions of the duchies; and in 1650 a similar entail was made of the royal duchies; and the right of election in the Estates became again obsolete. In 1658 Christian IV., King of Denmark, was obliged to cede, by the treaty of Roskeld, the Gottorp portion of the duchy of Schleswig to the Duke of Gottorp, and various wars were waged between the King of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp until 1714, when the forces of the King of Denmark, having driven the Swedish troops, who took part with Holstein, out of the disputed territory of Gottorp, took possession of it for the crown of Denmark. This was followed, in

March 6, 1540.

1715, by a treaty by which France, England, Russia, and Prussia guaranteed to Denmark the perpetual and peaceable possession of the ducal part of the Duchy of Holstein, while the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was declared to belong to the Duke of Holstein as a prince of the Empire. In 1767 the Empress Catherine of Russia, regent of the Gottorp portion of the duchy of Schleswig, exchanged it for the countries of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which belonged to Denmark. In 1773 the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was formally ceded to the King of Denmark, who thus became vested with the entire right to the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, which have formed part of the Danish dominions ever since.[1]

[1] See Twiss on the question of Schleswig and Holstein, 32-40; and Ann. Reg. 1848, 340-343.

36. Claims of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig.

There was ample room, in this long deduction of titles, for the industry of antiquarians and the ingenuity of lawyers to exercise their talents upon, and the Estates of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig had for several years before the French Revolution been engaged in a respectful and amicable contest with the Crown of Denmark, chiefly relating to the reunion of the duchies, for which they contended, and the claims they advanced to be considered as part of the German Confederacy. But, under the influence of the French and German Revolutions, they took higher ground, and, by a deputation of five of the chief leaders in the agitation, openly demanded of the King a formal recognition of the independence of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, and their forming part of the German Confederacy. The King replied, with great judgment and moderation, that he was not opposed to a closer connection between Holstein and the German Confederacy, of which its inhabitants formed a part; but that, in that event, it must be separated from Schleswig, which had never formed part of the German Confederation, and which he neither had the legal power nor the inclination to compel its inhabitants now to enter. The Cabinet, though remodelled, and chiefly composed

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of Liberal men, inclined to the constitutional system, and cordially supported the King in this resolution; and it soon appeared that it was entirely in unison with the wishes of the people of Schleswig. As one man they rose to assert their independence of the Germanic Confederation, and maintain their connection with the paternal and much-loved Government of Denmark. The revolutionists of Holstein, in connection with the German emissaries, had already prepared a revolt; and so eager were they to commence it, that it broke out before the answer was received from Copenhagen to the demands of the Holstein deputies. It began in Kiel in Holstein, where Prince Frederick of Noor, a younger brother of the Duke of Augustenburg, who had joined the insurgents, hoisted the standard of insurrection on the 24th March, and a provisional government was formed. No sooner was intelligence of this received at Copenhagen, than the enthusiasm rose to the highest point: a great meeting was held, at which all classes joined in the most earnest expression of loyalty and affection to the reigning family, and preparations were made to prosecute the war with the utmost activity both by sea and land.[1]

March 24.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 480, 481; Ann. Reg. 1848, 344, 347.

37. Invasion of the Duchies by the Prussian troops.

Prussia, from its geographical position, was first implicated in these hostilities, as its territory adjoined that of the Danish duchies. On the 4th April the first meeting of the insurgent Estates took place at Rendsburg, on the Eider, at which the motion for an incorporation of both duchies with the Germanic Confederacy was carried with only two dissentient voices. This led to an immediate movement on the part of the German powers. On the 6th April a body of Prussian troops, under the command of General Von Wrangel, crossed the Holstein frontier, with the avowed object of supporting the insurgents, while, at the same time, the Cabinet of Berlin issued a hypocritical declaration that they entered the duchy with no intention of invading the rights of the King of Denmark. Meanwhile their troops immediately joined

April 6.

the insurgent bands; the Frankfort Diet, by a formal decree, acknowledged the provisional government of the duchies, and ordered troops from Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Oldenburg, to advance into them to support the Prussian army which had first entered. The King of Denmark, upon this, addressed, by means of his ambassador at Frankfort, a formal note protesting against any attempt on the part of the German Confederacy, and a war immediately ensued between the two powers. It seemed hopeless on the part of Denmark, which was then brought into collison, with half its forces, with the vast strength of the German Confederacy. Nevertheless it came to a successful and glorious termination for the Danish crown—so great was the patriotic spirit of her people, and so indomitable the courage of the descendants of the old sea-kings of the north. It was a curious circumstance, that over the gate of the town of Rendsburg, on the Eider, which the troops of the Confederacy entered first on their invasion of Schleswig, and where the standard of revolt against Denmark was first hoisted, stood the old inscription, which had been there for centuries, "*Eidora Romani terminus Imperii*,"—thus affording a standing reproach against the aggression, and proof of the justice of the Danish claims.[1]

1848. April 12.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 345, 347; Ann. Hist. 1848, 479-481.

38. First victory of the Danes. April 7.

The first operations of the war were eminently favourable to the Danes, and ominous of the ultimate issue of the contest. The Danish regular troops entered Schleswig on the 7th April, and by a skilful flank attack completely routed the insurgents, 4000 strong, supported by 6000 regular troops of the Confederation, with the loss of 1100 men, while the victors were weakened only by 250 *hors-de-combat*. On the same day the Danish fleet destroyed the batteries which had been erected by the enemy near Kiel, and a few days after the land forces drove the Germans over the Eider, and regained the entire province of Schleswig. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, one unanimous cry of indignation arose in

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every part of the Confederacy; everywhere the Liberals preached a crusade against the audacious Danes, who had ventured to brave the German colours, and impede the resurrection of the Fatherland. The governments of the neighbouring states were swept away by the torrent; the Diet strongly supported the same views; the principle was openly asserted, that wherever the German language was spoken, there were the bounds of the great Teutonic Confederacy. The fact was totally overlooked that the German population was little more than a *third* of the whole inhabitants of the disputed territory, and that a vast majority of the entire population was warmly attached to the Danish connection.* Indeed, the greatest difficulty which the Danish troops experienced was in restraining the furious indignation of the inhabitants, which broke out in acts of savage hostility against the retiring Germans. They had signalised their entry by blood and rapine, and the women, in return, poured boiling water upon them from the roofs of the houses as they withdrew. Inflamed beyond measure by the recital of these mutual atrocities, the Prussian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick governments directed formidable armies against Holstein. Without any declaration of war, they invaded the duchy, took possession of the fortress of Rendsburg, in which they placed a garrison of 5000 men; and an army of 40,000 men was collected to carry the terrors of German vengeance over the whole Cimbric peninsula.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 482, 483; Ann. Reg. 1848, 346, 347.

39. Renewed invasion of Schleswig, and victories of the Prussians.

The forces of Denmark were unequal to the encounter of so large an armament, notwithstanding the gallant spirit with which they were animated. She could not bring more than twelve thousand regular troops into the field against forty thousand of the Confederation. They

* Total inhabitants of Schleswig, . . 330,000
Of which—Danes, . . . 185,000
„ Frisians, . . . 25,000
„ Germans, . . . 120,000
330,000

—*Ann. Hist.* 1848, p. 483.

made, however, a noble defence. The King having refused to obey a peremptory order of the Diet at Frankfort to withdraw his forces from Schleswig, the Prussian troops received orders to enter at all points the Danish territories; and the Danish Government, in reply, laid an embargo on all German vessels in their harbours, and issued orders to their cruisers to capture all vessels bearing the Prussian flag. Each party was successful on the element on which its forces preponderated. The Danes reasserted their ancient maritime superiority on the Northern Ocean; the Prussian flag was swept from the ocean, their harbours blockaded, and their foreign trade nearly destroyed. But at land the Danes experienced in the outset very considerable reverses. On Easter Sunday, 23d April, the Danish troops, ten thousand strong, under General Hedemann, were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked at Danewirke, near Schleswig, by General Von Wrangel, with thirty thousand Prussians, and, after a heroic resistance of eight hours, compelled to retire. They withdrew in the best order, however, without losing a single tumbril or piece of artillery; but the town of Schleswig fell into the hands of the enemy. Finding himself decidedly overmatched, the Danish general wisely withdrew from the mainland, and stationed his troops on the islands of Alsen and Funen, lying on the east coast of Schleswig, where they could not be followed by the invaders, and maintained a secure and yet menacing position on their flank. Von Wrangel, upon this, having no longer an enemy in his front, divided his army into two columns, one of which entered Jutland, and carried the war into Denmark proper, where they levied a contribution of two million crowns, while the other occupied Schleswig.[1]

1848. April 11.

April 19.

April 23.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 347, 348; Ann. Hist. 1848, 484, 485.

The entrance of the German troops into Jutland, avowedly beyond the limits of the Confederation, brought new actors on the scene, and it was evident that, if persisted in, it would bring the whole of the north into the

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40. Sweden intervenes, and Russia is in observation.

contest. As soon as it was known at Stockholm, the Cabinet of that place addressed a warm remonstrance to that of Berlin, in which they announced that, if the invasion of Denmark was persisted in, they would be under the necessity of sending a *corps d'armée* into Funen, or some of the other Danish islands, to resist the attack, and secure the safety of the Scandinavian kingdoms. The Prussian Government replied that they had no intention of permanently occupying any part of Jutland, but that the measure had been rendered necessary by the seizure of a number of Prussian ships by Danish cruisers, and as a means of compelling their restitution. The Prussian troops, however, continued to advance, and reached Kolding, upon which the Swedes landed a considerable body of troops in Funen to support the Danish forces there; while a Russian squadron set sail from Cronstadt under the Archduke Constantine, and began to cruise along the coast of Jutland to be ready for any emergency which might occur. Matters now began to look serious, and to threaten a general war in the north. To avert it, a conference was opened in London of the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and Denmark, and a Russian diplomatic agent was stationed in Hamburg to communicate the result of their deliberations to the belligerent parties. By their intervention the advance of the Prussian troops was at length arrested in Jutland, and they were withdrawn from that peninsula, though not before a bloody combat had taken place with the Danish troops, in which the invaders were worsted, and driven back to Gravenstein.[1]

May 2.

May 28.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 480-485; Ann. Reg. 1848, 350, 351; Cayley, ii. 53, 54.

41. Battle of Duppeln. June 5.

To avenge this affront, the Prussian and Hanoverian troops, notwithstanding the pending negotiations, made a combined attack on the Danish forces, who had taken up a position at Duppeln. The superiority of numbers in the land forces was decidedly in favour of the Prussians; but on the other hand, the Danes had the advantage of a strong position and of the support of a flotilla of gun-

boats in the strait between the mainland and the island of Alsen, which lay on their flank, and the guns of which reached the field of battle. General Hedemann commanded the Danes, and in order to throw no obstacle in the way of the mediation of the allied powers, his orders were to act strictly on the defensive. The forces under his command were only fourteen thousand; the Germans brought twenty-four thousand sabres and bayonets into the field. The first line of the Danes was carried after an obstinate struggle and great slaughter on both sides; but they retired to a still stronger position in their rear, which was commanded both by heavy artillery on the opposite heights in the island of Alsen, and the gun-boats in the straits. The fire from these was so heavy upon the advancing columns of the Prussians, when they came within range, that they were driven back, and the Danes reoccupied the positions which they had held in the earlier part of the day. The attack was resumed next morning; but though the Prussians gained some advantages, they made no material progress; and after a useless slaughter, both parties remained nearly in the same position as they had occupied in the commencement of the conflict. Another combat, equally to the honour of the Danes as the weaker party, took place on the 29th June, when the Danish rear-guard repulsed an attack by the insurgents, headed by the Prince de Noor.[1]

[1] Cayley, ii. 53, 54; Ann. Reg. 350; Ann. Hist. 1848, 485.

42. Negotiations for an armistice, which is concluded. Aug. 26.

Anxious to terminate a contest so unequal, though waged with so much honour to himself and his forces by sea and land, the King of Denmark addressed, on the 15th June, a note to the ambassadors of Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, at Copenhagen, requesting their mediation between him and the German Confederacy. The result of this was an interposition of these powers, which led to an armistice for seven months, on the 26th August. The conditions of this convention were, that both duchies should be evacuated alike by the Danish and German forces; that prisoners on both sides should be restored;

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all vessels captured, or on which an embargo had been laid since the commencement of the war, be restored; a garrison of four hundred men be allowed to be kept by the Danes in the island of Alsen, and one of equal strength by the Confederacy in the town of Altona; and the administration of the duchies in the mean time to be intrusted to a mixed commission of five persons—two chosen by the King of Denmark, two by the King of Prussia, in name of the German Confederation, and a fifth by the whole four, who was to have the president's chair. Both contracting parties claimed the guarantee of Great Britain for the faithful execution of this treaty. Thus were hostilities for the time stopped, and on the

Oct. 23.

23d October, the King, in opening the Chambers, announced the approaching concession of a constitution, and congratulated his subjects in deserved terms on the noble stand they had made against the unjust invasion by the German democracy, with which they had been visited. The conditions of the armistice, though in appearance fair, were however in reality eminently favourable to the Confederacy, for by it the Danish troops were compelled to keep aloof from both duchies, which were in a manner sequestered and withdrawn from the Danish crown, to which they had so long belonged. It was as if an armistice were to be concluded between Great Britain and France, on condition of Scotland or Ireland being evacuated by the forces of both parties, and put under neutral government. The British Cabinet, enamoured of the Liberal cause throughout the world, looked on, a passive spectator of this oppression of the weaker State by the greater, and permitted an independent monarchy to be bereaved of half its dominions without either drawing the sword or exerting any effective diplomatic interposition in its behalf.[1] Lord Palmerston proposed that Schleswig should be neither Danish nor German, but independent, connected with Denmark by a "political tie," forgetting that, under the appearance of impartiality,

[1] King of Denmark's Speech, Oct. 23, 1848; Convention, Aug. 26, 1848, 351; Ann. Reg. 1848, 351; Cayley, ii. 53, 54; Ann. Hist. 1848.

this was, in effect, deciding the question of aggression in favour of the Confederacy.

43. Suppression of a revolt in the south.

Meanwhile the commission of seventeen members of the Vor-Parliament, which had been charged with the preparation of a constitution, and the first German National Assembly, met at Frankfort on the 18th May. Much alarm was occasioned at this time by an insurrection which broke out in the southern provinces of Central Germany, under two democratic leaders, Hecker and Struve, who drew together some thousand lawless characters, and commenced levying contributions, during the suspension of authority, on their own account. They were pursued by the troops of the Confederation, and at length brought to bay on the heights of Schlechtonau, near Raudeon, when they were totally defeated by General Von Gagern, and Struve made prisoner. Von Gagern was perfidiously murdered by the insurgents, in a parley. This tumult being appeased, the Assembly commenced their labours, and elected Baron Von Gagern, brother of the general who had defeated Struve, President, and Von Sorion, Vice-President of the Assembly. It was quite distinct from the German *Diet*, elected under the old constitution, which was sitting in Frankfort at the same time—a strange juxtaposition, somewhat similar to the Chartist conventions which have sometimes been assembled in London at the time when the British Parliament was sitting in Westminster. The respective situation and consideration of the two rival houses was very different from what they had been in the British capital, for the whole eyes of Germany were fixed on the new Assembly; and the Diet, when their sittings commenced, were glad to conceal their insignificance under a pacific message, expressive of a desire to act in friendly unison and co-operation with the newly-elected representatives.[1]

April 20.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 364, 365; Ann. Hist. 1848, 390.

The debates on the new constitution which had been prepared by the committee of seventeen commenced im-

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44. The new Constitution, and Archduke John elected Regent. June 28.

mediately after the Assembly met, and lasted till the 28th June, when it was finally adjusted, after repeated divisions. By this constitution it was provided that there should be a "Provisional Central Power" for the government of the entire Confederacy, which should exercise generally all the functions of the executive, direct the armed force, nominate cabinet ministers for the exercise of all the duties of government, appoint the commander-in-chief, ambassadors, and consuls to foreign powers, decide on peace and war, and conclude treaties with foreign states in connection with the Assembly. The provisional government was, by a majority of 378 to 176, to be centred in a single regent, who was himself irresponsible; but the ministers whom he appointed were responsible, and were entitled to seats in the Assembly. The whole powers of the old German Diet were to cease the moment that the Provisional Government began to exercise its functions, and it in its turn to cease as soon as the permanent constitution was established. The constitution, as a whole, was approved finally by a majority of 450 to 100. These resolutions indicated clearly the revolutionary tendency of the Assembly, which had already, in effect, overturned the whole Germanic constitution. But a different result appeared in the choice of a regent, which demonstrated that the old traditions still lingered among them, and that the influence of Austria was rather for a time in abeyance, than permanently destroyed. Shortly after the approval of the constitution, the regent was elected, and the Archduke John was chosen, the numbers being 436 for His Imperial Highness, and 52 for the President of the Assembly, Von Gagern. The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers in every part of the Assembly.[1] On the next day the German Diet, still sitting, like the ghost of its former self, at Frankfort, also elected the Archduke regent, who thus centred in his person all the authority which could be conferred both by the ancient and the

June 29.

July 3.

July 4.

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. lix. § 53, 54; Constitution, June 28, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 365, 366; Ann. Hist. 1848, 422-429.

revolutionary authorities in the Confederacy. His Imperial Highness, when chosen to this high office, was sixty-seven years of age, having been born on 28th January 1782. He had lived, respected and beloved, in retirement, occupied with scientific and literary pursuits, since the unhappy time when, by the tardiness of his advance from Hungary, he had marred the deliverance of Germany on the field of Wagram.*

45. Mortification of the Cabinet of Berlin at this result.

This anomalous and unexpected result in an Assembly elected under the first fervour of revolutionary passion, was a subject of extreme mortification to the King of Prussia and his Cabinet, which had expected a very different result from the votes, and confidently anticipated the establishment of an imperial throne for the royal family of Prussia from the changes in progress. This election, accordingly, is to be regarded as an important turning-point in the annals of the German Re-

* The representatives for the Assembly from each of the undermentioned States were as follows :—

Prussia,	193	Brought forward,	499
Austria,	110	Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	6
Bavaria,	66	Luxemburg and Limburg,	6
Würtemberg,	26	Oldenburg,	5
Hanover,	24	Brunswick,	5
Saxony,	21	Saxe-Weimar,	4
Baden,	19	Saxe-Coburg,	2
Hesse (Duchy),	12	Saxe-Meiningen,	2
Hesse (Electoral),	11	Altenburg,	2
Schleswig,	11	Hamburg,	3
Nassau,	6	Lesser States, 18—1 each,	18
Carry forward,	499		552

The Assembly contained, divided by classes,—

Professors,	95
Doctors of Philosophy, Law, and Physic,	81
Editors of newspapers,	14
Clergymen,	17
Civil functionaries, as Notaries, Attorneys,	200
Landowners,	93
Military officers,	13
Merchants,	23
Manufacturers,	16
	552

—Cayley, ii. 51, 52.

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volution, for it detached the Prussian Government from the cause of innovation. They now saw things in their true colours, and became alive to the dangers of the abyss on the edge of which they stood. From this period, accordingly, may be dated a decided change in the policy of the Cabinet of Berlin, which ere long brought them into open collision with the innovating party, and contributed more than any other circumstance to the deliverance of Government from the revolutionary bonds, and the restoration of the royal authority over the whole of the Prussian dominions.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 420, 426; Ann. Reg. 1848, 367; Cayley, ii. 149.

46. Installation of the Grand Duke John as Regent of Germany. July 21.

Meanwhile the installation of the Archduke as Regent of Germany took place with great pomp at Frankfort, on the 21st July. He made his solemn entry into the town, and being nominated by both Assemblies, he united for a brief period all suffrages in his favour. The President of the Assembly, Von Gagern, addressed him in these terms: "At this moment, when all the authorities of Germany have united to cement their alliance, a new era commences for our common country. August Archduke, Vicar of the Empire, you are welcomed in the National Assembly, which has come under the solemn engagement, in the face of the country, to assist your Imperial Highness, in the arduous task which you have undertaken, with all its strength. To accomplish that object, the Government of the Vicar of the Empire may rely on their support in contributing to whatever tends to strengthen the bonds of unity, to secure the liberty of the people, to re-establish public order, to restore confidence, to augment the common prosperity. The German people proclaim with gratitude the patriotism of your Highness; but it demands that all the energy and activity of the Archduke John should be consecrated, without division, to the general interests of the country." "In entering upon my functions," said the Archduke in reply, "I declare anew that I will maintain, and cause to be maintained, for the general glory and prosperity of Ger-

many, the law which has placed me at the head of the central power. I declare at the same time, that I will devote my entire time to my functions; and I will pray the Emperor of Austria to charge me with the care of representing it at Vienna as soon as I have opened the Diet. That done, I shall devote myself without reserve to the discharge of my functions." The Archduke immediately constituted his ministry, which was finally arranged on the 9th August, the Prince of Leiningen being President of the Council; M. Heckscher, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Penckher, of War; M. Schmerling, of the Interior.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 427, 428.

47. Vast changes effected by the German National Assembly.

The National Assembly of Germany, at Frankfort, which had only sat since the 18th of May, a period of less than three months, had now made extraordinary advances to supreme power, and achieved what in the beginning of the year would have been deemed impossibilities. It had, by falling in with, and acquiring the direction of, the flood-tide of enthusiasm which now swept away the German mind, succeeded in that short time in compelling all the separate states of the Confederacy to bow to its authority; dissolved the Germanic Diet, the work of the Congress of Vienna; elected, by an immense majority, a Regent of the Empire, whose power was paramount to that of Austria and Prussia, and who wielded the military force of forty millions of men. All this had been done, too, with the cordial approbation of the most intelligent and highly educated classes, and amidst the loud applause of the multitude. The sovereigns who had been shorn of their lustre, and cast down from their high estate by this vast usurpation, if not cordial in approving, were at least quiescent under it; they were overawed into submission, or hopeless of resistance, and the revolution seemed to be as cordially approved by the Emperor, Kings, and Princes, as by the burghers or students.[2] So general was the concurrence, that the protest of Ernest, King of Hanover, asserting the independence of his dominions,

July 8.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 429-431.

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was scarcely noticed amidst the general chorus of approbation.

48. Polish Revolt.

The unanimity, however, as is usually the case where great changes are introduced under the influence of terror, was on the surface, and seeming only. Beneath it there lurked the seeds of divisions the most serious, and discord the most inveterate, which ere long distracted the apparently united society, and covered the fields of the Fatherland with mourning. The Polish provinces of Prussia were the quarter where the conflicting passions first broke out; for there the divisions of race, and the sore feeling arising from extinguished nationality, coincided with the revolutionary desires there, as elsewhere in the world, afloat. The Grand-Duchy of Posen, from the very first, was violently agitated by the intelligence of the revolution at Paris; and the general discontents were brought to a crisis by a decree of the King of Prussia, which, on grounds, to say the least of them, questionable, made a new division of the Duchy, by which the whole western portion of the province, up to the very gates of its capital, were assigned to Germany. This division, which was intended to swell the deputies of Prussia in the National Assembly, and in reality had that effect, at once blew into a flame over all the eastern frontier of Germany the hereditary animosity of the Sclavonic and Teutonic races. The Germans in all the provinces on the frontier trampled under foot the Polish cockades; the Poles did the same to the Germans. Hostilities and mutual massacre soon ensued between the contending parties, and Prince Czatoriński set out from Paris to organise the movement, thinking that the hour of Polish deliverance had at length struck.[1]

April 15.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 398.

49. Which is suppressed.

But he was soon miserably undeceived. The peasants in Lithuania and all Russian Poland *took part with the Russians*—a markworthy circumstance, indicating the commencement of a new era in Sclavonic history, and bespeaking the practical benefits which the cultivators of

the soil had obtained from their change of masters. Thus the collision was confined to the Polish provinces which had fallen to the lot of the German powers, and there it was for a short time very violent. The peasants reappeared, armed with scythes; the flame spread to the borders of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, and the revolt became general in Western Poland under Microslawski. The peasants immediately gave way to the most frightful atrocities. Hands and feet were cut off, eyes scooped out, and women, even in an advanced state of pregnancy, beaten to death, under circumstances of the most frightful cruelty. Murder, lust, and arson stalked triumphant through the land; neither age nor sex, church nor dwelling, was spared. Maddened by the sight of these enormities, the German troops retaliated in like manner, and the insurrection, from the very first, assumed a character of frightful atrocity. It was soon, however, suppressed. A bloody conflict, rather to the advantage of the insurgents, took place at Rozmin; but the little town of Xroni, defended with obstinacy by the Poles, was stormed by the Prussians, and great part of the defenders put to the sword. A desperate struggle, with various success, took place at Milodau, where the Poles had established an intrenched camp, which, after being taken and retaken several times, finally remained in the power of the Prussians under General Blum. Several small corps of insurgents having united at Schrode, they were surrounded and attacked on the 8th May by Generals Colomb, Pfuel, and Widel, and forced to capitulate, with their leader, Microslawski. This success terminated the insurrection in Poland, and extinguished there for a time the hostility of the German and Sclavonic races. The revolt was the more easily suppressed, that it was only partially shared by the inhabitants of the country, thanks to the experienced beneficence of the Prussian rule;[1] and being supported by the extreme revolutionary party in the towns, it shared in the obloquy into which that portion of the community,

April 30.

May 1.

May 8.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 398, 399; Ann. Reg. 1848, 395-397.

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from the experience of their excesses, were beginning to fall in every country of Europe.

50. New Constitution of Prussia. May 22.

The new constitution which had been prepared by the Liberal ministry was at length announced at Berlin by the King; and it was calculated, if anything could, to satisfy the demands of the democratic party, for it contained all the elements of real freedom. It declared the equality of all citizens in the sight of the law, personal liberty in the highest degree, security of property, inviolability of private homes; freedom of religion, unless it endangered public tranquillity; the entire liberty of the press, the censorship being for ever abolished; the right of meeting and deliberating unarmed, the right of association and petition; the inviolability of the King's person, and responsibility of his ministers, who were liable to be impeached by the Lower House and tried by the Upper; the division of the legislature into two houses, the one elective, the other in part hereditary. The princes of the blood-royal and sixty peers, to be nominated by the King, to form part of the Upper House; the remainder, consisting of 180 members, to be chosen by the people: when once elected, the dignity to be hereditary in the first sixty; but the seat to be for eight years for the latter portion. The former required a property qualification of 8000 dollars a-year; the latter, 2500. The members of the Lower House to be elected for four years, and subject to no property qualification; but they were to be above thirty years of age. The sittings of the courts of law to be public, and the facts in criminal cases ascertained by verdicts of juries.[1]

[1] Constitution, May 22, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 388; Ann. Hist. 1848, 156.

51. Riots in Berlin, and change of Ministry. June 10.

This constitution, how great a concession soever to public freedom, was far from satisfying the democratic party. Debates immediately began upon its several articles, which were conducted with great acrimony, and continued through the whole summer and autumn. The Assembly being elected practically by universal suffrage, the speeches were extremely violent, and of interminable

length. The chief trial of strength took place on a speculative question, "whether the events in March in Berlin were a transaction between the Crown and the people, or a revolution;" and it was carried, after a furious debate, by a small majority of 177 to 160, in favour of its being a transaction. This decision gave the utmost offence to the democratic party in the Assembly, as did several other votes at the same time, refusing to sanction the principle of revolution, and they were soon cordially supported by the mob in the streets, who proceeded to vent their rage against the obnoxious members. At length they got worked up to such a pitch June 16. that they made an attack upon the Assembly and the arsenal, which immediately adjoined its hall, which they carried by storm, and pillaged—the Burgher Guard, intrusted with their defence, making very little resistance. This indecision on their part cost the State 500,000 dollars. The mob destroyed everything in the arsenal which they could not carry away. The arms were broken and thrown out of the window; antiquities of great value, rare pieces of artillery, arms inlaid with silver and ivory, were stolen or destroyed. This outrage immediately became the subject of a warm debate, the Ministry having brought forward a motion for the protection of the Assembly by an armed force; the Revolutionists meeting it with an amendment to the effect "that the Assembly needed no armed protection, but placed itself under the safeguard of the people of Berlin." So intimidated were the members by the recent outbreak that the amendment was carried by a large majority. Upon this the Ministry resigned, and no small difficulty was experienced in forming another. At length, however, a cabinet was arranged, with M. von Auerswald President of the Council; M. Schleinitz, Foreign Affairs; and M. Schrekenstein, War; and the mob of Berlin, satisfied with their victory, relapsed for a short period into quiet.[1]

[1] 1 Ann. Reg. 1848, 388, 390; Ann. Hist. 1848, 416; Cayley, ii. 79.

This lull was not of long duration. The Auerswald

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Ministry, which from the beginning was in a very tottering condition, fell under a hostile vote on the 9th September. Still greater difficulty was experienced in now forming an administration, but one was at length constituted under the presidency of General Von Pfuel. These repeated changes in so short a time indicated unequivocally a lamentable weakness in the executive, which seemed to be approaching a state of complete prostration. On the 23d September, General Pfuel issued a proclamation to the army, in which he stated, "According to the draught of the constitution which has been proposed by his Majesty to the Assembly, the officers of the army will be obliged to take an oath to the constitution, in the same manner as the civil officers are obliged to do, and no reactionary tendencies will clash with the duties of an officer in the army." The allusion here to "reactionary tendencies" was owing to the well-understood feelings of the army, which had become thoroughly ashamed of the events of March, and the inglorious part they had borne in them, and were panting for an opportunity to wipe out their disgrace in a more honourable conflict. The King, however, had now become alive to the extreme danger of putting himself at the head of the revolutionary movement, and the elevation of the Archduke John to the office of Regent had dispelled all the ambitious illusions which had formerly obscured his vision in regard to it. He determined accordingly on repressive measures, and the first step was to appoint General Von Wrangel, on his return from the seat of war, now suspended by the armistice, to the command of the troops in Berlin and the Brandenburg Marks.[1]

52. Ministry again changed. Measures of the King. Sept. 9. Sept. 23.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 389, 390; Cayley, ii. 79, 80; Ann. Hist. 1848, 451, 452.

The accession to the command of this sturdy, plain-spoken soldier, was inaugurated by an address to the troops, of historic value, as indicating at once the altered policy of the King and the misery of the country. For some days before, a great concentration of forces had

53. Address of Gen. Von Wrangel to his troops. Sept. 22.

taken place by means of the railways, and fifty thousand troops of the line were now assembled in and around Berlin. On the 22d September a review was held at Potsdam, and, in an order of the day addressed to them, the General said, "The King has honoured me with the highest proof of his confidence, in giving me the command of all the troops in the Marks. I will establish order when it is disturbed, and support the laws when they are infringed. The Burgher Guard is primarily charged with this duty; but when I find it fail in discharging it, we will advance, and we shall succeed. *The troops are stanch: their swords are sharpened, and their muskets are loaded.* It is not against you, men of Berlin, that this is done, but to protect you—to protect the liberty given us by the King, and to defend the laws. For you, and with you, we shall act. No reaction! but protection for order, for the laws, and for freedom. How melancholy does Berlin now appear to me! Grass is growing in your streets; your houses are empty; your shops are full of goods, but void of purchasers. Your industrious citizens are without work, without wages, without profits. This must be changed, *and it shall be changed.* I bring you order and its attendant blessings. Anarchy must cease, and it shall cease. I swear it to you; and a Wrangel never yet failed in keeping his word." [1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 391.

54. Disorders in Berlin, and pusillanimity of the Burgher Guard.

In truth, the disorders in the streets had reached such a height as to render these stern words absolutely necessary, and the conduct of the Burgher Guard had sufficiently proved that no reliance whatever was to be placed on them to avert these. On the 22d August a serious riot occurred at the hotel of M. Auerswald, where a diplomatic soiree was going on, when the populace threw stones at the windows, and nearly killed the Bavarian minister. They were not dispersed till several lives had been lost, and thirty of the policemen wounded. These violent demonstrations met with the greatest favour from

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the democratic clubs, several of which passed resolutions that the captain of the Burgher Guard who had deserted his post when the arsenal was attacked had deserved well of his country. So notorious had the vacillation of the Guard become, that, in answer to a deputation from their number promising fidelity to the constitution, the King replied, "It would be better to prove it by deeds, than to make promises." The discussion of the articles of the constitution, which began on

Oct. 11.

the 11th October, still further augmented the public alarm and excitement; for every article became the subject of a trial of strength between the conservative and revolutionary parties, attended by a vehement agitation in the clubs, and terror in the city. The whole of the first day was taken up with a debate on the title the King was to assume; and it was decided, by 217 to 134, that the words, "by the grace of God," should be omitted. The object of this was to make it appear that his sole title to the throne was the will of the people. On the other hand, they decided that his title should be that of "King of Prussia," not the more popular one of "King

Oct. 3.

of the Prussians." Meanwhile the capital was in a state bordering on distraction; for, in addition to the excitement arising from political changes, distress of the severest kind—their invariable concomitant—was setting in upon the people. The chief manufactories were closed; thousands of workmen were without bread, and added to the dangers arising from upwards of eight thousand convicts at large in Berlin, who were always ready to join in any popular explosion. Four thousand of this unruly rabble

Oct. 17.
Oct. 30.
Oct. 31.

joined in an attack on the mills of Copermicherfeld, to destroy the machinery erected there. They were at length beat off, but not until several lives had been lost and barricades erected in the streets.[1] The Assembly, so far from discouraging, gave the greatest encouragement to the authors of these disorders, for, on the 31st October, they passed a resolution "that all Prussians are equal

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 390, 391; Cayley, ii. 81, 82; Ann. Hist. 1848, 462, 463.

before the law ; that neither privileges, titles, nor rank are to exist in the State ; and that *the nobility are abolished.*" On the next day, Herr Waldeck moved a resolution pledging the Government to give assistance to the inhabitants of Vienna, then engaged in a contest with the Government.

55. Riot at the Assembly Hall, and change of Ministry.

This brought matters to a crisis. The King had for some time been only waiting for an opportunity to repress the anarchist faction without departing from the constitution, which he had sworn to respect, and the violence of the revolutionists now furnished it. Not content with the majority which they already possessed in the Assembly, the mob from without, with the avowed purpose of intimidating the conservative members, broke into its hall, amply provided with ropes, nails, and nooses, as a preparation for summary hanging. They even went so far as to mob their former leader Behrend, whom they accused of having become "lukewarm in the cause of the people," and singed his long red beard with their torches. After a violent struggle, the Burgher Guard, which for once did its duty, succeeded in expelling the intruders. The Assembly had now evidently become altogether unmanageable, and a mere puppet in the hands of the mob. It was evident that a new revolution was imminent, which would altogether overthrow both the throne and the constitution, and establish a republic on their ruins. Thus menaced, the King at once adopted a decided course, and threw himself without reserve into the hands of the conservative party. The Pfuel Ministry had all resigned immediately after this outrage, as they felt themselves altogether unable to carry on the government, and held office only till their successors were appointed ; and in the interim a deputation of the Assembly waited on the King at Potsdam, whither he had retired, to point out to him the danger of appointing a ministry not chosen from the majority, or not of conservative principles. The King heard them, but refused to give an answer in

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the absence of his responsible ministers. "Will you not hear us on the state of the country?" said Herr Jacobs, the spokesman of the deputation. "No," replied the King. "It is the misfortune of kings that they will not hear the truth," rejoined Jacobs; and they separated.

Nov. 9. Soon after, on the 9th November, the *Royal Gazette* announced the formation of a new administration. Count de Brandenburg was at its head and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Manteuffel, Interior; General de Stoosha, War; M. Ladenberg, Public Instruction; M. Kisker, Justice; M. Kuhne, Finance; M. Pommes Erche, Commerce.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 391; Ann. Hist. 1848, 463; Cayley, ii. 83, 84.

56. Dramatic scene in the Assembly. Nov. 9.

As this ministry was composed of men of decided conservative principles and known firmness of character, a collision between them and the Assembly was immediately anticipated. It was not long of occurring. On the very day on which the *Gazette* containing the new ministry appeared, Count Brandenburg rose in the Assembly to address the house, but was stopped by the President, as he was not a member of the Assembly, and could not speak but with its consent. Upon this the Count sat down, but handed in a royal decree, which, after mentioning the display of republican symbols in the streets, and the frequent attempts to overawe and intimidate the Assembly, transferred its sittings to Brandenburg, and appointed it to meet there on the 26th November, till which time its sittings were suspended. The reading of this decree was interrupted by repeated cries of "Never! never! we will not consent! Perish rather here. It is illegal, it is unconstitutional; we protest, we will remain here — we are masters." In the midst of this tumult, Count Brandenburg rose and calmly said: "In consequence of the decree which has just been read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its sittings forthwith, and to adjourn till the time specified.[2] I at the same time declare all further prolongations of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the

[2] Ann. Reg. 1848, 391, 392; Cayley, ii. 84, 85; Ann. Hist. 1849, 463, 464.

name of the Crown." Having said these words, he withdrew with the whole ministers.

1848. 57.

A scene of the utmost violence ensued when the ministers had retired. It ended in the adoption of resolutions—1. That there are at present not sufficient grounds for removing the sittings of the Assembly to any other place; it will therefore remain at Berlin. 2. The Crown is not entitled to adjourn or displace the Chamber against its will. 3. The responsible functionaries who may have advised the Crown to issue the above message, are not qualified to do so or to represent the Government; on the contrary, they have thereby rendered themselves guilty of dereliction of duty towards the Crown, the country, and the Assembly. These three resolutions were put separately and carried almost unanimously, fifty-nine of the monarchical party having withdrawn along with the ministers and the diplomatic body. The Assembly resolved to sit in permanence, and thirty of the members remained in the House all night. The night passed off in a state of feverish excitement, but no actual outbreak took place. The ministers during the night intimated to the President the illegality of their persisting to meet at Berlin, and that he would be responsible for the consequences; and the minority of fifty-nine who had retired with Count Brandenburg, protested formally against its continued sitting at Berlin. Early next morning the Assembly was summoned to meet in its hall; but when the members began to arrive at five they found the building surrounded by troops, who had orders to allow any one to go out, but none to come in. The President then rose and said that the House was completely surrounded by the military. The commander of the Burgher Guard asked General Wrangel why he had assembled his troops. "To protect the Assembly," was the reply. "They would rather decline the honour of your protection," rejoined the commandant; "how long do you mean to keep your troops here?" "For a week

The Assembly resolve to resist.

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if necessary; *my troops are accustomed to bivouac.* I shall be happy to allow any member to withdraw, but none shall enter. Upon this the President desired the members to retire under protest, and meet elsewhere on

Nov. 11. the following day. They accordingly retired in a body, attended by the Burgher Guard, which warmly espoused their cause. Early next morning they met by appointment in the hall of the Schützen Gild, which, before daylight, was surrounded by the Burgher Guard in great strength, where they remained all day to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, and received deputations expressing sympathy and condolence from the Municipal Council and most of the public bodies. The mob outside naturally and loudly expressed their concurrence, as they generally do in periods of excitement with whoever resists legal authority. In the course of the day a royal proclamation appeared, dissolving the Burgher Guard, and requiring them to give up their arms. At the same time a proclamation was issued, assuring the people that the King would faithfully observe the constitution, and that no infringement of their liberties should take place.*

Nov. 12. No attention was paid to this order; on the contrary, the citizens met and agreed to refuse to deliver up their arms. Upon this it was renewed in still more peremptory terms on the day following; and as the aspect of public affairs had become in the highest degree menacing, troops in great numbers were marched in, the landwehr called out, and the capital was declared in a state of siege.[1] Before midnight, thirty thousand soldiers, stanch and true, were concentrated in Berlin; a force nearly double

[1] Cayley, ii. 86, 87; Ann. Reg. 1848, 392; Ann. Hist. 1848, 463.

* "I give you this inviolable assurance, that nothing shall be abrogated from your constitutional liberties; that it shall be my holiest endeavour to be unto you a good constitutional King; so that we may mutually erect a stately and tenable edifice, beneath whose roof, to the weal of our German Fatherland, our posterity may quickly and peaceably rejoice in the blessings of genuine and true liberty for centuries to come. May the blessing of God rest upon our work."—CAYLEY, ii. 90.

of the Burgher Guard, and incomparably more disciplined and effective.*

1848. 58.

To all appearance the contest could only be decided now by an appeal to arms; but the crisis passed over without bloodshed, in consequence of the firmness of the Government and the united gentleness and steadiness of the soldiers. On the next day the members again met in the Schützen Gild-hall, and their proceedings were interrupted by the entry of an officer from General Wrangel, summoning it, as "an illegal assembly, to disperse." The Vice-President was in the chair, and refused to leave it unless forced to do so. The whole Assembly shouted, "Never, till forced by arms!" Upon this three officers entered the hall, attended by a body of soldiers, and, repeating the same summons, were received with the same answer. Thereupon the officers advanced, and quietly lifted up the chair on which the President sat, and carried it out with its occupant into the street. The members followed, loudly protesting against the violence, and the Assembly was adjourned to another time and place.[1] The members separated and retired, attended by multitudes loudly cheering them; but the military had orders to fire upon the people if they remained in crowds in the streets after being ordered to

The Assembly is dissolved by force. Nov. 13.

[1] Cayley, ii. 86, 87; Ann. Reg. 1848, 392; Ann. Hist. 1848, 464.

* The Frankfort Assembly sent Herr Bassermann, a leading Liberal on their side, to Berlin, at this period, to report on the crisis then pending in that capital, and his report is valuable as the testimony of an unwilling witness, and prejudiced, if anything, on the popular side. It was extremely unfavourable to the Berlin democrats. "The liberty of the press is atrociously abused; the most mischievous placards and flying-sheets are printed and circulated: one representing a man asleep with a number of lamps around him, and *a man hanging from each*, is called 'The Republican's Dream.' The red flag has been hoisted before the door of the Assembly, and the most violent threats are uttered against the unpopular members. Thrice have they petitioned the Assembly to pass laws to secure them from mob intimidation, and as often have they refused to do so. On the very staircase of the Assembly a mob orator has called on the people to come next time with pick-axes and knives, saying it is easier to find obnoxious members when so provided. The aspect of the streets is melancholy in the extreme; the Assembly is always surrounded by a frightful mob."—HERR BASSERMANN'S Report, November 1848—CAYLEY, ii. 97-98.

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disperse. Subsequent to the declaration of a state of siege, there was no actual collision or lives lost. The disarming of the Burgher Guard immediately after commenced, and continued during the following day with nothing more than a passive inert resistance on the part of that body.

59. Continued contest with the Assembly.

During this struggle, public opinion was daily more strongly declaring itself in favour of the Government. But the Assembly were not discouraged, and trusting to the unanimous fervour which had attended their election and first installation in power, firmly continued the contest. On the 15th they again met in the hall of the Town Council, but the military appeared, and the members withdrew under protest. In the evening of the same day, two hundred and twenty-six of the members met in a café in the Linden, and passed a decree refusing to grant any supplies to the Government. Another

Nov. 15.

resolution was proposed, declaring that the Brandenburg Ministry were not authorised to levy taxes till the National Assembly shall resume its duties in safety at Berlin. When the discussion on this motion was just beginning, an officer of the line entered the room, with six grenadiers who were posted at the door, while a battalion was drawn up in the street opposite. The officer approached the President, and informed him that he had orders from General Wrangel to cause the chamber to be evacuated. Great agitation arose upon this being announced from the chair. "No, no! a thousand times no! we will not leave this room till compelled to do so by bayonets!" re-echoed from all sides of the hall, and sixty deputies rushed forward towards the officer and his escort, and by their gestures threatened to drive them from the hall; while the remainder crowded in a state of extreme excitement round the President. The officer and his escort remained perfectly calm, but communicated with the battalion outside, and sent to headquarters for further instructions. Meanwhile the

Assembly passed by acclamation the second resolution proposed, and then, on the motion of the President, M. Unruh, who had been informed by the officer that he had orders to employ force, and would do so if necessary, withdrew and dispersed, exulting in the belief that they had done as much mischief to the Ministry of Count Brandenburg as in the circumstances was practicable. No attempt was made to meet again.[1]

[1] Cayley, ii. 93, 94; Ann. Reg. 1848, 391, 392; Ann. Hist. 1848, 494, 495.

60. Completion of the victory of the Crown.

During this critical time the Brandenburg Ministry remained firm, and, by a happy union of decision with moderation, they prevailed in the contest. They were clearly right in the question at issue: the King, beyond all doubt, was entitled either to prorogue or dissolve the Assembly, and assign the place of its reassembling, and to dissolve the Burgher Guard. It might be a question, of course, whether it was wise or expedient, at any particular time, to resort to these extreme measures; but of the right of the King to do so when it became absolutely necessary, not a doubt could be entertained. The events, which were fresh in every one's recollection, had demonstrated that this necessity had now arisen. Accordingly, in the stand which he now made against the encroachments of the Assembly and of the Burgher Guard, the King had the support, not only of the army, but, in the end, of the great bulk of the respectable portion of the people. This could hardly have been expected in the earlier stages of these troubles; for in the outset of their career the National Assembly had the sympathy of the great majority of the people in their favour. They had forfeited this good opinion by the violence of their language and acts, and, above all, by their evident want of business habits and acquaintance with the real wants of the nation. Accordingly, the King was generally supported by the nation in the measures by which he followed up his victory. Numerous arrests took place in Berlin of the leaders in the late tumults, which effectually broke the neck of popular insurrection.

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Circulars were at the same time sent to all the "royal governments" in the kingdom, warning them not to pay any regard to the illegal resolutions of the Assembly. These were everywhere obeyed, and the collection of the revenue went on without interruption. When the news of the stopping of the supplies by the Assembly at Berlin reached Frankfort, the National Assembly there passed a resolution, by a majority of 234 to 189, condemning the resolution of the Prussian Assembly in the strongest terms; and the Archduke John, as Regent of Germany, immediately after issued a circular letter to all the states of the Confederacy in the same terms, and declaring that the Government of Germany would permit no such illegal proceedings as had disgraced the cause of liberty in Prussia, and endangered the prosperity of all Germany.[1]*

Nov. 21.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 393, 394; Ann. Hist. 1848, 465; Cayley, ii. 96, 97.

61. Completion of the King's victory, and dissolution of the Assembly.

This resolution of the Frankfort Assembly completed the defeat of the anarchical faction in Prussia, by depriving them of the moral sympathy and support of the great body of the Liberals in Germany. In his subsequent measures, accordingly, the King experienced no difficulty. The crisis was past; it only remained by vigour, combined with moderation and prudence, to follow up the victory. On the day appointed, the monarchical deputies met at Brandenburg; but as the refractory members refused to join them, they could not at first make a house, as the legal number was awanting. At length Unruh, with the two hundred and twenty-five

Nov. 27.

* "A part of the Prussian deputies have resolved to withhold the taxes. By so doing they have loosened the bonds of political existence, deeply shaken the foundations of civil society, and brought Prussia, and with it the whole of Germany, to the verge of civil war. The Imperial Assembly has solemnly pledged itself to maintain the rights and liberties promised to you, and promised you protection against any who would violate them. It has, however, declared the resolution of the Prussian deputies to withhold the taxes, null and void. Prussians! The Imperial Assembly at Frankfort represents the German nation in the aggregate, and its decision is supreme law to all. Germans! I will act in full accordance with the Imperial Assembly. I will not allow the resolution which, by preventing the levying of taxes in Prussia, endangers the prosperity of the whole of Germany, to be carried into effect." —ARCHDUKE JOHN *to the Kings and Princes of the Empire*, 22d November, 1848; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 394.

dissentients, made their appearance, in order to have a trial of strength; but being in a minority in one vote, they again withdrew, announcing their intention of returning on the 7th December, when it was expected Unruh would be re-elected President. To counteract this design, the Assembly was dissolved by royal proclamation on the 5th December; and as it had not yet devised or agreed to any constitution, notwithstanding the interminable debates in which its members had indulged, the King accompanied the proclamation by the draft of a new constitution, which amply redeemed his pledge to secure all the rights of freemen to every class of his subjects. The dissolution took the revolutionary party quite by surprise, and they were unprepared with any counter-move to meet it. But their rage exhaled in several impotent riots and mobs in the streets, which, however, were not suppressed till the military had fired in several places, and seven lives had been lost.[1]

1848. Dec. 1.

Dec. 5.

[1] Cayley, ii. 98; Ann. Reg. 1848, 394; Ann. Hist. 1848, 465, 466.

62. King's Constitution.

By this constitution, which was in the main modelled on that of Belgium, of which an account has already been given, all the elements of real freedom were obtained.[2] It declared the equality of all Prussians in the eye of the law, freedom of the person and of the press, and right to emigrate. Letters going through the post-office were to be inviolable, and offences of the press judged of by the ordinary tribunals. The civil ceremony was to give validity to marriage. Feudal tenures, entails, and all exclusive privileges of rank, were abolished. The person of the King was inviolable, but his ministers were responsible for his acts. Judges, whether supreme or inferior, were to be irremovable, except by sentence of competent courts; the right of meeting and petitioning secured, and ample provision made by the State for universal education. The legislature was to consist of two chambers; the first or Upper House to contain 182 members, all elected by persons paying 12 florins (24s.) of direct taxes, or holding £75 a-year worth of

[2] Ante, c. liii. § 18.

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land. The Lower Chamber was to consist of 350 members, chosen by double election; the primary electors, or the persons choosing the delegates, to be the whole male inhabitants, and the members persons above twenty-four years of age, who had resided six months in the place of voting, and received no parochial aid. A delegate was to be chosen for every 750 inhabitants. The members of the Upper Chamber required to be forty years of age, and to have resided five years in Prussia. All exemptions from taxation were abolished; laws and ordinances were to be valid only when passed in legal form; but on urgent occasions ordinances having the interim force of laws might be issued, to be sanctioned by the Chambers, however, on their next sitting. This programme gave general satisfaction, and even the revolutionists were abashed, as well they might be, for the King had conceded to his subjects all the guarantees of real freedom. Indeed, the only question was, whether he had not gone too far in yielding to the prevailing thirst for popular power; for here was a constitution, with both the Houses of Lords and Commons elective, and the latter elected by *universal suffrage*, guarded against only by the feeble barrier of a double election. This was the royal constitution published by the King in the moment of his triumph! Nothing is more certain than that the British people, with their business habits, practical turn of mind, and centuries of freedom, could not stand the strain of such institutions three months.[1]

[1] Constitution, Dec. 5, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 350; Ann. Hist. 1848, 466, 467; Cayley, ii. 101.

On 1st January 1849, the King, deeming the danger at an end, published an address to the troops of the line and the landwehr,* in which he congratulated them

* "I congratulate my brave army—the line and the landwehr—on the opening of the new year. At the close of the eventful year 1848, it is a heartfelt pleasure to me to express my acknowledgments for its unequalled conduct. When, without God's assistance, Prussia would have sunk under treason and deception, my army has preserved its old renown, and acquired fresh glory. Both King and people regard with pride the sons of our Father-

1848.

63. Address of the King to troops of the line and landwehr.

in warm but not undeserved terms on their loyalty and steadiness, and expressed his gratitude for their unequalled conduct. He might well do so, for beyond all doubt the Prussian army, by its loyalty, had saved the Crown from destruction, the people from the extinction of liberty by democratic despotism. The constitution which their fidelity enabled the King to give them, contained, as the event proved, at least as much liberty as they could bear; anything beyond it would have been nothing but republican tyranny. The evil effects of the troubles which had already been experienced from popular rule in Berlin, gave no inviting foretaste of its ultimate consequences. The appearance of the city was dreary in the extreme; the principal families had left it, the houses were empty, the streets deserted; no one was to be seen but a few workmen mournfully going to earn their diminished wages, or the patrols who traversed the streets to prevent insurrection. In the seven months immediately succeeding the insurrection, a twentieth of the shops in the capital were closed, from their tenants having become bankrupt;[1] a serious diminution took

[1] Cayley, ii. 96; Ann. Reg. 1848, 369; and Royal Speech, Feb. 26, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 345.

land! They remained faithful when events prevented the development of those free institutions which I had introduced to my people. When Germany required their arms in Schleswig, they covered our banners with fresh laurels. When the insurrection in Posen was to be suppressed, it underwent victoriously both toils and dangers; its co-operation in the task of preserving order in Southern Germany acquired a new tribute of acknowledgment to the Prussian name. Finally, when in Prussia itself the violation of the laws made necessary the interposition of the armed power, and the calling out of the landwehr, the men of that force cheerfully abandoned hearth and home, wife and children, to discharge their duty, and both landwehr and troops of the line justified the confidence. I have always trusted in them, and proved how admirable is that organisation of the whole army which was established by the late King my father. Everywhere the troops have done their duty. But higher still than their achievements in the field do I value the conduct they have observed for months together under the most detestable attacks; under insults, slanders, and attempts to seduce them from their allegiance, against which they have opposed unshaken the spirit of loyalty and a noble self-command. I knew my army when I called them out; there they stood unshaken in unbroken fidelity and perfect discipline. In Prussia's most glorious epochs the army could have done no more. To the generals, officers, and soldiers of the troops of the line and landwehr, I return thanks, both in my own name and in that of our common country.—FREDERICK WILLIAM."—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 344.

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place in the public revenue; the state of the treasury became so alarming that a voluntary loan to a considerable amount was unavoidably contracted; and the condition of the working classes had become so miserable that, on their own urgent petition, two preliminary decrees were of his own authority issued by the King for their relief.

64. Proceedings of the Diet at Frankfort and the Regent.

The political storm which occasioned such dissensions in Prussia in the latter part of the year 1848, produced convulsions also at Frankfort, where the Diet was sitting, and in the south of Germany. Immediately after his

Aug. 4.

installation as Regent, the Archduke John appointed his ministers, the Prince of Leiningen, one of the most Liberal of the German princes, being the President of the Council, M. Hukscher, of Hamburg, Foreign Affairs, M. Von Schomberg, of Vienna, the Interior, and General Von Bencker, War. One of the first steps of the Assembly, after a long and eloquent debate, was to decree the abolition of capital punishment over all Germany. This was carried by a majority of 288 to 146. The next important point which came under discussion was the armistice of Malmœ, between the Prussians and Danes; and as this involved the great object of extending the German name and influence, it was carried by a majority of 238 to 22, *not* to ratify the armistice, in consequence of which the

Sept. 5.

Archduke's ministry resigned, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in framing a cabinet to succeed them. But the conduct of the popular assemblies in the two duchies ere long became so violent, and the insubordination of their levies so excessive, that the sympathy of the majority in the Assembly at Frankfort was alienated

Sept. 16.

from them, and two days after they passed a resolution virtually recalling the former.[1] By this decree, which was carried by 257 to 236, it was declared—1. That nothing shall be done in the mean time to prevent the execution of the armistice; and, 2. That the Central Power of Ger-

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 368, 369; Ann. Hist. 1848, 442, 443.

many be requested to come to an understanding with Denmark, for the introduction of such terms into the armistice as that power may deem admissible.

65. Violent outbreak at Frankfort. Sept. 17.

As this resolution indicated a desire to return to the paths of reason and moderation, instead of following the phantom of democratic ambition, it excited the utmost indignation in the extreme revolutionary party. The clubs were immediately put in motion, the streets were covered with threatening placards; crowds, with menacing cries and gestures, assembled in all the public places, and resolutions were immediately passed by these self-constituted meetings, to the effect that "the members of the majority, who had ratified the infamous armistice of Malmœ, had been guilty of high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people." This resolution was immediately communicated to the Assembly, and they felt themselves so powerless that they officially intimated to the Regent that they were no longer able to preserve the peace of the town. The Regent's ministry, upon receiving this information, acted with promptitude and courage. The aspect of affairs was in the highest degree threatening, for the trades-unions and democratic societies of Mayence, Hanau, Offenbach, and all the towns in the vicinity, had sent bodies of armed men, marching under their respective banners, into Frankfort, who had joined the same classes in its streets; and twenty thousand men, under the orders of the extreme democrats of the Assembly, were drawn together to enforce the demands of the revolutionists. Their leaders made use of the most violent language, which, of course, was loudly applauded. It was notoriously a political revolution, or change of rulers, which they desired: the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the division of property, the extinction of monarchical government and the nobility, were loudly demanded; in a word, everything which the Parisian socialists had convulsed society in France to achieve. Orders were immediately despatched to the Aus-

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trian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops in the neighbourhood, or in garrison at Mayence, to march in, and on the evening of the 17th they began to arrive in great strength. The sight of uniforms coming to repress their violence only augmented the public frenzy; an immense crowd collected round the church of St Paul, where the Assembly held its sittings, to overawe the members; stones began to be thrown at those who had become unpopular; a committee of the revolutionists was appointed, which sat all night; and an insurrection was openly announced for the following day.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 445; Ann. Reg. 1848, 369.

66. Combat in Frankfort. Sept. 18.

Early next morning the contest began, and with a degree of skill and method, on the part of the insurgents, which showed how large a proportion of old soldiers were to be found in their ranks. Detachments of Prussian and Austrian troops at daybreak occupied the principal streets; but the mob on their side had already, after the most recent Parisian fashion, erected barricades, the two strongest of which lay across the Döngerstrasse and Schnaugasse, near the Exchange. The latter was formed of large blocks of stone, with regular loopholes for musketry at the top, and a mass of omnibus and other vehicles below the range of the fire was placed in its front, to obstruct the approach of the soldiers. The combat commenced at three in the morning by a detachment of Austrian soldiers marching down upon the barricade in the Döngerstrasse, on the top of which a huge red flag waved in proud defiance. They were received by so heavy a fire from the barricade, and windows adjacent, that they fell back in disorder. Being reinforced, however, by a strong body of Prussians, they returned to the charge, carried the barricade, made themselves masters of the principal street of Frankfort, from whence they stormed a fortified guardhouse, the principal stronghold of the insurgents. They now petitioned for an armistice, which was accorded for an hour, during which they besought the Archduke to remove the troops from the city, promising sub-

mission when they were gone. His councillors, however, prevailed on the Regent to answer the petitions by declaring martial law if immediate surrender were not made. This not being done, the conflict recommenced at six o'clock, and cannon having been brought up, the remaining barricades in possession of the insurgents were shattered and pierced through in every direction. By midnight the rebels were defeated in all quarters, and the city was in the entire possession of the military. The loss, however, had been severe on both sides, and the cause of the insurgents had been disgraced by the treacherous murder of two distinguished men, when attempting to reason with the mob. The first was Prince Lechnowski, one of the most eloquent members of the Assembly, and the other Major Auerswald. The Prince dropped from his horse severely wounded, while in the act of addressing the people; the Major was pulled from his, and both, while lying on the ground, were immediately hacked at and beaten with savage ferocity with scythes, hatchets, and clubs by the infuriated mob. Death soon put a period to the sufferings of the first: the latter was still breathing, though his arms were hacked to pieces, when he was carried to a field adjoining the town, where he was set up as a target, and fired at by the populace till some soldiers came up, attracted by the discharge of firearms, and carried off his mangled remains.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 444, 446; Ann. Reg. 1848, 369, 370.

67. Revolt of Struve in Baden. Sept. 21.

Scarcely was this hideous revolt quelled in Frankfort, when a fresh alarm, of a still more serious kind, was heard from the Upper Rhine. It arose from a democratic insurrection, headed by the notorious journalist Struve, who had escaped to Bâle, and remained there hatching plots since the failure of his former attempt. Deeming the present crisis favourable to the realisation of his long-cherished dreams, he got together a band of two thousand French, Polish, and Italian refugees, and invaded the territory of Baden, denouncing at the same time the Assembly at Frankfort as a mere mockery, which,

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under the name of legality, would lead to a slavery worse than could result from a bloody war. At the same time, the *Moniteur de Lorrach*, a journal in the hands of the revolutionists, published several decrees, professing to be in the name of the Provisional Government, which, besides abolishing tithes, crown and feudal rights, promised property, liberty, and instruction for all. At the same time martial law was proclaimed, a provisional government announced, and universal arming of the people enjoined. But these transports were of short duration. The troops stood firm; the insurgents, undisciplined, half armed, and distrusting each other, were speedily overcome. Attacked

Sept. 23.

on the 23d by General Hoffman, at the head of the regular forces of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, the insurgents were totally routed near Stanfen, and the provisional government, which had not ventured far over the frontier, forced to take refuge in the neighbouring territory of Bâle. Struve, who had escaped from the field of battle, was taken the next day, and after being brought

Sept. 30.

before successive tribunals at Fribourg, Carlstadt, and Rastadt, was sentenced to confinement for life. His partisans were, for the most part, either slain on the field of battle, or made prisoners in the flight, and the insurrection was entirely quelled. As, however, great agitation prevailed in all the towns along the Rhine, a considerable body of Prussian, Würtemberg, and Hessian troops were quartered in all the frontier cities, from Manheim to Bâle, and in the former town a corps of twenty thousand men was concentrated, while twelve thousand occupied Schweizingen, and a considerable body of Austrians and Bavarians occupied Constance.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 447, 449; Cayley, ii. 104.

These violent outbreaks excited serious attention at Frankfort, and a formal demand was made for a prosecution of such members of the Assembly as had been implicated in the late rebellion in the town. They were numerous, and of course great favourites with the people, and the motion excited an extraordinary degree of in-

terest. M. Vogt pleaded the cause of the deputies implicated, and he rested their defence on the alleged necessity of insurrection from the Assembly's neglect of the cause of the people. "If you have reaped the whirlwind," said he, "it is because you have begun by sowing the wind. There would have been no insurrections in the streets if there had been no deceitful ministers in the cabinets, and blind representatives in the Assembly—if Government, resting on vain parliamentary majorities, had not constantly refused to treat with the people assembled to conquer new institutions. It is thus that they are driven to fight: brutality against brutality; force against force." "Do you, then," said M. Bassermann in reply, "put in the same line, regard in the same light, force employed in support of the law, and violence committed in resistance to the law? There is but one authority and law in the land, and every other is usurpation and rebellion. Were it otherwise, the assassin on the high-road might say to me, 'I murder you in my right, as the gendarme who is pursuing me does in his.' But this is the grand error of the age: resistance is preached up everywhere, and against everything, without distinguishing against what or whom. Because a system which had stood for three-and-thirty years was overturned this spring by force, it is thought that force is for ever justifiable, and that it ends by justifying itself." There could be no doubt of the soundness of the answer, but it sounded strange in the mouth of M. Bassermann, the old leader of the Opposition in Baden, and who had by violence overturned the existing constitution in his own country. The Assembly, fearful of irritating the people, passed to the order of the day—a melancholy proof of weakness on the part of Government, too common in troubled times.[1]

68. Debate in the Frankfort Assembly on the prosecution of the members implicated in the insurrection.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 457, 458; Moniteur, Oct. 10, 1848.

Although, however, the revolutionary party had been thus defeated in Berlin, Frankfort, and Baden, yet the difficulties of the National Assembly were by no means lessened by these victories; on the contrary, they were

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materially increased. A new element of discord sprang up from the success of the conservatives, arising from the renewed pretensions of Austria. That power, which had held the first place in the former Germanic Confederacy, had bent before, but not been broken by, the storm. She was by no means inclined to submit to the government of any central authority, or merge her separate hereditary sovereignty in a great confederacy ruled by an elective chief. Even the choice of the Archduke John as regent had by no means reconciled her to the Frankfort Diet. It was well known that he had been elected in consequence of his Liberal principles, which were very far indeed from being those of his family, or the traditionary tenets of the Government of Vienna; and it was strongly surmised that, although the choice of a regent had fallen on a prince of the house of Hapsburg, that of an emperor would devolve on the King of Prussia. This idea could not for a moment be entertained, and accordingly the vision of German unity found few advocates at Vienna. On the contrary, the jealousy between the partisans of Austria and those of a central government became so violent at Frankfort, that the regent's administration was broken up by it. Von Schmerling, the prime-minister, and Wuth, one of the under-secretaries of state, who were both deputies from Vienna, found their situation so irksome that they resigned office in the middle of December, and M. Von Gagern was sent for, who succeeded in forming a ministry, of course composed entirely of decided Liberals, with himself at its head.[1]

69. Increasing jealousy of Austria at the Central Government.

Dec. 16.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 371; Ann. Hist. 1848, 527.

70. Prince of Leiningen's speech on the requisites of a united German Empire.

The Prince of Leiningen, Minister of the Interior under the Archduke John, thus stated the requisites which were indispensable towards the formation of an united German Empire: "The nation must decide whether it will really have an united and powerful Germany; it is indispensable that it should elucidate this question to its own satisfaction, and thereafter act

upon its will. As there is only one kind of real liberty which rests on law and order, so there is but one sort of unity—an actual union of the component parts as a whole, and that too in such a manner as to remove the possibility of any dispute or contest between the whole and its parts. If any other course be pursued, not singleness or unity, but discord and separation, will be established. If the German nation, therefore, will have unity, it must not only adopt the means thereto, but accept the consequences thereof. There must be no more opposition of Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, or any other interests, to those of Germany, for the former must be absorbed in the latter. Jealousy between individual states, revilings of the northern against the southern parts of the empire, are therefore mischievous absurdities. But opposition or disobedience to the imperial authority in the National Assembly is a crime against the majesty of the nation itself, a treason against the Fatherland, which must speedily be followed by condign punishment. Dynastic interests, as far as they refer to the imperial power, cannot, if the nation wills unity, be taken into consideration; for princes are as much called on to conform to that will as any other German. If, therefore, the nation would convert words into deeds, it must admonish the imperial power—that is, the National Assembly and the Central Government—to adopt with rapidity and precision, and without regard to collateral interests, all such measures as correspond with the object of restoring a free and united Germany, and moreover lend its own hearty support in aid of the work. To retrograde to a confederation of states, or to establish a weak central government by a powerfully repressed independence of individual states, would only establish a mournful transition to fresh catastrophes and revolutions." There can be no doubt that the general adoption of these magnanimous ideas was the only foundation on which German unity could be established.[1] But, alas for those who embraced that

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 20, 1848; Cayley, ii. 103.

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captivating illusion! they showed that it rested on the most hopeless of all foundations—a general negation of the selfish desires by all classes of the community.*

71. Capture and execution of Blum at Vienna.

A tragic event ere long occurred, which ulcerated in the highest degree the feelings of the National Assembly at Frankfort, and demonstrated how chimerical was the idea of fusing together Northern and Southern Germany in one united empire. When Vienna was reconquered from the insurgents in November by WINDISCHGRATZ, as will be immediately narrated, Robert Blum, the republican minister for Frankfort, and a man of ability and eloquence, fell into the hands of the victors. It appeared that he was in arms along with others when the city was taken, but not actually combating; they had retired to their hotel, when it was surrounded, and they were all made prisoners. Blum, who was well known as a republican leader, was taken before the Commander-in-Chief, when he protested against the legality of his arrest upon the ground of a decree of the Frankfort Assembly,

Nov. 16.

* On the other hand, the views of Austria on this all-important subject were developed in a note addressed at this time by the Cabinet of Vienna to the Frankfort Assembly:—"The Imperial Government concurs with the German tribes next beyond the limits of the Austrian frontiers in their desire for a regeneration of Germany; the first condition of which, it apprehends, must be found in a closer union of the individual states. To promote this closer union ought to be the common task of the German princes and people. Far from excluding itself, the Imperial Government is prepared for an earnest and candid co-operation, supposing always that the end to be attained is to be an union, not a total remodelling (*umschmelzung*) of existing institutions—that is, the maintenance (*wahung*) of the various organic members of Germany, and not their abolition and annihilation. The formation of a unitarian state appears as little practicable for Austria as desirable for Germany. It is not expedient for us, for the position of Austria in the Confederacy ought not to cause us to forget our rights and duties to the non-German provinces of the monarchy. The Imperial Government cannot break the bonds which for centuries have joined the German and non-German countries of Austria, nor can it give its adhesion to a one-sided abolition of the German Confederation, which is an essential element of the European treaties. Indeed, such a unitarian state does not appear to be desirable for Germany; for not only would it oppose, in many ways, the various wants of the country, but it would stand in the way of its moral and material interests, destroy the traditions of the past and hopes of the future, and be a stumbling-block in the way of the much-longed-for and jealously-watched political and individual liberty of the Germans."—*Note of* AUSTRIA, October 28, 1848; CAYLEY, iii. note.

by which they had declared their own persons inviolable. The military commander was induced to sustain the plea, but he was overruled by the civil authorities, and Blum was immediately shot. It is scarcely possible to maintain that any assembly can, by voting itself inviolable, authorise its members to commit high treason in foreign states; but be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the execution of Blum was a harsh and imprudent measure of the Austrian Government, adopted in the first transports of reactionary fervour, and which finally dissevered Southern from Northern Germany, and blew to the winds the vision of a united central empire. It was intended as a defiance of Austria against Northern Germany—accepted and avenged as such. The Assembly at Frankfort solemnly protested against this execution as an invasion of their rights and privileges, and all hope of an accommodation between them was at an end.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 470, 471; Cayley, ii. 105.

72. Extreme incompetence of the Frankfort Assembly, and breach with Austria.

The principle of Von Gagern's ministry was to treat Austria as a member of the Germanic Confederacy, and maintain intercourse with her as such, but not to regard her as embraced in the new Federal Constitution, and therefore not entitled to be consulted in its construction. In effect, the high monarchical ideas of the Austrian Cabinet were so inconsistent with the democratic views of the great majority of the Frankfort Assembly, that it was plain no common measures could be pursued between them. It was by a radical revolution at Vienna alone that this could be effected, and such an event had been indefinitely postponed by the victory of Windischgratz and execution of Blum. Independent of this, the character of the Frankfort Assembly had become such that it

* Impolitic as the execution of Blum undoubtedly was, there can be no doubt that, on the principles of public or international law, it was strictly legal as long as the punishment of death is affixed by nations to grave political offences. He was not tried for anything he had said or done at Frankfort, and as a member of the National Assembly there, but for taking part in arms in an insurrection in the streets of Vienna—a foreign country, so far as its domestic rule is concerned, to the Frankfort Assembly.

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was hopeless to expect anything rational or practical from its deliberations. The very first articles of the proposed constitution went to exclude Austria directly from any share in the united German nation; for they expressly declared "that no part of the empire could be united into a single state with countries not German; and if a German country has the same sovereign as a non-German country, the relations between the two countries are not to be regulated but on the principle of a purely personal union."[1] The Austrian Cabinet, already distracted by internal broils, saw nothing but ruin in such propositions; and Metternich accordingly, on hearing of these articles, sent an official note, in which he stated, "The complete, indissoluble unity of all the states which compose the Austrian monarchy is indispensable to Germany and to Europe; Austria will consider hereafter on what terms it is to unite with Germany." This was just the reverse of what the Frankfort Assembly intended, which was that the German provinces of Austria should form part of united Germany, and the Sclavonic and Hungarian States another empire under the same head, just as they proposed for Schleswig and Holstein.[2]

[1] Art. 2 and 3 Constitution.

Dec. 26.

[2] Moniteur, January 9, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1848, 472, 473; Cayley, ii. 110.

73. Pernicious influence of the Clubs over the Assembly.

It would be inconceivable how conduct so senseless could have been pursued by the ardent apostles of unity, if it were not recollected how the Frankfort Assembly was composed, and under what influences it had fallen. Formed originally of a great majority of professors, doctors, and literary men, who had no practical acquaintance with affairs, but were enamoured of abstract principles, it had wasted the whole time that it had sat—above eight months—in debates upon words or general resolutions, without having advanced one step in real business, or adopted one single practical measure. It had not even fixed the basis of the constitution. In consequence, it had become much discredited in the opinion of all sensible men in Germany; and serious doubts had come to be entertained of the practicability of governing a Confederacy consisting of

such heterogeneous materials by an Assembly so composed. But in addition to these, the members, since they came to Frankfort, had become exposed to influences still more perilous. That city was filled with clubs, where the most reckless and ambitious from every part of Germany were congregated, to bring to bear on the Assembly the united force of their ambition, selfishness, and inexperience. Nearly every member of the Assembly belonged to more than one of these clubs, at which all the subjects coming before it were previously discussed, and instructions were given to the members how they were to vote, and even the order in which they were to speak. In a word, these clubs resembled so many *præ* and *post*-comitial Diets of Poland, at which pledges were imposed on the members of the Comitia before its meeting, and they were called to account after it was over for the manner in which they had conformed to them.[1] It was melancholy to behold in an Assembly boasting its intelligence, and brought together expressly for the regeneration and improvement of society, a repetition of the very errors which had proved the ruin of the oldest republic in Christendom.[2]

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. xvii. §§ 24, 25.

[2] Cayley, ii. 106, 107; Ann. Hist. 1848, 473, 474.

74. The Imperial Crown is offered to the King of Prussia. March 28.

The open breach between Austria and the Frankfort Assembly led, in the beginning of 1849, to one decided step on the part of that body, which, if adopted at an earlier period, might have been attended with very important results. After several preliminary resolutions tending to the same end, the important question was submitted to the Assembly, whether the Sovereign of the new German Empire should be elective, excluding the head of any reigning family, or bestowed on one of the reigning German sovereigns; and it was carried by a majority of 339 to 122, that the reigning sovereigns should not be excluded; and by 258 to 211, that the choice should be limited to one of the reigning German sovereigns. This was a great point gained, and proved decisive; for it excluded a democratic president, and

Jan. 23.

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seemed to leave no choice, now that Austria was out of the field, but to bestow the Imperial Crown on the King of Prussia. The strength of the democratic element, however, appeared in the next vote, which was on the question whether the dignity thus conferred should be elective or hereditary; and in spite of the secret efforts of Prussia, the former was carried by a majority of 263 to 211. The next proposition submitted to the Assembly was, that the Crown should be tendered to the Prussian monarch. The debate on this subject commenced on the 17th March, and continued without intermission till the 28th. The greatest anxiety prevailed as to the result: to the feverish tumult which had continued during the discussion succeeded a deathlike silence when the vote was taken, and at length, amidst intense excitement, the numbers were announced—for the King of Prussia, 290 out of 558 votes. It was immediately announced from the chair, that the choice had fallen on the King of Prussia, and a deputation of thirty-two members was appointed to tender him the Crown. Next day the Archduke John, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of his Council, resigned his office of Regent.[1]

Feb. 16.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 530-534; Ann. Reg. 1848, 358-360; Cayley, ii. 111, 113.

75. Which is refused by the King, and his reasons for it.

The time was when this flattering offer would have been joyfully accepted by the King of Prussia; for it seemed to realise all the secret wishes and aspirations of his Cabinet, which had led them to embrace with so much warmth, in the outset, the principles of the German Revolution. But Time had worked many changes here, as it never fails to do elsewhere in human affairs. The Imperial Crown, as now tendered, was very different from the Imperial Crown as originally coveted. Being elective, in the first instance, it more nearly resembled the Presidency of America, or the Empire of Imperial Rome, than the old Germanic diadem. Austria had openly declared against the union of all the Confederacy under one head, and there could be little doubt that the acceptance of the Imperial Crown by Frederick William

would at once bring on a war with that power, backed by Russia, with whom she was now in the closest alliance. France, torn by revolutionary passions, and England, paralysed by the economy of a citizen-ruled Government, were in no condition to give him any effectual support, and thus he would be left to make head against the two greatest military powers in Europe, with no other support but that of the lesser German States, who could not be expected to remain long united on such a crisis. Add to this, the party in the Frankfort Assembly which had tendered the Imperial Crown was the same as that from which he had recently made so narrow an escape in the streets of Berlin. Influenced by these considerations, the King determined to decline the proffered honour, prudently veiling, however, the refusal, under the pretext that the offer was "not as yet sanctioned by the sovereigns and free states of our Fatherland." It was well known that this sanction would never be got, at least from Austria, or the powers whom she influenced; so that this was in effect an absolute rejection. The deputation took it as such, and after remaining a few days in Berlin, to see whether the King would not relent, took their departure in deep dejection for Frankfort.[1] *

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 348, 349, 360, 361; Cayley, ii. 114; Ann. Hist. 1848, 538.

76. Views of Austria on the subject, and on the German Constitution. April 8.

When such were the views of the Cabinet of Berlin upon this question, it may readily be believed that that of Vienna was still more decidedly of the same opinion. In a note addressed on 8th April to the Frankfort Assembly, the sentiments of the Austrian Cabinet on their assumption of power were openly expressed. It was there said, "The constitution of Frank-

* The King said to the Deputies, "I feel honoured by the confidence of the National Assembly, and I am ready to prove by deeds that this reliance on my fidelity, love, and devotion to the cause of the country has not been misplaced. But I should not justify that confidence, I should not answer to the expectations of the German people, I should not strengthen the unity of Germany, if, violating sacred rights and breaking my former explicit and solemn assurances, I were, without the voluntary assent of the crowned Princes and free States of our Fatherland, to take a resolution which must be of decisive importance to them and the States which they rule."—*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 348.

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fort is nothing but a project: that project can only become a law when it has received the sanction of the States of Germany. The Assembly has therefore exceeded its powers, in publishing as a law, a constitution which is as yet only a project. It has equally exceeded its powers when, without authority, it wished to give to Germany a hereditary Emperor. Thus, from henceforth, *Austria regards the National Assembly as no longer existing.*" At the same time a note was sent to

April 9.

the King of Prussia, stating, "The King may, as member of the Germanic Confederacy, make any proposition which he pleases; but he should no longer rest on the wishes or resolutions of the Frankfort Assembly. That Assembly is not entitled to exercise an influence over measures tending to the formation of a new central power, nor take a part in deliberations having for their object to bring about a concurrence in a constitution which itself has declared to be completed." To these sentiments the Kings of Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony immediately acceded, which gave the monarchical party a decided majority in the states of the Confederacy.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 538, 539; Ann. Reg. 1849, 360, 361.

77. It is received and accepted by the lesser States.

On the other hand, the whole lesser states of Central and Northern Germany, comprehending Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Lauenburg, Anhalt, Dessau, Brunswick, Saxe-Weimar, Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Meiningen, Schwartzburg, Sonderhausen, Hohenzollern, Waldeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort, agreed to accept the newly-created German constitution, and concurred in a collective note to the King of Prussia, urging him to

April 11.

accept the proffered dignity of Emperor, and binding themselves to recognise him as such. In this note they declared that the constitution, as finally determined on by the Frankfort Assembly, did not in all its parts meet with their entire approbation, but that, adverting to the powers bestowed on the members by their constituents, and the extreme danger of any division or farther delay

on the subject, they unanimously agreed to accept it as it stood. They added in the close of this note: "They permit themselves to hope that the Prussian government, in consideration of the pressing motives, which apply equally to all parts of Germany, will adopt the same principle, and come to the conviction, that in this manner it will be placed in a position to fulfil the mission that the regeneration of Germany intrusts to her. They hope also that every German government, whose entrance into the federal union is not prevented for the present by its special relations, will, influenced by the same patriotic purpose, join itself to the united empire, and that, therefore, any arrangement with them out of the pale of the constitution will be unnecessary." [1]

[1] Note of Baden, &c., April 11, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 360, 361.

78. New German Constitution.

Thus the great monarchical and the lesser states of the Confederacy were brought into direct collision on the question of the adoption or rejection of the new constitution. What rendered this division the more fatal to the project of German unity, and had occasioned the hesitation even in the lesser states to acquiesce in its adoption, was the extremely democratic nature of its character. The Imperial Legislature was to consist of two Houses, in the Upper of which, one half was to be named by the Emperor, and one half by the Lower House. The Lower House was to be elected by the *universal suffrage* of all the male inhabitants of Germany above twenty-one years of age, and not in receipt of parochial relief. The Emperor's power of refusing his consent to any measure which had passed both houses was to be suspensive only: if it lasted three successive sessions, it became law, whether he consented or not. Thus the Lower House, elected by universal suffrage, was to have the entire command of the State; for it nominated directly half the Upper, and it could force the Emperor to adopt any measure by passing it in three successive sessions. This constitution, therefore, was a republic,

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veiled under monarchical forms; it had no resemblance whatever to the old Germanic or any ancient European constitution, but closely resembled those struck out for the emancipation of mankind during the fervour of the French Revolution, or that adopted in 1812 by the rump of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon, which had so long been the watchword of the extreme democratic party in the south of Europe.[1]

[1] Constitution, March 28, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, App.; Moniteur, April 2, 1849.

79. Breach between the Frankfort Assembly and Prussia.

The Archduke John, at the earnest solicitation of Austria, as well as of the Frankfort Assembly, had been prevailed on to withdraw his resignation, and he still nominally continued Regent. But he had no real power, and the proceedings of that body soon became so violent that it was evident that they were entirely in the hands of a republican faction, and that it was only a question of time when an open rupture should ensue between them and the monarchical states. On the 30th April they published a resolution disapproving of the dissolution of the Assembly in Prussia, and of a similar one in Hanover, and ordering the Governments of these two countries to direct a new election as soon as possible. On 4th May they voted another series of resolutions, requiring all the governments, legislatures, and municipal bodies of the different states, to acknowledge the general constitution promulgated on the 28th March, and appointed the elections to take place under it on 15th August. As Prussia was expected to dissent, it was provided that, in that event, the office of interim regent or stadtholder should devolve on the sovereign of the state in the confederacy which should possess the next greatest number of inhabitants. The expectations entertained of the dissent of Prussia were soon realised; for in a few days after, the Government at Berlin published a declaration to the effect that the Frankfort Assembly had no right to fix the time and mode of the elections, and that they could not in any manner recognise or execute its decrees. This was immediately followed by a

April 30.

May 4.

May 7.

royal ordinance, declaring that the commission of the deputies at the Frankfort Assembly had expired, and enjoining them to take no part in any ulterior proceedings. In reply, the Frankfort Assembly published a resolution, "that the gross violation of the peace of the empire, of which the Prussian government had been guilty, by its unauthorised interference in the kingdom of Saxony, shall be repressed by all available means." The Regent was solicited to put this decisive resolution in execution, and to form a cabinet to do so. This the Archduke John refused to do, and upon this the matter was referred to a committee, which reported that the Regent's government should be summoned to take the oath to the empire, and that its armies should be placed at the disposal of the Assembly. In reply, the Prussian government instructed its plenipotentiary at Frankfort to announce that it no longer recognised the right or ability of the Central Government to direct the negotiations with Denmark, that it would do so itself, and that it had directed the Prussian commander in Schleswig to take his orders from Berlin alone. The Frankfort Assembly upon this, deeming themselves no longer in safety in Frankfort, which was considered too much under the influence of Prussia, resolved to transfer the place of their deliberations to Stuttgardt in Würtemberg, and a great majority of the members removed thither accordingly; while the Regent's government, with a steady minority, remained at Frankfort.[1]

May 14.

May 16.

May 18.

May 30.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 360-363; Cayley, ii. 112, 117, Ann. Hist. 1849, 539, 541.

80. Violent proceedings of the Assembly at Stuttgardt, and its dissolution.

The democratic portion of the German Assembly had now run themselves into a desperate and even ludicrous position. Assuming and professing to exercise imperial powers, it in reality possessed neither the moral influence nor the physical strength to enforce obedience to its decrees. Having come to an open rupture with Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony, it could rest only on the support of the lesser states, and their strength was wholly unequal to a contest with these

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great monarchies. Its moral influence was still more seriously weakened; for such had been the violence of the speeches made, and perilous nature of the resolutions brought forward by the members of the Assembly, that they had irrevocably forfeited the confidence of all persons of sense or experience in Germany, and thrown the Assembly into the arms of an insane revolutionary party precisely similar to the Jacobins of Paris, equal to them in audacity and presumption, but very different in ability of conduct and political power. This soon appeared in their public acts. After the removal of the Assembly to Stuttgardt, they openly attempted to bring about a new and more violent democratic revolution, which should be entirely free from the conservative influences that had come to moderate the first. On 6th June 1849 they published strong resolutions against a new imperial constitution, to be immediately noticed, which had been framed by the Governments of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony; appointed a new Provisional Government of eight persons to conduct the affairs of Germany, all of the most revolutionary character; deposed the Archduke John from the regency, declared him guilty of illegal usurpation for having continued to carry on the powers originally conferred upon him; ordered a general arming of the people, and directed the Finance Committee to negotiate a loan of 5,000,000 florins (£500,000) for the expenses of the Central Government in the months of June and July! These proceedings on the part of the rump of a legislature possessed of no real power, indicated the raving of a body of political fanatics whom no experience could teach, and no change of circumstances convince. They were deemed too dangerous to be permitted to continue sitting, and yet too contemptible to warrant the application of military force.[1] They were therefore handed over to the police, which prohibited their meeting; and the famous Frankfort Assembly, which had been charged with the mission of regenerating Ger-

June 6.

June 16.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 366, 367; Ann. Hist. 1849, 541-543; Cayley, ii. 116, 117.

many, and deemed itself equal to the task, universally distrusted and discredited, expired on the mandate of a sergeant of police of the little kingdom of Würtemberg! 1849.

81. Insurrection in Saxony and Hanover, which is at first successful, and finally quelled.

It was not, however, without a serious contest in the lesser states, and some lamentable bloodshed, that this new and more violent democratic movement was finally quelled. The revolutionists were resolved to fight for it; and fight they did, and were thoroughly beaten. The first outbreak occurred at Dresden on the 5th May, when the people rose in revolt, and after a serious conflict with the military, succeeded in erecting barricades in the streets, and compelling the royal family to take refuge in the adjoining fortress of Königstein. A provisional government was immediately proclaimed in the capital, having at its head a Polish refugee, and several other decided republicans. Their power, however, was of short duration. On the 7th, large bodies of troops arrived by the railway, including a Prussian regiment, and a combined attack was immediately made on the position occupied by the insurgents. They were in part immediately carried, and additional reinforcements, both Prussian and Saxon, having arrived on the succeeding day, a bloody conflict ensued, in which, as in Paris in the preceding year, the contending forces combated not only in the streets and on the barricades, but in almost every house. At first half the city was in the hands of the insurgents, but they were gradually expelled, and by the evening of the 9th the whole streets were in the possession of the royal troops, and the provisional government had taken to flight. The King immediately returned to his capital, and his authority was re-established. At the same time disturbances broke out at Leipsic; but as the Burgher Guard there remained faithful, they were suppressed before they had made any great progress. In Hanover, things at first wore a still more serious aspect: for the King there, who, in imitation of

May 5.

May 7.

May 8.

May 9.

May 7.

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the Prussian government, had dissolved the Chamber, whose democratic tendencies had become apparent, was so besieged in his palace by deputations from the towns and boroughs in his dominions, requiring the immediate and unqualified acceptance of the Frankfort Constitution, that he was on the point of quitting his capital, and was only prevailed on to remain and await the course of events, by promises of immediate and powerful assistance from the Prussian forces.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 539, 540; Ann. Reg. 1849, 370; Cayley, ii. 117.

82. Insurrection in Baden and the Palatinate.

A still more alarming outbreak, attended by a great effusion of blood, took place a few days after in Baden and the Palatinate. The object of it, as of all the other movements at the same time in Germany, was to compel the Government by force to adopt the Constitution of Frankfort, which had now come to form the rallying-point of the whole discontented spirits in the Confederacy.

May 13. On the 13th May an open-air assembly was held at Offenberg, in the Grand-Duchy of Baden, at which violent resolutions were proposed and agreed to, to the effect that the Chambers should be dissolved, a constituent assembly convoked, and war immediately declared against Prussia. At Carlsruhe, on the same day, a mutinous spirit was evinced by the troops; and at Bruchsal a mob assembled, which liberated some democratic leaders who were in confinement, and paraded them

May 14. in triumph through the streets. Next day, as the insubordination of the military seemed to increase, and the Grand-Duke had no means of resisting them, he withdrew from his capital, and took refuge in Alsace, while a provisional government was established in his stead. This example was soon imitated in the Palatinate. On the

May 17. 17th May a provisional government was established by a sudden outbreak at Kaiserslautern, and a convention immediately entered into with the provisional government at Baden, to the effect that the two states should be formed into one united revolutionary State. And on the 19th, the provisional government of Baden issued a

proclamation breathing defiance to the government of the Regent, and declaring their readiness to march against those powers which had entered into a coalition to bring about a counter-revolution, and restore all the old abuses. The insurrection, in the first instance, met with great success. The ardent democrats and discontented republicans from all quarters flocked to the standard of revolt; and in a few days the two provisional governments had twenty thousand armed and disciplined men enrolled under their banners.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 367, 368; Ann. Hist. 1849, 542, 543.

83. And its suppression by the armies of Prussia and Bavaria.

This insurrection might have been attended with very serious consequences, if it had been met with less vigour and decision by the constituted authorities. But, meanwhile, the Governments of Prussia and Bavaria made the most vigorous efforts to extinguish the flames which threatened to involve the whole of Central and Southern Germany in conflagration. On the 22d May they declared the whole Palatinate in a state of insurrection, and denounced the provisional government as guilty of high treason. The Prussian King despatched a large body of troops under the command of General Weber to assist the forces of the Confederacy. The insurgents retired before their united forces, and abandoned the whole country between the Rhine and the mouth of the Neckar. The Prussian troops were divided into two columns, the first of which, without experiencing any serious resistance, advanced in the Palatinate as far as Manheim; while the second, in conjunction with the troops of the Confederacy, moved against Baden. The latter encountered twelve thousand insurgents under the Polish General Microslawski, who now again appeared at the head of the rebels in Southern Germany. He commenced a vigorous attack on the Prussian troops in position near the village of Grossochen, but was repulsed with loss. A few days after, Microslawski sustained a severe defeat from a Prussian corps greatly inferior in number, near the village of Hannchen. Martial law was soon

June 15.

June 16.

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1849. proclaimed in the whole of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, and the Prussian troops, who were now commanded by the Prince of Prussia, crossed the Neckar at all points, and the discomfited bands were driven into the defiles of the Black Forest. Thither they were immediately followed by the victorious Prussians, who came up with a considerable body of insurgents, whom they routed, on

June 22. the 22d June, near Ettlingen. The remains of their broken band now all took refuge, to the number of five thousand, in the fortress of Rastadt, which was imme-

June 23. diately invested, while Carlsruhe was occupied by the

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 542, 543; Ann. Reg. 1849, 368, 369. troops of the Confederacy. The insurrection was finally extinguished by the surrender of the bands in Rastadt: but Microslawski escaped to carry into other lands the standard of insurrection.[1]

84. Constitution agreed to by Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony.

Taught by these events the impracticable nature of the constitution which the democrats of Frankfort had proposed, the Cabinets of Berlin, Hanover, and Dresden had for some time been engaged in the formation of an Imperial Federal Constitution, which was finally

May 30. agreed to and published on the 30th May. By this remarkable instrument the three Powers entered into a union, the object of which was mutual protection against external and internal enemies. They declared "the above-named Governments did not recognise the constitution drawn up by the Frankfort Assembly, because it went beyond the true and wholesome requirements of a powerful federal State, and in the form it received from the conflict and concessions of political parties, it did not contain those essential guarantees on which the legal and regular existence of every system of government reposes. But the united Governments have never for a moment forgotten, that even for these reasons it became their double duty to co-operate in framing a constitution that has become an indispensable necessity for the whole of Germany. Such a constitution will secure for the nation what, for a long period, it has been so painfully deprived

of—unity and strength in relation to foreign powers, and in its internal affairs, with the secured existence of each member of the union, a common development of general interests and national necessities. It is the guarantee of just freedom and legal order, which the German Constitution will have to grant to the governments and the people."

85. Its provisions.

The Constitution, which was drawn up with great minuteness and precision, contained one hundred and ninety articles. By it the general government of the empire was vested in a President of the Empire, and a Council of Princes. The dignity of President of the Empire was united to the Crown *of Prussia*. The Council of Princes consisted of six members, one chosen by Prussia, one by Bavaria, and the remaining four to be chosen by the lesser states of the confederacy collectively, in certain assigned clusters. The President and this Council were to have the power of declaring peace and war, to conduct all negotiations with foreign powers, and conclude treaties with them. The Council of Princes had alone the right of proposing laws, the Diet could only deliberate on them. This Diet was to consist of two houses ;—a Senate, consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven members, of which Prussia sent forty, chosen one-half by the government, the other half by the legislature in each State : the Lower House to be chosen by universal suffrage, every German voting who had attained the age of twenty-five, and had not been convicted of crime, and its members to be at least thirty years of age ; these were to be chosen by a double election, and there was to be a representative for every 100,000 inhabitants. A Supreme Court of Appeal, "Bundeschieds Gericht," consisting of seven members, of whom Prussia was to appoint three, Saxony two, and Hanover two, was to decide all disputed matters between any members of the union. Personal freedom, freedom of religious worship, a free press, and universal education, to be provided at the public expense for the

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poor, were guaranteed to all the members of the union, as well as the right of meeting and petitioning, and establishing clubs. From this sketch of the constitution, which was called in derision by the extreme Liberals "the constitution of the three kings," it is evident that it contained all the elements of real freedom, and all the guarantees for its endurance which could be obtained, when the power of taking the initiative in legislative matters was as yet withheld from the people. It was based on the principle, that as long as the supreme direction of affairs was intrusted to the "Council of Princes," it was safe to admit even the representatives of universal suffrage to the privilege of stating their wishes and interests. But the constitution laboured under one defect fatal to its endurance; it wanted the concurrence of Austria and Bavaria, and without their adhesion there could be no general government of Germany. Any union of the other states could be nothing but an extended Zollverein, binding on such sovereigns only as agreed to enter it, and destitute of the whole weight and grandeur which would belong to a united and universal German Empire.[1]

[1] Constitution, May 30, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 129, 542; Ann. Reg. 1849, 365, 366.

86. Proceedings of the new Chamber in Prussia.

Though the Prussian monarchy was thus acquiring the lead in Central and Northern Germany, it was not without difficulty that its Government could maintain the ascendancy of conservative principles in its own dominions. The elections for the new Chamber had not proceeded so favourably for Government as had been hoped; nearly the whole members of the extreme democratic party were re-elected, and the executive experienced no slight difficulty in moderating their fervour. The Chamber met on the 26th February, and the session proved a short and stormy one. The house cordially approved of the determination of the Frankfort Assembly to offer the crown of Germany to the King of Prussia; and a motion, praying the King to accept it, was rejected only by a majority of five, the numbers being 156 to 151. Shortly after, the Chamber

April 3.

resolved, by a majority of 179 to 159, to adopt the Frankfort constitution which had been condemned by the Government; and their next step was to petition the King to terminate the state of siege in Berlin, which was carried by 177 to 153. The Chamber had now unequivocally declared itself against the Government, in consequence of which it was suddenly dissolved on the 26th April; and the reasons which induced the King to take this step were stated in an address presented by the Ministry, which appeared in the *Berlin Gazette* the same evening. Shortly after, the Prussian Cabinet presented a note, addressed to the several German governments, explaining the views it entertained on public affairs. In this important paper it was stated: "Prussia engages to oppose the revolutionary agitation of the time with the utmost energy, and endeavour to furnish other governments with timely assistance for the same purpose. The danger is a common one, and Prussia will not betray its mission to interfere in the hour of peril wherever and in any manner it may deem necessary. It is convinced that a *limit must be put to the revolution of Germany.* This cannot be effected by mere passive resistance; it must be done by active interference." Following this example, the Bavarian Chambers also were dissolved on the 11th June.[1]

1849. April 21.

April 26.

April 29.

[1] Prussian Government to ——, April 29, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 349-351.

87. New electoral law in Prussia.

On 31st May the new electoral law, intended to be more conservative than the preceding, was promulgated in Prussia. By it the election of deputies, who were to be 359 in number, was to take place by a double method. Every independent Prussian who had attained his twenty-fourth year, and was not in receipt of public alms, had a vote if he had resided six months in the district in which his vote was tendered. The primary electors were to be divided into *three classes, and each class had a vote in the choice of the representative.* The first class consisted of those who paid the highest amount of taxes; the second, the next; the third, the lowest.

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Each class was to choose one-third of the electors who were to choose the representative. Every Prussian who had attained his thirtieth year was eligible as a deputy. This electoral law was accompanied by a strong declaration against secret voting, which was no longer to be allowed. "It stands in contradiction," said the declaration, "to every other branch of the system of government, in which publicity is with justice demanded; it conceals the important act of election under a veil, under which all proceedings that will not stand the light of day may be hidden; while the public mode of voting has this result, that the vote given can be considered as the result of an independent conviction." [1]

[1] Constitution, May 31, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 351, 352.

88. Ascendancy of the moderate party in the new Chamber in consequence of voting by classes.

Towards the end of July the aspect of affairs was so much more favourable at Berlin, that the Government deemed it safe to terminate the state of siege, and the elections went on under the new law. They almost all terminated in favour of the moderate constitutional party; so great was the change which the new system of VOTING BY CLASSES had introduced into an Assembly even elected by universal suffrage. The house met on the 7th August, and the triumph of the conservatives was assured from the very first. The King said in the royal speech: "We have conceived it our duty to oppose with strength and vigour that domination of terror which a misguided party began to exercise over Prussia and Germany. We have sought to re-establish order and tranquillity, which have been so much disturbed. But we have laboured, on the other hand, with the same resolution, through recognition of the true needs and just demands of the nation, to lay the foundation of a lasting quiet, and in this way to deprive new attempts at revolution of all foundation and pretext. If the attempts to arrive at an understanding with the German National Assembly failed, to our great regret, it was in consequence of the turn which things took at Frankfort. But the Government of his Majesty has not acknowledged with the less

candour the labours of that Assembly, and used them as the groundwork of their earnest endeavour to form a federal constitution which may be compatible with the benefit of the whole, and the rights of single parties. The unity of Germany, with a single executive power at its head, secured by a popular representation with legislative powers, was and is the object of our endeavour."[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 352, 353; Ann. Hist. 1849, 549, 550.

89. Final arrangement of the German Diet and Constitution.

This terminated the revolution in Prussia, and in a way far more felicitous than at one period could possibly have been anticipated. The lesser states, for the most part, followed the example of Prussia, and the simultaneous extinction of the Hungarian revolt by the arms of Russia deprived the disaffected of all hopes of success. Matters accordingly returned to their old state, though not so rapidly as they had become revolutionary when the troubles first broke out. The Cabinet of Vienna influenced the states of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and this formed a counterpoise to the northern league between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, which delayed the adjustment for some time, by the jealousy of those opposite powers as to the presidency. A proposal made by the Frankfort government, that Austria and Prussia should each nominate two commissioners, who should jointly execute the duties of regent, was rejected by Prussia, from an apprehension of the influence of the Cabinet of Vienna; but meanwhile matters became pressing, and it was indispensable to come to some arrangement as to the Central Government. On the 2d July the Archduke John left Frankfort, and went to the baths, professedly for the re-establishment of his health —really to get quit of his irksome position, where he had the responsibility, and was without the reality, of power. He finally resigned his office on the 20th December, and the representatives of Austria and Prussia were installed in his stead.[2]

July 2.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1849, 552, 553; Cayley, ii. 122, 123.

The affairs of Germany were now virtually settled; but a variety of minor questions remained in its lesser

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1850.

90. Affairs of Würtemberg and Prussia in 1850.

states and general relations, which involved it in turmoil during the whole of 1850, and at one period assumed so serious an aspect that a general war seemed inevitable. Würtemberg was the chief seat of the disturbances, and the last theatre of the philosophical delusions under which the confederacy had so long suffered. The King of that little state had resisted the efforts of his Liberal Ministry, with M. Roemer at its head, to sacrifice his dominions to the supremacy of Prussia, and he remained attached to the Austrian party; but in the course of the struggle the revolutionists had gained all their points, and universal suffrage had worked out its usual result of rendering rational government impossible. The Diet of the kingdom was opened on the 15th March, and in his speech the King had the courage to denounce the vision of unity, which had so long produced division in Germany, as its most dangerous enemy.* Prussia took high offence at this speech, insomuch that the Prussian ambassador was recalled from Würtemberg, and things wore a very threatening aspect. The better to improve his influence, and put matters in a train for realising his favourite project of becoming the head of the united German nation, the King of Prussia summoned a parliament of the princes to meet at Erfurth; but it was not attended so numerously as had been expected, and after sitting a short time it was adjourned, and a new congress of princes summoned to meet *at Berlin* on 9th May. This was at once throwing down

May 9.

* "Ever since March 1848 Germany has been a toy in the hands of party-spirit and ambition. The German unitarian state is a chimera, but the most dangerous of all chimeras for Germany, as well as for Europe. All the means which have been used for this end, all that are still likely to be used, produce an effect directly contrary to that which was intended—that is to say, a division and entire dissolution. The strength, harmony, civilisation, and liberty of the nation depend on our fostering and preserving the independence of its principal states. Their forcible fusion, any subjection of one state to another, must lead to internal dissolution, and annihilate our existence as a nation. For a lasting union of our common country, there is but one possible form—the federal."—*King of Würtemberg's Speech*, 15th March 1850; *Ann. Reg.* 1850, p. 315.

the gauntlet to Austria, and accordingly, though twenty-two princes attended the summons, besides the representatives of the Hanse Towns, yet as Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony were not represented, their deliberations came to nothing, and the Assembly was dismissed after a few days' sitting. Austria, on its side, formed a confederacy which met at Munich, and was soon joined by Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, and all the states of Southern Germany. Soon after the Cabinet of Vienna sent round a circular, calling on the different states to assemble at Frankfort on 6th May, to take into consideration a new organisation of the Diet, on a footing which, it was well understood, should give the house of Hapsburg the lead. Thus there were rival assemblies sitting at the same time in Germany, each summoned by a rival sovereign aiming at the exclusive supremacy of the empire—a mournful result to have followed the general and enthusiastic aspirations of the preceding years, and illustrating the wisdom of the King of Würtemberg's words.[1]

1850.

Feb. 14, 1850.

May 6.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 552, 553, and 1850, 436-441; Ann. Reg. 1850, 312-319.

91. Dissension between Austria and Prussia regarding Hesse-Cassel.

The excitement in Germany was increased, shortly after, by an attempt, made by an assassin of unsound mind, to murder the King of Prussia, which, though it wounded the monarch, happily did not prove fatal. The interest excited by this barbarous attempt, however, was ere long superseded by a contest between the revolutionary and conservative parties in Hesse-Cassel, which rapidly assumed so serious a form as to threaten to involve all Germany in conflagration. This arose from a change of ministry by the Elector, who, finding himself hard pressed by the revolutionists in his dominions, had dismissed the Liberals, and appointed a new one—of which M. Hassonpflug was head—in their stead. This appointment was very unpopular, as, independent of his known leaning to monarchical principles and the Austrian alliance, he was a man of bad character. The consequence was, that, the Ministry

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having called on the Chambers to vote supplies before a regular budget was laid before them, they threw such obstacles in the way as amounted to a refusal, or at least was construed as such by the Government. The Chamber was immediately dissolved, and a proclamation issued, to the effect that, in the mean time, and until further notice, taxes would be levied by the sole authority of the Elector. This excited such a ferment that a decree was issued proclaiming martial law, and establishing a surveillance over the press. But the soldiers, as well as citizens, nearly all sympathised with the Liberals; the courts of law declared the proclamation of martial law illegal; an impeachment was preferred by the public prosecutor against M. Hassonpflug; and at last the Elector and his Ministry were obliged to fly from Cassel, and take up their abode in Wilhelmbad, a suburb of Hanau, from whence a decree against the courts of law and other functionaries was issued. On their side, the standing committee of the Cassel Assembly issued an address to the Elector, condemning in the strongest terms the conduct of the Ministry, "who are so many serpents in your bosom." The German Diet, which was sitting at Frankfort at the time, resolved to support the Elector, and passed a decree directing him to be reinstated in his dominions, and pledging themselves to take all necessary steps for that purpose; and the Austrian Cabinet gave orders to move troops to the southern frontier of Cassel to enforce the resolution of the Diet. On the other hand, the Prussian Government took part with the Cassel Chamber, and deeming the decree of the Frankfort Diet, and the measures of Austria, an infringement of the rights of the "Bund" to which Cassel belonged, and of which Prussia was the head, rapidly advanced troops on the opposite side, and took military possession of all the roads leading from Prussia into Hesse-Cassel. The Austrian Government, hearing of this, advanced troops with the utmost expedition to support the other side,

Aug. 23.

Sept. 4.

Sept. 7.

Sept. 13.

Sept. 18.

deeming the time arrived when the supremacy in Germany was to be decided by force of arms. Matters looked to the last degree threatening: fifty thousand Austrians and as many Prussians were speedily in presence of each other on or near the Cassel territory; the military enthusiasm, both at Berlin and Vienna, rose to the highest pitch; and, to all appearance, a war as terrible as that between Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus, or Daun and the King of Prussia, was to form the last act of the drama of German unity.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1850, 420, 423; Ann. Reg. 1850, 319-322; Cayley, ii. 124, 125.

92. Powerful intervention of Russia.

War, indeed, would undoubtedly have ensued, had it not been for the intervention of that great power which had now become almost omnipotent in the east of Europe, and whose influence has as often been exerted to avert as to provoke hostilities in the adjoining states. Russia, flushed with confidence from the success of her intervention in Hungary in the preceding year, was no indifferent spectator of the approaching contest for supremacy in the great German Empire. Her Cabinet accordingly proposed a conference at Warsaw to settle the whole German question, and it was agreed to by both Austria and Prussia. The views of Russia, in this intervention, are fully developed in a treaty which was at the same time entered into at Bregentz between the Czar, the Emperor of Austria, and the Kings of Würtemberg and Bavaria. By this treaty the contracting parties mutually bound themselves to bring 200,000 men into the field to resist the demands of Prussia, and reinstate the Elector of Cassel in his dominions; and the Czar further agreed to move a large force into Gallicia and Hungary, in order to insure the tranquillity of these provinces, and set free the Austrian armies for operations in Central Germany. In the conferences which were immediately opened at Warsaw, the demands of Prussia, which were supported by Count Brandenburg, were,—the consent of Austria to free conferences for the remodelling of the German constitution; the admission of Prus-

Oct. 7.

CHAP. LIII. 1850.

sia to an equal share with Austria in the future government of the Confederacy; the assent of Austria to a special commission, to meet at Hamburg or elsewhere, to settle the affairs of the Danish duchies. On the other hand, he offered to consent, on the part of Prussia, to postpone indefinitely any further meetings of the Erfurth Union; to consent that Austria should be ranked in the German Confederacy for her *whole dominions*, including Hungary and Lombardy, as well as her German provinces; and to exclude from the future Diet *all representation of the German people*. To these terms, with the exception of that regarding the equal authority in the Confederacy, the Austrians, after some hesitation, agreed. The better to favour a reconciliation between the contending parties, the Emperor Nicholas suggested a compromise, which was, that the forces of Austria and Bavaria should enter Cassel, to reinstate the Elector in his dominions, and enforce obedience to the decree of the Frankfort Diet; and the Prussian troops should retain possession of all the roads leading from thence into their widely-scattered dominions. These proposals induced a schism in the Cabinet of Berlin: Count Radowitz, supported by the King, the Prince of Prussia, and two of the ministers, declared for war and a total disregard of the Frankfort decree; while Count Brandenburg and Baron Von Manteuffel strongly supported a pacific policy, and adoption of the proposals of the Emperor of Russia.[1] The latter prevailed, and in consequence Count Radowitz resigned, to the great grief of the King, who wrote him a letter strongly expressing his regret and esteem;* and the agitation consequent on

Nov. 5.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1850, 423, 424; Ann. Reg. 1850, 323, 324.

* "You have only just left me, my dearest friend; but I seize my pen to send after you a word of grief, of confidence, and of hope. I have signed your dismissal from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, God knows, with a heavy heart; but, as a faithful friend, I have been forced to do so: and still more, I praised you before my assembled Council for the wish you expressed to retire from office. This tells the whole tale, and describes my position more clearly than volumes could do."—KING OF PRUSSIA to COUNT RADOWITZ, Sans Souci, Nov. 5, 1850; *Ann. Reg.* 1850, p. 323.

the crisis proved fatal to Count Brandenburg, who died, after a short illness, three days after his return from the Warsaw conferences.

93. The Olmutz Convention terminates the dispute.

Meanwhile matters had been every day becoming more ominous, and had all but reached a collision in the field. The Austrian and Bavarian troops, on 1st November, marched into Hanau, situated in the electorate, and next day a large Prussian force occupied Cassel, where they were received with the loudest acclamations by the whole people. Hostilities, however, did not actually ensue, though they were on the very point of doing so; and happily, at this critical juncture, the retirement of Count Radowitz and the influence of Russia led to the ascendant of pacific counsels. A new conference was held at Olmutz, under the immediate auspices of the Emperor of Russia; and, on the 29th November, terms were agreed to by the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, which averted the dire alternative of war. By this convention Prussia consented to the federal troops entering the territory of Cassel—the capital being occupied by a battalion of Austrians and another of Prussians. Commissioners were to be sent into Holstein to desire the insurgents to withdraw behind the Eider, and the Danes to occupy Schleswig with such a body of troops only as was necessary for the public tranquillity. A congress was to be held at Dresden to settle finally the affairs of Germany, and especially Holstein and Cassel. This congress was held accordingly, and opened with great solemnity on the 23d December, when Prince Schwartzenberg, on the part of Austria, and Baron Manteuffel on that of Prussia, delivered speeches explaining the views of their respective governments. "The incontestable advantages of the Confederation," said the former, "are apparent from a review of the great blessings which Germany enjoyed under its protection, and of the present state of things, of which the development is owing to a time in which that protection could no longer be effectual

Nov. 1.

Nov. 2.

Nov. 29.

Dec. 23.

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and sufficient. That time, also, has become a lesson to us, and it has again served to warn us to make use of our dearly-bought experience. That experience has shown us the futility of all attempts to create an absolute novelty. It has shown that the foundations on which the Confederation rests are not only good and serviceable, but that they are the ones suitable for a fabric in which a community of states, such as Germany includes, can be expected to live in harmony and in a state of general prosperity. If we wish to avoid a return to those sad experiences, we ought to prove to the countries of Germany that their governments do not want the will, the intelligence, and the energy to remove existing grievances, and to create things good, true, and stable."[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1851, 273, 278, and 1850, 330-332; Ann. Hist. 1850, 424, 427.

94. Final decision of the affairs of Germany at Dresden in 1851.

When such sentiments were expressed by the representatives of the great powers, the work of pacification seemed already done. But great difficulties were experienced in getting all differences smoothed over with the lesser powers; and after sitting some months, it was judged, and wisely, that without attempting to adjust all lesser points, the most advisable course was to adjourn the conferences *sine die*, and meanwhile to return to the whole arrangements as to mutual defence, and the quota of troops to be furnished by each State, which had been agreed to at the first confederation-treaty in 1815. This was accordingly done by a regular resolution on the 15th May; and the old Diet then met at Frankfort precisely as it had done before the Revolution broke out. Thus, after three years of incessant riot, confusion, and bloodshed in Germany, and the endurance of a vast amount of public damage and private suffering, things returned to their old state, with no other lasting advantage but a general conviction that the new and much-desired state was, under existing circumstances, impossible.[2]

May 15, 1851.

[2] Ann. Reg. 1851, 276, 277; Ann. Hist. 1851, 273-281.

To complete the picture of Central and Northern Germany during these eventful years, it only remains to

notice the concluding events of the heroic contest which Denmark maintained, in defence of its just rights, against the encroachments of the Germanic Confederacy. The conditions of the armistice of Malmœ, already mentioned, which terminated the first act of that interesting drama, had been religiously observed by Denmark, which, as the weaker party, had no interest in violating them. But it was otherwise with the Germanic Confederacy, which, being impelled by the thirst for conquest and proselytism which is the invariable attendant on the extrication of the revolutionary passions, and in secret supported by England, which sympathised with the advances of democracy in every part of the world, made such encroachments by advancing troops close to Jutland, the last refuge of Denmark on the Continent, as rendered the resumption of hostilities on the part of its Government unavoidable. They commenced on the night of the 3d April, when the Danish troops gained some advantage at land, and succeeded in driving back the most advanced posts of the enemy; but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by a cruel catastrophe which at the same time befell the "Christian VIII.," of seventy-four guns, and Gefion frigate, which, having imprudently advanced with two steamers too near the shore, in an attack on the batteries of Eckenfiorde, were unable to get back by a change of wind; and the former blew up, while the latter was taken, with six hundred and forty men and forty officers. No ways discouraged by this disaster, the Danes laboured night and day to repair it, and fit out new vessels to support their troops in this amphibious warfare. But ere long the superior strength of the German Confederation became apparent. The forces which the Germans brought into the field were nearly 100,000, of whom 5000 were cavalry, with 100 guns; while the Danes, at the very utmost, could only oppose to them 30,000, who had not the advantage of possessing any defensible military positions. The odds were too un-

Affairs of the Danish Duchies: renewal of hostilities.

April 3, 1849.

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equal. On the 20th April the Prussians invaded Jutland with 48 battalions, 48 guns, and 2000 horse; and the Danish generals, unable to make head against such a crusade, retired through the town of Kolding, which was fortified, and commanded an important bridge that was abandoned to the invaders. The Danes, however, returned, and after a bloody combat dislodged the Prussians, but were finally obliged to evacuate it by the fire of the German mortars, which reduced the town to ashes.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 557, 558; Cayley, ii. 58, 59.

96. Defeat of the Prussians near Fredericia; and renewal of the armistice. July 10.

On the 3d May the Danes had their revenge, in the defeat of a large body of the Schleswig insurgents by a Danish corps near the fortress of Fredericia, with the loss of 340 men. A more important advantage was gained by them on the 6th July over the German corps of General Bonin, 18,000 strong, which was besieging Fredericia. *It was simultaneously attacked from within by a sally from the garrison, and from without by a large Danish force under General Rye, which, unknown to the enemy, had been concentrated in the adjacent forest by means of their superiority at sea. Both attacks, which were made at one in the morning, met with entire success.* The surprise was complete, and after two hours of a confused nocturnal combat, the besiegers were routed at all points, driven from their intrenchments, and all their siege-artillery and equipage, with several of their field-guns, taken. While General Rye's corps was gaining these successes, another Danish corps, under General Molkte, attacked and put to the rout 8000 Germans, to the south of the fortress; and ere long their centre was also forced, and the whole driven to retreat. The loss of the Germans in this disastrous affair was 96 officers and 3250 men killed and wounded, with their whole siege-artillery and stores. These great advantages were dearly purchased by the Danes with the loss of General Rye, who had so ably planned the attack, and was slain early in the action. This brilliant victory was

July 6.

immediately followed by the retreat of the Germans from nearly the whole of Jutland. A convention was soon after concluded at Berlin, which established an armistice for six months, and provided for the entire evacuation of that province by the German forces. In the mean time, the disputed province of Schleswig was to be governed, in the name of the King of Denmark, by a commission composed of one person named by him, one by the King of Prussia, and an arbiter appointed by England. These terms were extremely favourable to the Danes, for the commission which governed the country during the former armistice had been entirely in the interest of the insurgents, and had arrayed all they could of the strength of the province against the Danish crown. But they could not array the whole, for the majority of the inhabitants were against them ; and it was observed in these combats, that none of the Danish troops evinced such animosity as those which had been drawn from the province of Schleswig. By a secret treaty signed at the same time with the public convention, it was provided that, in the event of the Schleswig-Holstein army declining to accept the armistice, the Danish Government was to be at liberty to employ all its forces against them, but not to call in the assistance of any foreign power ; and that in that event the Prussian Government was to withdraw its forces, and leave the insurgents to their own resources.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 556-561; Ann. Reg. 1850, 298; Cayley, ii. 59.

97. Treaty of July 2, between Prussia and Denmark.

Negotiations for a final treaty of peace now ensued, between plenipotentiaries appointed on both sides ; and the King of Denmark said, in his address to the Chambers at Copenhagen, on January 10, 1850, "The war is not ended, but it is interrupted, and I am in hopes this will lead to the desired result, if my deluded subjects are not misled by the encouragement of a *great power*." The Emperor of Russia warmly supported the demands of Denmark, by whom the conditions of the armistice were faithfully observed, and in an energetic note enumerated the many and serious breaches of it by the

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Schleswig insurgents and the Prussian Government, by whom, during its continuance, arms and ammunition had been secretly sent into the duchies. The terms of this note left little room for doubt that, in the event of Prussia continuing this insidious policy, the Cabinet of St Petersburg would take a part in the conflict. Lord Palmerston, seeing matters becoming so serious, departed from his system of veiled support of the Schleswig insurrection, and proposed a conference in London to adjust the matters in dispute; but Austria and Prussia declined to accede to it, as derogatory to the dignity of the Germanic Confederacy. The negotiations between the belligerent powers accordingly went on at Berlin, and terminated on

July 2. 2d July, in the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the King of Denmark on the one side, and the King of Prussia and Germanic Confederacy on the other. By this treaty all former ones between Denmark and the German Confederacy were renewed; their mutual rights were re-established on the footing on which they had been before the war; the King of Denmark was authorised to employ his own forces, and claim the support of those of the Confederacy, for re-establishing his authority in Holstein; and commissioners were to be appointed on each side to ascertain the boundaries of such parts of the Danish dominions as belonged to the German Confederacy. Within eleven days of the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops were to withdraw from Schleswig, and in eleven days more from Holstein. A protocol was, two days after the signature of this treaty, signed in London, by the plenipotentiaries who were parties to the conference there, which provided for the maintenance of the possessions of the Crown of Denmark in their

Aug. 27. entire integrity, and that the question of the *succession to the Crown* should be settled with the same view. Austria acceded some time after to this protocol, but Prussia never did so. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the King of Denmark issued a proclamation to

[1] Ann. Hist. 1850, 447, 448; Ann. Reg. 1850, 299, 301.

the inhabitants of Schleswig, guaranteeing to the Germans settled there the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Danes, and renouncing all idea of incorporating the duchy with the kingdom of Denmark.

98. Renewal of the war by the bad faith of the Prussians.

To all appearance the war was now ended, and on terms highly honourable to the Danes. In truth, it would have been terminated at this period, had it not been for the discreditable breach of faith on the part of Prussia, which, chagrined at the untoward result of the battle of Fredericia, sought to continue the contest, not openly with its own forces, but secretly, by encouraging the insurgents to persevere. A diplomatic agent from the insurgents was tolerated at Berlin; furloughs were openly given at Hamburg to the troops of the Confederacy to enter their service in Holstein; an office for enrolling recruits for them was publicly opened at Berlin; finally, General Willisen, who commanded the insurgent army, was a Prussian, and half its officers were of German origin. In these circumstances the armistice turned entirely to the advantage of the insurgents, whose army was daily increasing in efficiency. The King of Denmark, therefore, who knew he could rely on the countenance of Russia, wisely resolved to recommence hostilities, and they began on the 15th July. The insur- July 15.
gent army, thirty-two thousand strong, then occupied IDSTEDT and Wedelspang, on which two points their whole army was concentrated. The Danish general, on the other hand, occupied Flensburg on the 17th, a few miles dis- July 17.
tant, with twenty-eight thousand men—veterans, inured to war, having confidence in their officers as their officers had in them, and animated with the very highest military and patriotic spirit. The insurgent force was not less brave, but it was by no means equally organised, for its officers were for the most part young men from the universities, who had no military experience, were unacquainted with the troops, to the command of which they had been despatched by the democratic committee, and

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were neither qualified to feel confidence themselves nor to inspire it in their followers.

99. Battle-field of Idstedt.

The attack of the Danes was postponed till the 25th, in order to give time for their right wing, which was intended to turn the enemy's left, to make a circuit through bogs and marshes, which required to be passed before it could be reached; but in the mean time the measures of General Von Kragh, the Danish commander, were made with great ability. The position of the insurgents was very strong, their troops being arranged in the form of a semicircle, supported by redoubts, with its convex side in front of the town of Idstedt, its right resting on the Eckenfiorde and the ground between it and Schleswig, and its left on the marshes, generally impassable, which adjoined the river Trune. The battle-field was a wild moor, covered with tumuli, and already celebrated in Danish story, for it was there that the Emperor Otto had defeated Harold Blue-Tooth, grandfather to Canute the Great, and forced him to sue for peace, and be baptised by Bishop Boppo. It was here again, after the lapse of a thousand years, that the German and Scandinavian races met in hostile array, and engaged in mortal combat on the graves of their fathers.[1]

[1] Cayley, ii. 66-68; Ann. Hist. 1849, 449.

100. Battle of Idstedt. July 25.

At three in the morning of the 25th the whole Danish columns were in motion, and ready for the attack; but it was delayed for some hours in consequence of a thick fog which overspread the plain, and prevented the movements on the flanks from being seen. At length, at half-past ten, the sound of the cannonade on the flanks was heard, and the main body of the army advanced to attack the enemy's centre. It was strongly fortified with redoubts, and the approach to them was through a narrow defile between the Arnholzsee and the Langsee. The fire here was extremely warm; the Danish troops, notwithstanding the utmost efforts, were unable to force the intrenchments, and they sustained a very severe loss in an ambuscade skilfully laid for them in the village of Oberstolcke. The

Germans had strongly occupied the houses with musketeers, who were kept concealed till three or four battalions were passed, when they suddenly showed themselves at the windows and on the roofs, and opened a most destructive fire on those who followed. Several staff officers, who rode back to ascertain the cause of the tumult in the rear, were slain on the spot, and the whole column thrown into disorder. Seeing this, the Danish general ordered a feigned retreat, and drew back his forces nearly a league from the position they had attained, stationing at the same time a large body of infantry and cavalry in a masked position behind the village, the scene of such slaughter. A thousand of the enemy, who had been placed in the ambuscade, were slain on this occasion; but the Danish army, with the exception of those placed in ambuscade, were in full retreat.

101. Victory of the Danes.

The Germans, deceived by this retrograde movement, and deeming the battle gained, issued in haste and somewhat disorderly array from their intrenchments, and commenced the pursuit. Von Kragh allowed them to advance till they had passed the defile and debouched on the plains beyond, and then suddenly halted his troops and faced about, while those behind the village, in great strength, and with a large force in artillery and cavalry, attacked them in flank and rear. The superior discipline and warlike experience of the royal army now prevailed over the more desultory efforts of the insurgents; the left wing of the Germans was cut off from the centre, driven back, the line of the Trune forced, and their left entirely uncovered; while on their right the Danish troops were making rapid progress, and the sound of their artillery was heard in the direct rear on that side of the German position. Threatened in this manner on both flanks at once, Willisen could no longer maintain his ground in the centre, where the redoubts were still held, and vomited forth a tremendous fire. They were abandoned accordingly; the defile, the theatre of so bloody a

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conflict in the earlier part of the day, was passed at a run and with very little loss; the whole redoubts in front of Idstedt and Wedelspang were stormed, and the German army, in deep dejection but good order, retreated to Rendsburg on the Eider, abandoning to the victors the whole territory of Schleswig. The town of the same name was occupied by the Danish general at five in the evening, and headquarters were established there at midnight. It was not the least gratifying circumstance to the Danes, that in the harbour of Eckenfiorde, which fell into their hands during this advance, they regained the frigate Gefion, which had fallen into the enemy's hands in the preceding year.[1]

[1] Von Kragh's Desp., July 27, 1849; General Willisen's Desp., July 28; Ann. Reg. 1849, 302-305; Ann. Hist. 1849, 449, 450.

102. Results of the victory to the Danes, and conclusion of the war.

This battle, which General Willisen in his official despatch characterised as "the hardest fought of the age," was at the same time one of the most bloody. The loss on both sides amounted to nearly 8000 men, or about one in eight of the troops engaged; a prodigious slaughter, unexampled in European war since the battle of Waterloo. Of these, nearly 3000, including 85 officers, were killed or wounded on the side of the Danes, and 5000 on that of the insurgents, whose loss in officers was peculiarly severe. Two thousand wounded Germans fell into the hands of the victors in the town of Schleswig, besides those who were carried off or abandoned on the field. The Danes immediately took possession of the whole disputed territory of Schleswig, proclaimed martial law, and commenced in good earnest the reorganisation of their government. The insurgents, meanwhile, retired into Holstein, where they made the utmost efforts to recruit their army. But though the press was loud in their support, and represented the duchy as animated with the utmost enthusiasm, the fire was burnt out; only seven hundred recruits came forward to repair the losses which had been sustained, and they were got only by a forced conscription, and bounty of ten dollars a man. Having at length reorganised his army, Willisen, on the 12th

Sept. 12.

September, moved forward to attack Frederickstadt, a fortified town, situated at the junction of the Trune and the Eider, surrounded by canals and marshes, and garrisoned by nine weak companies, with seven guns. In the course of his advance Willisen attacked Eckenfiorde on the 13th, and after having become master of it, he was driven out by the fire of the Danish gunboats, which destroyed great part of the town. He next endeavoured to force the formidable position of Danewirke, which covered the town of Schleswig, but it proved impregnable. Finding his advance barred in every quarter, the German general sat down before Frederickstadt, which was bombarded without intermission from the 30th September till the 5th October, with Sept. 30. no other result but the destruction of a large part of the town and a great number of the inhabitants. Twelve hundred men were lost by the invader in this abortive expedition. Having failed in this *coup-de-main*, the Germans retreated into Holstein, and Schleswig finally Oct. 5. remained to the King of Denmark. This was the last flicker of that terrible flame which, two years and a half before, had burst forth with such violence in every part of Germany, and threatened at one time to involve the whole world in conflagration.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1850, 452, 454; Cayley, ii. 68-71; Ann. Reg. 1850, 304-306.

103. Final settlement of the Danish question.

The King of Denmark made a noble use of his victory. Though military law was proclaimed in Schleswig, no trials by military tribunals took place, and no executions sullied his triumph. One of the most terrible rebellions recorded in modern times was extinguished without one drop of blood shed on the scaffold. The severest punishment inflicted on the insurgent leaders was banishment for a limited number of years from Denmark; and even this was softened by permission to the persons sentenced to sell their effects and take the proceeds with them to the place of their retreat. The final pacification of the duchies was virtually effected at the Olmutz conference. Prussia was in consequence obliged to withdraw the

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underhand and insidious support which she had so long given to the insurgents, and the decision of the sovereigns and Diet having been communicated to the insurgents, they laid down their arms, and the Danish authorities re-entered without opposition into possession of the whole dominions of the Danish crown.*

104. Reflections on the failure of the movement for German liberty.

Prince Leiningen, one of the ablest ministers of the Archduke John, and one of the most eloquent of the Liberal chiefs of Germany, published a memorial towards the end of the year, in which he admitted the total failure of the movement in favour of German liberty, and confesses that its only result had been, instead of one constitutional emperor, to give them two military despots. He ascribes this failure not to any external hostility or class resistance, but simply and exclusively to the inability of the German people to govern themselves. He confesses that the German people were unworthy of the freedom that they sought for; that the vision of unity was seen only by a comparatively few of the *illuminati*—kings, professors, and students—but that the bulk of the nation was indifferent to their projects, and sought only after the repose which they had disturbed. Making every allowance for the ulcerated feelings of one of the chief apostles of German freedom and unity, it is impossible to deny that there is much truth in these observations. But without settling in the melancholy belief that the Teutonic race, pre-eminent above all others for their love of freedom, is incapable of bearing its excitements, and is doomed to drag on a weary existence through ages of servitude, it is more consonant, both to political justice

* The comparative value of Denmark Proper, Schleswig, and Holstein, is shown by the budget, 1st April 1858 to 1st April 1859, just published, viz. :

	Income— Rix-thalers.	Expenditure— Rix-thalers.
Denmark Proper, . . .	6,043,800	5,518,847
Schleswig, ...	1,363,067	1,341,297
Holstein, ...	1,834,762	1,752,396
	9,241,629	8,612,540

and the real merits of that noble race of men, to say that the movement failed, not because the Germans were unworthy of liberty, but because they were misled in the effort to attain it. They thought they could alter the character of men by merely changing their institutions; and they did this in so violent a way as necessarily rendered the whole effort abortive. They gave to a people, wholly unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights, universal suffrage; they conferred unlimited powers on their representatives; and, departing altogether from the old European principle of the representation of classes, they founded government everywhere on that of numbers. The consequence was, that the passion for liberty generally ran into that for license; the generous feelings were supplanted by the selfish in nearly all the leaders; and such crimes were "committed in the name of liberty," in Madame Roland's words, as detached every right-thinking man from its side.

105. Great effects of the loyalty of the army.

Such was the extravagance of the measures pursued, and the magnitude of the crimes committed, in the course of this frantic and headlong chase, that the cause of freedom would have been really lost, and probably for ever, in Germany, had it not been for a very singular circumstance, springing from the inherent probity and good faith of the nation, and which honourably distinguishes their revolution from those of France. The army, generally speaking, was faithful; it was their fidelity and adherence to duty which extricated the German people from their greatest dangers. It was that which terminated the anarchy of Frankfort, restored lawful authority in Prague and Vienna, saved Austria in Italy, and crushed the hydra of revolution in Berlin and Baden. But for it the Assemblies of Germany, elected by universal suffrage, would have torn society in pieces, as they had done in France; and the Fatherland, instead of advancing steadily and securely in the paths of self-control and real freedom, would have been lured by the falla-

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cious light of democracy into the depths, first of democratic, and then of imperial despotism. Freedom, at least in the popular sense of the word, is not as yet established in Germany, for the people have little direct share in the management of affairs; but the foundations of it have been safely laid, because this was done without the destruction of any of the classes of society. Freedom has been permanently destroyed in France, because in its first excesses all classes between the throne and the peasant were ruined. Amidst the acclamations of the multitude and universal enthusiasm, the revolt of the French Guards in May 1789 occasioned the overthrow, first of the throne, next of the tribune, and, in the end, of anything like freedom in the land. Amidst universal maledictions and the execrations of the whole Liberals of Europe, the fidelity of the Prussian troops preserved the fabric of society in Northern Germany, and opened the gates, without destroying the bulwarks, of Teutonic liberty.

106. Great effect of the Prussian representation of classes.

But the fidelity of the soldiers could only present a temporary barrier against the inroads of democracy, and curb or punish its first excesses. It is in political institutions, founded on wisdom, and adapted to necessities, that in an age of advancing intelligence the only lasting security against these, the most formidable enemies of real freedom, is to be found. This barrier was erected by Count Brandenburg's Administration, when they changed the principle of representation in Prussia, without disfranchising a human being, from *the election by head to the election by classes*, and with that modification left every man a vote for the representation in the National Assembly. The adoption of the principle which Mr Burke long ago described as the true and only safe foundation for popular representation,[1] at once established a barrier against democratic despotism in Prussia, and to the security which it afforded, the subsequent internal peace and general prosperity which that country has enjoyed

[1] Appeal from Old to New Whigs, Works, vi. 328.

is mainly to be ascribed. It is a curious circumstance, illustrating the almost superhuman wisdom of the ancient conquerors of the world, and the slow progress of political knowledge in the great body of mankind, that the remedy against the dangers of democracy, which reflection only revealed to the greatest political philosophers of modern times in the close of the eighteenth century, and experience taught the most generally educated nation of Europe in the middle of the nineteenth, had been established in the very earliest days of the Roman Republic; and that in their "*Centuries*" has been left to the imitation of all future times an institution which secures for freedom all its blessings, and takes from democracy the worst of its dangers.

CHAPTER LIV.

AUSTRIA FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN MARCH 1848, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN WAR.

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1. Reception of the news from Paris in Vienna.

THE intelligence of the Revolution in Paris reached Vienna on the 1st March, and the sensation produced in all classes by that stupendous event was immense. In the court and aristocratic circles the prevailing feeling was one of consternation, and almost despair; in the literary and artistic society, of boundless enthusiasm; in the bourgeois, of satisfaction and hope. The throne of Charles, defended by a mere handful of heroes, had not fallen till after three days' severe fighting with fifty thousand insurgents: that of Louis Philippe had succumbed, almost without resistance, before a trifling band of desperadoes, though guarded by sixty thousand soldiers. There was enough here to appal the most courageous on the one side; to encourage, on the other, the most timid. The chiefs of the secret societies, which there, as elsewhere, existed in great numbers, hidden in the obscurity of a large metropolis, instantly put themselves in motion; and the general fervour enabled them to work upon public opinion with almost instantaneous effect. Swift as the electric telegraph, the exciting news flew from city to city, from burgh to burgh, from village to village.[1] The intelligence received from Italy and Northern and

[1] Balleyd., Révolution d'Autriche, 1, 12, 17.

Central Germany soon heightened the excitement produced by the catastrophe in Paris; and it was next to impossible for Vienna to remain tranquil when Milan had chased the Imperial eagles from its streets, and Dresden, Berlin, Stutgardt, Baden, and Munich, were in a state of approaching or open insurrection.

2. Serious excitement in Vienna.

The movement in the Imperial city began on the 6th March, in one of the meetings of the Industrial Association, which, undismayed by the presence of the Archduke Charles and Count Kollowrath, voted *unanimously* an address to the Emperor, in which they set forth, in the strongest terms, the shock given to credit, the stagnation of industry, and the danger of any longer continuance of such a state of things, aggravated so seriously as it recently had been by the important intelligence from Western Europe. In their simplicity, the Liberals of Vienna thought that a revolution was the only remedy. For several days after, the excitement went on increasing, and at length reached such a height as to be altogether unbearable without a channel for its expansion. This channel was found in a petition, drawn up by the professors of the University of Vienna, and signed by all the students, and a great proportion of the householders in the metropolis, which, after setting forth in general terms the necessity which existed for an "immediate advance in the path of progress tempered by wisdom," especially in consequence of the events which had recently convulsed society in the West, went on specifically to demand the immediate publication of the budget; the periodical convocation of the representative bodies, comprehending all classes and interests, and invested with the right to vote and control the supplies; freedom to the press, publicity in criminal proceedings, the erection of municipal and communal laws, and the representation, in the provincial assemblies, of the agricultural, commercial, industrial and scientific interests.[1] It was not presented to the Emperor, but was addressed

[1] Balleyd. i. 17, 19; Ann. Hist. 1848, 389; Ann. Reg. 1848.

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to the Provisional Estates of Lower Austria, the meeting of which stood fixed for the 13th March.

3. Tumult of March 13.

To the inhabitants of a free country there appears little objectionable in these demands; but they became eminently perilous from the manner in which they were urged upon the Government. It was soon apparent that their acceptance was to be won, not by solicitation or

March 11.

representation, but force. On the day appointed, when the Estates met, the students of the university, who, with the professors, had erected themselves, two days before, into a deliberative body, forced their way into the hall of the representatives, and concussed the members into the adoption of a petition to the Emperor, containing the usual demands of the Liberal party. Having got what they desired, they proceeded, followed by an immense mob in the highest state of excitement, and singing revolutionary songs, to the Imperial palace, where they were coldly received by the Archduke Louis and Count Kollowrath, who refused them admittance to the

March 12.

Emperor. Upon this they retired for the evening, but it was only after fixing a point of rendezvous for the day following, when they returned in greater strength, and still greater determination in their hearts. In the crowd which followed the professors and students were to be seen those strange visages, uncouth figures, and savage expressions, which presage the moral convulsions of the world. The universal cry was for the liberty of the press, religious liberty, universal education, a general arming of the people, a constitution, and the unity of Germany. "Long live free and independent Germany!"—"Long live the Italians in arms!"—"Long live the Magyars!"—"Long live the patriots of Prague!" Such were the cries which rose from the crowd, and were no sooner heard than they were frantically cheered. Count Montecuculli, recently appointed to the office of minister of state, to regulate the internal affairs of the Empire, appeared at a window when these petitioners made

their appearance, and endeavoured to appease the tumult by proposing that the students should send twelve deputies to support the petition of the Estates. They immediately did so, and the twelve juvenile deputies were introduced. Before they had time, however, to commence the statement of their demands, a young man, with an inflamed visage and sparkling eyes, rushed into the court holding aloft a paper, and calling out, "The speech of Kossuth!" A thousand voices immediately exclaimed, "The speech of Kossuth! — Read! read!" He began to read, accordingly, an inflammatory address delivered on the 3d March to the Assembly at Pesth; and at one phrase in it—"I know that it is as difficult for an antiquated policy as for an old man to detach himself from the idea of a long life"—the applause was such that he was obliged to read it thrice over, followed on every occasion by frenzied applause; and the words "Metternich! Metternich!" resounded from thousands of lips.[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 32, 34.

4. Sacking of Prince Metternich's hôtel, and tumult in the palace.

It was now evident that, unless the Estates made an immediate effort to assert their authority, the lead of the movement would slip from their hands, and fall into those of the students and mob of Vienna. The tumult, however, was so violent, that all considerations of prudence and reason were swept away before it. An outrageous mob moved to the palace of the minister-in-chief, Prince Metternich, which they immediately broke into and sacked from top to bottom. His friends and servants in vain endeavoured to persuade the veteran Metternich to close his doors against the intruders. "They will say that I was afraid," said the brave old man, and he let them in. Meanwhile, the body which had taken the direction of the palace arrived in front of that edifice, and some companies of troops came up on the other side to defend it. Stones and other missiles were thrown at the military, who were received with storms of hisses, and an officer was wounded. Orders were now given to fire,

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and the troops afterwards charged with the bayonet, by which five persons were killed. The mob upon this dispersed, but it was only to scatter themselves over the city, and prepare everywhere a strenuous resistance. Gunsmiths' shops were broken into, arms began to be seen in the hands of the insurgents, and a house building in the square of Hof furnished an ample store of missiles with which to assault the arsenal of the city guard, the next object of attack. Several charges of cavalry took place, and blood began to flow. In this alarming state of affairs, a deputation of the officers of the civic guard repaired to the palace to explain the case to the Emperor Ferdinand I.; but his agitation was such that he could not receive them. They were admitted, however, to the Archduke Louis; but all their entreaties, joined to those of the deputation of the Estates, could not prevail on the Government to act decidedly against the insurgents. Encouraged by this weakness, the insurrection spread with terrible rapidity, and soon assumed the most alarming proportions. Deputation after deputation, from the students, the citizens, and the magistrates, succeeded each other at the palace with stunning rapidity, and few departed without obtaining the promise of some concession, the announcement of which, instead of quieting the mob, only excited them the more, and prompted others to press forward with still more dangerous demands. Important concessions were already preparing, when the rector of the University Magnifique threw himself at the feet of the Archduke Louis, and, with tears in his eyes, extorted from him the promise that the students should be armed from the public arsenals at eight o'clock on the following morning. This was capitulating for the monarchy. The students were two thousand in number, sons of the most respectable citizens of Vienna, and the leaders of the insurrection.[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 50, 55; Ann. Hist. 1848, 389; Ann. Reg. 1848, 404.

The utmost agitation prevailed at the palace, when

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5. Speech and resignation of Metternich.

Prince Metternich arrived from the office of the chancery. He was received with groans and hisses from the mob, but succeeded in getting in without sustaining actual violence. Silence was at length restored, and, rising with inexpressible dignity, he said: "The object of my entire life is summed up in one word—devotion. I declare in this solemn moment before God, to whom my heart is open, before you who hear me, that in the course of my long career I have never had a thought but for the safety of the monarchy. If it is now thought that my presence at the head of affairs is inconsistent with that safety, I am ready to retire. In that case my retreat will not be a sacrifice, and from afar as near I shall never have a thought but for the happiness of my country." Then addressing the Archduke Louis, he said: "My lord, I resign my situation into your hands as into those of the Emperor; from this moment I re-enter private life. Gentlemen, I foresee that the report will speedily be spread, that in retiring from the ministry I have carried with me the monarchy. I protest solemnly and beforehand against such an assertion. No one in the world, more than myself, has shoulders broad enough to bear away a State. *If emperors disappear, it is never till they have come to despair of themselves.*" He then withdrew as a private individual into the circle, and conversed on the events of the day as if he had been a stranger to them, examining their character and foretelling their consequences with a sagacity which became prophetic.[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 56, 57; Ann. Hist. 1848, 389.

6. His final conversation with the Emperor, and formation of a new Ministry.

All was accomplished by the retreat of the prime-minister. He soon after had an interview with the Emperor, when he said: "Sire! your Majesty has but one of two parts to take in resolving the problem which the revolt has now submitted to your determination—concession or resistance. Concession in presence of an insurrection is revolution; resistance is a struggle. If your Majesty decides for concession, my conscience imposes

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on me the duty of laying at your Majesty's feet my resignation. If you should decide for resistance, I am ready to follow you on a ground where success is now certain. In either case, I shall esteem myself fortunate to have an opportunity of giving to the monarchy the last proof of my devotion, by sacrificing myself for it." At the mention of resistance, the monarch, who was destitute of firmness, turned pale, as if he had seen a spectre. His expression and silence sufficiently proved that between concession and resistance his mind was made up. Metternich saw that it was all over, and, respectfully bowing, took his leave. He set out on the following day with the Princess Metternich for Feldsberg, the magnificent residence of the Prince of Lichtenstein. The public indignation, however, was so violent, that he was obliged to leave it, and he set out with her for Dresden. The dangers which thickened around him, however, were such, that they were obliged to go on under feigned names, and in perpetual danger of their lives, clandestinely to Brunswick, Hanover, Minden, and Arnheim. At the last place he heard that a price had been put on his head, and five hundred ducats offered to whoever should produce it. He escaped all his dangers notwithstanding, and reached London in safety. An entire change immediately took place in the ministry at Vienna. M. Sidintzka, the chief of police, retired with Metternich; and the Counts Kollowrath and Montecuculli were charged with the formation of a new ministry formed on the most Liberal principles. At the same time, a decree was issued ordering the formation of a burgher guard in Vienna, the abolition of all restrictions on the press, and the convocation of the Estates in all the provinces of the monarchy. The revolution was complete and universal.[1] A convulsion which brought Austria to the brink of ruin, all but swept it from the book of nations, and reduced it to the humiliation of invoking the perilous intervention of a foreign

[1] Balleyd. i. 59, 62, 79; Ann. Hist. 1848, 389, 390; Cayley, ii. 143, 144.

power, had been completed by two thousand students, headed by the most learned men in the State!—a memorable proof of the difference between literary and philosophical ability, and the practical acquaintance with affairs and the disposition of men, which qualifies for the direction of mankind.

7. Anarchy and rapid progress of the Revolution at Vienna.

The concessions made by the Emperor, great as they were, and even the departure of their chief enemy, Metternich, were far from appeasing the revolutionists at Vienna. Deputation after deputation succeeded each other at the palace, all professing the utmost loyalty to the Emperor, but none departing without having more or less enlarged the breach in the bulwarks of the Empire. The abolition of the censorship of the press, which was at once conceded, was not enough; they insisted on its absolute and unqualified liberty, which was also granted. The workmen called out for a reduction in the price of all that was eat or drank, and an immediate abolition of all duties on articles of consumption. Suiting the action to the word, they proceeded to break into and level with the ground the whole buildings, round the capital, where the *octroi* were collected. Their contents March 14.
were distributed among the assailants. The students, who had received arms that very morning on the promise that they would preserve the public peace, and had been organised in battalions with surprising rapidity, made no attempt to arrest these disorders. They concentrated all their efforts for the formation of a constitution which might unite everything they desired. So completely did they carry the sympathies of the citizens with them in their demands, that the bankers, Seria and Rothschild, sent considerable sums to these juvenile revolutionists to enable them to complete their equipments. Pressed thus on all sides, the Emperor issued a proclamation, announcing an assembly of all the *Estates* of his kingdom at Vienna before the 30th July, and another July 15.
on the day following, recommending abstinence from all

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insults to the military. To appease the public mind, and convince the people he had not fled from his capital, the Emperor next day drove through the principal streets of Vienna in an open calèche, and was received with loud acclamations.[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 79, 82.

8. Commencement of trouble in Hungary and Bohemia. March 3.

While these decisive events were passing in the metropolis, troubles of a still graver sort, and of more sinister augury, had broken out in Hungary and Bohemia. The intelligence from Paris was received at Presburg, when the Diet of that kingdom was sitting; and the first use which KOSSUTH and the leaders of the Hungarian Liberals made of the intelligence, was to suspend their ordinary labours to discuss an address to the Emperor as King of Hungary, praying him to take measures suited to the gravity of existing circumstances. It was the reading of his speech on this occasion, and of the address itself, which produced so decisive an effect, as already recounted, at Vienna, on the 13th March. The address passed by a large majority, and it was ordered to be presented by the Archduke Stephen, the regent of the kingdom. At the same time troubles broke out in Bohemia, and Prague became the centre of an agitation as exclusively national as Pesth had become. As the object of the Hungarians was to obtain a separation of the kingdom of Hungary from the Austrian monarchy, so the object of the agitation in Bohemia was to effect a similar separation of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and their erection into a distinct monarchy, governed by its own laws, legislature, and municipal institutions, and united with Austria only by the link of a common sovereign. Both the Hungarian and Bohemian petitions demanded, in addition, an enlargement of the base of the national representation, the election of municipal officers by the people, liberty of the press, publicity of criminal proceedings; the suppression of feudal rights, corvées, and exclusive privileges; security of personal freedom, the general arming of the people, and military

service obligatory alike on all. Thus, while Central and Northern Germany were passionately striving for the unity of the Fatherland, the Austrian Empire was distracted with passions which threatened to break it up into separate states, of which Austria proper would be the most inconsiderable, and the hostility of races was bursting forth with unprecedented fury in all the eastern provinces of the confederacy.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 402, 403; Balleyd. i. 25, 26.

9. Demands of Kossuth and the Hungarians.

Two days after, the revolution of 13th March broke out at Vienna, and a deputation of a hundred and fifty persons from the Hungarian Diet at Presburg made their appearance in the capital, headed by Kossuth. Their demands were—the nomination of a ministry, purely Hungarian, responsible to the Hungarian Diet alone for their actions; a new representation of the entire population, without distinction of rank or birth; the organisation of a national guard through the whole kingdom; the translation of the seat of the Diet from Presburg to Pesth; and the concession of similar liberties to all the other countries of the Empire, to which the petitioners declared their firm desire to remain united. Kossuth and the Count Bathiany, a Hungarian noble of high rank and ardent patriotic feelings, were at the head of this deputation: the Archduke Stephen, the Regent of Hungary, had preceded their arrival by a few days. The deputation received the most flattering reception; an immense crowd filled the streets, which resounded with cries of "Vivat Kossuth! Vivat Bathiany!" the Hungarian arms floated in the air, and universal transports prevailed. The influence of these petitioners, whom the Government, in their present state of weakness, had no means of resisting, speedily appeared in the appointment of the Archduke Stephen as Viceroy of Hungary, assisted by a council composed wholly of Hungarians, presided over by Count Bathiany.[2] This was accompanied by a constitution, framed on such Liberal principles that it abolished at one blow the whole privileges of the nobility,

March 15.
[2] Ann. Hist. 1848, 401, 402; Balleyd. i. 87, 88; Cayley, ii. 143, 144.

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and distinction between them and the peasants, and declared all equal in the eye of the law. These principles were to be the bases of the new constitution, and they were such as, carried into effect, amounted to a total social and national revolution.

10. Liberal Constitution for Bohemia. April 8.

The announcement of these as the principles of the future Hungarian constitution was soon after followed by a similar concession to the Bohemian States. On the 8th April a decree, framed by the new popular ministry, appeared, which was of so sweeping a character that it left nothing to be desired by the most ardent lovers of Sclavonic freedom. The Emperor by it accorded the whole demands of the Bohemian patriots. The young prince, Francis Joseph, son of the Archduke Charles, and the heir-presumptive of the monarchy, was declared Viceroy. Bohemia, with Austria, Silesia, and Moravia, were erected again into a separate monarchy, as before their incorporation with the Austrian Empire; all persons holding office were to be Sclavonians, or "*Tchecks*," as they are there called, and capable of speaking both that language and German. In addition to this, judicial proceedings were all to be public; a separate and responsible "Chancery" or Government was to be established at Prague; the National Assembly was to sit alternately at Prague, and Brunn in Moravia; national guards were to be established, feudal rights and privileges abolished, religious and civil equality introduced. The legislature was to consist of a house of magnates, and one of popular deputies, chosen by universal suffrage.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 402, 403; Cayley, ii. 144.

11. Sclavonic Assembly is convoked at Prague, and proceeds to separate Bohemia from Austria. May 31.

Not content with these concessions, the leaders of the Sclavonic movement convoked a meeting of the whole Sclaves of the Austrian Empire, to meet at Prague on the 31st May to consider what measures were necessary to secure the interests of the Sclave race in the general revolving of nations into empires according to their race, which was going forward. The resolution they came to bore—"The people of Europe are coming to a common

understanding. The Germans are meeting in an Assembly at Frankfort, which will take from the Austrian Empire as much as is necessary to complete German nationality. Thus the Austrian Empire will be incorporated with Germany, and with it will be united the non-German provinces of that empire. In such a crisis the independence of the Sclavonic races, united to Austria, runs the greatest possible risk of being destroyed. The most sacred right of man is to preserve his independence; the time has now arrived when we too, the Sclaves, are called upon to take steps to act in common, and assert our rights." This address to the Sclaves did not long remain a dead letter. The Congress opened on the 2d June, and sat only till the 12th of that month; but in that short time enough was done to show that the deputies assumed rights, and put forward pretensions, inconsistent not merely with the existence of the Austrian Empire, but of every empire whatever in which the Sclave race existed, which was not based on their exclusive domination. Great unanimity prevailed in the Assembly. A provisional government was established at Prague, which published an address to all Europe, in which they declared their determination to obtain full justice for the Sclavonic race, and oblige the whole of the east of Europe to make reparation for the wrongs they had inflicted on it. It was a remarkable circumstance, that all the debates in the Sclave Assembly were conducted, and their addresses published, in the *German language*, the only one which was intelligible to all; an ominous circumstance to their cause, and an insurmountable difficulty in the way of the construction of a united Sclavonic Empire.[1]

June 6.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1884, 418; Cayley, ii. 146; Balleyd. ii. 24, 36.

The Austrian Government now saw that it was high time to act, and that any farther dalliance with the Sclave Congress would end in the dissolution of the monarchy. They accordingly issued a decree, declaring the provisional government of Prague an usurpation, and

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dissolving the congress. Upon this the excitement at Prague became extreme, and the exasperation of the people was such, that they could not refrain from insulting Prince Windischgratz, the governor of the town, to his face. The pretext was, his refusal to give them the arms which he well knew they would immediately turn against him. The Princess Windischgratz having appeared at the window to look at the crowd in the street, which had not yet proceeded to any act of violence, was shot dead by an assassin concealed behind a high bow-window. She belonged to a doomed race; she was the daughter of the Princess Schwartzenberg, who, to save her children, rushed into the flames, and perished at Paris in 1809. Shortly after, one of the sons of the princess was mortally wounded on the stair. Upon those catastrophes, the prince, without ordering the troops, drawn up in front of the building, to fire, went down, and, calmly addressing the insurgents, said: "Gentlemen, if you wish to insult me because I am a nobleman, you may do so; go to the front of the palace, and you shall not be disturbed; I will even give you a guard to protect you from injury. But if you wish to insult me because I am Commandant of Prague, I give you fair warning, that I will not permit it; I shall resist it with all the means in my power. My wife has just been killed; do not drive me into acts of rigour." So little were the mob impressed with this magnanimous conduct, that they rushed forward, and, seizing him, dragged the prince towards a lamp-post, intending to hang him on the spot. Some soldiers happily came up at the moment, and extricated the prince from the hands of the assassins.[1]

12. Outbreak at Prague, and murder of the Princess Windischgratz. June 12.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 420, 421; Baleyd. ii. 39, 42; Cayley, ii. 146.

13. Desperate and bloody fight in Prague.

The combat now commenced, and so completely were the insurgents organised and prepared for action, that barricades were run up in all parts of the town, guarded by formidable masses of armed men. Prince Windischgratz acted with equal humanity and military skill. Abandoning those parts of the city which he could not hold

without severe bloodshed, he withdrew to the heights which command it, and after arranging his great mortars in the most favourable position, he allowed the rebels twenty-four hours themselves to level the barricades, intimating at the same time that if this was not done he would at the expiry of that time commence the bombardment. The time elapsed without any submission being made, and after repeatedly prolonging it, Windischgratz at length reluctantly gave orders for the fire to be commenced. The insurgents fought with the courage of despair, and all the energy which is inherent in the Sclavonic race ; but nothing could withstand the superiority of the Austrian guns. After eight-and-forty hours' bombardment, the mills of the Moldau, the strongest intrenched position of the insurgents, were consumed ; and at length they became sensible that the defence could no longer be maintained, and surrendered at discretion. By the night of the 17th the barricades were all abandoned, and the Sclavonic Assembly dissolved.[1]

June 16.

June 17.

[1] Balleyd., Révolution d'Autriche, ii. 23, 25; Ann. Hist. 1848, 421.

Although the Sclavonic revolution was in reality extinguished by this act of vigour, yet the remains of it still lingered in the Bohemian provinces. The insurrection in Prague was represented as a victory, and immense efforts were everywhere made to rouse the rural population to fly to the defence of their endangered brethren there. Large bodies of men were roused by these means, and marched, with banners and military music at their head, towards Prague, where they learned the real state of affairs, and returned mournful and downcast to their homes. Several weeks, however, elapsed before the agitation subsided, and enough transpired during that time to demonstrate how widespread had been the ramifications of the insurrection, and how vast the designs of the leaders for the establishment of a great empire, built up out of the fragments of the adjoining monarchies. This plan was to form a great Sclave empire, embracing Croatia, Sclavonia, Servia,

14. Gradual suppression of the Sclavonic revolt in Bohemia.

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Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Livonia, and Gallicia. The insurrection was to have broken out simultaneously in Agram, Prague, Cracow, and Presburg. Secret societies were established in all the Sclavonic provinces, embracing a large portion of the inhabitants, and taking their orders from the ruling bodies in these four great towns. The design was to have moved the whole Sclavonic race *at once*. The events in Western Europe precipitated the insurrection before the intended time, and thereby in effect rendered it abortive. The Emperor of Russia was looked to as the head of this Sclavonic empire, which was to be entirely dissevered from Austria, and to consist of a strange mixture of imperial and republican institutions. A prayer, containing an impious parody on that of our Saviour, was disseminated among the Sclaves in this separate dominion, and every morning and evening addressed to the Czar, as a heavenly being, by hundreds of thousands of the ardent and ignorant in various countries of Eastern Europe.[1] *

[1] Balleyd. ii. 27, 29.

15. Commencement of the Revolt in Hungary.

While these important events were passing in the Sclavonic provinces of the Austrian Empire, HUNGARY had become the theatre of a still more terrible revolt, which in its ultimate results brought the House of Hapsburg to the very verge of ruin. The intelligence of the revolution at Paris excited a more immediate and alarming fermentation at Presburg than it had done at Vienna. Kossuth, and the other leaders of the united cause of Hungarian independence and liberty, had there been long engaged in preparations for the approaching movement, and the advices from Paris and Vienna did not

* "Notre Père Russe qui êtes au nord, que votre nom soit sanctifié, que votre règne nous arrive, que votre volonté soit faite au nord comme chez nous,—Permettez-nous de manger notre pain quotidien sous votre protection,—pardonnez-nous nos hostilités contre vous, comme nous vous pardonnons les tourmens auxquels vous avez livré nos frères,—ne nous laissez pas succomber aux tentations qui conduisent en Sibérie, mais délivrez-nous bientôt de l'Autriche. Ainsi-soit-il."—BALLEYDIER, ii. 28.

occasion the insurrection, which, ere long, became so formidable; they only accelerated and determined the periods of its breaking out. At Pesth, the ancient capital of the Hungarians, and where the national feeling was most strong and undivided, the movement first began. On the 15th March a body of students surrounded and took possession of a printing-office in that town, where they immediately threw off a number of copies of a placard, containing what they designated as the demands of the Hungarian nation. In a few hours many thousand copies of this proclamation were sent off to every part of the country, where it excited a very general feeling of enthusiasm; and at one o'clock an immense crowd, with the tricolor flag at its head, came to the Hôtel de Ville to present these demands, reduced into the form of a petition, to the municipality. Partly by fear, partly by the force of sympathetic inclination, the magistrates unanimously signed the petition; and intelligence having soon after arrived of its acceptance by the Chamber of Magnates, then assembled in Presburg, the public enthusiasm rose to the highest point, and every one regarded the objects of general desire as already gained.[1]

March 15.

[1] Balleyd. i. 103, 106; Ann. Hist. 1848, 432, 433.

16. Arrangement of a constitution for Hungary. April 11.

Overwhelmed by the simultaneous outbreak of revolutionary troubles at the same time in Vienna, Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia, the Imperial Government were not in a situation to contest these demands. They took the part, therefore, of concession, which, in fact, was the only one left to them. They demanded only an extension of the powers of the Imperial Palatine, or Viceroy, which was immediately and unanimously conceded by both houses. In the transports of patriotic enthusiasm, the Hungarian nobles outstripped even the demands of the Liberal petitions, and made a voluntary surrender of some of their most ancient and highly-valued privileges. By a free gift, they transmuted the "urbarial" tenure of lands, as it was called, under which they were held for certain feudal services, into an unrestricted tenure by freehold.

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By this great and voluntary concession, the property of 500,000 families, consisting of little estates varying from thirty to sixty acres each, and comprehending nearly a half of the kingdom, was at once converted from a feudal tenure, burdened with numerous duties, into absolute property—an immense and most salutary change, far exceeding in lasting importance any of the political alterations contended for at this period in Germany. In addition to this, the two Chambers unanimously decreed the usual objects of petition at this period in Europe—a perfect equality in civil rights, taxation, and religious toleration. The electoral right was extended to every person possessing property to the value of 750 francs, or an annual income of 250 francs a-year, or holding a degree of an university, or being a bound apprentice to an artisan. The representatives to be sent by Croatia were enlarged from three to eighteen, and the Government engaged to indemnify the proprietors deprived of their seignorial rights by the abolition of the "urbarial" tenure. These concessions, however, were far from satisfying the Croats, who loudly complained, in addition, that their language was to be superseded in their own country by that of the Magyars. Transylvania was by mutual consent united with Hungary in this constitution, and the whole received the assent of the Emperor in a solemn Diet held at Presburg on the 11th April. By the constitution, as thus arranged, Hungary, including Transylvania and Croatia, was erected into a separate kingdom, having its own sovereign, ministers, legislature, taxes, army, and civil and municipal affairs. The sole link which connected it with Austria was the Emperor, who was common to both.[1]

April 11.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 433, 434; Balleyd. i. 107, 171.

These great concessions to the Hungarians were followed by a general constitution for the remainder of the Austrian Empire, embracing Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Gallicia, Dalmatia, Illyria, Upper and Lower Austria,

Styria, Salzbourg, and the Tyrol, but excluding Hungary and its dependencies. By this constitution the crown was secured to the House of Hapsburg, and the Emperor had the right of declaring peace and war, and concluding treaties with foreign powers; and he was invested with the right of choosing his ministers, preparing measures in parliament, sanctioning every law, and dissolving it at pleasure; but in that event a new parliament required to be convoked within twenty-eight days. The Houses were to meet at least once a-year. Entire liberty of the press, and of persons and property, was guaranteed to all, with entire equality in the eye of the law, trial by jury, and publicity in criminal proceedings. The parliament was to consist of two Houses; the first one of princes of the Imperial blood, having attained the age of twenty-four; of persons nominated for life by the Emperor; and 150 other members, to be elected for the sitting of the session by the most considerable proprietors. The lower House was to consist of 383 members, elected on the joint basis of the numbers of the people and the representation of public interest; the mode of election to be fixed by a supplementary act. By the supplementary decree, which followed in the beginning of May, the right of voting was conferred upon every male inhabitant who had attained the age of twenty-four, and was neither in receipt of public charity nor in domestic service. The Diet could be convoked only by the Emperor, and could concern itself with public business only during the session; its duties consisted in voting taxes, levies of troops, loans, provisions for the Imperial family. The Emperor alone had the right of proposing laws, but the two Houses might compel him to do so. A majority of two-thirds was necessary to alter any article of the constitution; everything else passed by a simple majority.[1] A national guard was to be everywhere established, and both its members and the troops of the line were to take the oath

17. Constitution of the whole Austrian Empire. April 25.

May 5.

[1] Constitution, April 25, 1848; Balleyd. i. 171, 179.

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to the Emperor and the constitution. This constitution solemnly received the sanction of the Emperor on the 25th April, amidst great pomp and general rejoicings.

18. Animosity of races which broke out in the Austrian Empire.

In so far as it could be effected by constitutions on paper, the revolution in Austria seemed to have come to a very successful issue, and the Emperor might with reason congratulate himself upon having successfully weathered the most violent period of the storm. Possibly these disturbances might have terminated here, and the constitution of Austria, fixed on a reasonable basis, have secured for its inhabitants the inestimable blessing of regulated and balanced freedom, had it not been for the passions and animosities of RACE. The Magyars, 4,500,000 strong, who formed the ruling and most powerful body in central Hungary, had no intention of sharing the power they had acquired with the Sclaves. Exceedingly democratic in a question with the Emperor and the Austrian employés, the Magyars were the greatest tyrants in their hearts as to the alien race of Sclavonians, which they had for long held in subjection. What they desired to establish was, not a real republic, embracing the whole people, but an aristocratic commonwealth like Sparta, in which every freeman had three or four helots in a state of domestic servitude. Like many others, it was the right to tyrannise over others which they desired to conquer.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 435, 436; Balleyd. i. 177, 179.

19. The hostility of the Hungarians to the Austrians.

As a natural consequence of this state of general feeling, the Magyar race were animated by the most inveterate hatred against the Austrian Government, whose ruling principle was the direct reverse, or thorough centralisation, and the dependence of all on the Imperial crown. Thus, the two most powerful principles which can stir the human mind—the passions of race and the desire of independence—came to impel in the same direction, and their combined influence inflamed them with the most violent hostility against the Austrian rule. From the beginning of April this appeared in the most

decided manner. The language and acts of the Hungarian parliament from that period savoured more of open hostility than the affectionate loyalty due by subjects to their sovereign. Their object was, not to obtain redress of their many and acknowledged grievances, but to detach themselves entirely from the Austrian connection. They sent ambassadors to Vienna, and subsequently to Frankfort, as from one independent power to another. They asserted their right to levy troops and dispose of them at their own pleasure, and irrespective altogether of the wishes or commands of the Cabinet of Vienna. The army was to be bound only by the Hungarian oath of fidelity to the Emperor and the Hungarian constitution. The Magyar chiefs did everything in their power to weaken the strong bond of loyalty which bound the brave Hungarian soldiers to their beloved Kaiser, and their ancient and time-honoured standards. They loudly and uniformly expressed their sympathy with the Italian insurgents, and in the hour of its greatest need not only recalled the Hungarian regiments from Radetsky's army in Italy, but positively refused to contribute a man or a shilling to the expenses of the war, the common charges of the Empire, or the interest of the national debt.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 437; Ann. Reg. 1848, 406, 408.

20. Conciliatory measures adopted by the Cabinet of Vienna.

The Imperial Government had no resource but in conciliatory measures. They were resorted to accordingly, but they were of so abject and sweeping a character as to appear rather a capitulation than the conciliatory measures adopted by a paternal government with its subjects. Proclamations were issued promising Liberal measures, and an amnesty published embracing all political offenders in the kingdoms of Lodomeria and Gallicia, including the city of Cracow, and the whole Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. By a later decree all political offenders, wherever detained, and wherever the offence with which they were charged had been committed, were ordered to be liberated.[2] When a government, assailed by high treason in all directions, in this manner capitu-

March 21.

April 5.

[2] Ann. Reg. 1848, 405.

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lates with its rebellious subjects, it need not be said that all its real power has passed away, and that it is only a question of time when it is either to abdicate or be forcibly dispossessed of its entire functions.

21. Fidelity of the Croatians.

Ruin, universal and irrevocable, would now have undoubtedly overtaken the entire Austrian Empire, had it not found a support in a quarter where it was least expected, and from the intensity of the very feelings from which its danger had arisen. United, by the Hungarian constitution, with that kingdom, the *Croatian* Sclavonians, by descent, perceived only a fatal deterioration of their position by the predominance of the Magyar magnates and race in the National Assembly at Pesth. The ancient hatred of the Sclavonian at the Magyar broke forth with unextinguishable fury at this prospect. Too weak to contend, either in the field or the Assembly, with the Hungarian power, the Croatians saw no prospect of protection but in the German race and the shield of the Emperor. "The Emperor, and the unity of the Empire," became naturally, in this manner, the war-cry of the Croatians, as that of "the unity and independence of Hungary" was of the Magyars. No sooner, accordingly, did it distinctly appear what turn affairs were taking, and the pretensions of the Magyars were openly declared, than a deputation from Croatia set out for Vienna, to lay before the Emperor the assurances of their devotion, and the expression of their apprehensions. They were willing to spend the last drop of their blood in behalf of the Imperial crown, and to preserve the integrity of the Empire; but they could not hope for success unless he placed at their head a chief in whom they had confidence. JELLACHICH alone was this man. The deputation met with the most favourable reception; mutual confidence was at once established from the perception of common danger.[1] Jellachich was immediately elevated to the rank of *Ban*, or Governor of Croatia, and shortly afterwards created field-marshal,

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 435, 438.

councillor of the Empire, colonel-commandant of two regiments, and commander-in-chief of the provinces of Bannat, Warasdin, and Carlsbadt, in the Illyrian districts.

22. Increased disturbances in Vienna. May 15.

While the Austrian provinces were in this manner breaking off into separate dominions in every direction, the Liberals of Vienna only became more urgent in the prosecution of their favourite ideas of democratic government. The constitution published by the Emperor, liberal as it was, fell far short of the expectation of the ardent patriots, and the agitation in the capital had daily increased since it was promulgated. On the 15th May a petition was presented by the students, in which they loudly complained of the property qualifications required for members of the legislature, and demanded :—1. A single chamber instead of two houses. 2. Universal suffrage. 3. The intrusting of the peace of the capital to the National Guard alone. 4. Adhesion to the great principle of German unity. 5. Removal of all property qualifications for deputies. 6. An engagement not to recall the troops but on the requisition of the National Guard. The regular soldiers had all been sent away before to appease the people, and no armed force existed to repel the petitioners, who were all armed, and came to the palace with their muskets loaded, surrounded with a tumultuous mob, with iron bars, scythes, and pickaxes in their hands. In the first moments of alarm, and with the dagger at their throats, the Government promised to consider everything that was demanded ; and it was under the pressure of this necessity that the decree was issued establishing universal suffrage as the basis of the popular representation. But this rude onslaught and open preparation for violence revealed to the Government their real situation, which was that of absolute impotence at the mercy of an armed mob, acting on the impulse of unscrupulous leaders ruling the people by means of a licentious press. It was resolved accordingly, in a secret cabinet council, held in the palace on the evening of the

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May 17. 16th, to extricate the Government from this state of thraldom; and the Emperor, having secretly made his preparations, set out at six from the palace in a carriage drawn by a pair of horses, and attended only by a single servant. The rest of the royal family departed a few minutes after in similar privacy, and both vehicles took the route of the Tyrol, by Lintz, Salzbourg, and

May 19. Reichenhall. They arrived in safety at Innspruck, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants of that simple and loyal province, who hastened in crowds from their moun-

May 18. tains and valleys to protect their beloved Kaiser; while the minister Pillendorf, who had previously resigned, but resumed office at the earnest solicitation of the students, announced the departure of the Emperor and Imperial family, as the proclamations alleged, for the benefit of change of air.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 407, 408; Balleyd. i. 245, 247; Ann. Reg. 1848, 408.

23. Flight of the Emperor.

The flight of the Imperial family to Innspruck, excited an immense sensation at Vienna and over Europe. It was an open declaration, on the part of the Emperor, of war against the revolution, and distrust of its leaders, an appeal to the well-known loyalty of a faithful province from the treason and iniquitous ambition of a rebellious capital. As such, it first brought to light a division in the ranks of the Liberals, who, though hitherto united to appearance under the same banner, were in reality far from being at one as to ulterior measures. The extreme leaders of the movement, with the professors and students of the university, were prepared to go the whole length of revolution. This system was the same as that usually pursued by Jacobin leaders in similar circumstances—viz. to discredit Government by rendering its rule impossible, and having done so, to overturn it as an useless and expensive encumbrance, and install themselves in its stead. But the shopkeepers and artisans of the metropolis, who depended mainly on the expenditure of the great, and the concourse of strangers to its hotels, were by no means inclined to go this length. They had

concurred in the movement of the 13th March, and formed the main strength of the urban guard, to which the peace of the metropolis had since been intrusted, from the natural desire which prosperous and affluent citizens have to share in the government of their country, and correct the abuses of its administration; but they had no wish to see their Emperor dethroned, or the nobles of the Empire banished from their hereditary palaces within the walls of the capital. The flight to Innspruck brought the reality of the danger instantly and vividly before their eyes; they saw at once in what the visions of the students would ere long land all the great interests of the Empire. Already their sales had almost disappeared, from the cessation of all purchases, save for articles of absolute necessity, by the affluent classes; while the streets were, from the same cause, choked by crowds of unemployed workmen clamouring for bread, and for whose relief the *Ateliers Nationaux*, which, in imitation of those at Paris, had been opened in various quarters, afforded no adequate means of subsistence. Pressed in this manner at once by a fearful diminution of their incomes and as alarming an increase of the demands upon them, they became alive to the perilous nature of the descent on which they were placed. Numerous and pressing petitions to the Emperor to return, and promising him their energetic support, were despatched to Innspruck from the shopkeepers and burgher guard of the metropolis, but he returned only evasive answers; and it was not till another revolution had occurred in Vienna, and restored military authority in its distracted crowds, that he left the calm security of his mountain retreat for the stormy scenes of the capital.[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 217, 224; Ann. Hist. 1848, 408; Ann. Reg. 1848, 408.

24. Fresh revolutionary movements in Vienna. May 25.

Regardless altogether of the imminent danger of the Empire, the revolutionists of Vienna only advanced at an accelerated pace. The students of the university, now incorporated into the "University Legion," were at the head of the movement, the press universally and power-

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fully seconded their efforts, and the capital, during the week which followed the departure of the Emperor, was in a state of absolute and frantic anarchy. Conscious that their conduct had now reached those limits where forgiveness had become impossible, the leaders sought only to push matters to such an extreme point that all must see retreat was out of the question, and their only chance of safety was to advance still farther in the career of revolution. To accomplish this they took the most effectual of all methods,—they worked upon their fears. The whole of the 24th was employed by the popular orators in haranguing the people on the danger of a reaction and the return of the troops to extinguish their liberties; and on the day following, the "University Legion" was in such a state of disorder that Count Montecuculli, the military commander, published an ordinance, dissolving it as a separate corps, and incorporating its members in the legions of the National Guard. This was the signal for an open revolt. The students refused to obey the order; barricades were erected around the university, where they were assembled in strength; the National Guard took part with the insurgents; and some regular troops, which the Government brought up, were repulsed, and obliged to withdraw. The insurgents now demanded the revocation of the ordinance dissolving the University Legion, the return of the Emperor to Vienna, the sitting of the Diet there, the confirmation of all that had been conceded on the 15th May, and the taking of hostages from the noblesse no longer to oppose revolution. Destitute of all means of resistance by the absence of the troops and defection of the National Guard, the nominal Government at Vienna promised everything which was demanded except the return of the Emperor, which it was beyond their power to grant; but M. Pillendorf engaged to write to the Emperor, urging him to return;[1] and in the mean time a "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed, composed of students and

May 25.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 416; Balleyd. i. 225, 237; Ann. Reg. 1848, 409.

burghers, to watch over the interests of the people, and provide food for the multitudes who were perishing, amidst the general anarchy, of want.

25. Emperor's proclamation from Innspruck, and measures there. May 20.

Meanwhile the Emperor at Innspruck published a proclamation, in which he vindicated the step he had taken of leaving the capital on the ground of the undisguised violence to which he had been subjected. He added: "No alternative was left to me but to recur to measures of violence, or to withdraw for the moment to one of my provinces. Its inhabitants, God be thanked! have remained faithful to their monarch. I will not grant anything to the forcible exactions of unauthorised and armed individuals. My departure from Vienna was intended to impress this upon my painfully excited people, and likewise to remind them of the paternal love with which I am ever ready to receive my sons, even though they be prodigal ones." The reasons were perfectly sufficient to justify the steps taken, but it was unnecessary to adduce them. The revolutionists at Vienna afforded a better vindication of it than anything that could be said from Innspruck.[1]

[1] Proclamation, May 20, 1848; Balleyd. i. 236, 239; Ann. Hist. 1848, 237, 238.

26. Austria was saved by the fidelity of the army.

Austria was lost had its safety rested on the good sense or loyalty of the people. It would have been dismembered, not by three conquering powers, but three rebellious provinces; and Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia, would have effected its destruction as completely as Russia, Prussia, and Austria had done with the Sarmatian commonwealth. But in this extremity, unparalleled perhaps in all history for difficulty and peril, it found salvation in the restored fortitude of the Government, and the unshaken fidelity of the ARMY. That noble body of men, on this as on many former occasions, proved the salvation of the Empire. They encouraged the Emperor to resist, by showing him that he had at length found a basis on which he could rest.

When the Magyars undertook to set up for themselves and establish a separate nationality in Hungary, inde-

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1848. 27. Commencement of a rupture between the Magyars and the Croats.

pendent of Austria, and connected with it only by the feeble bond of a common sovereign, they had no intention of emancipating the subject-dominions of the kingdom, or allowing the Croatians the same privileges and independent existence which they claimed for themselves. Accordingly the Croatians, encouraged by the appointment of their popular and eloquent leader Jellachich as their Ban, and assured in secret of the support of the Emperor, made preparations openly to resist the threatened separation of Hungary from Austria, and adhere to

April 10. the connection with their beloved Kaisers. On the 10th April, Jellachich made his public and solemn entry as Ban into Agram, the capital of the province, where he was received with loud acclamations by the whole in-

April 19. habitants. He immediately published a proclamation, in which he declared that he and his faithful Croats would never consent to the projected separation of Hungary from the Imperial crown. At the same time he proclaimed martial law, and denounced the penalties of high treason against any one who should venture to revolt against their king, their country, and their oaths. The intelligence of these decisive measures excited the most unbounded indignation at Pesth, which was speedily turned into a warlike fury when it was heard that a Magyar emissary had been arrested in Croatia by orders of the Ban ; that four of the frontier regiments had been directed, by the same authority, into the district of Truzopolya to disarm some tribes in the Magyar interest ; in fine, that 30,000 Bannarets, perfectly armed and equipped, were ready to penetrate into Croatia, to lend a hand to an equal number of Croatians, whom he was raising to support the Emperor's cause. Deeming themselves not in sufficient strength to make head against so many enemies, the Magyar leaders despatched a deputation to the Emperor to implore his assistance to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions : thus

deprecating, when applied to themselves, that very severance according to race which they were at the same moment endeavouring to effect against the Austrians. The deputation arrived at Vienna; and so thoroughly was the Government there prostrated by the democratic faction, that they were obliged to disavow the acts of their own governor in their own favour, and engage to do everything in their power to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions. A letter to this effect was despatched by the Emperor to the Archduke Stephen, his viceroy at Pesth, on the 7th May.[1]

1848. May 29.

[1] Balleyd. ii. 31, 33; Ann. Hist. 1848, 436, 437.

28. The Ban is disavowed by the Emperor, but continues his preparations. June 10.

In pursuance of the orders thus received, the Archduke Stephen issued a proclamation, in which he disavowed the conduct of the Ban, who was at the same time recalled to Innspruck by an order from the Emperor himself. But Jellachich paid no regard to either command, and continued his preparations in the most open manner, alleging that he was acting according to the real wishes of the Emperor, from whom the orders to a contrary effect had been extorted by violence and intimidation. So evident was it to all the world that this was the case, that the preparations for war with the Magyars, not only in Croatia, but all along the Servian frontier, and on the Lower Danube, were openly made; and hostilities actually commenced at many points both in the interior and along the frontier of Hungary. It was in the midst of these disorders, and with the fires of burning villages illuminating the sky by night, and their smoke obscuring it by day, that the Hungarian deputies met in assembly at Pesth, on the 5th July. The Archduke Stephen upon this occasion addressed to the deputies a speech, in which he condemned the Croatian insurrection, and gave assurances of the support of the Emperor to the Magyars, in such strong terms that it would be well for the honour of the House of Hapsburg if it could clear itself of the charge of double-dealing on

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the occasion.* But the Ban and his faithful Croatians were nothing daunted by the real or feigned desertion of their sovereign and natural protector, and loudly asserted their determination, though abandoned by all the world, to assert their independence, and emancipate themselves from the domination of the Magyars. "Emperor!" said the Croatians proudly, in their manifesto, "if you reject our supplications, we shall know how to conquer our liberties without your aid; and we would rather die heroically, as becomes a Sclavonian family, than bear any longer the oppression of an Asiatic horde, from whom we have nothing either to receive or to learn, but who have imposed on us a yoke which it is impossible any longer to bear. If it comes to the worst, *we would prefer the knout of the Russians to the insolence of the Magyars.* Emperor! do not abandon us, for we will not, in any event, fall again under the dominion of the Magyars. Recollect, that if Croatia forms only a thirty-fifth part of your monarchy, her soldiers compose a third of your entire infantry." [1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 420.

29. First acts of the Hungarian Parliament. July 12.

To their honour be it spoken, the first acts of the Hungarian parliament evinced a sincere love of freedom, and a desire to remove those antiquated restrictions which had so long proved an impediment to their industry. Practical improvements, in the first instance at least, exclusively occupied their attention, and demonstrated the existence of numerous evils, which, in the

* "La Croatie est exposée à une révolte ouverte: dans les contrées du bas Danube des bandes armées ont troublé la paix publique. Sa Majesté a vu avec une profonde douleur, après avoir sanctionné spontanément les lois votées par la dernière Diète, comme devant favoriser le développement de la prospérité du pays, que les agitateurs, surtout en Croatie et les contrés du bas Danube, avaient excité, les uns contre les autres, les habitants de croyances et de langues différentes, par des faux bruits et de vaines alarmes, et les avaient poussés à résister aux lois et à l'autorité législative, en leur disant qu'elles n'étaient pas l'expression libre de la volonté de Sa Majesté. En conséquence, pour tranquilliser les habitants de ce pays de toute langue et de toute religion, je déclare au nom de Sa Majesté notre maître et roi, que Sa Majesté est parfaitement résolue à protéger l'unité et l'inviolabilité de la couronne royale de Hongrie, contre toute attaque au dehors et contre toute scission à l'intérieur."—*Ann. Hist.*, 1848, pp. 431, 432.

first moments of emancipation, the nation sought to remove. Tithes were directed to be redeemed, under compensation to the clergy; *corvées* abolished; taxes imposed universally in proportion to fortune, without distinction of race, caste, or religion; the right of suffrage given to all inhabitants of free towns. Such was the programme of their measures, and such was in part carried into effect. So far the improvements were practical, and such as commanded the assent of every true friend to his country. But ere long the true revolutionary spirit appeared, and it became evident that democracy unrestrained would here, as elsewhere, inaugurate its reign by acts of injustice. The abolition of tithes was agreed to, but compensation to the clergy denied; thus they were exposed to a spoliation as complete as they had undergone in France. A new electoral law was voted, which fixed the qualification at the possession of a capital of 300 florins (£30). It was evident that this would throw the representation entirely into the hands of the towns, for very few of the newly emancipated peasants possessed as yet at least a capital of half that amount. The measure was directed against the magnates, and could not have failed in a short time to destroy their influence.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 438.

30. Meeting of the Austrian Constituent Assembly.

It was in the midst of these distractions, social, political, and national, that the Constituent Assembly of Austria met. It could hardly be said to be a *national* Assembly, for its authority scarcely extended over more than Upper and Lower Austria. Lombardy and the Venetian territory were in open revolt, and it was more than doubtful whether the Imperial dominion would ever be restored over them. Hungary, with Transylvania, had recently detached itself from the Empire, and no longer recognised the authority of any assembly sitting at Vienna. The revolt of the Sclave population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had only been suppressed by the cannon of Windischgratz; and the

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known discontents of the inhabitants of Gallicia were kept down by the dread of the Muscovite masses rapidly accumulating in the neighbouring territories of Russian Poland. Such as it was, the Assembly at Vienna exhibited no real representation of the great interests even of that small fragment of the Empire which still recognised its authority. Elected in the first fervour of the revolution, and under what was practically universal suffrage, it was composed, like the National Assembly of France in 1789, for the most part of attorneys, physicians, professors, doctors, shopkeepers, with a few bankers and merchants. There were scarce any representatives of the landed interest, though they constituted nine-tenths of the property of the country, nor of the commercial aristocracy, though they comprehended nearly the whole of its moneyed wealth. Nothing, either practically beneficial or having a chance even of being durable, could be expected from an assembly so constituted in such, or indeed in any country. All parties in it concurred in praying the Emperor to return, though from very different motives. The few Conservatives desired it, because they hoped his presence would prove a certain check on the extreme Liberals; the Revolutionists were equally sincere, and with more reason, in desiring it, because they thought it would bring him entirely under their control.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 439, 440; Balleyd. ii. 84, 88, 94.

31. Return of the Emperor to Vienna. Aug. 12.

Like Paris at this period, and animated with equal fervour, Vienna had its patriotic demonstrations, its democratic promenades, its forced illuminations, its female parades, its *Ateliers Nationaux*, its banquets, and its suffering crowds, starving amidst the compulsory assertion of universal felicity. Grave doubts, accordingly, were felt at the Emperor's headquarters at Innspruck, as to the propriety of again returning to the theatre of so much disorder, and putting himself in the power of the armed students and vacillating burgher guard, whose

treacherous conduct had rendered his former evasion necessary. But many circumstances concurred at this time to recommend the trying of the experiment, how hazardous soever it might appear. The earnestness and apparent sincerity with which the students and burghers of the capital implored his return, the unanimity of the constituent assembly on the same subject, seemed to promise an ovation strewed only with flowers. External events recommended the same course. In Italy, the battle of Custoza had again restored the Austrian affairs. Windischgratz had conquered rebellion in Prague; Hungary was not yet in revolt; the fidelity of Croatia was secured; and the recent intelligence of the election of the Archduke John as Vicar of the Empire, had been hailed with the utmost enthusiasm, both as a check to Prussia and as an earnest of the continued possession of the Imperial dignity by the House of Hapsburg. It was resolved, accordingly, to make the experiment; and the Imperial family left Aug. 12. their mountain retreat, and returned to Vienna, where they were received with every demonstration of loyalty. But before they had been ten days in the capital, events occurred which forcibly demonstrated the feeble tenure by which they held the people's affections. A tumult Aug. 23. arose on the 23d August, originating in the same cause which had produced the terrible insurrection in Paris in the June preceding. The numerous workmen out of employment proved too heavy a burden, as their labour was valueless, and the finances neither of the Government or the municipality could stand the strain. A reduction of the wages paid, therefore, was indispensable, and they were lowered twenty-two centimes on the 19th. Disturbances immediately arose; a violent mob collected round an effigy representing M. Schwarzn, the Minister of Public Works, by whom the reduction had been effected, which was publicly burnt;[1] and to such a length

[1] Balleyd. ii. 130, 134; Ann. Hist. 1848, 439, 440.

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did the disorders proceed that they were only suppressed by a great display of military strength, and after many lives had been lost.

32. Commencement of differences between Austria and Hungary. Sept. 5.

These disturbances were but the prelude to the commencement of a far more serious and enduring strife in Hungary. It began with an Imperial edict, which appeared in the *Agram Zeitung* of the 5th September, reinstating Jellachich in his commands and dignities, as a reward "for his wise and patriotic services," and publicly apologising for the former decrees which had deprived him of them. This edict was not countersigned by any Hungarian minister, and was issued by the Emperor of his own authority—a proceeding which was contrary to the Hungarian constitution, and excited universal apprehension as well as unbounded irritation in that country. To endeavour to accommodate matters, a deputation proceeded from Pesth to Vienna, which requested an audience of the Emperor. It was granted, but the members were coldly received, and given distinctly to understand that no adjustment of differences was possible until Kossuth was removed from the ministry. The Hungarian chiefs yielded this point; the great democratic leader resigned, and he was succeeded by Count Bathiany, who was the head of the aristocratic section of the patriots of the country. But the Court of Vienna gained no real advantage by the change; the spirit and influence of Kossuth survived his fall; the ardour of Hungarian independence was undiminished; and the Archduke Stephen himself found he was unable to moderate the general fervour. But the Court of Vienna was not less determined to resist the movement, which they plainly saw would lead to the dismemberment of the monarchy; the moment seemed favourable for checking it, for the principal Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy; the recent successes of Windischgratz had greatly elevated the spirits of the friends of the monarchy in the German provinces;[1] and Jellach-

Sept. 8.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 452, 453; Balleyd. ii. 139, 147; Klapka, 67, 68, Introduction.

ich was at the head of a gallant army thirty thousand strong, composed, in part at least, of old troops warmly attached to the Imperial colours. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Cabinet of Vienna deemed the moment for action had arrived, and Jellachich received orders to cross the Drave, the frontier river of Hungary. He did so on the 11th September, and moved straight on the capital.

33. Memorable conference between Jellachich and Count Bathiany.

Before this decisive step—equivalent to a declaration of war—was taken, a conference, memorable from the actors engaged and the interests involved in it, took place at Vienna. M. Bach, the minister of justice, and Baron Jellachich, supported it on the one side; Count Louis Bathiany and Prince Esterhazy on the other. It began in a solemn manner, and with measured expressions on both sides; but ere long the intensity of feeling broke through their courtly restraints, and the debate became animated and violent in the highest degree. "Between the cabinets of Pesth and Vienna," said Count Bathiany, "there is now an insurmountable barrier."—"Which you have raised up yourselves," replied Bach.—"Take care, Count, there is behind that barrier on your side an abyss, the name of which is Revolution."—"And who has dug that abyss?"—"You know better than we do—ask Kossuth. Meanwhile, I will tell you what will fill it up—oceans of blood, thousands of corpses, perhaps your own, Count." Before separating, Count Bathiany approached Jellachich, and taking him by the hand, said, "For the last time, do you wish peace or war?"—"We wish for peace," replied the Ban, "if the Magyars, better inspired than they now are, are willing to render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to Austria what belongs to Austria; but if they persist in wishing to shiver to pieces the fundamental laws of the Empire, then we are for war."—"May God protect the right," replied Bathiany; "the sabre must now decide betwixt us.[1] Adieu, Baron; I assign a rendezvous on the banks

[1] Balleyd. ii. 141, 142.

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of the Drave."—"We shall meet before on those of the Danube," replied Jellachich; and he was as good as his word. With these words they separated, and both sides prepared for war.

34. State of parties in Hungary at this time.

No proper idea of the great and most interesting war which ensued can be formed, unless the state of parties in Hungary throughout its continuance be taken into consideration. There were two parties in that country, which, although united at first in the common cause of resisting the Austrian rule, and asserting the independence of Hungary, rested, in reality, on different principles, and came at last to be as much opposed to each other as both at first were to the Imperial domination. The one was composed of the high Magyar aristocracy —as proud and chivalrous a body of nobles as any in the world—which aspired after the independence of Hungary, because it would place them in possession of its government, and liberate them from the German yoke, which had so long chafed their lofty and aspiring dispositions. With them the quarrel was national, not political; it resembled the contest of Wallace or Bruce with the Plantagenet rulers of England in former days, and had nothing in common with the social struggles going on in Europe in the present. Passionately desirous of emancipating their country and race from Austrian thraldom, they had no intention whatever of delivering their people from their own. Though hurried along, in the first instance, by the universal transports into Liberal measures, it was with the *arrière pensée* to make use of them as a means only to an end, and that end was to establish a highly aristocratic government in Hungary, of which the Emperor, as king of the realm, was to be the nominal head, and they themselves, as his ministers and counsellors, the real rulers. It was with this view that, in the outset of the contest, when the Cabinet of Vienna had no means of resisting their demands, they had succeeded in extorting from it not

only a separate legislature and army, but a national exchequer and cabinet, without the intervention of a single functionary of German blood. At the head of this party was Count Louis Bathiany, a noble of ancient family, heroic disposition, but little prudence or worldly wisdom. He had all the virtues and failings of the Magyar character. Bold, chivalrous, and enthusiastic, but headstrong and rash, he devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of his country, and suffered death in the end on the scaffold on its behalf, with the same resolution as his ancestors had charged the Ottoman squadrons on the ancient fields of Hungarian fame.

35. Democratic or republican party.

The second party in Hungary was composed of men who, though united at the moment with the Magyar magnates in the effort to throw off the German yoke, were in reality not less hostile to them than the Vienna aristocracy, and foresaw a contest with their present allies even more terrible than they were now to wage together with the Austrian battalions. This party comprehended all who were smitten with the political and social passions of the time, and seized the opportunity of its embarrassments not only to destroy the authority of the House of Hapsburg, but to establish republican institutions in its stead. It consisted almost entirely of the inhabitants of towns and the students at the universities and academies, who sincerely desired the amelioration of their country, or who, carried away by the warm views of their eloquent teachers, were ready to go any length against the aristocratic pretensions even of their own families. It may readily be believed that this party had little at bottom in common with the haughty Magyar nobles, who aspired to the government of the State ; and unquestionably a victory to their united forces could have had no other effect but that of opening the portals to a still more desperate civil war between the rival aspirants to the rule of the Hungarian commonwealth. So deeply, however, is the love of equality in Hungary, as in Poland,

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implanted in the minds even of the nobles, that many of them were foremost in the republican party, and ardent in support of a cause which could have led, if successful, to no other result but ruin as complete as, from its triumph on the Vistula, had overtaken the Sarmatian commonwealth. Unmarked at first amidst the enthusiasm of Hungarian nationality, the division between the two parties was, in reality, complete and irreconcilable; and it is to its influence, more even than the intervention of the Muscovite battalions, that the ultimate failure of their united effort for independence is to be ascribed.

36. Character of Georgey.

Though Count Louis Bathiany was the political head of the aristocratic portion of the Magyar party, yet when war began, his ascendancy yielded to that of GEORGEY, to whom the command of the army was intrusted. This very eminent warrior must receive a prominent place in that age of glory, and be placed alongside of Radetsky in the archives of military fame. He was one of those men who, born with military genius of the very highest kind, wanted only a greater theatre whereon to exert his talents, to have attained the very highest reputation. When called to the command of the Hungarian army, and opposed to the soldiers of Jellachich and Windischgratz, he had a very difficult task to accomplish. Though the Hungarian soldiers are second to none in the world in native hardihood and valour, and they had always been regarded as the *élite* of the Imperial infantry, yet, like all other young troops, their new levies were little able to withstand the shock of the Imperial veterans. Although the general enthusiasm was sufficient to cause all the recruits after that occasion to join the national ranks, and the depot battalions stationed in Hungary did the same, yet the veterans were all in Lombardy serving under Radetsky; and his influence, joined to the strong instinct of military discipline, was adequate to retain them with the Imperial standards even when most

strongly urged by their countrymen to go over to the other side. Thus, when hostilities began, the Hungarians had the most difficult of all tasks to perform—that of combating with new levies veteran troops in a flat country, with no natural advantages except the possession of the fortresses to counterbalance those of discipline and military experience on the other side. The ability with which Georgey did this, and the success with which for long his efforts were attended, forms one of the most instructive chapters in military history, and has deservedly given immortality to his name. His merit was the greater that he had not been bred a soldier, and only served a short time in the Austrian army as lieutenant before the war broke out; and when aroused, as he himself tells us, by the cry, "The country is in danger," he was living a quiet country life on the estate of a female relative in the north of Hungary, and entered one of the battalions of the Honved with the rank only of captain.[1]

[1] Georgey, Life and Acts in Hungary, i. 1.

37. Continued.

His very interesting military memoirs are full of complaints against the unsteadiness of the new Hungarian levies, and the manner in which they melted away when first brought under fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their officers to retain them to their colours. Probably, if they have "writ their annals true," the historians of all other young troops would have similar tales to recount; but, in the Hungarian war, there was this peculiar difficulty wherewith the Magyar generals had to contend, that their troops were almost all new levies. They had scarcely any old soldiers on whom to fall back, or to bring up in the decisive moment, either to improve success or avert disasters. This was a difficulty of the most serious kind—so great, indeed, that if the Austrian generals had evinced the same vigour in following up their victories that their troops had displayed in gaining them, the Hungarian insurrection must have been crushed in the outset, and the Imperial Government spared the humiliation of invoking the Mus-

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covite aid for its final suppression. In combating these early successes of his enemies, Georgey displayed military abilities. By his indefatigable efforts, inexhaustible resources, and indomitable spirit, the contest was prolonged amidst multiplied disasters, until the young soldiers had acquired by practice the steadiness of veterans. Like Washington, he made such skilful use of the mattock and the spade, that he succeeded in baffling all the efforts of his antagonists, and had the glory, with his raw levies, of reducing the Imperial army to such straits, that beyond all question, but for the intervention of the Muscovites, Vienna would have fallen before the Hungarian arms. The necessity of capitulating at length to the Russians, has exposed his memory to severe obloquy, especially from his own countrymen; but his actions will speak for themselves—they require no eulogy; and he has recounted them with the calm dignity of one who can trust to time to vindicate his reputation.

38. Character of Kossuth.

The leader of the other party was KOSSUTH, and though a far less immaculate character than Georgey, he possessed all the qualities requisite for the lead of the democratic party, of which he was the head. Bold, unscrupulous, and determined, he was a true tribune of the people. Born in the humbler ranks of society, he not only shared none of the Magyar pride, but their haughtiness was his aversion; and he was resolute to vindicate both the independence of his country and the dignity of human nature, by organising a revolutionary movement which should at once secure the first and assert the second. The powers he had received from nature were eminently calculated to achieve these objects. His oratorical talents were of the very highest kind. He could declaim with equal facility in Hungarian, Latin, German, French, or English; and he has repeatedly charmed audiences of different nations, by speeches delivered with the ease and accent of a well-educated native. To this facility in speaking he joined the rarer faculty of seizing

the spirit of the persons whom he addressed, and selecting the images, allusions, and topics most likely to mould them according to his will. His information was vast, but it was more superficial than profound, multifarious than accurate. His only thorough acquaintance was with the human heart, and that he knew to the bottom. His industry was prodigious, his energy indomitable; and hence the influence he acquired in Hungary was unbounded; and to his exertions the rapid and extraordinary development of its military resources is mainly to be ascribed. But his influence proved as fatal to its independence in the end as it had been serviceable to it in the beginning; for "his inmost soul," as Gibbon said of Mr Fox, "was tinged with democracy," and the ascendancy of this feeling impelled him into several measures which excited the jealousy of the Magyar nobility, and produced a division in their councils which ultimately proved fatal to the independence of the country.

39. Of Jellachich.

To meet this array of military and civil talent, the main reliance of the Imperial Government was on JELLACHICH, Ban of Croatia. The situation to which he had been raised was a very important one; it was the third in point of dignity in the whole Empire. He was every way worthy to hold it. Born on the 16th October 1801, he was the son of Field-Marshal Baron Jellachich, and inherited from him the love of arms. This disposition was so strongly marked in early childhood, that the Emperor Francis used to call him his "dear little Jellachich," and foretold he would one day make a figure in the State. At the age of eight he was sent to the Military Academy of Maria-Theresa, in Vienna, where the vivacity of his disposition and precocity of his mind early attracted notice. In 1829 he entered the army as cornet in a regiment of dragoons, of which, in 1848, he had risen to be colonel. His elevation to the high rank of Ban of Croatia was considered by all as the harbinger of success; for he was at once respected by the generals,

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popular with the officers, and adored by the soldiers, in all the grades through which he had passed. Blessed by nature with robust health, and a constitution which nothing could shake, he had at the same time the self-confidence which inspires trust in others, and the gaiety and cheerfulness of temper which awakens affection. At once a soldier and a poet, he was qualified alike to win the laurels of war and conquer the hearts of women. Under this gay and joyous temperament, however, he veiled a mind set on great things, an observant disposition, a military *coup-d'œil*, and unbounded energy and application to business. His practised eye early discerned that it was in the military spirit of the Croatians, and their hereditary animosity against the Magyars, that the foundation must be laid of a successful resistance to the Hungarian revolt; and long before he was called to lead the armies, he had studied the theatre of war both on the Drave and the Danube, and was prepared with a detailed plan of a campaign when the proper moment arrived for raising the ancient war-cry of the Croats, "Death to the Magyars!"[1]

[1] Balleyd. i. 139, 141.

40. Of Windischgratz.

Without the military abilities which rendered Jellachich so famous, and so great an acquisition to the Imperial cause, PRINCE WINDISCHGRATZ sustained too important a part in the contest to be passed over in the gallery of contemporary portraits. He was born at Brussels on the 11th April 1787, of one of the most illustrious houses in Germany. Like Jellachich, he showed from his earliest years a decided turn for arms. He entered the service as lieutenant of lancers in 1804, and took part in the great battles between France and Austria in the succeeding year, as well as in 1809 and in 1813. In 1814 he was already a colonel of cuirassiers, and a lieutenant-general in 1833, which indicated distinguished services in a country in which promotion, regulated by seniority, is extremely slow. He is the born type of the military German prince of the old school. A noble figure,

striking even in advanced years; a breast covered with military insignia; a mild but yet expressive countenance; an exterior, calm but dignified, conceal a soul of fire, a heart responsive to every generous sentiment. He is the type of the ancient chivalrous character, such as it is depicted in the poems and romances of the olden time. Accessible to pity from all other quarters, he is immovably firm in questions of duty; for treachery or defection he has no forgiveness; the words pronounced by him on a solemn occasion, when he saved the Austrian monarchy, "With rebels I treat only with the sword," expressed the ruling principle of his public career. When summoned by the students of Prague, before the insurrection in that city, to give them two thousand muskets and eight thousand cartridges, with a battery of cannon, and to disarm the batteries planted against the town, he replied: "Your demands in the name of the people are concisely expressed; I answer them in the name of the Emperor in the same style: I need my muskets for my soldiers; I shall keep them: guns are not made for students; I retain them: the position of my batteries seems advantageous; I shall maintain it." With this mingled firmness and gentleness of character, he would have risen to the very highest political as well as military eminence, had his abilities as a general been equal to his knightly qualities. But in that respect he was inferior both to Georgey and Jellachich. He had the glory by his firmness of twice saving his country—once under the walls of Prague, and again under those of Vienna; but he did not improve his successes with the same vigour as he commenced them; and had his first victories over the Hungarians been followed up with proper vigour, the war might have been terminated in the first campaign, and Austria saved from the humiliating necessity of owing its ultimate salvation to the Muscovite arms.[1]

[1] Ballegd. ii. 7, 10, 12.

PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG was later brought on the field than either of the other paladins of the Empire; but

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41. Of Prince Schwartzenberg.

when he did appear, he rendered services of the highest kind. Felix, Prince of Schwartzenberg, the son of the generalissimo of the Austrian armies in the war of liberation, was born at Krumau, in Bohemia, on the 20th of October 1800; so at this period he was forty-eight years of age. At once a soldier and a diplomatist, he buckled on his sabre first in 1818, in the regiment of Constantine; and made his *début* in the diplomatic service in 1824 at St Petersburg. His advancement was extremely rapid; and with a breast covered with crosses and decorations, he had already served in the diplomatic career at St Petersburg, Rio Janeiro, London, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Berlin, Turin, Parma, and Naples, when, in 1848, he again put on his armour, and entered the army of Marshal Radetsky. He then served as general of brigade in the division of Marshal Count Nugent, and gave proofs of the same talent and energy in military command which he had formerly evinced in his diplomatic career. Though wounded in a previous encounter, he insisted on resuming his command at the battle of Custoza, and bore a distinguished part in that decisive victory, which terminated the first Italian campaign. His moral and political are equal to his personal courage; and he is alike qualified to prosecute advantages on the field of battle, and to maintain the cause of his country in the intricacies of diplomacy. With the utmost refinement of chivalrous manner, he unites, like Metternich, brilliant powers of conversation. His known abilities in the conduct of public affairs, and widespread personal influence, designed him as the fitting successor of Metternich in the direction of the Austrian Government, when, in the close of 1848, the victories of Jellachich and Windischgratz restored the authority of the Emperor in the capital; and his appointment as prime-minister diffused universal satisfaction, and contributed much to the glorious stand which the German portion of the Empire made against dismemberment and ruin.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 369, 371.

Revolt of the Razen.

Before the great contest arose in which these paladins were brought into collision, a fearful war, attended with the most frightful features of civil dissension, had broken out in the east of Hungary. The Servians, or RAZEN as they are there called, inhabit the Hungarian counties on the Lower Danube, the eastern part of Sclavonia, and some districts of the Croatian borders. They are a branch of the great Slowak nation, and in number about 800,000. They belonged originally to the Greek Independent Church, at the head of which is the Archbishop of Carlowitz, in whose appointment, though nominally vested in seventy-five electors, the Emperor of Austria has a preponderating influence. Like the Vendeans, they are entirely led by their clergy; and they were strongly attached to the Austrian Government from animosity at the Magyars, who had intruded into their country, and of whom they had for ages been the hereditary foes. So strongly were they imbued with these feelings, that from the very first they repudiated the tempting offers of the Hungarian Parliament, and a participation in the privileges which they had obtained from the Government. They sent a deputation to Pesth in May 1848, to lay before the Diet their demands, which were partly of a territorial, partly of a national and religious nature. With the characteristic haughtiness of their race, the Magyars refused to come to any accommodation, or even enter into any discussion or explanation with them. This, which their able general, Klapka, admits was a "grievous fault," at once led to a rupture. Disgusted with the insolence with which they had been received, the Razen deputies returned home, and immediately made preparations for war, even before the Government at Vienna had thrown off the mask, and when the Austrian troops were still making common cause with the Hungarian nation. Hostilities began early in June; and with such vigour were they conducted on the part of the Razen, that though at first they had to contend, in addition to

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the Magyars, with a considerable body of regular Austrian troops, they were generally successful; and after bloody battles had been fought, the insurgents had not only maintained their ground, but wrested a large tract of country, including several strong positions along the old Roman intrenchments, from the Hungarians. The war, which on both sides was conducted with savage ferocity, was still raging when, on the 11th September, Jellachich crossed the Drave, and entered Hungary. Thus, within six months of the breaking out of a revolution of which "German unity" was the principle, not only was Prussia at variance with Southern Germany, but Bohemia was alienated from Austria, Hungary from both, and in the latter country itself a frightful war had arisen between the Razen and the Croats against the domineering insolence of the Magyars.[1]

[1] Klapka, War in Hungary, Introduction, 50, 62; Ann. Hist. 1848, 452, 454.

43. Preparations for war on both sides.

Aware of the strife which was inevitably approaching, both parties had, for a considerable time before it commenced, been making preparations for it. On the 5th August the Hungarian Government commenced the issue of a national paper, bearing a forced circulation: a perilous expedient, which carried them through the contest, but landed the nation in a debt of 110,000,000 florins (£11,000,000) in ten months: a sum equal to at least three times the same amount in France or Great Britain. At the same time, the "Honved," or local militia, was called out; a force which amounted to 150,000 men, and formed the basis of the army which afterwards did such wonders in the cause of Hungarian independence, but which, being ill-disciplined and without confidence in its officers, exposed them in the first instance to numerous reverses; and being not bound to serve beyond the frontier, often prevented them from following up their most brilliant successes. On their side, the Austrian Government made every preparation which their straitened circumstances would admit for the contest. The troops on the frontier were reinforced by

every disposable man ; and the almost superhuman activity of Count Latour, the minister of war, pushed forward the levying and recruiting of new troops in the provinces which could be relied on with extraordinary vigour. As a last resource, Jellachich was despatched to Pesth with the ultimatum of the Cabinet of Vienna, which was that the ministries of war, finance, and foreign affairs in Hungary should be united to those of Vienna, an entire community of right be established between all the inhabitants of Austria and Hungary respectively, and the demands of the Razen nation be conceded. To this the president of the Magyar assembly replied, refusing the terms ; and in a proclamation to the Hungarian nation, he said : "Dangers are hourly thickening around our country. An infamous party, of which Jellachich is the blind instrument, again raises its head. In presence of the Archduke John, Jellachich promised me that he would withdraw his army from the Croat frontier on condition that the Hungarians should do the same. In defiance of his pledged word, he is at this moment concentrating a large army in Croatia, and especially in the environs of Warasdin, although, in conformity with our engagement, we have withdrawn a considerable portion of our troops from the Croat frontier to the neighbourhood of the Danube. As we may every moment expect to be attacked, I conjure, in this decisive moment, the officers of the menaced frontier to redouble their vigilance. We will attack no one, but we shall watch over the reactionists, and be ready to defend ourselves, our rights, and country to the last drop of our blood." [1]

[1] Klapka, i. 61, 63, Introduction; Balleyd. ii. 142, 147; Ann. Reg. 1848, 453.

44. Plan of the Austrians.

The plan of the Austrians, devised by Count Latour, in the furtherance of which Jellachich was the principal agent, was that on a certain day the whole fortresses in which their partisans were in the majority, were to hoist the Imperial colours, proclaim a state of siege to the neighbouring cities and territory, oppose the orders of the Hungarian Government, and take their commands

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from the War Office of Vienna. At the same time, Jellachich was to invade Hungary from Warasdin, General Roth from Sclavonia. Colonel Mayerhofer was to lead in the Razen levies in the Bats and Banat country, and in conjunction with the troops in the fortresses of Arad and Temesvar, which were in the Austrian interest, to subjugate the countries of the Lower Danube. Puchner was to march in from the side of Transylvania, Simonich from Gallicia ; and a helping hand was to be everywhere given to the Servians, Slowaks, Wallachians, and others, who stood on the Austrian side. In addition to this, a powerful army of reserve was forming under Windischgratz, in the neighbourhood of Vienna, which was to march direct on Pesth, the seat of government and the centre of Hungarian power. It seemed next to impossible that the Magyars could successfully resist so formidable a combination, for the regular troops at their disposal did not exceed 25,000 men, scattered over an immense surface ; and little reliance, as the event proved, could be placed on the Honved and volunteers, who had never been in action, or seen real service.[1]

[1] Klapka, i. 63, 64, Introduction; Balleyd. 6, 7, 8.

45. Plan of the campaign on the part of the Hungarians.

The plan of the campaign on the part of the insurgents was based on different principles. They had only one real advantage, in a military point of view, in their contest with Austria,—and that was, in the possession of the fortresses and the whole arsenals of the kingdom, which being entirely in the hands of the national troops, at once hoisted the national colours. This gave them ample supplies of arms, ammunition, and artillery, and rendered the war not one with an insurgent domestic population, but of one foreign nation with another. But as the greater part of the old Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy, and the depot battalions only at home, they resolved, in the first instance at least, and till the Honved became inured to war, to remain on the defensive in Hungary. They gained a great advantage before hostilities began by the acceptance of the command

of the fortress of Peterwaradin by General Blagowich from the Hungarian Government. He was a brave man and excellent officer, who, distracted between the orders of his kaisar and the calls of his country, decided for the latter. The Hungarians had no army capable as yet of combating in the open field the regular troops of Windischgratz in the neighbourhood of Vienna ; but this circumstance gave them little disquiet, as they were in communication with the revolutionists in that capital, by whom a great insurrection was preparing, which soon after broke out, and which, it was expected, would give the Bohemian general ample employment at home without aiding in the operations against Hungary.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 142, 144; Klapka, i. 66, Introduction.

46. Immense efforts of the Hungarians.

The Hungarian Government made the most herculean efforts to raise and organise troops ; and these were admirably seconded by the enthusiasm and spirit of the people. They were quite unanimous, and to the last degree ardent in the cause. The division between the aristocratic and democratic parties, inevitable in the end in such convulsions, was unknown in its commencement. The cause was national, not social, at least in the estimation of the immense majority of its supporters ; and this, among a people eminently national, and justly proud of their historic renown and martial fame, excited universal enthusiasm. Kossuth was the soul of the movement. At the first intelligence of the Ban having crossed the Drave, he flew to Pesth, boasting that he would not return till he had organised a levy of 70,000 fresh men. He was as good as his word. At his powerful voice ringing on the already vibrating chords of Hungarian nationality, the whole Magyar race flew to arms; 300,000 in a few days came forward demanding arms to defend their country, and 100,000 were at once enrolled. But this ardour was confined to the Magyar race, numbering little more than a third of the inhabitants of Hungary. The Sclaves were arrayed on the other side, either in active or passive resistance ;[2] the Croats, Razen, and

[2] Klapka, i. 70, 74, Introduction; Balleyd. ii. 145, 150; Georgey, i. 72, 77.

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Wallachians were engaged in a desperate and bloody contest with them.

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47. Appointment of Count Lamberg, and counter proclamation of the Hungarian Diet. Sept. 25.

The first operations of Jellachich, contrary to expectation, proved unfortunate. His troops, after the crossing of the Drave, were worsted in several lesser encounters, which added immensely to the enthusiasm of the Magyars. The Court of Vienna now saw that the time had arrived when it was necessary to act with vigour. Accordingly, on the 25th of September a decree appeared appointing General Count Lamberg to the command-in-chief of the army in Hungary, and ordering a suspension of hostilities between the two armies. He immediately set out for Pesth, without an escort, to enter on the duties of his office. Kossuth and the national party in Hungary, two days after, met this by a counter-proclamation, in which the nomination of the Count was declared illegal, and not entitled to obedience in Hungary, as wanting the counter-signature of the Hungarian minister, in terms of the constitution. By the same proclamation, all who obeyed him were declared guilty of high treason, and it was announced that, as the Archduke Stephen could not act alone, Kossuth and Szemen would remain in office, and provisionally carry on the government. Matters had now come to a crisis which necessarily rendered war inevitable, and it was hastened by a shocking crime, which at once precipitated hostilities, and was the main cause of the ulcerated feelings and deeds of cruelty which disgraced both sides during the continuance of the contest.[1]

Sept. 27.

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 454, 455; Klapka, i. 67, 69, Introduction; Ann. Reg. 1848, 416.

48. Murder of Count Lamberg. Sept. 28.

Count Lamberg was still alone, travelling without an escort, attended only by a single aide-de-camp and servant when he approached Pesth. He had set out at a moment's warning from Vienna to enter on his perilous mission: he had little hopes of success, none of surviving. "You will set out this evening," said the minister to him, when he announced his appointment. "This moment," said he. "*Au revoir*, general!" answered the minister. "No!" answered Lamberg; "my days are numbered:

We shall never meet again. I recommend my children to you." Unhappily Pesth was in a state of the most violent excitement, and the streets filled with crowds of men and women almost frantic with passion. He arrived, however, without experiencing any actual violence, at the headquarters of the general commandant of the town of Buda, on the other side of the river, Hrabovski, by whom he was coldly received. Hearing a noise, every moment increasing, in the streets, he asked its cause. "It is the people," said Hrabovski, "coming to pay you a visit." "Let them come, then," said the old general, rising up with inexpressible dignity. "What are you going to do?" asked the Hungarian. "My duty," replied Lamberg. "I shall go to Pesth first, to the President of the Council, to obtain his counter-signature to the royal rescripts; then to the Diet, to announce the object of my mission. Will you accompany me?" "I am at your service," replied Hrabovski; but, as they set out, the latter made some pretext to slip away, leaving the Count to proceed alone. Meanwhile the streets through which they had to pass were crowded, and the cry "Death to Lamberg!" was heard on all sides. One young man, pale with excitement, lifted up on a cart, said, "Citizens! Do you know why Lambert has come amongst us? He has come to extinguish our nationality, and absorb it in the despotism of Austria: he has come to substitute its abhorred colours for our glorious colours: he has come to extinguish in the blood of the Hungarian people the sacred fire of the Magyars: he has come to rivet on our hands the chains of the most odious slavery. The time presses, citizens! The moment of action has arisen: choose between independence and slavery." "Death to Lamberg!" was the cry on all sides;—"To arms!" "Why arms?" cried the orator: "it is under strokes of clubs that the dog-traitor Lamberg should perish." It was under the excitement produced by these and similar words that Count Lamberg entered the

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crowd on his way to the Diet; and some brave National Guards, seeing his danger, came up at the moment and surrounded the carriage. "Your devotion, gentlemen," said he, with a calm voice, "will not save me; but I die without fear, for my conscience has nothing to reproach me. Yet it is sad for a soldier to die in a riot, and not by a cannon-ball in the field of battle." In vain the National Guard strove to protect him; a furious mob broke in on all sides, and instantly despatched him by blows with bludgeons and cuts with scythes. His body was pierced by forty-three wounds; his clothes were torn in pieces and distributed as trophies to his assassins; a cord was put round his neck, and, after the body had been mutilated, it was dragged along the streets in the midst of a crowd of fifteen thousand persons uttering frightful yells. The Diet evinced the usual weakness of popular leaders in presence of a revolt; warned of the danger, they did nothing to arrest it; and he was massacred under the eyes of several of the deputies.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 180, 190; Ann. Hist. 1848, 454.

49. Execution of Count Zichy. Oct. 2.

A few days after this hideous murder was committed, another tragic event occurred, attended with still more mournful consequences. Count Eugene Zichy, a young man of one of the first families in Hungary, of the most noble character and unwearied beneficence, had been on an errand of mercy with the Ban to obtain some protection for the miserable inhabitants of the invaded country in which his estates lay, against the devastations of the Croats, when he was arrested by a tenant whose family had been loaded with benefits by that of Zichy, bound, garotted, and conducted with the most savage cruelty to the Isle of Czessel, where he was delivered over to a council of war presided over by Georgey, then a captain in the Honved, by whom he was immediately put on his trial for high treason. The only evidence against him consisted of a safe-conduct from Jellachich, from whom he was returning, and some copies of an address by the Emperor to the Hungarian nation

and the troops in south Hungary, calculated to encourage them to revolt against the Diet at Pesth, found in his portmanteau. The Count said that they had been put there by his valet without his knowledge or consent—a statement which, although possible, is not very probable. But the material thing is, that it was not pretended even that any of these proclamations had been circulated by himself or others, or that the contemplated rising had taken place. At the worst, therefore, it was only a preparation for treason. There was no overt act to which it could attach. Even if it had been otherwise, and the proclamations had been published, Zichy, in forwarding their publication, was only obeying the commands of his lawful Emperor; and were the Hungarians entitled to apply the law of high treason to one obeying the orders of his sovereign, and thus stain, in its outset, a contest which in reality was a national one, with the odious features of civil warfare? These considerations were wholly lost on Georgey, who signed the fatal warrant condemning Zichy to be hanged. His last words were—"I die innocent; and may God grant that I may be the last victim, and may He protect my country, and save it from judges such as mine have been. Long live Hungary; long live the King!" In a few minutes all was over; the mob cut down the body, divided the garments as trophies, and after subjecting it to every indignity, threw it on a dunghill on the banks of the Danube. It was half devoured by wild animals, when a young Greek priest gave what remained a humble sepulture; and, a year after, it was removed to the family vault in the church of Kalos.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 15, 31; Balleyd. ii. 195, 204.

Indignant at these atrocities, the Emperor launched forth a decree against the Hungarians, dissolving the Diet of Pesth, declaring all its acts and ordinances illegal, constituting Jellachich commander-in-chief in Hungary and Transylvania, with unlimited powers, and appointing a new ministry, with Count Reizig at its head. This

50. Dissolution of the Diet of Hungary, which is declared in a state of siege. Sept. 30.

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was immediately met by a counter-proclamation from Kossuth, asserting the entire independence of Hungary, and declaring Jellachich and Reizig traitors, and guilty

Oct. 1.

of high treason. The transports with which this declaration was received at Pesth, were much increased when intelligence next day arrived there that the Austrian army, under Jellachich, had met with a serious check in attempting to storm the Hungarians intrenched in a

Sept. 29.

strong position at Valeneze, and a considerable convoy of ammunitions and provisions had been cut off. This success was immediately after followed by the capture of General Roth, with six thousand men and twelve guns,

Dec. 2.

who fell into an ambuscade skilfully laid by the Hungarian generals. This disaster was so serious that the Cabinet of Vienna directed the immediate march of fifteen thousand men from the capital and its environs to reinforce the army of the Ban, who was now urgently pressing for reinforcements. The attempt to carry out this order brought to a head, somewhat sooner than had been intended, the insurrection at Vienna, which opened a new phase in the revolution, and induced events of the very utmost importance.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 454, 455; Balleyd. ii. 191, 207; Klapka, i. 71, Introduction; Georgey, i. 30, 43.

51. Commencement of the insurrection in Vienna. Oct. 4.

As, in the exhausted state of the national resources, it was no easy matter to know where to find these troops, Count Latour, the minister-at-war, had fixed upon the grenadiers of Richter to form part of the reinforcements. This corps for fourteen years had formed part of the garrison of the capital, and, as a necessary consequence, had become deeply imbued with its passions and its vices, and come to reflect all the political feelings with which its inhabitants were animated. No sooner, therefore, did they hear of an intention to transport them to the seat of war in Hungary, than they evinced unequivocal symptoms of a mutinous spirit, and determination to resist. This was done, as well from a reluctance to leave the pleasures of Vienna, as from the contagion of the revolutionary principles with which so many of its

citizens were affected. The minister-at-war, however, was firm, and persisted in his order that the regiment should march, and their departure was directed to take place on the 6th October. This threw them into the utmost state of agitation, and the revolutionary leaders hailed with transport such an opportunity of engrafting a military revolt on a civil movement, and by means of the armed force in the capital at once overturning the Imperial government, and giving the most effectual aid to the Magyars in the dismemberment of the Empire. To effect this, however, it was indispensable to get rid of Count Latour, whose known firmness of character threatened to be the most serious impediment to their designs; and to arrange the mode of accomplishing this object, a meeting of the chiefs of the secret societies was held on the night of the 4th October.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 455, 456; Balleyd. ii. 210, 215.

52. Strange scene at a meeting of the conspirators. Oct. 4.

The conspirators met accordingly in a secret chamber at Vienna, with the greatest precautions against discovery, or the admission of any one who did not belong to the affiliated societies. The chairman then introduced the subject:—"We have received information from one of our associates in the war-office, that on the day after to-morrow the traitor Latour is about to execute a *coup-de-main*; but we shall be beforehand with him. What say you, brethren?"—"Yes, yes," arose on all sides. "It is well," replied the president: "a revolution is a fine thing, brethren; but to render it profitable, it must be really one, and not a mere caricature. What we require is a revolution of the people with bared arms, locks tossed by the winds, wrath in their eyes, and the fusil in their hands." "And not a riot," added another; "what we require is a revolution with barricades and war in the streets."—"And not a bourgeois manifestation with rose-water and sugar-candy."—"A revolution like that of Danton and Robespierre."—"And not a parody, as that of Louis Blanc and Lamartine."—"In fine, a revolution of Titans and men."—"And not a caprice of pig-

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mies, or a phantasy of poets."—"What we require, in fine," said the president, with an earnest and solemn voice, "is a revolution with corpses enough to satisfy the vengeance of the people, and a *victim elevated enough to compromise the people, and render a retreat impossible.* Do you understand me, brethren?"—"Yes, yes," arose on all sides. "We demand justice."—"Against whom?"—"Latour."—"Agreed, agreed; justice to the people, death to Latour, life and independence to Germany." The conspirators then took a solemn oath to execute the enterprise; and the nocturnal meeting, which had been prolonged till seven in the morning, broke up.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 202, 219.

53. Plans of the conspirators, and commencement of the insurrection.

While this dramatic scene was being acted in a den of darkness in Vienna, Latour, in the church of the Jesuits, in the same city, was celebrating a solemn funeral-service for the soul of Count Lamberg. Having taken their resolution, the conspirators were not slow in putting their designs into execution, and carried them out with much ability. A general insurrection, aided by the mutinous regiment of Richter, supported by the students, the Burgher and National Guards, was organised, and a certain number of desperadoes were fixed on to single out Count Latour, and despatch him during the strife. Meanwhile petitions were addressed to the war-minister by the armed students and the Burgher Guard, entreating him to suspend the order for the march of the mutinous grenadiers, on whose co-operation they relied; and they, in their determination to resist, sent to sound the University Legion, whom they found in the best disposition. Latour was firm, though he clearly foresaw the crisis which was approaching. "Bred a soldier," said the brave old man, "I consider obedience as the first of military duties. A minister-at-war at the close of my career, I will not betray the convictions of my whole life. A revocation of the order I gave yesterday would be not merely an act of cowardice—it would be a crime." The con-

spirators next sent a similar petition to Count Auersperg, the commander of the garrison, but met with the same answer. Meanwhile active preparations were everywhere made for the immediate commencement of hostilities; the clubs declared their sittings permanent, and were indefatigable in their efforts to rouse the people into rebellion; the Constituent Assembly sat in permanence, and already barricades were commenced in the central parts of the city. Early in the morning an anonymous letter was brought to Latour, requiring him instantly to revoke the order for the march of the troops, and threatening that if this was not done, and the hôtel of the war-minister evacuated, the minister himself, Bach, the minister of justice, and the Archduchess Sophia, would be hanged facing each other before noon on the following day. "It was no soldier who wrote that letter," said Latour: "he desires me to desert my post." The order, accordingly, was not recalled; and the rebellious regiment, escorted by faithful cavalry, set out on their march, surrounded by an immense crowd, and crossed the bridge of Tabor, at the further end of which the National Guard and University Legion were ranged in order of battle. The two parties were then in presence: a frightful combat seemed instant and inevitable.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 218, 227; Ann. Hist. 1848, 455; Ann. Reg. 1848, 416, 417.

54. Commencement of the combat, and successes of the insurgents. Oct. 6.

The mutinous regiment, setting at defiance the cavalry who escorted them, crossed the bridge at the *pas de charge*, and immediately fraternised with the insurgents at the opposite end, crying "Long live Hungary." Upon this several other regiments were brought up, with some pieces of cannon, and the insurgents were summoned to surrender. This they refused to do, upon which General Bredy, the commanding officer, gave the word of command to the gunners, "Fire!" with a loud voice: but hardly were the words out of his mouth, when he fell dead from a discharge of musketry from the other side. Though shaken for a moment by the discharge of grape, the insurgents quickly rallied, and by a sudden rush made

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themselves masters of the guns, and drove back the Nassau infantry, who were foremost on the Emperor's side. The action now continued with regular firing between the troops and the revolted grenadiers for some time, and the insurgents were at first driven back by the steady volleys of the regular troops; but being strongly reinforced, and having fallen back to some barricades, they brought their opponents to a stand, and at length forced them to retreat in their turn. This was the signal for a general outbreak in all quarters. The insurgents, now reinforced by the greater part of the National Guard, crossed the bridge of Tabor, and entered the city; the gates were intrusted to detachments of the National Guard and the students; the tocsin sounded from all the churches; barricades were everywhere run up; a central committee appointed for military operations, and every preparation made for vigorous hostilities. A fierce contest took place in the Place of St Stephen, close to the noble edifice there, when a party of loyal National Guards were attacked by the insurgents, and, after a short combat, defeated and driven into the cathedral, where their commander was slain on the steps of the high altar. Nearly the whole of the town proper had now fallen into the hands of the insurgents. One gate only, that of the Scotch, remained in the hands of the loyal troops; and by this three companies of sappers and miners, with four guns, were sent in by Latour, to endeavour to extricate those who had been driven into the cathedral; but they were unable to reach their destination. Stopped by formidable barricades in front, and assailed by a plunging fire from the windows on either side, they were nearly all struck down, and the few survivors made prisoners and confined in the university buildings, the whole approaches of which were crossed by formidable barricades.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 416, 417; Ann. Hist. 455; Balleyd. ii. 230, 235.

The only post in the city now occupied by the royal troops was the hôtel of the minister-of-war. A council of war was there held, under the presidency of Count

Capture of the office of the war-minister, and murder of Count Latour.

Latour, to deliberate on what should be done. They were guarded only by 176 men, of whom twelve were mounted, and a single gun ; several thousands of the insurgents thronged round the gates. The most alarming accounts were brought in every instant of the progress of the insurrection, and the defection of the whole National Guard and a part of the troops of the line. Opinions were divided as to the course which should be pursued. The majority thought further resistance hopeless and inexpedient, as likely to compromise the Imperial family. The intrepid Bach, minister-at-war, strongly supported the opposite opinion. "Concessions at this stage, gentlemen," cried he, "would be worse than cowardice : it would be the consecration of revolt. Besides, it would not save you. Listen to the cries below the windows! They are the voice of the people demanding victims to be thrown to the wild beasts, or rather the howling of wild beasts for their prey. Let us have no concessions ! A good cause is never lost by resistance ; it is concession which ruins it. What is required for the monarchy and the capital is, to declare the metropolis in a state of siege, to give orders to General Auersperg to resume the offensive at all points, and to oppose to the daggers of the revolution the swords of the faithful Austrians." But the proverb held good : the council of war did not fight. Reluctantly Count Latour yielded to the opinion of the majority, and signed the fatal order, "The firing is everywhere to cease." But M. Bach was right in his anticipations : though it prostrated the monarchy, it did not save those who, at the eleventh hour, had capitulated for it. The announcement of the order was received with loud cheers by the insurgents, and, emboldened by their success, they instantly pressed on, and made prisoners the military guard, now deprived of all means of resistance by the order which had been issued. From thence they rushed into the building, and surrounded Count Latour. He offered, if the Emperor gave his consent, and it would appease

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the tumult, to resign his situation; but nothing could satisfy the rage of the people but his blood. The midnight conspirators checked every symptom of returning humanity. After several efforts of some of the National Guard to save him, and a protracted resistance by the bravest of their number, he was seized by the infuriated rabble, and after being buffeted and maltreated in the cruellest manner, he was dragged down to the courtyard and hanged to the lamp, after having been almost despatched by blows of sledge-hammers, scythes, and axes. His body hung for twenty-four hours where it had been suspended, during which the National Guard amused themselves by firing at the lifeless remains. His garments were cut in pieces, and his orders torn off and divided among his murderers as trophies. A neighbouring clock struck four and three-quarters as he breathed his last. "That clock," said one who heard it, "sounds at once the agony of Count Latour, *and of the Revolution of Vienna.*"[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 234, 259; Ann. Reg. 1848, 417, 418; Ann. Hist. 1848, 455.

56. Storming of the arsenal.

The prediction ere long was verified; but, in the first instance, it seemed as if it would fall out far otherwise. Success, decisive so far as the defence of the capital was concerned, immediately followed the murder of the war-minister. From the hôtel where the hideous crime had been committed, the mob, now numbering fifteen thousand men, with a strong body of National Guards, proceeded to the arsenal, which they summoned to surrender. It was occupied by a considerable body of soldiers, but by no means adequate to the defence of a post of so much importance, against the formidable and excited multitude by whom it was now assailed. The troops inside, however, made a gallant defence. Throwing open the gate, they ran a 24-pounder out, loaded with canister and grape, and discharged it right into the crowd, which caused an immediate recoil, and no small panic among the unruly assailants. But the revolted regiment and the artillery of the National Guard were now brought up, and a heavy and sustained fire was kept up on the gate

and building from the roofs and windows of the adjoining houses by which they were commanded. Before long, part of the arsenal took fire, and the building in which it broke out was totally consumed. Alarmed by this, and dreading an explosion of the great powder-magazine in the building, the garrison capitulated at six next morning; and this immense arsenal, with all the arms and military stores it contained, fell into the hands of the insurgents. They immediately broke in, and, spreading through all the rooms, seized the whole firearms and such guns as they could drag away, and distributed them among their comrades. The ancient arms and armour, the trophies of the monarchy, were not respected, and became the prey of the vilest of the populace. The swords of Scanderbeg and Prince Eugene were seen in the hands of common mechanics; the helmet of Charles V.; that of Francis I., taken at the battle of Pavia; the arms of Wallenstein, and Daun were tossed from hand to hand, and lost amidst an ignorant and brutal mob.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 259, 279; Ann. Reg. 1848, 418; Ann. Hist. 1848, 455.

57. Conduct of the Constituent Assembly. Oct. 7.

The conduct of the Constituent Assembly during this eventful day exhibited that mixture of pusillanimity and ambition which invariably characterises the first leaders of a revolutionary movement, when they are passed in the career by others more reckless or determined than themselves. Instead of doing anything to moderate the excesses of the populace, they appointed a "committee of public safety" to conduct the affairs of the Government, and addressed a petition to the Emperor, in which they demanded the dismissal of the ministers and the formation of a new and popular cabinet; the removal of Jellachich from the command in Hungary; the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians; and a general amnesty for all offences committed in the course of the insurrection. The Emperor, who was in no condition to refuse anything that might be demanded of him, agreed to change his ministers, and to appoint

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M. Dobshoff and Hornbost, two popular members of the Assembly, to the new ministry. This, however, did not satisfy the democrats, who next insisted that the Committee of Public Safety should immediately assume the government; that instructions should be sent to Count Auersperg to obey no commands but such as came from them; and that orders should forthwith be sent to Olmutz and Brunn, and to the directors of the southern railway, to send no more troops to Vienna. At the same time they addressed a proclamation to the insurgents, who had just murdered Count Latour, in which they said—"People of Austria! Europe regards you with admiration, and history will place our elevation to freedom as one of its most illustrious exploits."[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 278, 280; Ann. Reg. 1848, 417, 418.

58. Retirement of the Emperor to Olmutz. Oct. 7.

Seeing himself now virtually dethroned, and all real authority passed away, the Emperor resolved to leave Vienna, where his life was no longer in safety. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th October, before daybreak, he set out from Schönbrunn, where the whole Imperial family was assembled, taking them all with him, and took the road to Olmutz, escorted by three thousand five hundred troops whom Count Auersperg, though sorely pressed for men, detached for that service. The Emperor left behind him an address to the Assembly, in which he said: "I have endeavoured to satisfy all the demands of my people; I have joyfully exhausted everything which a sovereign can give to his people in mark of confidence; I have sought to augment by a constitution the independence, the force, and the wellbeing of the nation. Though the revolt of the 13th May drove me from the palace of my ancestors, I was not weary of concession. A parliament was convoked on the widest electoral basis, to settle, in concert with me, the constitution. I returned to my capital with no other safeguard but the justice and gratitude of my people. But a small band of misled men threaten to destroy the hopes of every true patriot. Anarchy is at its height: Vienna is teeming with mur-

ders and conflagrations. My minister, whose age, were it nothing else, might have protected him, expired under the strokes of assassins. I trust in God, in my just rights, and I have left the capital to bring succour to my oppressed people. The time has come when every one who loves Austria, who loves liberty, should range himself around the standard of the Emperor."[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 279, 280; Ann. Reg. 1848, 418.

59. The military are stationed in the Belvidere Gardens. Oct. 7.

The conduct of Count Auersperg and the military chiefs, during these trying times, was in the highest degree skilful and praiseworthy. The troops under his command were about twenty thousand, amply sufficient to have re-established the authority of the Emperor in the capital, although, as the National Guards and insurgents were three times as numerous, it could only be accomplished at a fearful expenditure of human life. But the fatal order of the Council "to cease firing at all points," entirely paralysed his operations, and rendered retreat a matter of necessity. He wisely, therefore, availed himself of the night to withdraw his troops entirely from their barracks in the town, and stationed them in the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwartzenberg, and in the vicinity of the Belvidere palace, on heights which commanded the city. Headquarters were established at Enzersdorf, already rendered famous in the wars of Napoleon, in order to be at hand for any eventualities. He then quietly awaited the issue of events; nor was it long before they arose in such quarters, and from such men, as promised a very different future to the Austrian Empire from what present events in the capital might seem to prognosticate. From Radetsky and the Italian army, adorned with the laurels of Custoza, addresses were shortly received, breathing the warmest spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Emperor; and even from Prague, so recently the seat of insurrection, came an address, containing the severest condemnation of the Vienna revolutionists, and the strongest determination to uphold "Austria one and indivisible."[2]

[2] Balleyd. ii. 283, 285; Ann. Reg. 1848, 419.

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60. March of Jellachich on Vienna. Sept. 9, 10.

But the succour thus announced was as yet far distant; and, meanwhile, immediate reinforcements were required to regain possession of the capital, now wholly in the hands of the insurgents. Fortunately for the cause of freedom throughout the world, and the salvation of Austria, this succour was found in Jellachich, who was near enough to the scene of action to intervene immediately, and sufficiently powerful to do so with decisive effect. No sooner did the Ban hear of the events of the 6th October in Vienna, than he took his determination. Imitating the decision of Blucher, who, when he heard the cannonade at Waterloo, relinquished his separate line of operations to take part in the strife at the decisive point, he instantly abandoned his base, and advanced towards Pesth, and moved up by forced marches towards the capital. The southern railway gave him the means of doing so with great celerity; and on the 9th October, three days after the insurrection, his advanced-posts were at Klein, Neusiedel, and Mödling, within two hours' march of Vienna. The motives which led to this able and decisive movement are thus explained by Jellachich himself, in a letter written at the time to the Sclavonians of Bohemia: "It was my duty, as a faithful and sincere Sclavonian, to oppose in Pesth the anti-Austrian party, which rose in arms against Sclavonianism. But as I approached Pesth, that nest of the Magyar aristocracy, our common enemies arose; and had they conquered in Vienna, my victory in Pesth would have been incomplete, and the mainstay of our enemies would have been Vienna. Therefore I turned with the whole of my troops to Vienna, in order to chastise the enemies of Sclavonianism in the Austrian capital. I was led solely by the conviction that in approaching Vienna I was advancing against the enemies of Sclavonianism."[1]

[1] Jellachich to the Sclavonic brethren in Bohemia, Oct. 10, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 419.

61. His approach.

Great was the dismay in the Austrian capital when the approach of the Ban was announced, and still greater when intelligence arrived that he had ordered rations for

sixty thousand men, a number double of his real force, but purposely done to augment the terrors of his approach. Crowds thronged the steeples, and especially the lofty spire of St Stephen, one of the highest in Europe, anxiously gazing to the south to descry the first approach of the avenging hosts coming to inflict punishment on them for their crimes. They were not long of appearing, and in such numbers and variety of costume as bespoke rather the multifarious array of Eastern pride than the more sober garb of European war. First came the Illyrians with their red caps, the Seregranes wrapped in their scarlet mantles, the Croatians with their grey broad-brimmed hats, with no uniform but a grey blouse and a fusil and dagger. With these were mingled large bodies of Austrian cavalry and artillery, clad in the Imperial uniform. Farther off to the east, clouds of cavalry and the neighing of steeds, heard even at so great a distance, announced the approach of the Magyar horse and the army of Hungary intended to co-operate with the insurgents. It seemed as if all the forces of the monarchy were assembling at a rendezvous under the walls of Vienna for a grand military tournament. On the evening of the 12th, Jellachich effected his junction with Auersperg in the gardens of the Belvidere, and their united forces amounted to fifty thousand combatants.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 290, 292; Ann. Reg. 1848, 419.

62. Great agitation in Vienna, and vain attempts to gain the Ban.

The preceding night had been one of extreme anxiety in Vienna, for the insurgents were in hourly expectation of an attack from the now vastly increased forces of their enemies. It has been thus described by an eye-witness: "The silence of the night was interrupted at intervals by the sound of firearms, especially in the direction of the Wieden and high-road, where Auersperg's headquarters were established. On the summit of the barricades, and beyond them, men were sleeping in blouses, armed to the teeth; women and girls, not of the most respectable appearance, were mingled amongst them, some talking and

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laughing, others, like the men, asleep upon heaps of stones. The walls and battlements of the city offered a most animated appearance. One line of watch-fires stretched as far as the eye could reach, each surrounded by students, men in blouses, artisans with their sleeves tucked up to their elbows, and National Guards having more the appearance of regular soldiers. Above the gates, guns were pointed so as to sweep the approaches to the fortified parts of the city; artillerymen, students, or workmen, were on duty near them, with lighted matches. Patrols of every description paraded the walls in regular parties. There were not less than ten thousand men on the ramparts." During the whole night and preceding day, the Parliament and Committee of Public Safety made repeated attempts to ascertain the side which Jellachich was to take, and ordered him not to approach the walls; but in vain: he steadily advanced and joined Auersperg.* On their side, the insurgents made the most vigorous efforts, by running up and strengthening the barricades, to prepare for their defence, and the clubs, as well as assembly, sat in permanence. To their honour be it spoken, during the days that the insurgents had the command of the city, no acts of robbery or spoliation sullied the Austrian character.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 286, 296; Ann. Reg. 1848, 419.

63. Approach of Windischgratz from Prague.

In the mean time, important events had taken place in Prague, which brought a new and important actor, and an additional army, on the theatre. The magistrates and people of Prague, seeing the turn events were taking at Vienna, and that the contest had run into one between the Sclavonic and Magyar races, took part, as bound alike by duty and inclination, with the former. The

* "My sole object is the maintenance of the monarchy on the base of an equality of rights and fidelity to the sovereign. It is for this reason that I have no doubt whom I should obey. The maintenance of the troops whom I have the honour to command will be provided for, and the cost will not fall as a burden on the inhabitants, as my army will bivouac. I am not pursued by any Magyar army; if I were so, I would oppose force to force."—JELLACHICH to the Diet of Vienna, October 12, 1848; BALLEYDIER, ii. 288.

municipal authorities there issued a strong proclamation, condemning the conduct of the Vienna insurgents, and declaring "Bohemia can only prosper when Austria is independent." Windischgratz brought considerable reinforcements with him, raising the royal army before Vienna to seventy thousand men—a force about equal to the armed men within the walls. But the great reliance of the insurgents was on the Hungarians, whose approach was anxiously looked for from the steeples, and repeatedly, though falsely, announced to the people. Their advanced-posts, indeed, made their appearance on the skirts of the forest of Vienna, but the main body never came up; and after a vain demonstration, the whole retired into their own country without attempting anything. The revolutionists, however, received a very important accession of strength at this critical moment by the arrival of a number of cosmopolitan democrats from various countries, especially Poland, the ardent exiled sons of which hastened from all quarters to the Austrian capital, and brought with them their enthusiastic zeal, buoyant courage, and military experience.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 421; Balleyd. ii. 290, 296; Ann. Hist. 1848, 460.

64. Character of Bem.

Among these was General BEM, a Polish officer who had acquired great distinction in the war in Poland. By a happy inspiration, he had saved the Polish army from destruction on the field of Ostrolenka in 1831. He immediately received an important command in the city, and by his courage and resolution he proved himself worthy of the trust. His mind was cast in the mould of great captains, and if he had been employed in a more fortunate cause, he would probably have acquired deathless renown. Ardent, enterprising, and impassioned, like most of his countrymen, he united with these qualities the *sang froid*, presence of mind, and coolness in danger, which are essential to a consummate general. The greater part of his life, from the misfortunes of his country, was spent in exile, and he there acquired the restless activity and instability of purpose by which refugees are in general characterised. It had been early prophesied of him that

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he would rise to great distinction, and be rarely fortunate, and that he would incur no personal danger till the year 1850. The prophecy, which was fully credited by him, led him to despise dangers in his previous career; but it was at length fatally accomplished in that year, when he died, having, in despair of Europe, embraced the creed of Mahomet.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 294, 298.

65. Vienna refuses to surrender; the bombardment commences. Oct. 28.

The arrangements for the attack of the capital having been made, Windischgratz, who, on his arrival, had assumed the command, summoned the city. The terms proposed were, that within forty-eight hours the city was to be surrendered, and all arms given up; the armed corporations and University Legion to be dissolved, and twelve students to be delivered up as hostages, and certain individuals named. The Diet replied that these terms were illegal and unconstitutional; to which Windischgratz rejoined that he could not negotiate with the Diet, and that the only authority he could recognise was the Municipal Council of Vienna. Windischgratz, having given the besieged twenty-four hours more to accede to his proposal, he commenced the bombardment on the morning of the 28th. Before this took place, the spirits of the besieged had been somewhat raised by the arrival of Blum, Hartonem, and Roebel, as a deputation from the Assembly at Frankfort, to congratulate the Viennese on their glorious revolution, and encourage them to persevere in their defence. These enthusiastic Liberals did not confine themselves to congratulatory words, but proceeded to deeds, and took an active part in encouraging and organising the means of resistance, which led to a sad but not unmerited tragedy with one of their number. Meanwhile the clubs and revolutionary authorities redoubled their activity, and so formidable were their preparations in barricades, artillery, and troops to guard them, that it was evident nothing but a most sanguinary struggle could effect their reduction.[2]

[2] Balleyd. ii. 306, 315; Ann. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; Ann. Hist. 1848, 460, 461.

Windischgratz directed his principal attack against

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66. Preparations for the assault on both sides.

the suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, where the defences of the besieged were the least formidable, and the insurgents in most strength were grouped around their several standards to await the assault. The moment was solemn and awful; profound silence, interrupted only by the rolling of artillery and ammunition-waggons, prevailed all the morning; every one felt that the decisive moment had arrived which was to determine the contest between the revolutionists and the Emperor. At ten o'clock the tocsin suddenly rang from all the churches, the *générale* beat in all the streets, and the combatants were everywhere seen hurrying to their several rallying-points. The assailants were not less determined; the regiment of the late Count Latour was in an especial manner excited, and loudly proclaimed their determination to take a signal vengeance on his murderers. At half-past eleven a signal-gun was discharged by the assailants, followed by a loud roar from all their batteries, and immediately the firing became general on both sides.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 330, 331; Ann. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; Ann. Hist. 1848, 461.

67. Storming of the barricade of the Prater.

The first barricade was carried, without much difficulty, by the effect of a heavy fire of musketry from the Croats and Chasseurs stationed in the houses and woods of the Prater adjoining; but at the second barricade, which was mounted with cannon, and where Bem, with the University Legion, commanded in person, a much more formidable resistance was experienced, and the contest was obstinate and bloody in the extreme. Three separate assaults by the Imperialists were repulsed with great slaughter, and the shouts of victory were already raised by the defenders, when a loud cry was heard behind them, followed by triumphant cheers. It was the Croats of Jellachich, who, having penetrated into the suburb of Leopoldstadt by the Landstrasse and the avenue of the Emperor Francis, had now made their way into the rear of the barricade of the Prater, which had been so obstinately contested, and rendered its farther maintenance impracticable. This success was decisive; the rebels,

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attacked both in front and rear, and exposed to a fire from the adjoining houses, which were all occupied, were obliged to evacuate their formidable position, which, with all the guns mounted on it, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Later in the evening, the railway station of Gloggnitz and the whole of the Belvidere were taken after a desperate fight, in which the students who defended them were slain to the last man. The suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwartzenberg, the Hôtel of the Invalides, and the Veterinary School, were in the hands of the Imperialists before night. The surrender of the city was now only a question of time, and could not apparently be delayed beyond a few hours.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; Balleyd. ii. 332, 334; Ann. Hist. 1848, 461.

68. Night which followed the attack.

The day had been terrible, but the night which followed was more terrible still. The town was on fire in six-and-twenty different places. The whole houses adjoining the double barricade of the Prater, the scene of so desperate a conflict on the preceding day, the Theatre of the Odeon, the Street of Francis, the baths of Schuted, the railway station of Borek, the Jagerzeil, had become the prey of the flames. Scarce an eye was closed in Vienna on that dreadful night. With speechless agony the people watched the columns of flame which in every direction rose into the heavens, and cast a lurid light over the vast expanse of the city. The dead bodies of men and horses lying about wherever the contest had been severe, the pools of blood, and the horrid stench arising from the half-consumed bodies in the burnt houses, exhibited a picture of war in its most terrible form. Half of the houses in the assaulted suburbs had been burnt down—the remainder were riddled with round-shot and shells. On every side were to be seen weeping wives, sisters, and daughters, searching among the ruins, or pulling out of the rubbish the half-consumed bodies of their relatives.[2] The Revolutionists had determined on having a revolution "à la Robespierre," and they had got it; but they

[2] Eye-witness in Ann. Reg. 1848, 422; Balleyd. ii. 334, 335; Ann. Hist. 1848, 461.

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69. Commencement of conference for a surrender.

did not intend, what had now come to pass, that its terrors were to fall on themselves.

The morning of the 29th commenced with the interment of the dead slain in the conflict of the preceding day. Their number astonished those engaged in the melancholy ceremony, and diffused a general sadness, which was the farther increased by the sight of the wide chasm in the ranks of the survivors. This was occasioned not only by those slain or wounded in the fight, but by the still greater number who, despairing of success, had left their ranks, thrown away their arms, and exchanged their brilliant uniforms for the sober garb of citizens. Others, again, among whom were nearly the whole students and Poles, with mournful resolution still gallantly held out, and repaired to their several rallying-points on the bastions and in the barricades; but the generals of the insurgents took a calmer view of their chances of success, and in the course of the forenoon declared to the Committee of Public Safety that it was impossible to prolong the defence. Windischgratz humanely suspended his fire to give the insurgents an opportunity of coming to an accommodation, and the municipality sent a deputation to him to endeavour to effect some alleviation in the conditions of capitulation. But the Imperial general was inflexible, and insisted on his original conditions; he agreed, however, to suspend hostilities till midnight, in order to give the insurgents time to consider his proposals. The deputation returned to the committee with heavy hearts, and they, in their turn, sent for the heads of the sections to consider what was to be done under the circumstances. "The surrender of the town," cried Bem, "as we now stand, would be a monstrous act of cowardice, while our defeat on the ruins of Vienna would be a passport to immortality. From the top of St Stephen's the advanced posts of the Magyars are already seen, and their guns ready to pour grape on our enemies. Yes! the

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ruins of Vienna would be a tomb worthy of the giants of Poland and Austria."—"One may easily see," replied the commander-in-chief Messenhauser, "that you are not a Viennese; "you mistake the epoch. The ruins of Vienna would not be your tomb, for if such a misfortune was reserved for the capital of the monarchy through your fault, you would be buried in it under the curses and the opprobrium of the universe." The National Guard loudly applauded these words; the Poles and refugees alone remained silent. It was at length agreed, by a large majority, to accept the terms offered by Windischgratz; and before midnight a deputation with this answer was despatched to the Imperial headquarters.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 337, 339; Ann. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; Ann. Hist. 1848, 461.

70. Approach of the Hungarians as seen from the steeples of Vienna. Oct. 30.

The terms of the capitulation were forthwith carried into execution. Already the chief members of the Central Committee of the Clubs and of the Committee of Public Safety had disappeared, the university was dissolved, the disarming of the National Guard had in great part been carried into effect, and waggons of arms were every hour brought into the depôts appointed for their reception, when, at a quarter past eleven on the morning of the 30th, a great stir was observed in the crowd which thronged round the foot of St Stephen's steeple, anxious to hear if there were any symptoms of the approach of the Hungarians, when a student standing on a chair read the following billet, signed by Messenhauser: "From the summit of the tower of St Stephen's they see distinctly a combat commencing behind Kaiser-Ebersdorf, without being able to distinguish the troops engaged, or the course of the action." This announcement was like the cry of pardon to a convict on the verge of execution; the whole insurgents felt as if relieved from instant death. Instantly the cry arose, "Long live the Hungarians! all is over; here are the Magyars—to arms, to arms! forward to meet the enemy!" The transports were indescribable: in the twinkling of an eye crowds of armed men were seen on the ramparts; every one was hurrying

to and fro in the streets; artillery was dragged forward to the barricades; all thoughts of the capitulation were at an end. The universal enthusiasm was increased by a second bulletin issued at one o'clock, which announced that "the battle was advancing towards Oberston and Inzersdorf, and that the Hungarians appeared to be advancing victoriously." The transports now became universal and indescribable; from all the steeples, roofs, and towers of the city, the insurgents were firing guns and waving flags in the belief of victory; while the increasing roar of the cannon, the sharp rattle of the musketry, and at length the crash of cannon-balls against the walls and elevated buildings, told distinctly that the battle was rolling nearer, and relief approaching. But these joyous tidings soon yielded to more gloomy presentiments, when it was announced, in a third bulletin from the summit of St Stephen's, that the battle was drawing nearer in the centre, but that it was concentrated to the left of Schwechat, between Kaiser and Obersdorff. As this announcement indicated a retreat on the part of the Hungarians on that side, the cry arose that Messenhauser was a traitor, and bands of frantic rebels marched through the streets calling on every one to take up arms, murdering not a few. The most desperate projects were discussed in the clubs. During the next twenty-four hours all authority was at an end; Vienna was at the mercy of bands of insurgents traversing the city in every direction, and insulting or massacring all whom they suspected of a leaning to the enemy; while, on the outside, the loud cheers of the Imperialists announced their victory over the Hungarians, and final defeat of the last hopes of the insurrection.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1848, 423; Balleyd. ii. 341, 351; Ann. Hist. 1848, 461, 462.

71. Battle of Schwechat, and defeat of the Hungarians. Oct. 30.

In effect, the Hungarian army under General Moza, after great indecision on the part of the troops as to whether they would cross the Austrian frontier, as that was a direct act of revolt against the government, were at length induced, by the urgent representations of the

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inhabitants of Vienna, to pass that dreaded line, and advance into Austria. This was done on the 28th, and the invading force was 25,000 strong, of whom, however, 10,000 were young troops, upon whom, as the event proved, little reliance could be placed. On the 31st they approached the Austrian position, which extended over the villages of SCHWECHAT, Maunsworth, and Kaiser-Ebersdorf. Windischgratz had occupied these villages with his best infantry, and stationed Prince Lichtenstein with the greater part of the cavalry on his right wing. The Imperialists on the field were not superior in number to the Hungarians, but they had greatly the advantage in the quality and experience of their troops. The battle commenced at eleven o'clock on the 30th, with a brisk attack on the Imperialists in Maunsworth, by some Hungarian national guards under Count Guyon, who conducted themselves very bravely, and gradually forced back the Austrian tirailleurs. The contest there was still undecided, when Georgey was ordered to attack the village of Schwechat, with a brigade of which he had received the command. When Georgey arrived at the point of attack, he found the enemy's centre drawn back out of the reach of shot: but owing to the undiscipline of part of the Hungarian force, which was composed of new levies, the centre now found itself a mile and a half distant from the left wing. This rendered a halt necessary, and Georgey hastened to Kossuth, who was with the general-in-chief, to explain the dangerous state of the army, with its centre in this manner entirely severed from the left, and the latter left alone on the field of battle. The general refused to alter his dispositions, and said, "I stand where I can survey the whole: do you in silence obey what I order."[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 76, 90; Klapka, i. 87, Introduction; Balleyd. ii. 354, 355.

72. Total defeat of the Hungarians.

Windischgratz at once discerned the fatal mistake which had been committed. He pushed forward some horse-artillery, which opened a heavy fire on Georgey's unsupported battalions, who instantly took to flight,

"rushing headlong," says that general, "over one another." Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Count Ernest Almassy and thirty or forty of his bravest followers, the panic spread, and soon the rout became universal. "Out of nearly 5000 men of those National Guards," says Georgey, "about whose valour I had already heard so many tirades; who, as themselves had repeatedly asserted, were burning with desire to measure themselves with an enemy whom they never mentioned but with the greatest contempt, there remained to me, after a short cannonade, *a single man*, and that an elderly invalided soldier. The whole of our force from Schwechat to Maunsworth had been swept away. The other brigades, incredible as it may seem, had taken to their heels even before mine. Like a scared flock, the main body of the army was hastening in the greatest disorder towards the Fucha for safety." Vain were all Georgey's efforts, with a small rear-guard of about a thousand men, whom he hastily got together, to stop the rout. The army fled in utter confusion, and only got off from the pursuit with the loss of 3000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Had the pursuit by the thirty-five squadrons of Prince Lichtenstein on the left been more vigorous, hardly any of the Hungarians would have escaped. Kossuth was one of the first who took to flight; which, however, could not be urged as a fault, as his post was at the council-board, not in the front with the grenadiers.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 87, 91; Balleyd. ii. 353, 356.

73. Surrender of Vienna. Oct. 31.

After this decisive defeat, there remained, of course, no alternative to the rebels in Vienna but surrender at discretion, and the Imperial general sternly refused to accede to any other terms. The surrender was going on when the tocsin, in violation of the orders of the Committee of Students, suddenly sounded from the tower of St Stephen's. Crowds of ardent republicans immediately hastened to their rallying-points on the bastions and the barricades, and the firing on their side recommenced at all points with as much vigour as ever. It was not any delib-

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erate act of treachery on the part of the insurgents, but an unauthorised act arising from unconfrontable excitement among the people, in whose ranks the cry of "Treason, we are betrayed!" was constantly heard. It was, however, speedily and terribly revenged. Windischgratz immediately brought up fresh troops, which penetrated into and made themselves masters of the whole suburb, and he established batteries in the gardens of Schwartzenberg and in the Imperial stables, which opened fire on the city. The fiery projectiles sweeping through the air, the hissing of the rockets which searched out every part of the buildings which they penetrated, diffused universal consternation. Before one o'clock the town was on fire in several places, and white flags were displayed from all the bastions. A deputation of the magistrates went out to the glacis, and formally surrendered the keys of the city to the Imperial general; and this time the surrender, which was unconditional, was its own guarantee, for the victorious troops took military possession of the whole city. The prophecy was already accomplished: the agony of Count Latour had proved that also of the Vienna revolution.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 356, 358; Ann. Hist. 1848, 462; Ann. Reg. 1848, 423.

74. Execution of Blum. Oct. 31.

The victorious Imperialists were received with transports of joy by the vast majority of the respectable inhabitants of the capital, with sullen but impotent indignation by the students and republican sections of the community. The disarming of the National Guard went on quietly and without opposition. The Imperial Government made a humane use of their victory. Though the city had in reality been carried by assault, and the infamous murder of Count Latour had justly exasperated the soldiery in the highest degree, its inhabitants underwent none of the horrors usually experienced on such occasions. No pillage or wilful conflagration took place; the troops, on the contrary, were active in extinguishing the fires which had been raised during the bombardment. Few executions, and those only of leaders deeply implicated, ensued; and although it is deeply to be regretted that any should

have tarnished the lustre of so glorious a victory, yet it is to be recollected that the insurgents had brought severity upon themselves: by the murder of Count Lamberg and Count Latour, they had put themselves out of the pale of humanity, and they could not complain if the ruthless maxim *Væ Victis*, which they had applied to others, now recoiled upon themselves. Among those executed was Robert Blum, the deputy from Frankfort, who was tried by a court-martial on the 8th instant, and next day shot. He was convicted, on his own admission, of having Nov. 8. instigated the rebellion by his seditious speeches, and taken an active part by combating with the insurgents against the Imperial troops in the defence of Vienna. Nov. 9. He died with unshaken fortitude. His execution, as already mentioned, excited a great sensation in Germany, and by many is still regarded as a political fault, chiefly as being a defiance thrown down by Austria to the central government in the German Confederacy, as he was a member of the national parliament. Yet is this view clearly erroneous: for it never was supposed that a member of the legislature in one country was at liberty to commit high treason with impunity in another; or that even in the same State a member of parliament is at liberty to rise in rebellion against his sovereign.* Messenhauser, commander of the armed force in Vienna, was also condemned, and met death with the like fortitude.[1] He was fearful of the disgrace of being hanged, and uttered a cry of joy when he heard he was to be shot. "It is a sad fate mine," said he: "on 29th October I

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 471; Ann. Reg. 1848, 423, 424; Balleyd. ii. 364, 367, 369.

* When sentence of death was pronounced against Blum, he said, without exhibiting the least fear, "I fully expected it; the sentence was not unforeseen." He entreated, as a last favour, that he might be permitted to write a letter to his wife, which was agreed to, and it concluded with these words: "Let not my fate discourage you; but bring up our children so that they may not bring disgrace on my name." "Now I am ready," said he, addressing the officers of justice, when the letter was done. Arrived at the place of execution, he said to one of the cuirassiers of his escort, "Here, then, we are come to the last stage of my journey." He desired not to have his eyes bandaged; and this being refused, lest his unsteadiness should cause the men to miss their aim, he blindfolded himself, and knelt down with manly courage. He fell pierced by three balls, and died instantly.—BALLEYDIER, ii. 366, 367.

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was threatened with death by the *Proletaires* of Vienna as guilty of treachery, and now I am condemned to the same punishment for treason to the Emperor." He died bravely, standing erect, with his hand on his heart, and himself gave the word of command to the soldiers charged with the melancholy duty.

75. Formation of a new ministry by Schwartzenberg.

The restoration of the Imperial authority in Vienna was immediately followed, as was to be expected, by an entire change of ministry. Prince Felix of Schwartzenberg was, with the entire concurrence of the Imperial party, placed at the head of the Government, and Count Francis Stadion was made minister of the interior and of public instruction; Krauss, finance-minister; Baron Cordon, of war; Bach, of justice; Chevalier Bonck, of commerce and public works; the Chevalier Thunfuld, of agriculture. The character of all the persons composing this cabinet, especially of its very eminent chief and of M. Bach, the minister of justice, were a guarantee for its due discharge of the arduous duty with which it was intrusted, of reconstructing the monarchy out of the scattered fragments into which it had been broken. And in truth this duty was more arduous in reality than it seemed in appearance; for the coalition of forces by which the insurrection had been conquered in Vienna, so far from being thoroughly united, itself laboured under secret but most serious causes of division. Austria, in its last extremity, had been saved by the fidelity of the army, and the heroic devotion of the Sclave population, numbering nearly half the inhabitants of the Empire. But out of the victory of their united forces arose, as is so often the case with successful coalitions, a new cause of discord—who was to lead the combined forces, and what interest was to predominate in the government which they had re-established? Windischgratz had the command, and directed the army which was to act against Hungary; but Windischgratz had conquered at Prague as well as at Vienna:[1] his cannon had dissolved the Sclave congress, and the Croatians beheld with jealousy their

[1] Ann. Hist. 1848, 474, 475; Balleyd. ii. 370, 371; Ann. Reg. 1848, 424.

beloved Ban, whom they regarded with justice as the saviour of the Empire, obeying the orders of a German prince who had proved himself the worst enemy of their race.

76. Resignation of the Emperor, and accession of the new Emperor Francis Joseph. Dec. 2.

The thorns with which his crown was still beset, and the dreadful scenes which he had been compelled to witness in his capital, induced the Emperor finally to relinquish the sceptre, which he felt he could no longer wield with comfort to himself or advantage to his country. On the 2d December he came with the Empress into the saloon of audience of the Archbishop, where the whole Imperial family, and the Prince Windischgratz, Baron Jellachich, and the chief dignitaries of the Empire, were assembled, and announced his irrevocable determination to resign the crown in favour of the young Archduke Francis Charles, the next heir to it, after his father the Archduke Charles, whom similar reasons had determined to wave his right to the succession. Having said these words, the Emperor knelt down to receive the benediction of, and take the oath of fealty to, the young Emperor, called at so early an age to wield the destinies of the ancient and time-honoured Empire of Austria. The President of the Council then read aloud the formal act of abdication and renunciation of the Emperor and the Archduke Charles, which was immediately signed by both princes, Prince Schwartzenberg, and the other dignitaries present. The *ci-devant* Emperor and Empress set off the same day, in a private carriage, for Prague, which he had fixed on as his future residence. The new Emperor was only eighteen years of age when he entered on his arduous duties: but he at once evinced a courage and sagacity above his years, and to his energy and determination the salvation of the monarchy, amidst the perils by which it was still beset, is in a great measure to be ascribed.[1]

[1] Balleyd. ii. 372, 374; Ann. Hist. 1848, 474; Ann. Reg. 1848, 425.

CHAPTER LV.

WAR IN HUNGARY—ITS FINAL TERMINATION BY THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN AUGUST 1849.

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1. Proclamation by the new Emperor. Dec. 5.

On the 5th December the new Emperor issued a proclamation, in which he said: "We are convinced of the necessity and value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous restoration of the monarchy. On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their *equally partaking in the representation and legislation*, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur; it will acquire new strength to resist the storm of the time; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues, united under the sceptre of our fathers. Jealous of the glory of the crown, and resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privileges with the representatives of the people, we hope, by the assistance of God, and with the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral State. We have had many trials; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in various parts of the Empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to restore legal order everywhere. The conquest over rebellion, and the return of domestic peace, are the first conditions of the great work which we take in hand. We

confidently rely on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation through its representatives. Austria at the close of this memorable year might proudly claim for its motto, '*Mergens profundo pulchrior evenit.*' It has crushed the rebellion in Lombardy, driven back the Piedmontese into their own territory, planted the Austrian flag again in triumph on the walls of Milan, which had for centuries been a fief of the house of Hapsburg. Compelled in self-defence to assault his own capital, the Emperor has found his troops as loyal as they were brave, and the cannon of Windischgratz and Jellachich have effectually silenced the voice of insurrection. In Hungary the Imperial arms have been uniformly successful, and there is every reason to expect a victorious issue to the campaign. And now fresh and healthy blood has been poured into the veins of the monarchy by the elevation to the throne of a young Emperor whose disposition and character are of the happiest augury, and who is surrounded by ministers determined to pursue a course of constitutional policy, and abandon the Metternich system of despotism and exclusion."[1]

[1] Proclamation, Dec. 5, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 425, 426.

The acts of the young Emperor and his cabinet did not belie these liberal professions. The committee appointed by the Diet to draw up a constitution had prefaced their report by a preamble to this effect: "All the powers of the State proceed from the people alone." When the matter came to be discussed in the Diet in the beginning of January, Count Stadion, the Minister of the Interior, moved, on the part of the Government, that these words should be omitted. M. Pinkar, on the part of the Opposition, moved a declaration condemnatory of the counter-revolution; and Count Stadion moved an amendment, which substantially approved of it. The debate was conducted with as much freedom as any in the House of Commons; and M. Pinkar's motion was carried by a majority of 196 to 99—a result which sufficiently proved the democratic character of the great

2. New Constitution of Austria. Mar. 4, 7, 1849.

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majority of the assembly. Having gained this victory, the Opposition, fearful of a dissolution, which, in the altered temper of men's minds since the former elections had taken place, would probably have thrown them into a minority, did not press the retention of the article, and the consideration of it was of consent postponed. The other articles of the report were then considered *seriatim*, and the constitution was finally approved of and promulgated on the 7th March. Certainly the friends of freedom had no reason to complain of its provisions. It provided, in the first instance, for the *unity* of the Austrian Empire, a condition obviously essential to its independence, and which all the Liberals in the Empire, if they had been actuated by public spirit, and not private ambition, should have been the first to support. Entire freedom in religion, and universal education by public institutions, were established; "the instruction in religious matters in the public schools being intrusted to the respective churches or religious institutions." Freedom of the press without the censorship was guaranteed in the most unlimited extent, as was the right of petitioning, meeting and forming associations, if not opposed to the law or dangerous to the State. Individual liberty was guaranteed, as was the sanctity of private domiciles, and all persons apprehended were to be liberated in forty-eight hours, if not delivered over in that time to the judge of the district. The Emperor was to take the oath to the constitution when he was crowned; he was irresponsible, decided on peace and war, concluded treaties with foreign powers, and published decrees, the same being countersigned by a responsible minister. He appointed the ministers and dismissed them, and appointed to all offices, civil and military. Equality of all citizens before the law was established. The legislature was to consist of two houses, both elective; and the elective franchise was extended to all the citizens paying the statutory amount of direct taxes, which was only a few florins.

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The members of the lower house were elected for five years, those of the upper for ten. Laws required to be passed by both houses, and have the Emperor's consent to become valid; and either the Emperor or either house might propose laws. The Emperor had the power of dissolution; and the public accounts were to be annually brought forward in a budget submitted to both houses.[1]

[1] Constitution, Mar. 4, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 316, 321.

3. Cold reception of the Constitution in Hungary and Austria.

This constitution was much more democratic than that enjoyed by Great Britain at this time; for it established household suffrage, all but universal equality in all matters civil and religious, a free press, the right of meeting and petitioning, and universal education, detached from sectarian divisions, at the public expense. It was *at least* as liberal a constitution as Austria, yet in pupilarity in the ways of freedom, could bear. It was far, however, from meeting the views of the Hungarian insurgents, who desired a virtual severance of Hungary from Germany, in order that they might obtain a monopoly of offices, honours, and emoluments to themselves. How they were to maintain their ground against Russia and France and Germany, in a state of isolation, was a question which never entered into their consideration, though Georgey confesses that the difficulty of doing so would probably have proved insurmountable.* In truth, matters had gone too far between the two powers, before the new constitution was promulgated, to admit of a compromise. But in the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, the new constitution, save to the revolutionists of Vienna, gave general satisfaction, and contributed much to the unanimity with which its inhabitants prosecuted the war against the Hungarian insurgents.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. 1849, 492, 493; Ann. Reg. 1848, 326, 327.

* "Whether the Austrian monarchy could pursue its former importance as a great European power after the isolation of the Hungarian Ministries (chiefly of war and finance) from the governing power constituted in Vienna for the other provinces, and whether Hungary, recognising the guarantees of Austria's influence as the main condition of its own existence, would not have to sacrifice to the consolidation of collective Austria a part of its newly-acquired advantages, were questions, the answers to which lay beyond my sphere, nay, which I never put to myself."—GEORGEY, i. 6.

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Description of Hungary in a military point of view.

The kingdom of HUNGARY consists of 133,000 square English miles, or about a tenth more than Great Britain and Ireland. It forms an irregular parallelogram, stretching about 400 miles in each direction. It is bounded on the north by Moravia and Gallicia; on the south by Croatia, Sclavonia, and the Banat; on the east by Transylvania and Bukovina; on the west by Lower Austria and Styria. Thus it was entirely surrounded by the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, and, if detached from them, would form a separate State, like one composed of the midland counties in the centre of England, and would entirely isolate several of its most important provinces from the dominion of the house of Hapsburg. It was this circumstance which rendered resistance to the severance a question of life or death to the Austrian monarchy. The Danube, which flows from north-west to south-east through its whole extent, is the great artery of Hungary and the principal channel for the exportation of its produce. It enters the country at Presburg, at a short distance from Vienna, and flows due east till it reaches Waitzen, when it makes a sudden and sharp bend to the south, and continues this course till it reaches the borders of Sclavonia, where it is joined by another great river, the Drave, and their united waters flow in a vast volume to the Euxine. The other main river of Hungary is the Theiss, which runs in the north-east of the country, and flows nearly due south till it joins the Danube between Peterwaradein and Belgrade, on the confines of Sclavonia. Pesth is the capital of Hungary, but it is a place of no great strength, and is completely commanded by its suburb Buda, a citadel strongly fortified, and which in every age has formed a position of vital importance in Hungarian wars, besides being associated in the minds of the people with many of their most interesting historical recollections. The other fortified places in Hungary are Raab, Gran, Waitzen, and Komorn, the last of which was extremely strong, and had acquired the name

of the Maiden. Peterwaradein, on the Sclavonian frontier, is also a place of great strength. From the nature of their country, its central position in the heart of the Austrian Empire, and the barrier which the Danube and Theiss opposed to an invading army, as well as the number and strength of its fortresses, all of which, with the arsenal, were in their hands, the Magyars entered upon the war with very great advantages.[1]

[1] Universal Gazetteer (Austria), Malte-Brun, vi. 594, 595.

5. Forces of the Austrians, and their plan of operations.

It was not till the 9th December that Prince Windischgratz, who had the command of the principal army destined to act against the Hungarians, was in a condition to commence operations. His force, with the reserve which was forming under Prince Jesbelloni, numbered on paper 49,000 infantry, 7236 cavalry,—in all, 65,000 men, with 260 guns; but he had not more than 50,000 present under arms under his immediate command. A second corps of 20,000 was stationed, under Count Nugent, on the frontiers of Styria and Croatia, to serve as a reserve for the main army, and act as circumstances might require. A third force of 14,000 men, under General Schlick, was to act on the north-east of Hungary; 5000 men were on the Banat near Bukovina; and 16,000 men in Transylvania, under the orders of Colonel Urban and General Pückner, were to make head against the insurgents there, who, under General Bem—who had escaped from Vienna—were acquiring a formidable consistency. Thus the entire forces of the Imperialists were very considerable, but they were entirely detached from each other, and the Hungarians occupied a central position between them. The troops of the insurgents, however, were much less considerable, and, being for the most part new levies, were still more deficient in discipline, experience, and warlike and mutual confidence. The regular troops of the Austrian army who had gone over to them amounted to 21,000 infantry, and 7198 cavalry, and they had 2402 guns, including those in the forts and arsenals, those in the

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field harnessed by splendid horses furnished to them by the Magyar nobles. Besides this, the levies ordered in the preceding year had amounted to 200,000 men, and actually brought 150,000 into the field. Their main army was on the Danube, opposed to Windischgratz, under the orders of Georgey, whose military abilities had become known, and who had succeeded to the command after Moza had been deprived of it in consequence of his defeat. It consisted nominally of 30,000 men, but he never had more than 20,000 around his banners, and those for the most part young recruits, half-disciplined, deeply depressed by their rout at Schwechat, and wholly unable to face the enemy in the field. A second army, much more efficient for military operations, lay in the Bats country under Bem, which had been trained to war in the conflicts with the Razen, and consisted of 24,000. In addition to these, various small corps were in the course of formation in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, which might amount in all to 18,000 or 20,000 men. These forces were much inferior, at all points, to the Imperialists opposed to them; but they had the advantage of a central position and strong fortresses, and the assistance, active or passive, of the whole inhabitants of the country, who, in the Magyar district of central Hungary, were all enthusiastic in the national cause of the insurrection.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 117; Klapka, i. 77, and ii. 170, 171, Introduction; Ann. Reg. 1849, 327; Ann. Hist. 1849, 492, 493; Balleyd. 8.

6. Advance of the Austrians.

Everything seemed to promise an early victory to Windischgratz, who was marching on Raab in the last week of December. He had an engagement with the Hungarian rear-guard on the 16th, in which the latter were worsted, and continuing his advance, arrived on the 26th of that month within half a league of that town, and had already begun his movements with a view to cut off the retreat of the enemy from it, when he found that it was evacuated by the Hungarians, who continued their retrograde movement towards Komorn and Pesth. The object of Georgey was not to fight,

which he well knew he could not do with advantage with the raw troops under his command, but to gain time for the formation of armaments in the interior. This he did effectually by the show made of defending Raab, which gained for him a delay of eight days. During the retreat to Pesth, which was made in the worst weather, and over execrable roads, he was attacked by Jellachich, and lost 700 prisoners in the encounter. This loss, however, was likely to be more than compensated by a reinforcement of 10,000 men and 24 guns under General Perczel, who was awaiting his arrival at Mour. But the Ban fell on Perczel's corps two days after, and defeated it with such ease, that the greater part was dispersed, and 2000 prisoners made, by two brigades only of Jellachich's army. Had Windischgratz pursued Georgey vigorously, he might have prevented him from effecting a junction with Perczel, and destroyed them separately; but the old Austrian fault of slowness in movement here interposed, and reft from Jellachich all the fruits of his victory. By changing the direction of his march, and abandoning Ofen, where he had designed to give battle, Georgey succeeded, some days later, in effecting a junction with Perczel's corps. But the consternation produced by these repeated defeats was extreme at Pesth, and even the most zealous supporters of Hungarian independence began to despair of maintaining it against the overwhelming force of the Imperialists.[1]

Dec. 23.

Dec. 30.

Jan. 4.

1 Ann. Hist. 1848, 494, 495; Klapka, i. 79, Introduction; Ann. Reg. 1848, 327, 328; Georgey, i. 119, 120.

7. Advance of the Austrians to Komorn and Pesth.

In the course of the advance from Raab to Komorn, the usual and deplorable horrors of civil war began to appear. The Magyars, who were incensed in the highest degree at the retreat of their army and the bad success of their arms, murdered fifty-three Croats who had fallen into their hands, and were even accused of having poisoned wells on the line of advance of the Imperial troops. Windischgratz replied by a stern proclamation, in which he declared that "any inhabitant who is taken with any

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weapon of any description in his hands, shall be immediately shot, and any village whose inhabitants shall attack any single officer or courier shall be immediately levelled with the ground." Meanwhile the Imperial army advanced to Komorn, which they reached on the 30th, and summoned to surrender. The place, however, which was one of the strongest in Europe, and amply supplied with artillery and provisions, as well as defended by a large garrison, refused to listen to terms ; and upon that Windischgratz, leaving a division with the siege-train to commence operations against it in force, continued his advance to Pesth. He reached it on the 3d January, and, while making preparations to reduce the place, it was discovered that the Government and Diet had evacuated it, carrying with them the regalia of Hungary and the treasure, and retired to Debreczin, which thereafter became the headquarters of the insurgents during the remainder of the war. Kossuth delayed his departure till five minutes past twelve on the night of the 31st, and then drank a toast "To the first year of Hungarian independence."[1]

Dec. 30.

Jan. 3.

Jan. 5.

[1] Tolstoy, Relation des Armées Russes en Hongrie, 70, 71; Balleydier, Guerre de la Hongrie, 29, 31; Ann. Reg. 1849, 329.

8. Brilliant retreat and movements of Georgey.

Upon leaving Pesth, the insurgents, instead of retiring in one body, divided into two parts—the one northwards towards Waitzen, the other eastward to Debreczin behind the Theiss. The first was commanded by Georgey, the last by Perczel. Georgey exerted himself to the utmost to draw the attention of the enemy upon himself, and he did this with such success that the column which retired to Debreczin was merely observed by a small Austrian corps under General Ottinger. The retreat to Debreczin was conducted under the most disastrous circumstances, the weather being dreadful, the cold at five degrees above zero of Fahrenheit, and the army encumbered by an immense multitude of old men, women, and children, in the last stages of starvation and suffering. They at length reached the Theiss, however, and got to their journey's end at Debreczin, where Kossuth

addressed an animated proclamation to the people, calling on them to rise, and, "like an avalanche which rolls down the sides of a mountain, crush their enemies without leaving a man to carry back tidings of the disaster." Jan. 10. While the eloquent tribune was thus electrifying the inhabitants of central Hungary on the banks of the Theiss, Georgey retired towards Kremnitz beyond Waitzen, where he collected a very considerable body of men from the whole north of Hungary, about 20,000 strong. With this formidable force he moved in the direction of the south-west, in such a manner as to threaten the communications of Windischgratz with Vienna and his base of operations. This movement alarmed the Austrians, always nervous about their communications, and the consequence was, that the main Hungarian army was allowed to retire unmolested, and remain six weeks recruiting its losses and filling up its ranks behind the Theiss. Meanwhile Windischgratz, deeming the war ended, and deterred from moving by the excessive severity of the weather, remained with the main body of his army for seven weeks in a state of inactivity at Pesth. In truth he had some grounds for his fancied security. Leopoldstadt and Esseck, two of the chief fortresses of western Hungary, had surrendered—the first to Marshal Simonich on 2d February; the latter, with 614 guns, on the 14th to Count Nugent; and Komorn and Peterwaradein, the two remaining strongholds of the insurgents, were closely blockaded.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 72, 73; Baleydier, Guerre de la Hongrie, 32, 37; Ann. Reg. 1849.

9. War of Bem in Transylvania.

The war, meanwhile, in Transylvania was gradually assuming great proportions, under the able and energetic direction of General Bem. The Imperialists were there completely overmatched, and reduced, in consequence, to a painful and losing defensive. Bem had succeeded, amidst its warlike and enthusiastic inhabitants, inured to a military life by their constant contests with the Turks, in collecting thirty thousand men round his standards, who had already acquired somewhat of the con-

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sistency of old soldiers. Against these formidable forces General Pückner, who commanded the Imperialists in that quarter, could only oppose six regular battalions, eight squadrons, and forty guns. He had, it is true, a much larger irregular force under his orders, but they were new levies, ill disciplined, and worse affected, upon whose fidelity or steadiness in the field little reliance could be placed. Colonel Urban, with a force of four thousand men, had maintained the contest in the north of that province with much difficulty ever since the war broke out; but after having gained considerable successes in the outset, he had been attacked by such superior numbers that he was forced to retire, with severe loss, to Clausenberg, which he was soon obliged to evacuate. Bem, meanwhile, had concentrated a force of thirty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Zemenwar, the original cradle of the insurrection, and had laid siege to that town. Arad, a strong fortress in central Hungary, was at the same time besieged, and was defended with heroic courage by General Bager. Five hundred soldiers, of whom three hundred only were fit for duty, and very badly supplied with ammunition and provisions, defended that fortress with thirty-nine guns, during two months, against the assault of fifteen thousand insurgents, when at length they were relieved by General Count Leiningen. But in other quarters the Imperialists were not equally successful. After various alternations of success, Bem finally established himself in southern Transylvania, and drove the Austrians, under Pückner, into the Banat, where they narrowly escaped being surrounded and made prisoners.[1]

Dec. 25.

Jan. 2.

[1] Balleyd. 40, 42; Ann. Reg. 1849, 329, 330; Ann. Hist. 1849, 496.

10. Able movements of Georgey in the north of Hungary.

While these affairs were passing in eastern and southern Hungary, Georgey, in the north, was pursuing that able campaign which has secured him a lasting place in the archives of military glory. The spirit of his troops had been extremely depressed by their numerous disasters in the retreat to Pesth, and their number did not exceed

sixteen thousand men when they reached Waitzen. Already, too, the seeds of divisions between him and Kossuth had become prolific of evil: the dispositions of the latter were entirely democratic, whereas Georgey was decidedly monarchical; and he had recently published a proclamation to the effect that his army "would obey no orders but those prescribed by law through the responsible *royal* minister-at-war, and would oppose itself to all those who may attempt, by *republican intrigues* in the interior of the country, to overthrow the constitutional monarchy." Kossuth's instructions were "to act on the offensive against the corps of Marshal Simonich, and relieve the fort of Leopoldstadt, blockaded by him, in order by this diversion to withdraw the main hostile forces from the Theiss, and render possible the organisation of new troops behind that river." But when he left Waitzen, Georgey found that his forces were not adequate to *both* these objects, and therefore he wisely renounced all thoughts of relieving Leopoldstadt; and abandoning that fortress to its fate, he resolved to retreat "sideways," as he himself says, "into the district of the mountain towns." By this district was meant the tract of land in the valley of the river Gran, which flows in a south-westerly direction from the lower spurs of the Carpathian range into the great valley of the Danube. This route had the double advantage of leading the enemy into the rocky and inhospitable region of the mountains, and of affording the Hungarian corps the means of uniting with the reorganised and recruited army which was collecting behind the Theiss.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 269, 274; Klapka, i. 81; Balleyd. 49, 50.

11. Extreme difficulties of his march to Kaschau.

But the difficulties of the march at this rigorous season were immense, and such as would have deterred any less energetic general and army from attempting it; for the troops had to force their way through roads covered with ice, and to cut through deep wreaths of snow in narrow valleys overhung by precipices on either side, down which avalanches were falling. The passes in the mountains

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were occupied by Austrian detachments, under General Schlick, who had come down with five thousand men from Gallicia to oppose Georgey's progress, and they made a stout resistance. Georgey, on one occasion, took five guns and two hundred prisoners. He says, in a bitter spirit, that no one could have believed, seeing how badly his troops fought, that a Russian intervention could ever become necessary. To add to their difficulties, the frost, which had been so severe, suddenly broke up on the 20th January, and was succeeded by a thaw which produced such floods as rendered it almost a matter of impossibility to stem them in the narrow and steep valleys up which the Hungarians were toiling their arduous way. On one occasion Count Guyon's corps met so formidable a *débacle* that the troops recoiled before it, and were only turned, and in a manner forced through, up to their middles in floating ice, by the still more formidable cry in their rear, "The enemy are coming!" Georgey, after surmounting with heroic constancy incredible difficulties, at length forced the barriers at the summit of the mountain ridge, and descended by Iglo down the valleys, the waters of which floated into the Theiss. He there encountered General Schlick, who had come down from Epirus, and had for some weeks been labouring to put Kaschau into a respectable state of defence. After several bloody combats, in which the élite of the regular Hungarian troops were brought into action, he at length succeeded in forcing back the Imperialists, who retired towards Epirus. Weary, dejected, and destitute of everything, the troops, more like a crowd of beggars than a military array, at length reached Kaschau, where he effected a junction with the corps under the command of Colonel Klapka, which raised his forces to about twenty-one thousand men.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 169, 221; Klapka, i. 81, 83, Introduction; Balleyd. i. 59, 61.

While Georgey was thus with consummate skill forcing his way through the defiles of the Carpathian mountains, and drawing the attention of such numerous bodies

Efforts of Kossuth and the Government to reorganise the army behind the Theiss.

of Windischgratz's army upon his track, as rendered any advance against the main body of the army which had retired behind the Theiss impossible, Kossuth and the other members of the Government who had reached Debreczin were equally energetic in the exercise of their great talents to reorganise and recruit the dejected and disorganised force, which, encumbered with sick women and children, had contrived to escape behind the barrier of that river. The measures of Kossuth at this critical moment were as skilful as his conduct and language were energetic. He made full use of the unlimited issue of paper money which the decree of the Diet had put at his disposal, and which, as it passed current at full value in every part of Hungary, put ample funds for the prosecution of the war at his disposal. By a skilful device he declared Austrian paper not a current medium of exchange in Hungary, while at the same time he offered, on the part of the Government, to take it for full value in exchange for Hungarian paper. Large quantities of Vienna notes in consequence came into the public treasury, and gave the minister the means of purchasing arms and ammunition in sufficient quantities in England and Belgium. Artillery in abundance was at their disposal in the different fortresses in their hands, and all the foundries and manufactories of powder and arms in the kingdom were in activity to furnish more. Meanwhile proclamations of the most headstrong kind were addressed in profusion by the Government to the people. They appealed to their national feelings, their love of independence, their ancient glories, their martial fame; the name of the King was freely used to secure the loyal—the ambition of democracy appealed to to win the republican. Every success, however trifling, was magnified by Kossuth into an important victory; every tradition, how old soever, referred to as an incitement to fresh exertions. Immense was the success of these persevering efforts in

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drawing forth the military strength of the ancient and warlike Hungarian nation. Armed bands sprung up, as if by magic, from their mother earth; old arms, which had hung undisturbed for centuries since the Turkish wars, were taken down and furbished up; and the spectacle was exhibited of an entire nation taking up arms to combat, as they thought, for their King, their freedom, and their independence.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 6, 9.

13. Arrest and execution of Count Bathiany.

While these active measures were in progress for the future prosecution of the war, a mournful tragedy was passing at Pesth under the orders of Prince Windischgratz. By a strange infatuation Count Bathiany, instead of retiring with the Diet to Debreczin, and disregarding a positive injunction not to appear by Prince Windischgratz, presented himself before the Imperial general. He was immediately arrested, for the Government were extremely incensed at him as the first leader and supposed author of the insurrection. He was handed over, after some weeks, to a court-martial, by which he was condemned to death, and next day executed. He was apprehensive of being sentenced to be hanged, and uttered a cry of joy when he heard he was to be shot. Like so many other leaders on both sides in this melancholy war, he

Feb. 3.

died with heroic courage. History must ever mourn the death on the scaffold of any man of noble character combating for what in sincerity he believed to be the cause of duty; and it will be a blessed time when more humane maxims obtain in civil, as it is the glory of modern civilisation to have effected in national conflicts. But, in vindication of the Austrian Government, it must be recollected they were only retaliating upon their enemies what they had suffered at their hands. The Hungarians began by murdering Count Lamberg; they had judicially massacred Count Zichy; and they had advanced to the relief of Vienna when its insurgents were reeking with the blood of Count Latour.[2] When in their turn defeated, they could not complain if they underwent the

[2] Balleyd. 34, 35; Georgey, i. 172, 174.

severe but just law of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

1849. 14. Inactivity of Windischgratz at Pesth.

From the beginning of January, when he arrived in Pesth, to the 20th February, Windischgratz remained stationary in that capital. This delay is usually considered as a serious fault in a military point of view, and as the main cause of the disasters which afterwards befell the Imperial arms. But before concurrence is expressed in this disapprobation, it is to be recollected with how small a force, comparatively speaking, he was intrusted, considering the arduous task which lay before him of invading a martial nation in arms. The sixty thousand men with whom he started from Vienna in the middle of December had melted away under the hardships of a winter campaign, in a marshy and unhealthy country, to less than forty thousand effective men when he reached Pesth ; and with these he not only had to garrison that capital and its citadel Buda, but to detach largely to the right for the siege of Esseck and to keep up the communication with Croatia, and on the left, towards Waitzen, to support Simonich in the siege of Leopoldstadt, and pursue Georgey in the Carpathian defiles. In these circumstances, to have advanced with the centre towards Debreczin through a difficult and marshy country in the depth of winter, would have been an extremely hazardous operation, which might have caused, earlier than they actually occurred, the disasters which ensued. And if it be said the weather and the bad roads were as severe upon the Hungarians in retreat as on the Austrians in advance, the answer is that that is no doubt true ; but the former were every day drawing nearer to their resources and getting reinforcements from the rear, while the Austrians were moving farther from theirs, and becoming more weakened by being obliged to leave detachments to keep up communications.

At length, Buda having been put in a proper state of defence, and garrisoned by two battalions, and Esseck

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15. Advance of Windischgratz towards Debreczin. Feb. 22.

on the right, and Leopoldstadt on the left, having been taken, Windischgratz moved forward towards Debreczin. He had given orders for the concentration of all the disposable force at his command, but it did not exceed twenty thousand men, and they were widely scattered, so great had been the losses from fatigue, sickness, and the sword, during this winter campaign. The Imperial general moved forward from Pesth in the end of January, and several inconsiderable actions took place during the first three weeks of February, while he was advancing towards the Theiss. Schlick, too, whom he had summoned to join his standards, had a rude encounter to sustain before he effected the junction in a defile of the Carpathian mountains, which was occupied by Georgey's troops. At length, having got all his troops in hand, he advanced to deliver a decisive battle to the combined forces of Georgey and Dembinski, who had effected a junction on the Tarma, and concentrated 40,000 men, with 225 guns, with which they on their side were preparing to resume the offensive by an advance on Pesth. The two armies met at KAPOLNA, on the right bank of the Theiss, about two-thirds of the way from Pesth to Debreczin, on the direct road between these two places. The Hungarians were greatly superior in numbers, and especially artillery ; but the Imperial general, with reason, reckoned on the better quality of his veteran troops to counterbalance this disadvantage. Both armies were animated with the best spirit, and a decisive battle was expected and prepared for on either side. But the Hungarian generals were on very bad terms with each other ; and Dembinski, in particular, had quarrelled with both Georgey and Klapka to such a degree as augured ill for their combined operations.[1]

Feb. 8.

Feb. 16.

[1] Balleyd. 67, 69; Klapka, i. 83, Introduction; Georgey, i. 241, 251.

The battle began at daybreak on the morning of the 26th by an advance of General Wibna with ten battalions and seventy-eight guns direct on Kapolna. The

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16. Battle of Kapolna. Feb. 26.

Hungarians were strongly posted on the heights near that town, with their right resting on the ruined village of Dobro, their left on that of Kal, and a numerous and magnificent artillery, supported by several squadrons of hussars. The battle which ensued was one of the most obstinate and sanguinary which had occurred in Europe since the fight at Waterloo, for the Imperialists advanced with great resolution and all the confidence of victory to the attack, and the Hungarians fought with the stubborn resolution of patriotic enthusiasm. In the centre especially, where forty guns were placed on either side, and the elite of either army was grouped together, the combat was of the most desperate kind. The Austrians at one time were on the point of being ruined by the separation of two of their brigades by a wood, of which the Hungarians had got possession, and affairs were only restored by a rapid advance of General Wyp, who attacked the columns of the enemy which had penetrated into his lines in front and flank, with his lancers, and succeeded in driving them back. After six hours' hard fighting both armies retained their positions, and success had declared for neither. The soldiers, wearied with the struggle, on both sides lay down beside their arms, guns, and horses, without either shelter or covering, and soon the din of the battle was hushed, and the light of the tranquil stars of heaven succeeded to the lurid discharge of the artillery.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 70, 72; Klapka, 83 Introduction; Georgey, 250.

17. Victory of the Austrians. Feb. 27.

The night was extremely cold, and the soldiers lay on the frozen ground without covering. Austrians and Magyars bore their suffering with fortitude: the first, supported by the feeling of loyalty and the honour of a soldier; the last, by the enthusiasm of independence and the glow of patriotism. Reinforcements to a considerable extent, chiefly from Georgey's army, arrived in the Magyar lines during the night; but the Imperialists in vain looked for the corresponding arrival of General Schlick on their own side. Before daybreak on the following morning, Windisch-

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gratz rode through the lines, and addressed a few words of encouragement to the soldiers, who received him with cheers. He directed his first attack against the town of Kapolna, but all eyes were turned towards the road of Verpeleth, where the heads of Schlick's column were expected to appear. At length, at eight o'clock, a column of smoke was seen to arise on the extreme left, followed by a loud explosion; it was Schlick's column, which had now arrived on the ground, and was prepared to take a part in the action. Windischgratz immediately ordered an attack on Kapolna, and commenced it by the fire of three batteries, which opened upon it with great vigour. After an hour's fire, the assault was ordered, and the town carried with great gallantry by two Austrian battalions. Twenty-seven officers and a thousand men were made prisoners on this occasion; Dembinski made several efforts to regain it, but in vain. From this the Imperialists pushed on to a farmhouse in its rear, which was also carried and held, after an obstinate struggle. Following up his success, the Austrian general pushed forward Colloredo with two brigades across the Tarma, above Kapolna, so as to turn the right flank of the enemy; while Schlick, who had reached Verpeleth, combined his movement so as to aid in the attack. The united forces made an onslaught on the Hungarian right, and in spite of a vigorous defence by Georgey with the best troops in the army, the latter were driven back, and a general retreat began, which soon turned into a confused rout, the infantry and artillery flying in confusion, the cavalry alone retiring in échelons of squares in a soldier-like regular manner.[1]

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. xlii. § 71; Balleyd. 73, 75; Georgey, i. 254, 259, 270; Klapka, i. 83, Introduction.

18. Inactivity of the Austrians after the victory.

Had Windischgratz been in sufficient force to have followed up his advantage as resolutely as he had gained it, and pressed vigorously next day on the enemy, who retreated towards the Theiss, the Hungarians would, by the confession of their own generals, as well as the assertions of their enemy, have been totally ruined, the war

finished on that day, and Austria saved the humiliation of a Russian intervention. But the Austrians are proverbially slow in their movements, and Windischgratz was far from imitating the energy and vigour of Schlick, to whom the real credit of the victory of Kapolna belongs, and who marched twenty-four miles that day and on the preceding night to take part in the action. The Hungarians, too, though defeated, were still greatly superior to the enemy in numbers; and, with a few exceptions, the new levies, until the retreat began, had fought bravely, and emulated the courage of the veteran soldiers. Influenced by these considerations, Windischgratz remained inactive on the 28th, and lost the opportunity, never destined to recur, of driving a defeated army, encumbered with artillery, baggage, and wounded, back on the Theiss, swollen with the winter rains, and traversed only by a few bridges in the rear. He sent General Theisperg with a brigade to threaten their flank at Poroszolo, but no general movement in pursuit was attempted. Theisperg had not sufficient force to attempt anything decisive, and thus this important victory remained without results. Favoured by a thick fog, which covered their march, the Hungarians leisurely continued their retreat by Poroszolo to the left bank of the Theiss without being disquieted on their march by the Imperialists; while Windischgratz, feeling the disastrous consequences of his numerical weakness, especially in cavalry, addressed the most pressing instances to the Emperor to send him reinforcements, especially in that arm, offering to send in exchange two thousand Magyar prisoners, who would gladly enter the ranks of the Imperialists.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 75, 76; Georgey, 273, 274; Klapka, 83, 84, Introduction.

19. Discord in the Magyar ranks, and Dembinski displaced.

While the Imperial general was thus earnestly entreating for reinforcements, and constrained to inactivity by their want, the most violent dissensions had broken out in the Magyar ranks. Georgey, Vetter, and Klapka, their principal generals under Dembinski, loudly accused the commander-in-chief of mismanagement of the gallant

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troops under his command. The soldiers joined in the general outcry; and the result was that Dembinski was deprived of the command, which, to shun the rivalry of Georgey and Klapka, was bestowed on Vetter, a man inferior in capacity to either. "You have given yourself a rival," said the disgraced general to Kossuth when he announced his dismissal to him, "who will soon overturn you; God grant it may not be on the ruins of Hungary." The new commander-in-chief made good use of the breathing-time afforded him by the compulsory inactivity of the Imperialists, in reorganising and recruiting his troops and restoring their spirit. With such success were these efforts attended, and so ably was he seconded by the zeal and energy of Georgey and Klapka, that after having entirely evacuated the right bank of the Theiss, Vetter was in sufficient strength to detach 15,000 men again across that river, who attacked in front and flank the brigade of Kargu, which lay at Szolnok, on the extreme Austrian right, whom they drove out of that town with considerable loss, and regained for the Hungarians a firm footing on the right bank of the river. At the same time the Hungarians resumed the offensive on the lines before Arad, where the Imperialists were seriously weakened by the detachments which they had been obliged to send into Transylvania to the relief of General Pückner, who had become hard pressed by the indefatigable Bem in that province. These successes went far to restore the spirits of the Magyars after their defeat at Kapolna.[1]

March 2.

[1] Balleyd. 80, 82; Klapka, 84, Introduction; Georgey, i. 274, 277.

20. Successes of Bem in Transylvania, and first intervention of the Russians.

In truth, the successes of Bem in that province had been such as to threaten total destruction to the Austrian interests in the east of Hungary. Having concentrated 12,000 men and twenty-four guns, after dispersing the Imperialists in the north of the province, he had moved to the south, made an attack on Pückner, who had thrown himself into Hermanstadt with 4000 men and eighteen guns of light calibre. Notwithstanding this

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great inferiority of force, Pückner, in the first instance, defeated Bem, after a bloody conflict, with the loss of five guns; and the arrival of General Gidera with a brigade, the day after the battle, sensibly improved his situation. The numbers of the enemy, however, swelled so rapidly, that even after this success the Imperialists soon found themselves in a most precarious situation. The Szecklers, who had now openly declared for the insurgents, threatened to lay siege to Kronstadt on the Russian frontier; while Bem, who was daily receiving reinforcements, still menaced Hermanstadt, and strong bodies of insurgents coming from Arad, entirely cut off Pückner's communications with the main Austrian army. In these circumstances the inhabitants of Kronstadt and Hermanstadt earnestly implored the INTERVENTION OF THE RUSSIANS as their only chance of safety; and Pückner, despairing of ability to defend them himself, and yet unwilling to incur the responsibility of himself calling in these formidable allies, summoned a council of war, which warmly approved of their intervention. They had already received instructions from St Petersburg to grant the requisite assistance when requested; and a formal requisition having been made by Pückner, General Luders, who commanded the Russian forces in Wallachia, gave orders to two detachments of his troops to cross the frontier, and occupy Kronstadt and Hermanstadt, which was done on February 1st and 5th. Thus did the third French Revolution terminate, as the first had done, in the intervention of the Muscovites, and the bringing down the battalions of the Czar to the centre of Europe.[1]

Feb. 1, 5. 1 Balleyd. 83, 84; Tolstoy, Relation des Armées Russes en Hongrie, 74, 76.

21. Successes and disasters of Pückner.

Encouraged by this powerful support, Pückner, notwithstanding his great inferiority of force, resumed the offensive, and made a sudden attack on Bem as he was marching with 14,000 men to effect a junction with a corps of Szecklers, and defeated him, with the loss of twelve guns and a large quantity of ammunition. On

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the same day General Engelhardt, who commanded the Russian force in Kronstadt, sallied from that town and

Feb. 14. defeated a corps of Szecklers, which was advancing against it; while General Urban, in the north of Transylvania, successfully made head against the greatly superior forces of the insurgents by which he was beset. These successes encouraged the hope that the career of the insurgents had been checked in that province, and that the physical weight and moral influence of the Russians would decisively reinstate the affairs of the Imperialists in the east of Hungary. Vain hope! The unconquerable Bem, gathering strength from every defeat, ere long reappeared on the scene with 14,000 men and twenty guns, and after

Feb. 24. experiencing a check in the first instance from Pückner,

Feb. 26. succeeded in worsting him two days after, and was in his

Feb. 27. turn worsted by him on the following day. Being pursued after the last unsuccessful engagement by Pückner, Bem, skilfully eluding the pursuit of the Austrian general, threw himself with his whole force on the Russian general, Skariatine, who had been left in charge of Hermanstadt with 2500 men. The brave Muscovite, attacked by forces five times his own, accepted the unequal combat, and having made Pückner aware of his critical position, maintained his ground for a considerable time with unconquerable resolution. But while he was fighting with great bravery in front, a corps of Szecklers penetrated into the town in his rear, and left the Russians no chance but of cutting their way through in order to join Pückner. Skariatine succeeded in forcing a passage

March 1. through Bem's columns; but meanwhile the Austrian general, having heard that Hermanstadt was taken, had retreated in a most miserable plight to Rimnik in Wallachia. Finding himself thus isolated in the midst of enemies, Skariatine retired by the celebrated Rothenthurm Pass, so well known to travellers for its sylvan and rocky grandeur, into Wallachia; Kronstadt also was abandoned;[1] and the whole of Transylvania fell into

[1] Tolstoy, 78, 80; Balleyd. 84, 86; Klapka, 87, 88, Introduction; Ann. Hist. 1849, 501.

the hands of the Magyars. They immediately separated their army into different movable columns, which overran the country in every direction, pillaging, burning, and massacring the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, and renewing on the fields of Europe the horrid barbarities which, in every age, have characterised Eastern warfare.

22. Renewed advance of the Magyars towards Pesth. March 15.

These brilliant successes, and the universal enthusiasm which they excited in the east of Hungary, encouraged the Hungarian general in the centre of the country to resume the offensive. They moved forward accordingly, in the middle of March, in one huge column, along the road from Kapolna to Pesth as far as Hatvan. Their forces were immense, for they numbered on paper 70,000 combatants and 188 guns, of whom about 50,000 could be relied on as effective in the field. These were divided into seven corps. The Austrian general had scarcely half the number to oppose to them, and they were sensibly discouraged by the fatigues and hardships of a winter campaign, and the disastrous intelligence recently received from Transylvania, which made it evident they would soon have the whole Magyar force on their hands. Sensible of his weakness, Windischgratz retired gradually as the enemy advanced, and they reached the neighbourhood of Hatvan without serious opposition. Arrived there, Vetter left the seventh corps, under Georgey, at that town, and with three other corps moved towards his own left, towards Szolnok, with a view to interpose between the main army of the Imperialists, which was at Godolo on the Kapolna road, and Jellachich's corps, and menace the communication of both with Pesth. Schlick, who commanded the Austrians in Hatvan, first came into collision with Georgey's advanced guard at Hort, a village a short distance to the east of Hatvan ;[1] and after an obstinate conflict, he was driven through the streets of that town and forced to seek refuge behind the Zagywa, the bridge over which was defended with obstinacy by

[1] Georgey, i. 330, 331; Klapka, i. 85, Introduction; Balleyd. 89, 90; Tolstoy, 81, 82.

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the Austrian rear-guard under Captain Kalchberger. Apprised of this defeat, the Austrian general-in-chief moved to Godolo to lend a hand to Schlick, and despatched orders to concentrate his troops on the right, so as to re-establish his communications with the centre and left of the army.

23. It is resolved to fight for Pesth.

These untoward events, and the evident superiority of the Hungarian force, which had now from extended experience become steady in the field, induced Windischgratz to summon a council of war, which met at Azzad, between Hatvan and Pesth, on the 3d April. Opinions were there divided as to the course which should be pursued in presence of the great and hourly-increasing forces of the enemy. Some held that the more advisable course would be to concentrate the whole troops at Waitzen, where they would be in a situation alike to cover Vienna and to defeat any attempt on the enemy's part to advance beyond Pesth. But the majority, among whom was the commander-in-chief, were of opinion, that though these views, in a military point of view, were well founded, yet they were overborne by considerations of a political kind of still greater importance, founded on the moral influence of the possession of the capital. It was accordingly resolved to concentrate the bulk of the army in the plain of Rakos, in front of Pesth, intrusting its defence to the valour of two brigades. At this critical time a change, of vital importance to the issue of the campaign, took place in the direction of the Hungarian army. The newly-appointed general-in-chief, Vetter, having fallen sick, resigned the command, and was succeeded, at first temporarily, and in the end permanently, in that important post by Georgey.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 328, 329; Balleyd. 90, 93.

24. Movements on both sides before the battle. April 3.

The plan of attack proposed by Klapka, and adopted by Georgey, was to leave the seventh corps only to make head against Windischgratz, on the Gyöngyös road, and move the three other corps in hand by Arokszyllas and Jasz-Berony, so as to turn the right flank of the enemy,

which rested on the Galga. Georgey was to command these three corps, which numbered 28,000 combatants, in person; while the seventh corps, 15,000 strong, was to remain in the position of Hatvan, which was very strong, and would, it was hoped, successfully impose upon the enemy. Georgey confesses that this dislocation of the army in presence of the enemy was a hazardous movement, which he would not have ventured upon if he had had to deal with a more enterprising opponent; but he thought, "in presence of Windischgratz many a strategic sin might be committed with impunity." Meanwhile the Austrian general was concentrating his army according to the plan agreed on in the plain of Rakos, and he despatched orders to Jellachich to join him from the extreme right with all possible expedition. These opposite movements brought the two armies into collision at ISASZEG, and induced the most important battle yet fought in the war.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 91, 93; Georgey, i. 330, 333; Klapka, i. 34, 35, Introduction.

25. Battle of Tapio-Biscke, and defeat of the Hungarian right. April 4.

The Hungarian force, consisting of Klapka's, Aulich's, and Damjanics's corps, moved, early on the morning of the 4th, direct on Pesth by the high-road, with a view to interpose between the bulk of Windischgratz's army and Jellachich's corps, which was hastening to form a junction with him in order to cover that capital. They first came into collision with Jellachich, who, finding himself hard pressed, notwithstanding a brilliant charge by his advanced guard, which captured four guns, sent notice to the commander-in-chief that he was obliged to halt to defend himself. Windischgratz upon this hastened to his relief, and he encountered Klapka's corps near Tapio-Biscke, and totally defeated him. Crushed by a prodigious fire from two Austrian batteries, which were admirably served, the head of the Hungarian column recoiled in disorder, and the panic soon communicated itself to those which followed. The whole corps, 1200 strong, took to flight in the utmost disorder, closely pursued by the Austrian cuirassiers, who captured twelve

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guns during the pursuit. Georgey, attracted to the spot by the outcry, was nearly overwhelmed by the mass of fugitives running to the rear, who were vociferating that all was lost, a battery taken, and Klapka slain. But then appeared in full lustre the brilliant qualities of that commander. Personally exerting himself to the utmost to arrest the fugitives, he stationed Damjanics's corps in an oblique line, half facing the flying mass, and brought up the best old troops in that division to stand the first shock. They did so with eminent success. The veterans of Schwartzenberg's Hungarian regiment not only brought to a stand the victorious Austrians, who had recently routed the whole of Klapka's corps, but stormed and regained the bridge over the Tapio, by which they had crossed, and drove them back beyond Tapio-Biscke, towards Koka, where the Imperialists took post behind some low sandhills for the night.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 334, 338; Balleyd. 90, 93; Klapka, i. 85, Introduction.

26. Battle of Isaszeg. April 5.

While Georgey was painfully endeavouring to retrieve the consequences of Klapka's defeat on the Hungarian right, the corps of Aulich, and the remainder of Damjanics's men not engaged in protecting the retreat of Klapka, were drawing nearer on the left to Jellachich's troops, whom it was the object of the movement to separate from the centre, under Windischgratz. Notwithstanding the disturbance which Klapka's defeat occasioned in his army, and the premature disclosure of his plan of attack which it occasioned, Georgey resolved to persevere, and accumulate every disposable man and horse against the Austrian right, so as to impede or prevent its junction with Jellachich. The throw, however, was to the last degree perilous; a second defeat similar to that sustained on the preceding day, and all was lost. But Georgey, without hesitation, accepted the alternative. "Conquer to-day, or back behind the Theiss; such is the alternative—I know of no third. Damjanics still continues the battle; Aulich advances; Klapka has

stopped his retreat. Forward—we *must* conquer." Such were the words by which he reanimated his men to make a last effort for the independence of their country. The Magyar three corps, now concentrated in one battle-field, occupied the last northern spurs of the forest of Isaszeg, which projected towards the enemy. The centre was favoured by a part of the forest in flames, which had caught fire during the conflict on the preceding day, the smoke from which spread in vast volumes over the Hungarian right. The infantry of both armies occupied the spurs of the forest; in the centre, in front of the fearful conflagration, stood the cavalry and artillery, by which it was evident this bloody contest would be determined.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 345, 349; Balleyd. 93, 94.

27. Victory of the Hungarians. April 5.

Georgey, seeing that the bulk of the Imperial army was concentrated in the centre behind Godolo, ordered his right, consisting of the wreck of Klapka's corps and part of Damjanics's men, to stand firm on the defensive; but the advancing sound of the cannon announced that the Hungarian left was making progress in its spur of the forest. Georgey was still anxious about the result, when he beheld the head of Aulich's corps emerging from the flaming part of the forest, and the left spur, which stretched towards the enemy. He now felt assured of victory; his two corps had accumulated against the Austrian left, who had no adequate force at hand to oppose them. His expectations were ere long realised. A violent infantry fire was heard in the spur of the forest on the extreme Hungarian right; the fire of artillery in the centre was silenced by the Hungarian guns; cries of "Forward," in *Hungarian*, were heard on all sides; and Aulich's men with loud shouts were seen driving the Imperialists before them on the spur on the left. Still Isaszeg was not taken, and till it was stormed the battle could not be said to be gained. Darkness closed on the scene without the commander-in-chief being assured on this vital point, and in his extreme anxiety to learn who

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remained master of it, Georgey, with a few officers, rode forward in the dark to its vicinity. A challenge in *German*, as it seemed, from a sentinel, made them start; it sounded like *Halt! werda* (Halt! who's there?), but it might be the Hungarian "*Ally-ke-vagy*," which was not very dissimilar in sound. Georgey answered in Hungarian, and the joyful rejoinder, "Aulich," told that the victory was gained. It proved to be that general himself, who, returning from Isaszeg, brought the joyful news that that village was taken, and the right wing of the enemy in full retreat to Godolo.[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 347, 356; Balleyd. 92, 94.

28. Great results of the battle.

It could not be said that the Hungarians had gained a decisive advantage: they had been victorious with their left over the Austrian right; they had suffered a severe defeat on their own right; in the centre, where the cavalry and artillery combated, no material advantage had been gained on either side. But they reaped from it the fruits of the most decisive victory. Georgey's strategic movement had entirely succeeded: by accumulating forces on his own left, he had forced back the Austrian right to such a degree as to detach Jellachich from the Imperial centre, throw him back towards the Drave, and lay open to the victorious wing on his left the road to Pesth. This favourable position of affairs for the Magyars was much improved by their great superiority of force, which enabled them, now that they had got the prestige of victory on their side, to assume the offensive at any point. Sensible of his danger, Windischgratz fell back on all sides, and concentrated his troops behind the Rakos in such a position as to cover Pesth from every direct attack; and he hoped to be able to maintain himself there till reinforcements from the rear might enable him to resume the offensive. But he had to deal with an able adversary, who, by another admirable movement, turned his left flank, and forced him to abandon his covering position, evacuate the capital, and lay bare the road to Vienna.[2]

[2] Balleyd. 94, 95; Georgey, i. 370, 374.

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Rapidly moving the bulk of his forces from his own left to the extreme right, Georgey, while he advanced in person to, and established his headquarters in Godolo, directed the corps of Klapka and Damjanics on Waitzen, which was occupied by the Austrian general, Gatz, with two brigades. The object of this advance on the Hungarian right was to press round the extreme Austrian left, and threaten their communications not only with Pesth, but with Vienna itself, and thus compel the Imperialists, without firing a shot, to evacuate both Buda and Pesth, and concentrate their troops at Presburg to cover the capital of the whole Empire. While the two corps charged with this important movement were heading the line of march, and attacking Waitzen, the centre and left, under Kmetz and Aulich, were to move to their own right, so as to be at hand to support them; and at the same time, by menacing Godolo and the Austrian covering army behind the Rakos, prevent them from despatching any material succours to their own left at Waitzen, the real point of attack. Having taken Waitzen, Klapka and Damjanics were to continue their advance on the left bank of the Danube to Leva, closely followed by the seventh corps; while the remainder of the army occupied Buda and Pesth, which it was expected the enemy would evacuate without resistance.[1]

29. Able movement of Georgey round the Austrian left. April 7.

[1] Georgey's Order, April 6, 1849; Georgey, i. 371, 373; Klapka, i. 85, 86; Baleyd. 95, 96.

These able dispositions met with entire success. The head of Klapka's corps reached Waitzen on 9th April, and immediately made an attack on the town, which was defended by General Gatz with his two brigades. They soon penetrated into the streets, as the town was unfortified; but a desperate struggle of some hours' duration took place, in the course of which the Austrian commander fell dead by a ball in the forehead. The Austrians were driven out of the town by the sheer pressure of numbers, and would have been totally destroyed but for the able dispositions of the second in command, Jablonowsky, who contrived to draw his men out of the

30. Storming of Waitzen. April 9.

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town without any material loss. But the consequences of his retreat were nearly as disastrous at this crisis as their destruction would have been, for they were driven to an eccentric retreat up the mountain valley traversed by Georgey in the preceding winter towards Gran. Thus the Hungarian general had succeeded in detaching both wings from the Austrian centre, driving Jellachich to the south towards the Drave, and the left wing to the north-east towards Gallicia. Nothing could now prevent the occupation of Pesth by the Hungarian centre, and the advance of their powerful right to raise the siege of Komorn, and threaten both Presburg and Vienna. Georgey enhanced the lustre of his glorious victories by his generous conduct to a noble adversary, in according a splendid military funeral, followed by the discharge of a hundred guns, to the remains of General Gatz, and the transmission of all his private papers and effects to Prince Windischgratz. It is to the honour of the Hungarians to have shown, and refreshing to the historian to record, the first return to humane usages in a war hitherto characterised by such savage cruelty, but worthy, by the valour displayed on both sides, of being placed beside the brightest pages of chivalry.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 94, 97; Georgey, i. 373, 375, 379.

31. Consternation in Vienna, and appointment of Baron Welden to the command of the army.

Immense was the consternation excited in Vienna by these repeated victories, and the formidable position, threatening both Komorn and Presburg, taken up by the Hungarian right wing. The war seemed to be interminable. The insurrection, which they had so often been told was crushed, was now raising its hydra head more formidable than ever: it was no longer a question as to subduing Hungary, but saving Vienna. Under the influence of these feelings, several cabinet councils were held at Olmutz, where the Emperor still was, as soon as the disastrous intelligence reached them. It was there resolved, on the advice of Prince Schwartzenberg, that notwithstanding the great merits and services of Prince Windischgratz, he had, by a long train of disasters, lost

the confidence of the army, and that a change in the command had become indispensable. He was accordingly deprived of the command, which was bestowed on General Baron Welden, and, till his arrival at headquarters, Jellachich provisionally took the direction.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 93, 95.

This great victory of the Hungarians was followed by a serious division between the Magyar chiefs themselves, which in the end proved fatal to Hungarian independence. On the 7th April, Kossuth and Georgey met at Godolo to discuss the line which should be adopted, now that the independence of the country seemed in a fair way of being established. Their ideas, as those of the parties which they respectively represented, were as opposite as the poles are asunder. "Now," said Kossuth, "is the time when it becomes us to answer the pretended constitution of 4th March 1848, by the declaration of our independence. Austria was encouraged to publish that burlesque of a constitution by the victory of Kapolna; let us celebrate that of Isaszeg by the open shaking off of their yoke. The patience of the nation is exhausted; if it would show itself worthy of liberty, it cannot for a moment tolerate that pretended constitution. The people of Europe will judge of the people of Hungary according to the answer which it gives to that insidious proposal. England, France, Italy, Turkey, Germany itself, not excepting even the hereditary states of Austria, are only waiting for Hungary to proclaim itself independent to lend us their material aid, and that the more abundantly that hitherto they have been so sparing in affording it. The sore-tried, oppressed nation of the Poles will unite with us, and will find a powerful ally in the Turks, who have so often suffered from the policy of Austria and Russia. With the freedom of Hungary the freedom of Europe will fall; with its triumph, there will be as many insurrections against hated tyranny as there are oppressed peoples in Europe![2]

32. Speech of Kossuth against Georgey on the future of Hungary. April 7.

[2] Georgey, 364, 365.

"Our victory is certain; but we have it in our power

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33. Concluded.

to do much more than for ourselves alone. We can and must fight for the freedom of the whole world—for all who wish us victory. Our words, however, must precede our deeds; our cry of victory, the precursor of triumph, must anticipate our successes; they must announce its approach to all enslaved people, in order that they may be watchful and vigilant, and not allow the golden opportunity of universal liberation to pass away. We must not permit our enemies, the enemies of freedom in every land, to assemble again, after having been scattered, and to gather strength anew. We can no longer remain silent after the pretended constitution has destroyed our very existence. Our silence would be a passive recognition of our enemies' claims—a repudiation of all our victories. We must therefore declare ourselves. A declaration such as I wish will at once raise the nation in its own esteem, destroy all the bridges behind the wavering and yet undecided part of the nation, and, by the overwhelming force of a common object, satisfying every wish, embracing every interest, drive into the shade all mere party interests, and thus facilitate and insure our common victory."[1]

[1] Georgey, i. 365.

34. Georgey's reply.

"I by no means see things in the same light," replied Georgey. "Words will not make Hungary free; deeds alone can do that. No arm out of Hungary will be raised to perform those deeds; rather armies will be raised in foreign states to prevent their execution. Even supposing that Hungary at the present moment were strong enough to detach itself from Austria, would it not be too weak to maintain itself as an independent power in a neighbourhood in which the Porte, with a much more favourable position, has already been reduced to an existence by sufferance only? We have lately, it is true, repeatedly beaten the enemy, but it has taxed our utmost strength to do so. The consciousness that our cause was just has alone enabled us to do so. *If Hungary is separated from Austria, our cause is no longer just;* our struggle would no longer be for, but against the law; we should

not be fighting for, but against the country; we should be engaged in an assault on the united Austrian monarchy. In doing so, we should mortally wound innumerable ancient interests and sympathies; we should conjure up against our country the consequences of a revolution uncalled for under any circumstances; we should force the old troops, the very kernel of the army, to violate their oaths, and thus shake their fidelity; we should become weaker every day, while at the same time every neighbouring State would *rise up against us as the disturbers of the balance of power in Europe.* We cannot, it is true, acquiesce in the pretended constitution of 4th March; but can we repudiate it more decisively than by the victories we have gained? Battles won for the legitimate king, Ferdinand V., and the constitution sanctioned by him, are the best answer that Hungary can give to the chimeras of the Austrian ministers.

"Of what other use was my proclamation from Waitzen, immediately after the evacuation of the two capitals? It was issued by me because it was the only means of retaining to their colours the old soldiers, the bone and muscle of the army, to whom it had been principally indebted for its successes. What was the object of that demonstration which my corps, without my knowledge, proposed to make against Dembinski in Kaschau, but their anxiety not to lose a commander who respected their military oaths. I have shared prosperity and adversity with these troops; I know their feelings; and should King Ferdinand V. stand before us now, I would without a moment's hesitation invite him, unarmed and unprotected, to follow me into the camp to receive their homage, certain that no one would refuse to render it to him."[1] *

35. Concluded.

[1] Georgey, i. 366, 368.

It was too late, however; Kossuth's determination had

* Speeches of this sort by two persons in private conference are too often spun only out of the author's brain; but in this instance they may be relied on as genuine, being given by Georgey himself in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 367, 368; and they have never been gainsaid by Kossuth.

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been already taken; and on the 14th April appeared from the Diet the proclamation of HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE. This important instrument set forth that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine—having been guilty of perjury, made an appeal to arms, and pushed its audacity so far as to strive to detach from Hungary the important provinces of Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Fiume, and the sea-coast—is hereby declared to have forfeited its rights to the throne of Hungary, and its members were for ever banished from its territory. Hungary, with all its dependencies, was declared an independent State, governed by Kossuth—elected Governor by acclamation, and the universal consent of the nation—on his own responsibility, in concert with his ministers, accountable only to the National Diet, and all the civilised world taken as witnesses of its assuming the rank of an independent power. Every one who should hereafter support the cause of the dethroned house was declared guilty of high treason, and this proclamation was ordered to be sent to every town and village in the kingdom. This proclamation, coming from the National Diet sitting at Debreczin, could not be openly disobeyed by the national army; but it excited the most profound indignation in the breasts of Georgey, Damjanics, Vecszey, Linange, and nearly all the officers of the old Hungarian army, who still had the feelings of loyalty in their hearts, and the initials of their king on their banners; and who combated Ferdinand the Emperor in the name of Ferdinand the King. Thenceforward the ground of the war was entirely changed; it was not national, but social; the Magyars no longer fought for the ancient cause of Hungarian independence, but the modern one of French democracy. To this change in the spirit and object of the contest, its subsequent calamitous issue to the Hungarians is mainly to be ascribed.[1]

36. Declaration of Hungarian Independence. April 14.

[1] Proclamation, April 14, 1849; Balleyd. 108, 112.

If the democratic leaders of the Hungarian Diet threw down the gauntlet boldly to all the monarchical powers

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of Europe by this declaration of independence, it must be confessed that they made corresponding preparations to support the cause in which they had engaged. Their first care, in imitation of the French Convention, was to declare the government revolutionary—that is, dictatorial and despotic. The absolute power, however, was to continue only as long as the war lasted; it was then to give way to a more regular regime. "The ministry was bound to follow the republican path. They shall oppose with all their strength every reaction in favour of the monarchy, and also every attempt to escape from the organisation of labour by attaching it to property." "The ministry is to adopt democratic tendencies in their full extent. All the laws which they shall bring forward shall be with that view: they shall adopt the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and engage to retire rather than depart from it." The deeds of Kossuth and the ministry did not belie these professions: they were energetic in the extreme. He took possession of the whole specie in the public coffers; issued paper money without bounds, in which the whole payments of Government were made; and daily published eloquent proclamations, calling on the friends of freedom all over the world to come forward to his support. With such success were these efforts attended, that numbers, not only of Hungarians, but Poles, Italians, French, and Irish, flocked to their standards; and in a few weeks the revolutionary Government found itself at the head of 107 battalions, 124 squadrons, and 800 guns, of which 200 were horsed and harnessed and ready for the field. Their forces presented a total of 90,000 infantry, 13,000 cavalry, and 18,000 artillery, great part of which was by this time inured to war.[1]

Vast preparations of the Hungarians, and the government declared revolutionary.

[1] Balleyd. 99, 112; Georgey, i. 365, 367.

The Austrian Government had no forces at their disposal capable of making head against such an array. It was hard to say whether Radetsky or Windischgratz were most pressing for reinforcements, or on which side

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the necessity for them was the greatest, and the Government was reduced to the resources of Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, to make head against this hourly-increasing mass of enemies. Assistance from England, so often afforded in former crises, was not to be looked for. Its Government preserved a cold neutrality; its people openly and enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause. France, distracted by revolutionary passions, was in no condition to afford any effectual succour. The government of the President, as yet feeble, and struggling with an adverse majority in the Chambers, could with difficulty maintain its ground against its domestic enemies. Prussia beheld with secret satisfaction the mortal throes of a power which had so long proved its successful rival in the German Confederacy. In these circumstances, Russia was the only power to whom recourse could be had for assistance, and fortunately her armies were at hand in great strength in Poland ready to give the required succour. And though it was doubtless a humiliating circumstance for the Cabinet of Vienna to be reduced to the necessity of invoking the aid of a foreign and rival power to make head against its own subjects, yet the mortification they experienced was much alleviated by the consideration that it was not the rebellious Magyars alone with whom they had to contend, but a coalition of Hungarians, Lombards, Poles, French and German Liberals, who were arrayed against them from every part of Europe.[1]

38. Deplorable condition of Austria, which resolves to invoke the aid of Russia.

[1] Tolstoy, 89, 91.

39. Reasons which induced the Emperor Nicholas to give the requested succour.

On the other hand, the same considerations which led the Austrian Government to ask, induced the Russian to afford, the requested succour. It was well known that nearly the whole Polish exiles enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause, as not only were many of their best officers drawn from that brave and enterprising body of men, but great numbers of volunteers were daily crossing the frontier, and carrying into the Magyar ranks the succour of their arms and the intensity of their hatred

at their oppressors. There were many reasons, therefore, to apprehend that the democratic movement, if victorious in Hungary, would speedily cross the Carpathian range, and spread over the Sarmatian plains; and if the interior of Russia were once convulsed, the passage of arms at St Petersburg in 1825 might be renewed with a different result to the reigning power. Influenced by these considerations, the Cabinet of St Petersburg arrived at the conclusion, which was cordially acquiesced in by the Emperor, that their greatest enemy in Europe was the democratic spirit, and their first duty to suppress it; and that this could never be done so effectually as by powerfully aiding the Austrian government in their contest with the Hungarian insurgents. Accordingly, the Russian government resolved to make common cause with the Austrian in the Hungarian war; and by a proclamation issued from St Petersburg on 8th May, this determination was announced to Europe; and the Russian army in Poland, one hundred and fifty thousand strong, received orders to cross the frontier, under the command of the veteran Paskewitch, to support the Austrian forces.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 94, 98.

40. Raising of the siege of Komorn, and continued disasters of the Austrians.

Long, however, before the Muscovite's succour could reach the scene of action on the banks of the Danube, disasters had accumulated to such a degree that it had become evident that, without foreign aid speedily administered, the Austrian Empire would be irrevocably ruined. After the capture of Waitzen, and the driving of the two brigades which defended it up the Gran, Georgey crossed that river at three points, attacked and defeated Wohlgemuth, who, with a slender corps, was covering the siege of Komorn. The Austrian general being obliged to retire, the blockade of that fortress was at once raised, and the garrison, under its enterprising commander, Count Guyon, was enabled to take a part in active operations in the open country. On the 22d he attacked the Austrian general Sussay, who with a brigade was

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endeavouring to make his way back towards Presburg, and threw him back on Nyarod. In this way Georgey, by throwing the bulk of his forces on the left bank of the Danube round the bend at Waitzen, so as to turn the Austrian left, and threaten their communications with Vienna, rendered the retention of Pesth and Buda for any length of time impossible. At the same time the insurgents were daily assuming a more menacing position in central Hungary. Arad was blockaded by a considerable body of their forces. General Leiningen, in haste, and with no small difficulty, threw himself into Temesvar, which was immediately blockaded, and the garrison of which was kept strictly on the defensive; while General Theodorowitch, assailed by a considerable body of insurgents, was thrown back upon the Danube; the detachments of Generals Nugent and Mamula, threatened with destruction, were driven towards Servia, and the frontiers of that province and Croatia were at all points laid bare to the incursions of the insurgents.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 123, 127; Tolstoy, 84, 85.

41. Evacuation of Pesth by the Austrians. April 21.

In these circumstances it was altogether impossible for the Austrian general to retain possession of Pesth; for though the force under his immediate command was superior to the two corps of Hungarians by which it was immediately threatened, yet the three corps under Georgey, which had turned his left flank, rendered any further stay there hazardous in the extreme. Orders were therefore given for the evacuation of that capital, which was carried into effect on the 21st April. The defence of Buda was intrusted to General Hentzi with a brigade of veterans, who, it was hoped, would be able to maintain it till the Russian succours arrived; and Welden himself, with the rest of the army, not more than eighteen thousand strong, took the road to Raab. Jellachich with his corps was directed to descend the Danube to Esseck with the heavy artillery and stores of the army, which were transported by water to that fortress. Welden's division of the army was to retreat by the right bank of the

Danube, so as to neutralise in some degree the advance of Georgey along the left bank, and having reached Raab, to form a junction at Gran with the division of Csoritch, which, since the evacuation of Waitzen, had occupied that town. But this design was soon found to be impracticable. The Imperial army marched out of Pesth in the deepest dejection on the 21st April, and on arriving in the neighbourhood of Raab, they found that Csoritch had already been forced by Georgey to pass over to the right bank of the Danube, and, to avoid pursuit, to break down the bridge behind him. It was no longer possible, therefore, to concentrate the army at Raab, or even cross over there to the left bank : a retreat to Presburg, and concentration of the forces there, alone remained practicable to cover Vienna. This was accordingly done, and Hungary entirely evacuated by the Imperial forces, with the exception of the fortresses of Buda, Arad, Temesvar, Carlstadt, and Deva, which, held by slender garrisons, still remained in their hands. On the other hand, the Hungarians, in possession, on the west, of the important fortress of Komorn, in the south, of Peterwaradein, and sheltered on the north by the Carpathian range, occupied a central position eminently advantageous for resisting the attacks either of the Austrian or the Muscovite forces.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 87, 89; Georgey, i. 397, 402.

42. Divided opinions on what course should be pursued after Pesth was taken.

The centre of the Hungarian army entered Pesth in great pomp and in the highest spirits on the 22d April, and immediately commenced the investment of Buda, which lies on the opposite bank of the Danube, within half cannon-shot, and completely commands the capital. Unbounded enthusiasm, both in the troops and the inhabitants, followed their entry ; Hungary seemed to be delivered, and the war ended, now that their beloved capital was again in their hands. But when the leaders of the democratic and aristocratic parties met in council to deliberate on ulterior operations, the old discussion between them broke out with more violence than ever.

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"Kossuth forgot," said Georgey, "that Hungary, if it strove to be independent of Austria, resembled a fool who should wish to separate his head and arms from his trunk, that he might be able to walk about more easily. Kossuth has dug an impassable abyss between the king and us; Kossuth will ruin the country." "Georgey," added Damjanics, "will recover what Kossuth has lost; and for my part, I will march with my grenadiers to Debreczin and fall with the bayonet on all the declaimers in the Diet." But Kossuth took the opposite side, and insisted on the necessity of securing Buda as a centre of operations and rallying-point for the country before proceeding further. "What avails victory," said he, "if, immured as we are up to the knees in mud, we cannot enjoy the fruits of our triumphs? A district without a capital is not a country; Buda is our fatherland; let all arms be turned against it." Georgey strongly combated this opinion, representing that every moment was precious, and that if, in the present weakened state of the Austrian army, they marched at once on Vienna, merely masking Buda, the Austrian capital would fall, and the empire be destroyed. Kossuth, however, remained firm, and commanded Georgey to undertake the siege of Buda, and halt the centre at Pesth till it was taken. The general reluctantly obeyed, though he was still convinced that, in a military point of view, it was a great error—an opinion in which the best military authorities agree.* But for this, Georgey tells us, he would have disobeyed Kossuth's orders, and marched direct upon Vienna.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 90, 92; Georgey, i. 370, 394; Balleyd. 124, 127, 128.

43. Siege and storm of Buda. May 21.

The siege of Buda being resolved on, the Hungarian siege-train was brought up from the rear. The place was summoned on the 4th May, and Georgey established his headquarters at Schwabenberg, in the vicinity, as well to cover the siege as to superintend the operations. The

* "C'en était fait peut-être de la monarchie Autrichienne, si l'insurrection, au lieu d'hésiter, eut résolument marchée sur Vienne; si surtout la Russie n'eut pas été prête agiter son epée du coté de la faiblesse et du droit."—TOLSTOY, p. 92.

garrison consisted of three thousand men, with fifteen field-pieces, and seventy-five guns of heavy calibre, with ammunition and provisions for two months. To the summons to surrender, the Governor Hentzi replied: "The Emperor, my august master, has intrusted to me the keys of Buda; I will return them to him alone. Meanwhile my honour and duty command me to defend the fortress, and I will do so to the last man. If the twin cities perish in the conflict, I declare you responsible for their ruin: I appeal to God, my right, and my sword. Long live the Emperor!" The acts of the brave Austrian did not belie these gallant words. Siege operations were commenced by the Magyars on the 4th May, and from that time till the 12th there was an incessant combat of the outposts, sustained on either side with equal intrepidity. On the 12th the breaching batteries were opened at five hundred yards from the gate of Stuhlweissenburg; and from that time till the 17th, an incessant fire was kept up night and day on both sides, which speedily wrapt both capitals in flames. By the lurid glare of the conflagration the gunners on either part pointed their pieces; and with such effect was the cannonade kept up that on the evening of the 17th the breach was declared practicable. Georgey gave the signal for assault; at four on the following morning four columns moved forward to the attack. The first, however, missed its way in the dark; the scaling-ladders of the others were too short; and the assault was repulsed at all points with great slaughter. Taught by this failure the quality of the antagonists with whom he had to deal, Georgey renewed his operations with larger force. The fire continued with the utmost vigour till the night of the 21st. At midnight thirty-four battalions, numbering twenty thousand combatants, were in the trenches for the assault; and the leading columns rushed forward to the breach to the sound of the martial music of all the bands placed behind the lines, which played the patriotic march of Rakotzy. The

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Croats, headed by Hentzi, met them with equal resolution on the rampart; the conflict was long and doubtful; but at length, the brave Austrian general having been mortally wounded on the breach as he was encouraging his men to combat to the last, the pass was carried, and the place fell. The garrison, after the bloody strife was ended, was not put to the sword, as had been threatened, much to the honour of Georgey and the Magyars, who were much exasperated by the bombardment of Pesth, which they regarded, not without reason, as an unnecessary exercise of military severity.[1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 52, 58; Balleyd. 132, 134; Ann. Hist. 1849, 511, 512.

44. Successes of the Hungarians on their right, on the Danube.

While this important success was being achieved in the centre, another advantage hardly less important was gained by the Magyar right between Waitzen and Raab. The whole left bank of the Danube had there been evacuated by the Imperialists as far as Presburg, but they still held the right bank, and the command of both was essential to a safe advance against Vienna. The Hungarians were in possession, however, of a bridge-head at Kniesen, but the bank opposite that town, covered by formidable batteries, was in the hands of the Imperialists. Aulich, who commanded the Magyars, resolved to force this position, and throw a bridge across. This bold and hazardous enterprise was successfully accomplished after an obstinate conflict, in the course of which the town, taken and retaken four times, was reduced to ashes. By this important success the Hungarians became masters of both banks of the Danube, and threatened the direct communication of Pesth with Vienna. So strongly was this felt in the Austrian camp, that the headquarters of the army were withdrawn, on its fall, to Presburg, within a few leagues of Vienna, where the most energetic efforts were made by the Government, warmly seconded by the citizens, to reinforce it by every disposable man and gun.[2]

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[2] Ann. Reg. 1849, 511, 514; Georgey, ii. 37, 41; Klapka, i. 27, 29.

Successes also of a less material, but still important kind, were gained by the Magyars in the south. Jel-

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lachich arrived at Esseck on 9th May, and there found the corps which had been left to guard the frontiers of Croatia and Sclavonia almost destroyed. Colonel Puffen, after having been rudely handled by Perczel, could hardly muster 2000 men around Karlowitz, and Mayerhofer was shut up in Semlin, before Belgrade, with 1200. This was all that remained of 12,000 men which had been left in the south, under Theodorowitch, to guard the left bank of the Danube, who was driven back to Panesova. Before Peterwaradein, Colonel Mamula, with 2000 men, maintained the blockade in strong intrenchments, constructed with skill and defended with resolution. These trifling bands were the sole obstacles which prevented the insurgents of central Hungary, 30,000 strong, from throwing themselves on Sclavonia and Croatia. Nothing, in these circumstances, could be hoped from the south; the deliverance of Vienna, and salvation of the Empire, could be looked for only from the north.[1]

45. Successes of the Hungarians in the south.

1 Ann. Hist. 1849, 511, 512; Tolstoy, 97, 99; Georgey, ii. 41, 47.

Fully sensible of the extreme danger of their situation, the Cabinet of Vienna were unremitting in their efforts to bring into immediate operation the succour of the Russians, as well as to recruit their army with every disposable man to fill up the wide chasm produced by the losses of the war. The plan of operations concerted between the Cabinets of Vienna and St Petersburg was this: A Russian corps concentrated at Dukla in Gallicia, under Field-marshal Paskewitch, was to penetrate through the Carpathian Mountains, and descend on central Hungary. A second Russian corps, under the orders of General Luders, was to enter Transylvania by Kronstadt and the Rothenthurm Pass, and co-operate with another Russian corps, which was to operate on Bistritz, and an Austrian division, under General Clamm, composed of the slender remains of Pückner's corps. The main Austrian army, which had recently been put under the orders of Baron Haynau, reinforced by the veteran Russian division Paniutine, was to form the third attacking

46. Plan of operations of the combined Russians and Austrians.

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column which was to penetrate into Hungary from the westward, in the vicinity of Raab. A detachment under General Grabbe was to form a link of communication between these distant though converging columns, by operating in the valley of the Waag and on the plateau of the Schemnitz. The forces which the Russians brought to support this intervention were immense, and forcibly illustrated the disastrous effects of those democratic transports, which, spreading as from a common centre from Paris, had thus a second time brought the forces of the desert to decide the strife of civilisation. They amounted in all to 161,800 men, almost exactly the number of Russians which, in its final result, the first Revolution brought to the plains of Vertus in Champagne.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 101, 102; Hist. of Europe, c. xcv. § 26.

47. Forces and chances of the Magyars.

Immense as was the addition which the accession of Russia made to the power of Austria, the chances of the conflict to the Hungarians were by no means so unequal as might at first appear, and not nearly so much so as those of Frederick the Great had been in Prussia in the Seven Years' War, or those of Wellington in Portugal in that of the Revolution. The Hungarian forces on paper amounted to 190,000 men, and they could bring of these 120,000 effective into the field. They had an inexhaustible supply of siege-artillery and 200 field-pieces, admirably horsed and equipped ready for action. Their central position, covered by several strong fortresses, amply supplied with all the means of defence, gave them the great strategetical advantage which Genius has so often made to compensate inferiority of numbers, of having an interior line of communication to move over, while the enemy was moving over an outer and longer line. They were under the orders of Georgey, a general of first-rate abilities, admirably qualified to make the most of every advantage which chance or situation might present; and if he gained any considerable success, a second revolution was sure to break out in Vienna, and all Germany be again involved in bloodshed and conflagration. The

greatest drawback to these chances of success were the loss of Damjanics and Aulich, his best generals, who had both been disabled in this desperate warfare, and the dissension between Georgey and Kossuth, which had now reached such a pitch that the former declined the rank of field-marshal, lieutenant, and the order of the first class of military merit, tendered to him by the latter.[1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 67, 71; Balleyd. 137.

48. Biography and character of Haynau.

Jules Baron Haynau, born at Cassel, in Electoral Hesse, in 1786, of an ancient family, entered the Austrian service in 1801, and rapidly rose to distinction. He was in the front both at Nordlingen and Wagram in 1809, and was wounded in both battles. He was present in the chief battles of 1813 and 1814, and rapidly rose from merit through the various steps in the Imperial army. He was already marshal-lieutenant in 1844, and distinguished himself at Verona in 1848, and it was his charge which, in the critical moment, decided the battle of Custoza. He was subsequently distinguished both at Brescia and Malghera in the second Italian war. His stature was tall, his carriage military and imposing; and he had in full perfection the firm determination, the iron will, which, in military not less than civil affairs, is so important an element in success. This disposition led him, in the close of the contest, into acts of severity which history must regret, but which the Hungarians had little right to condemn, for it was only an application to them of the inhuman acts with which they had commenced the contest. When the young Emperor in his extremest need informed him that he had intrusted to his hands the salvation of the Empire, he answered, "And I shall save it, unless a cannon-ball reserve that honour to some one more fortunate than myself." "I have full confidence," replied the Emperor, "in your energy, your experience, and your fortune."[2]

[2] Balleyd. 139, 141.

Born on the 8th May 1782, at Pultowa, in Little Russia, already celebrated in Russian annals, of a noble

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family settled there for three hundred years, FIELD-MARSHAL PASKEWITCH entered the army on leaving the situation of page in the palace in 1800, under the auspices of the Emperor Paul, and made his first essay in arms on the field of Austerlitz in 1805. In 1806 he distinguished himself in the bloody war with the Turks, and gained such reputation that he was intrusted with an important command in the Russian army in the invasion of 1812, and led the Russian centre at Smolensko in that year. He was not less distinguished in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in Germany and France; and he was intrusted with the command of the Russian army in 1826, 1827, and 1828, in Persia, and subsequently called to repair the errors of Diebitch, and restore the lustre of the Russian arms in Poland in 1831. He possessed a rare combination of all the qualities which constitute a great general; but among these he was pre-eminently distinguished by the two most important—caution and foresight in laying plans, and promptitude and vigour in carrying them into execution. As a natural consequence of this union, he was almost uniformly successful in all his enterprises; and this inspired the soldiers with unbounded confidence in his capacity and fortune. Severe in enforcing discipline, but equitable in considering particular cases, he with reason regarded self-control and obedience as the first of military virtues. Not less just and generous than brave, he was ever humane. After the combat was over, no acts of unnecessary severity sullied his victories; and he exhibited through life the most shining example of the practical adoption as a rule of conduct of the maxim, "Noblesse oblige."[1]

49. Biography and character of Paskewitch.

[1] Balleyd. 358, 361.

The troops on both sides remained in a state of constrained inactivity, so far as the principal armies were concerned, for six weeks after the taking of Buda, preparing on either for the new and more terrible strife which was approaching. The Austrians, evacuating Raab, which was occupied by the Hungarians, concentrated at

50. Forces of the Austrians and Russians.

Presburg, ready to resume offensive operations when the principal Russian army was prepared to cross the Carpathians. Haynau's army was by great exertions raised to four corps; it contained 70 battalions, 76 squadrons, and 288 guns—mustering 60,000 men, of whom 8000 were cavalry. To these, however, were added, before the campaign commenced, a Russian division, Paniutine, which came up with great expedition, and proved of the most essential service in the course of the campaign. It numbered 8000 combatants. The principal Russian army, under Field-marshal Paskewitch, which was destined to cross the Carpathian Mountains from Gallicia, and carry the war into central Hungary, was composed of three corps, each consisting of three divisions of infantry, and one of cavalry. These corps mustered in all 76,000 combatants. Thus, between the two grand armies, above 140,000 men were arrayed to invade Hungary from the west and north-east respectively, independent of the corps of Jellachich in Croatia, and the Russians in Wallachia, which, taken together, might amount to 40,000 men.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 107, 109; Balleyd. 156, 158.

51. Forces of the Hungarians.

The forces which the Hungarians had at length by great exertions raised to meet this formidable coalition, were on paper hardly inferior in number. They were divided into four corps, commanded respectively by Georgey in person, Dembinski, Perczel, and Bem, besides a corps of reserve. The entire force presented a total of 174 battalions, 138 squadrons, and 488 guns, harnessed for the field—mustering 94,000 infantry, 21,000 cavalry, and 22,000 artillery. To these might be added, 27,000 irregular corps and garrisons in Buda, Peterwaradein, Komorn, and Arad, which formed the principal *points d'appui* of the insurrection. The main armies, under Georgey and Dembinski, were destined to make head against the two great hosts of Haynau and Paskewitch. The former, stationed on the Upper Danube, in front of Presburg, consisted of 61 battalions, 83 squadrons, and

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229 guns, and mustered 29,000 infantry, 8000 cavalry, and 9000 artillery. The second corps, under Dembinski, styled the Army of the North, was less numerous; it consisted of 24 battalions, 12 squadrons, and 57 guns; it could not assemble more than 20,000 combatants; Bem's forces in Transylvania contained 47 battalions, 29 squadrons, and 202 guns, numbering 34,000 effective men. Perczel's corps, in the Bannat, contained 32 battalions, 28 squadrons, and 88 guns; it could bring 24,000 men into the field.[1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 79, 83; Balleyd. 157, 158; Klapka, i. 209, ii. 332.

52 Causes of the delay in the commencement of the campaign.

Georgey at this juncture had firmly resolved to publish a declaration, saying, "The declaration of independence is invalid; long live the constitution of 1848!" and to have dispersed at the point of the bayonet the democrats who signed the declaration of independence.[2] But to the realisation of this project it was indispensable that the enemy should be driven beyond the frontier; and this was no easy matter; for the jealousy of Kossuth, and his suspicion of the hostile designs of Georgey, deprived the latter of the force requisite for a successful advance. This explains what would be otherwise inexplicable—viz. the inactivity of the Hungarians in the interval between the fall of Buda on the 28th May, and the arrival of the Russian division at Haynau's headquarters on the 14th June, which, for the first time, put him in a condition to make head against them. This interval was big with the fate of Hungary and of Europe; for, beyond all doubt, had Kossuth, in those three precious weeks before the arrival of the first Russian reinforcements, placed the bulk of the Hungarian forces at Georgey's disposal, that general would have driven the Imperialists back to Vienna and carried that capital. But Kossuth dreaded Georgey even more than the Russians; and accordingly, Georgey tells us that his inactivity during this momentous interval was owing to the want of ammunition, and the wretched condition of the new levies forwarded to him by the Government, great part of whom were unable to

[2] Georgey, ii. 84.

take the field, being hardly in a condition to go through the first rudiments of military drill. To this fatal conduct—the direct consequence of Kossuth's unjustifiable usurpation of the government—the loss of the cause of Hungarian independence is mainly to be ascribed. [1] *

[1] Georgey, ii. 116, 117.

53. Battle of Pered. June 16.

The division Paniutine arrived at Presburg on the 14th June, and operations commenced on the 16th, on the banks of the Waag, where the Hungarians had established bridges, and were preparing to push forward towards Vienna, in order to drive the enemy over the frontier. After several combats with various success, the Austrians concentrated their forces on the left bank of the Danube, behind the Waag, and offered the Hungarians battle. Twelve battalions of Paniutine's division formed the centre. Georgey was greatly inferior in force, but being unable to withdraw his troops in sufficient time to the left bank of the Waag, which they had crossed, he was obliged to stand the shock. The Hungarian rode in front of his lines, bidding them recollect Buda and the glories of their ancestors. The conflict for some hours was very warm, and the result doubtful. Several squadrons of Magyars charged with extreme impetuosity, and broke some Austrian battalions; Georgey for a short time flattered himself with the hopes of decisive success. Vain hope! The Hungarian centre, after being shaken by the fire of twenty-four guns on its left flank, and a charge by two brigades on its right, was

June 17, 18.

June 21.

* "By the middle of June, scarce half the promised recruits for the main army were on the spot, and the formation of the reserve corps was in a still worse plight; for the recruits already raised were not, as Szamero had affirmed, awaiting their destination. On the contrary, the leaders of the battalions had to await the results of the levy only just set on foot, while of the supplies necessary for clothing, arming, and equipping these men, no traces were to be seen till about the middle of June. Not less traceless than the official assurances of Szamero and Kossuth respecting it, had the latter's stereotyped asseveration, constantly recurring since the beginning of April, proved to be, that the army was to be reinforced by from twelve to sixteen thousand men, who, it was said, were unnecessary to Field-Marshal Bem. *I saw at last—too late, unfortunately*—that I had acted imprudently in delaying the long-intended offensive movement even for a single day—*from relying on Kossuth's and Szamero's promises.*"—GEORGEY, ii. 116, 117.

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finally routed by a charge of Paniutine's cuirassiers, supported by two Russian battalions and four guns. Paniutine upon this assumed a vigorous offensive, and after a sharp conflict drove the enemy out of the village of Pered, and took four guns. At the same time the Hungarian right, threatened with being turned by the brigades Pott and Perin, fell back at all points, and crossed the Waag, the fatal limit of their conquests. In this battle the Hungarians lost 2500 men, and the prestige of victory. Thus early in the contest did the value of the Russian veterans of Paniutine appear.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 105, 107; Balleyd. 162, 163; Georgey, ii. 128, 131; Klapka, i. 104, 106.

54. Paskewitch invades Hungary, and taking of Debreczin. June 17.

While hostilities were thus commencing on the Waag, the main Russian army under Paskewitch was concentrated at Dukla, immediately to the north of the Carpathian Mountains. The three corps of which it was composed broke up on the 17th June in three columns, and commenced the march into Hungary. They experienced no serious resistance in the passes of the mountains, though the strongest of them had been armed with fortifications. The Hungarians under Perczel, twenty thousand strong, retired before them, and the Russian advanced guard arrived at Miskolcz. There, however, they encountered a more serious enemy than the bayonets of the Hungarians, in the form of the cholera, which broke out with such violence in the army that in a few days it carried off five thousand men. Constrained to halt his main body by this terrible disaster, Paskewitch despatched one corps to cross the Theiss at Tokay, in order to threaten Debreczin. The bridge at that place having been broken down, a hundred Cossacks stripped off their clothes, took their sabres in their teeth, and swam across. The Magyars, astonished at this act on the part of these hardy children of the desert, abandoned their defensive position on the left bank, and Tcheodarff, having thrown a bridge over, advanced to Debreczin, which

July 6.

he entered on the 6th July. The occupation of this city—the cradle of the insurrection, and so long the seat of gov-

ernment—spread general consternation in central Hungary, and, by diffusing the belief that the cause was hopeless, powerfully contributed to check the formation of the new levies and volunteer corps which was going on in the interior. The Russian troops preserved the most rigid discipline, and protected both the persons and property of the inhabitants; which furnished a striking contrast to the savage atrocities which had signalised the passage of the Magyars through the same city some months previously.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 109, 112; Balleyd. 166, 170, and App. No. 6.

55. Farther operations on the Waag.

In addition to the corps of Paniutine, which was thus united to the main Russian army, the corps of General Grabbe moved towards the theatre of war in the same quarter, and the advanced guard of Haynau under Schlick arrived before Raab on the 27th June, driving before him the Hungarian army, 34,000 strong. The young Emperor of Austria, who was full of military ardour, soon after arrived at headquarters, and put himself at the head of his troops. He was most anxious to lead the storming party, but the unnecessary risk thence arising was saved by the retreat of the Hungarians, and Schlick, attended by the Emperor, entered Raab without resistance. At the same time the Emperor of Russia repaired in person to Dukla, where he passed in review the numerous reserve corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which were daily passing through that town on their way to join the grand army. On the other side, Kossuth with his lady, who sat on his right, made a triumphant entry into Pesth, in an open chariot drawn by four splendid horses, his head crowned with laurel, attended by a magnificent cortège of Magyar nobles on foot and horseback, and the whole troops in either capital, amidst the cheers of the multitude, and the roar of artillery on both sides the Danube.[2]

June 27.

June 30.

July 4.

[2] Balleyd. 169, 171, 222, 224; Tolstoy, 112, 114.

Sanguinary engagements soon succeeded the approach of the chiefs on either side to the theatre of war. The insurgents, pressed by Haynau with the grand Austrian army in front, and Grabbe's corps on their right flank,

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had retired from Raab towards Waitzen. A furious combat took place during this retrograde movement, by an attack on the Austrian advanced guard, consisting of Schlick's corps, which was suddenly assailed by Georgey in person at the head of the whole Hungarian horse, who issued from their place of concealment in the forest of Harkaly. So violent was the onset that the Imperialists were driven back in utter confusion to Acz, and Schlick sent the most urgent entreaties to Paniutine to come up to his assistance. The Russian general, without waiting orders from his general-in-chief, hastened to lead, and arrived just in time to save the Austrians from a total defeat. Georgey, who charged at the head of his hussars like a simple colonel, and fought in the mêlée with the energy of a private soldier, was wounded in the head, and taken from the field insensible. His fall, and the vigour of Paniutine's attack, restored the fortunes of the day. The Russian guns, placed on some sandhills, opened a heavy fire on the Hungarian columns when disordered by victory. The result was decisive. The Hungarians, after an obstinate resistance, were obliged to abandon the field of battle, and retire under the cannon of Komorn, leaving the Imperialists the entire command of the forest of Acz, which was indispensable to the blockade of that fortress. In this hard-fought action, which did equal honour to the troops on either side, the loss to each was 1500 men.[1]

56. Advance of the Austrians towards Waitzen, and battle of Acz. July 3.

July 3.

[1] Georgey, ii. 184, 195; Klapka, i. 130, 136; Balleyd. 228, 233.

57. Battle of Komorn. July 11.

After this check Klapka, taking the wounded Georgey with him, withdrew into an intrenched camp in front of Komorn. The Russian corps of Grabbe at the same time approached that fortress, and entered into communication with the troops of Haynau. Threatened in this manner by forces more than double their own, the Hungarian chiefs resolved on a decisive attack on the grand Austrian army, with all the troops they could collect, to dispose of it before the Russians came up. To support this movement, Perczel's corps and the whole new levies

in the interior were to move on Debreczin, drive the Russians from that town, and restore the communication of the army with Bem in Transylvania. The movement of Georgey took place on the 11th July. To conceal his real design, the Magyar general made a sally from the intrenched camp, on the right bank of the Danube, with forces superior to the Austrians, for he had 53 battalions, 70 squadrons, and 206 guns; while Haynau had only 53 battalions, 49 squadrons, and 176 guns. The Imperial battalions, too, were very incomplete, for 16,000 sick encumbered their hospitals, occasioned by the heat of the weather and the fatigue of the troops. The third corps of the Austrians was marching on Pesth, and could not take a part in the action.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 246, 247; Georgey, ii. 237.

58. Issue of conflict.

Klapka commanded in the battle, as Georgey's wound prevented him from sitting on horseback. The object of the attack was to gain the entire course of the Czonekzo from its mouth to Igmand, which would compel the Austrians to evacuate their position, which surrounded the intrenched camp. The Hungarians had the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication. At nine in the morning the Hungarians, preceded by a numerous cavalry, debouched in demi-columns from the *tête-de-pont*, and planted twenty batteries in the forest of Harkaly, while Haynau at the first cannon-shot hurried to the spot, and hastily drew up his troops in order of battle. The first onset of the Hungarians was so impetuous that the Austrians were entirely routed in the centre, and the village of Czern, the key of the position, was carried. All seemed lost: for a huge gap had been made in the middle of the Imperialist line, into which the Hungarian columns, with loud shouts, and in all the confidence of victory, were rapidly pouring. But in that extremity the Austrian reserve, with the Russian division of Paniutine, and all the reserve guns, hastened to the spot, and met the advancing column with the discharge of eighty pieces of cannon, "the fire of which,"

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says Klapka, "caused the very earth to shake." The Austrians kept their ground, the Hungarians did the same; but they did not advance,—and this to them was equivalent to a defeat. Fresh troops came up to take the place of those which were weakened on either side, but the Imperialists were strongest, and at length began to prevail in the centre. Prince Leiningen, seeing this, placed himself at the head of the Hungarian reserve, and made a furious charge on the Austrian left, and at first with great success. But here again the Russian division Paniutine interposed with decisive effect, and changed the face of the day. His guns, suddenly brought up, opened with terrible effect on the Hungarian flank; Georgey, wounded as he was, appeared on the field, and strove to rally his shattered columns; and after the most heroic efforts on both sides, the Hungarians were repulsed, and the Austrians remained masters of this hard-fought field.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 249, 252; Klapka, i. 208, 210; Georgey, ii. 237.

59. Results of the battle, and advance of the Austrians to Pesth. July 11.

In this obstinate battle the Austrians lost 64 officers and 1536 men, and including the Russian loss, they were weakened by full 2000 men, which was also the amount of the Hungarian loss. But the consequences of the action were eminently disastrous to the latter. Foiled in his attempt to drive them from their position before Komorn, or arrest the march of the corps despatched against Pesth, which entered that capital on the 12th, Georgey, who had now so far recovered as to resume the command-in-chief of the army, threw Klapka with 18,000 men, and 76 field-pieces, into Komorn, while he himself, with 28,000, moved as rapidly as possible by the left bank of the Danube to Waitzen, hoping to anticipate there the Russian advanced guard of Paskewitch's army under General Sass, which was approaching by forced marches to the same town. The object was of vital importance: for if the Russians made themselves masters of that town, they were interposed between Georgey and Perczel, the Hungarian forces were cut in two, and all the advantages of their central position lost. Arrived in

front of Waitzen on the 15th July, Georgey found the town occupied by a *Mussulman* regiment, forming the advanced guard of Grabbe's corps, which had entered it without resistance.

60. Battle of Waitzen. July 14. July 15. July 16.

Having collected all his disposable troops, Georgey marched towards Waitzen with 45,000 men and 120 pieces of cannon. On his approach the Russian light horse retired through the town, and the Hungarians took a position in front of and on a ridge of low hills, which were lined by their numerous artillery. The Russian cavalry, supported by a brigade of infantry under General Rudiger, and transported by ardour, assaulted this position before the main body of Grabbe's infantry arrived; but the Hungarian guns were too heavy for them, and they were repulsed with serious loss. Next day, however, the heads of the infantry column began to appear, and entered into action, having made a forced march of eight German, or *forty English miles*, in twelve hours. The Grand-Duke Constantine led one of the attacking columns, and showed an example to the troops of the most distinguished valour. For some hours the Hungarians opposed a desperate resistance, and held the position, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Muscovites. But they fought only to cover the retreat of their main body, which defiled through the town all night without intermission, and next morning their position, so obstinately contested on the preceding day, was found to be deserted. The town of Waitzen was immediately occupied, and the main body of the Magyar army retired in good order, by a circuitous mountain road towards the Theiss.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 114, 116; Balleyd. 244, 257; Georgey, ii. 245, 256, 273.

61. Desperate cavalry action at Tzombor. July 20.

Another desperate and bloody action took place a few days after between the second Russian corps, which Paskewitch had detached from his main army to support Grabbe at Waitzen, and the corps of Perczel, which the Hungarians sent to intercept it. On this occasion the Magyars were superior in numbers, having 15,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with 14 guns, while the Russians

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were only 16,000 of all arms—the Russian advanced guard consisting of two regiments of cavalry, under Count Tolstoy. They were suddenly assailed on all sides by the Hungarian horse, which charged them with the utmost vigour, and having cut off their retreat, summoned them to surrender. But the Russians indignantly rejected the proposal, and closing their ranks, prepared to perish to the last man in defence of their standards. Tolstoy had a trifling reserve, which he directed by a skilful charge on the flank of the enemy, and the shock was so violent that the Hungarian hussars yielded, and time was gained for the arrival of a division of infantry, which, by a heavy fire, completed the discomfiture of the enemy. The Hungarians under Dembinski, disconcerted by this repulse, retired towards Szegedin, not without experiencing considerable losses in their retreat.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 117, 119; Balleyd. 266, 268; Georgey, ii. 271, 284.

62. Desperate state of Hungarian affairs, and proposals of capitulation. July 12.

These repeated disasters produced the utmost discouragement at Pesth, where the dissension between the national party headed by Georgey, and the democratic led by Kossuth, was daily becoming more violent. Disturbances broke out, and Kossuth, with the Government, deeming themselves no longer in safety in the capital, retired to Szegedin, and both Buda and Pesth were occupied by the Austrians. In vain Kossuth strove to revive the spirits of the people by a proclamation, in which he announced that the "brave French, and the not less brave English, were marching to their support, and would not permit them to be crushed in an unequal contest." Every one saw that such succour, even if sent, would come too late, and that the existence of Hungary could not be prolonged beyond a few weeks. Georgey, with military frankness, explained the real state of affairs in a council of war held at Szegedin. "Before long," said he, "the converging march of the Imperial armies will bring us into a situation in which we must either capitulate or be killed to the last man. The loss of Hungary is now only a question of weeks, which time will soon resolve.

But if Hungary is to fall, it is of little importance whether it is to sink before Austria or Russia: whether Haynau or Paskewitch is to deal out the last blow. What we are really interested in knowing is, to which of these powers we shall be assigned on a partition of the division of the spoil—what we require to see is, to which our dying efforts may cause us to fall." Instructed by his spies of the gloomy view which the commander-in-chief took of their affairs, Paskewitch despatched several secret emissaries with proposals for him to capitulate on honourable terms, and terminate a contest which all must see was hopeless. But though no one was better aware of this than Georgey, he answered as became a soldier and a man of honour. "If I alone was concerned individually, and the safety of my troops, I should not be disinclined to listen to the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. But the salvation of Hungary is at stake, the existence of which the Emperor of Russia, and those about him, intend to destroy. We must fight, therefore, until our peaceful fellow-citizens are saved from the danger of subjugation, or we ourselves are destroyed in the struggle. This is my answer as a soldier, and the commander of the troops intrusted to me by the State."[1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 282, 292; Balleyd. 256, 262.

63. Georgey is dismissed and restored to the command.

Kossuth, who feared Georgey even more than the Russians, seized the opportunity of the wound of the latter at the battle of Acz, to remove him from the command of the army, and recall him to headquarters to discharge the duties of minister-at-war. This recall from active service was a thunderbolt to the brave general, and a very different result from what he expected from his glorious efforts, as his wound by no means disabled him from retaining the command. But his staff, who were highly indignant at this dismissal, repaired in a body to the Government, and laid before them such accounts of the feelings of the army on the subject, that Kossuth deemed it prudent to dissemble, and Georgey was restored to the command. Soon after Kossuth offered Bem the

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situation of commander-in-chief, but that able officer, who well knew how much the common cause had suffered from the alteration of military movements by the civil authorities, refused to accept it, unless he was left supreme and absolutely uncontrolled in his movements. This the tribune was not prepared to admit, and accordingly the negotiation with Bem came to nothing, and Georgey retained the command.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 297, 298; Georgey, ii. 237, 245.

64. Results of the first part of the campaign.

By the result of the movements which have been described, the Austrians and Russians had not only themselves gained a very great strategic advantage, but they had deprived the Hungarians of the chief one which they had hitherto enjoyed, and which had been the main cause of the comparative equality with which they had maintained the contest. In the outset of the campaign with the Russians, the latter threatened Hungary from the Carpathian Mountains on the north-east, and the Austrians from the side of Vienna on the west; but the Hungarians held the whole country between the two, and enjoyed the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication, which would enable them to accumulate their forces at pleasure against either of their assailants, before the latter could by possibility effect a corresponding junction of forces on their side. But by the result of the combined movements of Paskewitch and Haynau, this advantage had not only been lost to the insurgents, but it had been gained to their opponents. By the advance of the latter on the right bank of the Danube to Pesth, and the descent of the former from the Carpathian Mountains into the central plain between that capital and the Theiss, the invading armies had entered into direct communication in the heart of Hungary; while Georgey's army had been driven into a wide and eccentric retreat through the Carpathian Mountains before he could rejoin the army of Dembinski, which had retired to the south to Szegedin to cover the seat of government. The Hungarian armies were thus scattered by the blows delivered at the heart

of their country; Georgey was in the Carpathian Mountains, Dembinski on the frontiers of Croatia, Bem in Transylvania, while the Austrians and Russians occupied the great plain of central Hungary.

65. Ability and consequences of Georgey's mountain march, and combat at Poroszlo. July 25.

Georgey's march through the mountain country by Lossonez and Miskolcz upon Tokay, through the lower spurs of the Carpathians, was admirably conceived in this respect, that while it opened to him a mountain route through a difficult country, in which it was not likely he would be followed by the Russians, to the Theiss where he might hope to regain his communication with Dembinski and Bem, it at the same time effectually took the pressure of the enemy off the former and the seat of government, and, in his own words, "secured to Dembinski the possibility of employing the southern forces *against the Austrians alone.*" He compelled Paskewitch to follow him, for he threw himself directly on his communications with Gallicia and Poland, his base of operations. The desired effect, accordingly, immediately took place. Suddenly halting all his troops in their advance to the south, the Russian general moved his headquarters with the second and third corps by Gyöngyös on Kapolna, while the fourth corps was pushed up nearer to the mountains, through which Georgey was toiling. Both sides were making for the Theiss; the Russians by the shorter and interior, the Hungarians by the longer and exterior circle. The advanced guards of the two armies came into contact on the 25th July, on the banks of that river near Poroszlo. Gortschakoff, who commanded the Russian advanced guard, found, on drawing near the river at that place, that the approach to it was by a single chaussée traversing a swamp, impassable for carriages, occupied by five thousand men and ten guns. Though his men were worn out by a long march in a sultry day, Gortschakoff gave the signal for attack;[1] and after a severe action, the defile was carried, the bridge over the Theiss which the Hungarians had broken down

[1] Tolstoy, 122, 124; Balleyd. 271, 274.

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during their retreat restored, and the road to Debreczin thrown open.

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66. Combat in front of Debreczin. Aug. 2.

Having won a bridge over the Theiss at this point, Paskewitch immediately threw another over at Csage, and his troops in great numbers began to cross. This rendered it necessary for Georgey to retire with the utmost expedition to Tokay, to avoid being intercepted in his exterior circuit. To cover the retreat and delay the advance of the Russians as much as possible, he detached a corps of his army under Nagy Sandor, with instructions to take a defensive position, and keep the enemy off from Debreczin as long as possible. This brought on an obstinate and bloody action on the 2d August. At two in the afternoon of the 1st, the Russian advanced guard under Prince Bebutoff suddenly came on the Hungarian advanced posts, about a mile in front of Debreczin; and as the strength of the enemy was unknown, and they showed no disposition to retreat, Paskewitch halted his men; the equipages were left behind, and the whole army, consisting of the second and third corps, with a strong reserve, and a division of the fourth, nearly forty thousand combatants of all arms, advanced. Nagy Sandor thought the enemy were a single corps only, and that he had nothing to fear, insomuch that, on the forenoon of the 2d, when Paskewitch made his attack, he was in Debreczin at a banquet given him by the inhabitants of that place. The Russians on their side were nearly as much taken by surprise; their advanced guard, on approaching the enemy, were suddenly assailed by a shower of canister and grape from forty pieces of cannon placed in a masked battery, and found themselves in front of eighteen thousand men, strongly posted on a line of sandhills covering the town. Overwhelmed by the iron tempest, the Russian soldiers fell back, and Paskewitch, seeing the affair had become so serious, ordered up four heavy batteries of position to reply to the enemy's guns.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 126, 128; Balleyd. 275, 277; Georgey, ii. 322, 376.

The combat now became more equal; and the Russian horse-artillery having come up, their guns answered with effect the discharges of the enemy. Still the Hungarian masses arranged behind the guns stood firm, and barred all access to the town. The cannonade continued for some hours without any advantage being gained by the Russians; but at length the experienced eye of Paskewitch detected a quarter on the enemy's right where an attack might be made. He immediately directed against this point two divisions from the reserve, supported by four batteries, while a column of infantry, with a division of cavalry, making a still wider circuit, marched with drums beating, and in an ostentatious manner, towards the town. This movement was attended with entire success. The Hungarians had no adequate reserve to oppose to these fresh bodies, by which their flank had been turned and their retreat was threatened; their cavalry, assailed by greatly superior masses, was driven from the field and dispersed. The victory was now gained. The Hungarian infantry, torn in flank by a terrible fire from the Russian guns, was no longer able to keep its ground, and was driven back into the town, closely followed by the *Circassian and Mussulman* horse, which chased them through the streets and far on the other side. In this disastrous battle the Hungarians lost 7 guns, 3000 prisoners, and their whole baggage, besides 1500 killed and wounded, while the entire Russian loss was 980. Paskewitch immediately entered Debreczin, where he established his headquarters; and on the following day a solemn service was held in the same church, and *Te Deum* sung, where, a few months before, the dethronement of the house of Hapsburg had been proclaimed. Meanwhile Georgey, highly indignant at the surprise of his lieutenant, whom he deprived of the command, continued his circuitous retreat by Gros-Wardein towards Arad in deep dejection,[1] but with a military ability, considering the difficulties with which he

Defeat of the Hungarians. Aug. 2.

Aug. 3.

[1] Tolstoy, 130, 132; Balleyd. 277, 279, 283; Georgey, ii. 326, 330.

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had to contend, which forms not the least honourable part of his career.

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68. Disasters of the insurgents in Transylvania.

While these decisive blows in the centre of Hungary were depriving the insurgents of their last hopes in the quarter where their chief forces had hitherto lain, disaster equally serious and unbroken had, notwithstanding the talents and energy of General Bem, occurred in Transylvania. It has been already mentioned that, simultaneously with the resumption of active operations by the Russian and Austrian armies, an invasion of that province was to be attempted from the side of Wallachia by General Luders, and from the Bukovine by General Grottenheim.

July 1. Luders accordingly, on the 1st July, moved through the mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia, with twelve thousand men, with which he forced the pass of Tomorch, which had been fortified by the insurgents with great care, and made himself master of Kron-

July 2. stadt. On the day following, Grottenheim had a similar success, by forcing the defile at Tibretza, and throwing back the insurgents on Altorf. Having gained an entry into the province in this manner, Luders followed up

July 12. his successes with vigour. After forcing the pass of the Rothenthurm, he advanced fighting all the way to Her-

July 21. manstadt, which was occupied on the 21st without resistance. But meanwhile Bem was not idle. He had come, by his inexhaustible resources and marvellous victories, to exercise a superstitious influence over the minds both of the soldiers and the peasantry, who regarded him as not only invincible, but invulnerable, and firmly believed that guardian angels watched over his person. Supported by this confidence, he struggled with wonderful energy, at the head of eighteen thousand men, against the converging forces of the enemy, and even on some occasions gained considerable advantages over them.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 286, 296; Tolstoy, 136, 140.

Though defeated by General Grottenheim at Tckendorf, Turiak, and several other places, he appeared again as a conqueror at Taad, and showed how inexhaustible the

resources of a general of capacity may be when he is cordially supported by a considerable portion of the people. Luders, on his part, wearied with incessant combats with an adversary whose resources seemed to multiply with every defeat which he experienced, collected all the forces he could command, and marched, on the 29th July, on Segesvar, of which he obtained possession without resistance. Bem, having also concentrated his forces, marched on the same place; and the two armies, of nearly equal strength, each mustering about thirteen thousand combatants, met on the 31st July, near Weiskirchen. "At last we have them; this time they shall not escape," said Luders, when his Cossacks announced the presence of the enemy; and immediately dividing his troops into two columns, he gave the signal for attack. Bem's men, who were by this time veterans tried in twenty combats, for three hours withstood the attack of the Muscovite battalions with great resolution; but at length the Russian commander threw some squadrons of horse on the insurgents' right flank, when disordered by a successful bayonet charge, which had been headed by Bem in person. This movement was decisive. The Magyars were instantly routed, and fled from the field in disorder, closely pursued by the Russian horse, who chased them several miles from the field of battle. Bem himself, who had combated with the utmost resolution, was only saved from capture by the aid of some Hungarian hussars, who dragged him out of a marsh, in which he had taken refuge during the heat of the pursuit. The losses of the insurgents in this disastrous battle were very serious; they had 1300 killed, 2300 wounded, nearly the whole of whom fell into the hands of the Russians, and lost eight guns, two standards, and great quantities of baggage and ammunition. The casualties of the Russians did not exceed 900 men in all; but among them was General Skariatine, one of the most promising officers of their army.[1]

69. Defeat of Bem at Segesvar. July 31.

[1] Balleyd. 302, 304; Tolstoy, 140, 143.

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But while Europe was every day expecting to hear of his death or capture, Bem again collected his scattered forces, drew together reinforcements from every quarter, and made an attack on Hermanstadt, which was garrisoned by General Harford. After a violent struggle of five hours' duration, the Russians were driven out, and sought refuge in the woody recesses of the Rothenthurm Pass. Kossuth was highly elated when he heard of this unlooked-for success. "You see," said he, "Hungary is invincible; it is like the Phœnix, it rises from its ashes." But this was the last victory of the Hungarians. Luders no sooner heard of this disaster than he collected his troops, and advanced by forced marches to avenge the honour of the Muscovite arms. He reached Hermanstadt on the very day after Bem had entered it in triumph; the attack was commenced instantly; and the insurgents, flushed with their success on the preceding day, issued forth to anticipate the assault of the enemy. The conflict was very bloody, and for some time doubtful; for both sides fought with the utmost resolution, and were inspired by the most violent passions. At length, however, Luders, having got all his troops in hand, and brought up his last reserves, made a simultaneous attack on the centre and right wing of the insurgents. Bem advanced gallantly at the head of his cavalry to meet the attack; but at the very moment when the *mêlée* took place, his men were suddenly charged by a body of Russian horse on his right flank, who issued from an ambuscade. This manœuvre proved fatal. The Magyar horse broke and took to flight, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Bem to rally them, and were quickly followed by the rest of the army. This defeat was fatal to the insurgent cause in Transylvania. They lost six hundred killed, five hundred wounded, twelve hundred prisoners, and all their artillery and ammunition, being fourteen guns and twenty-eight tumbrils. The whole insurgent force, utterly desperate, disbanded; and Bem, finding

Final defeat of Bem at Hermanstadt. Aug. 5.

Aug. 6.

himself left without an army, repaired, attended only by a body of officers whose fidelity nothing could shake, to Temesvar, to join the last remnant of the Hungarian armies under the walls of that town. Luders himself, after this victory, directed his forces by the valley of Maros, and on the road came up with a body of the insurgents near Karlsburg, whom he defeated with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon and fifteen hundred prisoners.[1]

[1] Tolstoy, 141, 144; Balleyd. 304, 308.

71. Advance of the Austrians to Szegedin.

While disaster was thus prostrating the insurgent cause in the north and east, events of the utmost moment were occurring in the south, on the Croatian frontier. It was hard to say which party was there most severely pressed; for, on the one hand, the insurgent Government, which had retired to Szegedin on the Theiss, had no adequate force to oppose to Haynau, who was pressing on in close pursuit; and on the other, the Austrian garrison of Temesvar were now at the last extremity, reduced by sickness, famine, and the sword, from 8000 to 1500 men, and in extreme want of provisions. The honour of the Austrian arms was involved in rescuing this band of heroes from their beleaguering enemies; but the distances were great, the heat was overpowering, the drought excessive; and the relieving army would have nearly as much to suffer as the besieged before the deliverance could be effected. But Haynau, knowing that Paskewitch was interposed between him and Georgey, whose army formed the real strength of the insurgents, and relying on the ardour and spirit of his troops, pushed on through every difficulty, animating his fainting soldiers by the prospect of effecting the deliverance of their comrades. The Austrian outposts appeared before Szegedin on the 2d August, and entered that city without resistance, the Government and Diet having retired to Arad. Considerable stores of ammunition and provisions were found in the place.[2]

[2] Tolstoy, 144, 145; Balleyd. 313, 315.

The insurgents, however, had no intention, though they had abandoned Szegedin, which was on the right

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bank of the Theiss, of surrendering without a struggle the passage of that river. Their forces, numerically speaking, were strong; for Dembinski had concentrated all the detached corps and new levies round the seat of government, and collected thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and a hundred guns on its left bank. The ground there is extremely flat and marshy; and Dembinski had skilfully availed himself of a dyke which stretches two miles from the bridge-head of Szegedin, in which he had cut fifty embrasures, filled with as many guns, behind which his army was posted in a very advantageous position. The Hungarian guns opened a prodigious fire from this formidable battery, when the Imperialists endeavoured to cross; and although the Austrian artillery replied at the distance of only six hundred yards, yet their discharges produced very little effect, as the balls stuck on the dyke. Seeing this, the Austrian general detached two battalions to ford the Theiss below the bridge. They succeeded in doing so unobserved, and suddenly assailing the flank of the enemy, forced them to retire from the armed dyke; and upon this the Austrians re-established the bridge, which had been partially broken down, and began to pass over. The Hungarians, however, collecting in a body, made a last effort to arrest the enemy, and with such vigour that the Austrians were driven back in great disorder to the neighbourhood of the *tête-de-pont*. But the division Paniutine, which had so often interposed with decisive effect, was now brought forward. Quickly crossing the river, a battalion of those noble veterans stemmed the torrent, arrested the advance of the victorious Hungarians, and restored the fortunes of the day. Dembinski, though twice wounded, refused to leave the field, and with his staff made the most heroic exertions to reanimate his men; but in spite of all their efforts, they gave ground before the steady advance and deadly volleys of the Russians.[1] At the same time intelligence arrived that the third Austrian corps had forced

[1] Balleyd. 326, 329; Tolstoy, 147, 149; Georgey, ii. 350, 354.

the passage of the Theiss at Kanira on one side, and the first corps at Mako on the other; and Dembinski, seeing himself in this manner repulsed in the centre, and turned on both flanks, fell back at all points towards Temesvar.

73. The advance to Temesvar.

Dembinski now called a council of war, to consider whether they should any longer continue a contest which had apparently become hopeless. But it was unanimously resolved that they must try the fortune of war a last time under the walls of Temesvar; and thither, accordingly, all the columns were directed. Their forces, as they retired, greatly swelled in number, from the concourse of armed men on all sides, who hastened, some from courage, some from fear, to join the last army of independence. They amounted, when they reached Temesvar, to 40,000 combatants, with 140 guns. But great part were raw levies; and they were all extremely dejected, from the long-continued disasters which they had undergone, and the overwhelming fatigues with which these had been accompanied. These fatigues, however, told as severely upon their pursuers as on themselves; and even more so, from the open hostility or sullen indifference of the inhabitants of the country through which they passed. The sufferings of the army of Haynau, during the advance from Szegedin to Temesvar, were almost unparalleled. The open plain afforded no shelter, either from the rays of the sun during the day or the dews of the bivouac during the night. The inhabitants had all fled from their homes, after poisoning the wells by throwing into them the dead bodies of men or animals; and often the only refreshment the wearied soldiers dying of thirst could get during twenty-four hours, was obtained by wringing from their jackets the plentiful dews which fell during the night. Still they struggled on with heroic constancy, in hopes of arriving in time to save the remnant of the garrison of Temesvar; and great was the joy of the troops of all arms when, on the evening of the 9th

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August, the domes of that city were descried, with the enemy drawn up in a defensive position, barring all access to it, save what might be won by the sword. Being joined by the corps of Vetter, and the blockading force before Temesvar, as well as the fugitives from Transylvania, they numbered 50,000 men, with 130 pieces of cannon.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 320, 324; Tolstoy, 148, 149.

74. Battle of Temesvar, Aug. 10.

The Austrians were numerically inferior, from the great losses they had experienced during their long and toilsome march; they were only 32,000 at the point of attack; but among these were the redoubtable veterans of Paniutine, and they had 190 guns. The Hungarians were posted strongly on a line of sandhills, and vineyards or orchards on rising ground, which formed a natural protection against all but vertical firing, and they received the attack of the Imperialists with the utmost resolution. The action began at five in the morning, and continued with the utmost vivacity, and no apparent advantage on either side, till eleven in the forenoon, when it suddenly ceased on that of the Hungarians, and was succeeded by loud acclamations from every part of the line, accompanied by the cry of "Bem! Bem!" vociferated by forty thousand voices. In effect, it was the Transylvanian hero, who, by great exertions, had come up by the valley of Maros, in time to take part in the action; realising thus, on a greater theatre than the field of Flodden, the vision of the poet forty years before—

> "When such a shout there rose
> Of 'Marmion! Marmion!' that the cry
> Up Flodden mountain, shrilling high,
> Startled the Scottish foes."*

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm, Bem, who immediately assumed the command, after casting a hasty glance over the field of battle, put himself at the head of the Magyar cavalry, and made a headlong charge on the

* *Marmion*, canto vi.

Austrian left. So violent was the onset, that the line in that quarter was in a few seconds broken through and routed, and the whole wing took to flight in the utmost disorder. The battle seemed gained; for Bem, having demolished the Austrian left, was pressing on in full career against their centre, when he was arrested by Paniutine's division, and the reserve artillery which Haynau in haste brought up to stem the torrent. The veterans of Russia, closing their ranks, received the charge with a rolling fire, the front rank kneeling: the artillery at the same time ploughed through the flanks of the victorious horsemen, and they were forced to recoil. At the same time, Lichtenstein successfully turned the Hungarian right; and Simbschen did the same on their left; while the artillery in the centre acquired the superiority over that of the enemy. Upon this the insurgents retreated at all points; and the soldiers who had fought so nobly, now utterly desperate, in great part threw away their arms and dispersed.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 324, 326; Tolstoy, 147, 149; Georgey, ii. 353, 357.

75. Relief of Temesvar.

The shades of evening had now set in, and the troops who had combated since five in the morning, under a burning sun, were ready to drop down with fatigue; and the horses were unable to strike into a trot. But Temesvar was not yet relieved; and it was known that the garrison, having exhausted their last provisions, were on the point of perishing of famine. In these circumstances, Haynau adopted a resolution worthy of the very highest praise. Collecting the least exhausted of the horsemen, and of the horse-artillery, he formed them into four squadrons and a flying battery, and putting himself at their head, he set out with all possible expedition to penetrate through the woods, still occupied by the enemy, and make his way into the beleaguered garrison. The gallant attempt met with entire success. The insurgents, on hearing the sound of the cavalry approaching, were seized with one of those panics so common after a hard-fought battle, and took to flight, dispersing in all direc-

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tions. Haynau with his gallant followers made his entry, amidst the frantic acclamations of the worn-out garrison, into Temesvar; and provisions being quickly introduced, they were rescued from impending death. This memorable siege is one of the most glorious in the Austrian annals. It lasted one hundred and seven days, and during the half of that time the garrison, besides combating daily, had to contend with all the horrors of famine. The name of the brave commander, General RUKAWINA, deserves a place in the Walhalla of European fame.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 326, 327.

76. Defeat of the Austrians before Komorn. Aug. 2.

If the defence of Temesvar is one of the most glorious events in the Austrian annals, the sally from Komorn about the same time may justly be ranked in a conspicuous place in the Hungarian. Klapka, who commanded the powerful garrison of that great fortress—fully equal in number to the blockading corps—not content with providing everything for its defence, resolved to strike a blow at the enemy by whom he was observed. For this purpose, he selected ten thousand of the most efficient troops of his garrison, and commenced an attack on the Austrians, who were only six thousand strong, on the left bank of the Danube. The attack, which was admirably directed in two columns, completely succeeded. After a sharp contest, the forest of Harkaly was taken, the heights of Acz carried, and the Austrian intrenchments broken through at all points. Utterly routed, the Imperialists fled over the bridge of the Danube back to Presburg, where, as well as at Vienna itself, then utterly drained of troops, they spread the utmost alarm. Pursuing the enemy along the right bank, Klapka made himself master of Raab, and entirely cut off the communication between the main army under Haynau and the capital. In this brilliant affair the Hungarians took thirty pieces of cannon, a thousand prisoners, and an immense quantity of ammunition and military stores. A thousand Austrians fell in the battle and pursuit, with very little loss to the victors.[2]

[2] Klapka, ii. 6, 10; Balleyd. 332, 334.

Brilliant as this success was, it came too late, and was too distant to have any sensible effect on the fate of the war. The decisive blows had been struck at Debreczin and Temesvar. The only chance of the insurgents after the last disaster would have been to have retreated rapidly and joined Georgey, who, by incredible exertions, had reached Arad by circuitous and execrable roads, for the main road by Gros-Wardein had been occupied by the enemy under Rudiger. If this junction were effected, the united armies would have presented a mass of 60,000 men, with 200 pieces of artillery, with which, in a central position, the Hungarian general might have struck redoubtable blows to the right or left at whichever of his adversaries first approached him. But to do this required a sacrifice of jealousies, to which the Hungarian generals, how brave and skilful soever, were not equal. If they joined Georgey at Arad, which they might easily have done, for it was only twenty-eight miles distant by an interior and safe line of communication, he would, in virtue of his rank as general-in-chief, have taken the command both of Dembinski and Bem. This they could not endure, for both of them were Poles belonging to Kossuth's democratic party; while Georgey was the head of the national and aristocratic party. Add to this that both these generals and Kossuth, having come to despair of the insurgent cause, had determined to retire still farther to the south, instead of moving to the north towards Georgey, in order to secure their retreat across the frontier into the Turkish dominions. It was for this reason that they had retreated from Szegedin upon Temesvar, instead of Arad as Georgey had proposed. The consequence was, that when the advanced guard of Georgey's army broke up from Arad, and moved on the Temesvar road on the morning of the 10th on the way to that town, instead of meeting Dembinski's patrols, as they might have done had that general retreated on that line, they encountered the advanced guard of the Austrians

Eccentric retreat of Dembinski and Bem to the south.

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under Schlick, whom Haynau had hurried forward to interpose between the two Hungarian armies. Dembinski and Bem, with Kossuth and the Government, were meanwhile retiring in the opposite direction towards Nerchitz on the Servian frontier. So demoralised were the Poles and Hungarians by their recent defeats, that, on meeting the Austrians, they fled up the valley of Maros.[1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 359, 367; Balleyd. 334, 337.

78. Resignation of Kossuth, and Georgey declared Dictator. Aug. 10.

The Hungarian cause was now utterly desperate; Georgey was irrevocably separated from Dembinski when within two marches of each other, and the united armies of Paskewitch and Haynau were interposed between them. Georgey saw plainly that the cause of independence was lost, and Kossuth had at length come to be of the same opinion. In these circumstances, thinking that Georgey could make better terms with the Russians than the republican tribune, they both agreed that the entire power, civil and military, of the commonwealth, should be vested in the former, who was declared Dictator, with absolute power either for war or peace. Kossuth, in an eloquent proclamation, announced this determination to the nation,* and Georgey threw himself into the breach and accepted it. In an order of the day addressed to the nation, he said, "Hungarians! The Provisional Government has ceased to exist: the governor and the ministry have voluntarily relinquished their posts and the direction of pub-

* "After several unfortunate battles, in which God, in the latter days, has proved the Hungarian nation, we have no longer any hope of continuing with success our defensive struggles against the considerable forces of the Austrians and Russians. In this state of affairs, the safety of the nation, and the security for its future, have come to depend entirely on the general who is at the head of the army; and I am profoundly convinced that the prolonged existence of the present Government would not only be useless to the nation, but might be attended with serious evils. I make known to the nation, as well in the name of myself as of the entire ministry, that, animated by the same sentiments which have guided all my steps, and induced the sacrifice of my entire existence to the good of our country, I retire from the Government, and invest with supreme military and civil power the General Arthur Georgey, until the nation, in the exercise of its rights, sees fit to dispose of it otherwise. I can no longer be of use to the country by my actions; if my death can be of any service to it I willingly give it the sacrifice of my life. May the God of justice and mercy be with the nation!—KOSSUTH."—BALLEYDIER, *Guerre de la Hongrie*, 338, 339.

lic affairs. In these circumstances, a civil and military dictatorship is indispensable. I accept it. Everything which is possible in war or in peace for the good of the country shall be attempted,—everything which can put a period to the cruelties, the persecutions, the assassinations. My sole advice to you is to retire and remain quietly in your dwellings; abandon all thoughts of combating or resisting. God, in His infinite wisdom, has decided on the fate of our country. Let us accept His decree with a manly resolution and a firm conviction that the good cause is not lost for all eternity. Hungarians! God be with you."[1]

[1] Balleyd. 340, 341.

79. Interview of Georgey and Bem.

Though all others, however, felt the necessity of yielding, Bem held on his way undaunted. By a circuitous route he repaired to Georgey's headquarters, and earnestly implored him to continue the war, alleging that, with the 30,000 men whom he had under his orders, and the *debris* of other corps which could be collected, they could still muster an army of 100,000 men. But Georgey replied with truth that the troops, depressed by repeated defeats, worn out by interminable marches and counter-marches, without food, ammunition, shoes, or clothing, were in no condition to continue the war. "Poor Hungary! Unhappy Hungary!" exclaimed Bem; and mounting his horse, he refused Georgey's proffered hand, and riding off, regained some hundred faithful followers, chiefly officers, in the forest of Lugos, the rendezvous assigned to them after the defeat of Temesvar. Assembling them around him at midnight under the boughs of the ancient forest, Bem said, "Hungary approaches its last hour. Betrayed by men rather than deserted by the chances of war, she is about to lay down her arms before the Imperial eagles of the Emperor Nicholas, and bow before the Prince of Warsaw. To-morrow the Imperial bulletins will proclaim to Europe, 'Order reigns in Pesth.' Soldiers! you know what that order is; it is the order of Warsaw, the abuse of victory, the order of the executioner. I have

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no wish to influence, or even know, your intentions, but I will tell you what are my own. As long as I have an inch of steel in my hand, or a brave man at my side, I will defend the cause to which I have devoted my body, my soul, my blood, and my life!" Loud applause followed these gallant words, and they all declared their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their country. But Bem explained to them that it was not in Hungary that the contest could be maintained; that they must look for the resurrection of Hungary from foreign lands, and that he would go forward to prepare the way. He gave the signal, accordingly, to such as chose to accompany him, and, attended by a few hundred unconquerable men, he set off for the mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia.[1]

[1] Balleyd. 341, 346.

80. Georgey's letter to Rudiger, offering surrender. Aug. 12.

All was now accomplished. Georgey, seeing further resistance hopeless, and likely only to induce utter ruin on the country, addressed a noble letter to General Rudiger, proposing an unconditional surrender to the *Russian* army, and offering himself as a willing victim to the Austrian government, in the hope that his blood might save that of his gallant companions in arms. He said in that memorable document, "The greater, and I may say with sincerity, the better part of the nation have not entered lightly into this contest: but after having been drawn into it by a number of honourable men who appertain to foreign lands, they have persevered in the contest firmly, honourably, and not, as you know, without glory and success. I now perceive that a further effusion of blood would be useless, and fatal to Hungary, as I foresaw would be the case from the moment of the Russian intervention. I have invited the Provisional Government to resign their power, which was every day more and more compromising the fate of Hungary. They have acknowledged this truth, and done so by resigning their power into my hands. Influenced by these feelings, and in order to stop the effusion of blood, and deliver my fellow-

citizens from the horrors of war, I lay down my arms. In acting thus, I place my confidence in the well-known generosity of his Majesty the Czar, and I flatter myself with the hope that he will not abandon to their sad fate my brave companions in arms, who, formerly officers in the Austrian service, have found themselves involved by the force of circumstances in a war with that power. I indulge the hope that the Emperor of Russia will not deliver over the people of Hungary, bowed down under the weight of misfortune, to the blind thirst for vengeance in their enemy. *It may be enough if I am the sole expiatory victim for all.* Hasten, then, General, to take the necessary steps to insure that the sad spectacle of disarming may be witnessed only by the troops of the Emperor of Russia, for I declare solemnly that I would rather sacrifice my whole army in a hopeless contest, than lay down its arms without conditions before the Austrian forces. To-morrow I shall march to VILAGOS: the day after to Borossino: and on the 14th to Biel. I indicate these points in order that you may know how to place your army between mine and the Austrians. Surround me on all sides, and separate me from them."[1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 405; Balleyd. 356, 359.

81. The Hungarians lay down their arms. Aug. 13.

Having written this letter, Georgey summoned a council of war, laid it without a single comment before the assembled officers, and having done this left the room. It was unanimously acquiesced in by the assembly, and their approval officially signified to the general. The letter was sent accordingly, and Paskewitch cordially acquiesced in the proposals. The mournful ceremony of laying down their arms was arranged to take place on the following day at twelve o'clock, at Szollos, at the point of junction of the roads from Kis-Jeno by Zarand, and from Vilagos by Aj-Pankota to Boros-Jeno—a spot memorable in all future ages. At the appointed hour Georgey appeared at the head of his staff, and, riding forward alone, met Count Rudiger, who, similarly accompanied, advanced also alone to meet him. The meeting must be

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given in Georgey's own words: "Count Rudiger seemed filled with the sole desire of alleviating as much as possible the depression of my present situation: for his first words contained a frank assurance that he fully appreciated the motives which had induced me to abandon the prosecution of the war, and in confirmation of this, he offered me his right hand. An involuntary but audible exclamation from my companions betrayed how agreeably they were surprised by this proof of esteem from the victor to the more unfortunate leader of the vanquished. I then delivered to Count Rudiger, together with a list of our requests, the names also of those members of the Provisional Government, and of the Diet, who had voluntarily attached themselves to the army, and who requested me to obtain, if possible, the permission to remain with the army during its captivity, till the fate of such had been determined on. To this Count Rudiger at once agreed, and consented that the general officers should retain their arms." [1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 427, 429.

82. Mournful ceremony which then occurred.

The mournful ceremony of surrendering their arms took place with great pomp, and all the courtesy towards the vanquished due to their glorious achievements and present reverses. Georgey's men were still 28,000 strong, with 140 guns. At four in the afternoon, having all come up, they were arranged in two lines, the infantry in front, with the cavalry on the wings: the artillery and caissons in the second. Right before them, in the great plain of Vilagos, stood the Russian army also in two lines, and the finest order. "With such men," said Georgey, on seeing them, "you might conquer the world." At a quarter past four, Georgey and his generals rode forward to the front between the two armies; Rudiger, similarly accompanied, advanced to meet him. Both generals saluted, and a long rolling of drums was heard along the whole line, and the Russians presented arms, while the Hungarians laid down theirs: the infantry placing them on the ground two yards in front of the

line, the cavalry on the saddles of their horses. Georgey and all his officers retained their swords. At a second rolling of drums the ranks were broken, and the men and guns conducted with their arms to the place of their destination, under strong escorts. Most of the weapons were found to be of English manufacture. "In the twilight of the same evening," says Georgey, "General Count Rudiger, the commander of a Russian army corps, inspected the troops under my command. But the cavalry were dismounted, and their swords hung on the pommels of their saddles; the muskets of the infantry were piled in pyramids; the artillery were drawn close together, and unmanned; the flags and the standards lay there unprotected before the disarmed ranks."[1]

[1] Georgey, ii. 429, 430; Balleyd., 349, 351.

83. Surrender of the remaining corps and fortresses, and termination of the war.

Georgey was conducted with his generals, after this melancholy scene, to Gros-Wardein, from whence he addressed orders to the other generals to follow his example, and to the governors of the fortresses of Arad, Peterwaradein, and Komorn, to surrender them at discretion. The few army corps yet in the field surrendered or dispersed, the officers, especially of Polish origin, for the most part taking refuge with Bem, Dembinski, and the members of the Government and Diet who had not surrendered with Georgey, in the adjoining provinces of Turkey, where they were hospitably received, and became ere long the cause of a difference between the governments of Great Britain and Russia. The governors of Arad and Peterwaradein surrendered their fortresses, agreeably to Georgey's orders, on the 17th August. Vicszey's corps, still 7500 strong, Aug. 17. with 1100 cavalry, surrendered at discretion to General Rudiger, with 72 guns; 5000 of Dembinski's men, hotly pursued by Simbschen, surrendered at Karanicher, with Aug. 19. 19 guns. Klapka was the last to obey this order; he held the fortress of Komorn with his powerful garrison till the beginning of October, when seeing the contest was at an end, and having learned that Arad and Peterwara- Oct. 4. dein had surrendered, he, with a heavy heart, capitulated

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on honourable terms, carrying with him the distinction of being the *last* who maintained the Independence of Hungary.* The soldiers of the garrison were offered rank in the Austrian army corresponding to what they had held in their own; but not a man accepted the offer. An old sergeant of hussars said, "General, we have faithfully served our country; we will support it again if need be, but *never, never*, will we go to the Austrians."[1]

[1] Klapka, ii. 90, 95; Tolstoy, 176, 177.

84. Paskewitch intervenes in vain in behalf of the Hungarian leaders.

Paskewitch and his generals behaved with the generosity which brave men owe to each other, towards the Hungarian officers who had fallen into their hands. The former wrote a noble letter to the Emperor of Austria, seconding that of Georgey, and imploring him to extend his clemency to *all* the officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the insurrection. But the Emperor returned a cold answer, to the effect that, if he consulted only the dictates of his own heart, he would be too happy to accede to his request, but that "he had sacred duties to perform towards his other subjects, which, as well as the general good of his people, he was obliged to consider." These words were of ominous import; they froze every heart with horror. In effect, the Austrian Empire had gone through so terrible a crisis, it had so nearly been destroyed in the convulsion, and was so much humiliated by having been saved only by the intervention of Russia, that the feelings of the victorious sections of the com-

* Georgey, on this occasion, wrote to Klapka,—"Dear friend: Since we have parted, events, not unexpected, but decisive, have occurred. The eternal disunion of the Provisional Government, and the vulgar jealousy of some of its members, have brought matters to the point which I have foreseen since April last. When I passed the Theiss at Tokay, and gained brilliant advantages over the Russians, the Government expressed a desire to make me commander-in-chief. *Kossuth, in secret, named Bem:* but the nation looked for my appointment, for Kossuth had given a perfidious answer to the Diet. Much deceit has been the cause of all our subsequent evils. Dembinski was beat at Szorey: Bem routed at Maros. Valashely fled under the walls of Temesvar, where Dembinski had also retired. He gained successes for a few hours; but at length was beaten to such a degree that, as Vicszey wrote to me, there remained only 6000 round their standards out of 50,000."—GEORGEY to KLAPKA, *August* 14, 1849. BALLEYDIER, 353, 354.

munity earnestly called for expiatory victims. Public opinion in England loudly condemned the melancholy executions which followed, but although all must regret that the Austrian Government lost the opportunity of doing a noble deed, yet justice must recollect the circumstances under which these severities were exercised. And if we would know what they were, we have only to ask ourselves what our feelings would have been if Smith O'Brien had led his Irish repealers in triumph to Brentford, and we had escaped destruction only by invoking the aid of France.[1]

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[1] Paskewitch to Emperor of Austria, Aug. 13; Emperor's reply, Aug. 16; Baleydier; Georgey, ii. 437, 442; Klapka, ii. 101, 105.

85. Executions of Hungarian leaders.

The melancholy forebodings awakened by the Emperor's answer to Paskewitch's intercession were ere long too fatally verified. Georgey, indeed, was pardoned,* and Klapka escaped by the terms of his capitulation; but most of the other generals were brought to courts-martial, and mournful tragedies followed the convictions which took place. Besides Count Bathiany—whose execution has already been mentioned—fourteen other Hungarian officers were sacrificed to the thirst of Austrian vengeance. They were — Colonel Ernest Kiss, Count Louis Aulich, General Damjanics, General Nagy Sandor, Colonel Ignatz Torot, Major Lahour, General Count Vicszey, Captain Knezich, Colonel Ernest Von Poltenberg, General Count Leiningen, General Joseph Schwirdel, General Aristides Desewffy, General William Lazar, and Count Ladislaus Csaryi—besides a few others condemned to lengthened imprisonments. The death on the scaffold of brave men, whose military exploits had so recently filled all Europe with admiration, excited a universal feeling of horror. They all behaved nobly on the scaffold. Damjanics, with his leg broken, was conveyed in a carriage to the place of execution, and was spectator

* He was offered rank and employment in the Russian army, but honourably declined it, and preferred remaining in poverty in his own country, endeavouring to mitigate the severities exercised against his brave companions in arms.

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of the deaths of his friends. "It is strange," said he, "that I should be the last here: I used to be the first in the attack." But here the severities of the victorious Government ended. The inferior officers and private soldiers were all dismissed without punishment to their homes; no massacre of common men took place. Seventy thousand of the Hungarian soldiers, after a short interval, entered the Austrian service, where they have ever since remained faithful to their colours.[1]

[1] Klapka, ii. 106, 154, and App., No. xi.

86. Mutual jealousy of Austrians and Russians after the war.

Cruelties of this sort have in every age been found so uniformly to spring from the violence of the passions awakened in civil warfare, that they may be considered as inherent and unavoidable in that species of conflict; and it is that which has always caused the authors of such dissensions to be regarded as the greatest curses of the species. But in the present instance the reaction in the general mind against the severities was unusually swift, and the consequences lasting. Every one felt that the contest had been a national one, and should have been conducted on the principles of civilised warfare. Hardly was their joint triumph concluded, when jealousy broke out between the victorious armies. The Russians taunted the Austrians with their defeats, and their being forced to call in the aid of the Czar. The Austrians ascribed everything to themselves, and allowed nothing to the Russians, to whom the success had really been owing. In an official proclamation to his troops on the conclusion of the war, Haynau, while he congratulated them on their ultimate victories, never once mentioned the Russians. The Czar retorted by a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he ascribed everything to their valour, and utterly ignored the Austrians. Out of this ill-starred triumph arose a confidence on the one side, a sore feeling on the other, which brought these two powers into covert, but most effective, enmity during the Crimean war, and will probably bring them into fierce hostility in future times.[2]

[2] Haynau's Proclamation, Aug. 15, 1849; Nicholas' Proclamation, Aug. 17, 1849; Tolstoy, 198.

Equal to any of the campaigns of Napoleon in the skill with which it was conducted, and the energy and courage which were displayed on both sides, the Hungarian war is almost superior to any in the moral interest with which it was attended, and the dramatic scenes in which it terminated. The spectacle of a high-spirited and gallant nation, proud of its martial fame, and panting for independence, maintaining a protracted struggle with two of the greatest military powers in Europe, and at length sinking rather from the consequences of its own divisions than before their united strength, was one which powerfully affected the imagination, and awakened the sympathies of men. The annalist who records, the reader who studies these events, cannot avoid, with whatever impressions he may enter on the subject, being carried away by the same feelings; and however clearly future times may see the disastrous consequences which would have attended the triumph of the Hungarian arms, they will never cease to mourn over their overthrow.

87. Deep interest of the Hungarian war.

But, all this notwithstanding, reason and justice compel the admission, that the Hungarian insurrection was both unjustifiable in its origin, and, if successful, would have been calamitous in its consequences. It was unjustifiable in its origin, because, how much soever the Hungarians had formerly been oppressed by the Austrians, they had got all they desired from the Emperor by the constitution of 1848, and an amount of liberty far greater than that now enjoyed by Great Britain, and greater, as the event proved, than they could stand; for it was based on universal suffrage. The only return they made for these great concessions was to refuse a man or a florin to Austria when engaged in a desperate struggle with Italy on the plains of Piedmont, to recall their regiments from Radetsky's ranks when fighting for the existence of Austria, and at length, openly throwing off the mask, to advance, stained with the blood of Count Lamberg, the commander-in-chief of

88. The Hungarian insurrection was unjustifiable.

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Hungary, to support the revolutionists of Vienna, yet reeking with the blood of Count Latour, its war-minister. The constitution of 4th March 1849, afterwards promulgated by Austria, was doubtless a great infringement on these immunities; but six months before it was adopted, the Hungarians had advanced to Vienna, and fought the battle of Schwechat.

89. And disastrous to freedom, if successful.

If the insurrection was unjustifiable in its origin, still more clearly was it likely, if it had proved successful, to have become disastrous in its consequences. Austria is the natural and the only effective barrier against Russia in Eastern Europe; Turkey is its vassal; Prussia has, hitherto at least, been its proconsul. The Hungarian revolt, if successful, would have destroyed this barrier, and opened a huge gap, through which the Muscovite armies, unopposed, would have poured into the centre of Europe. Separated from each other, and animated by the strongest mutual hatred, Austria or Hungary would infallibly have allied itself with Russia, if it was for nothing else but to destroy its rival; Lombardy would have been detached from both; and where, in the weakness and animosities consequent on these divisions, was a barrier against Russia to be found? If dangerous to the independence of nations, the Hungarian revolt was still more hazardous to the liberties of mankind. Democracy was inscribed on the banners of Kossuth; and what democracy leads to may be gathered from what it has done in France. The Hungarian revolt arrayed men in two hosts, the victory of either of which would have been fatal to the cause of freedom in Europe; it ran them either into the despotism of the Czar, or the democracy-based absolute government of Louis Napoleon.

It is a mistake to suppose that the greatest calamities which afflict mankind spring from absolutely wicked motives. Good intentions, ill directed, are still more hazardous; for the reaction against them is much slower of arriving. Some of the greatest evils recorded in history

have arisen, not from bad motives, but from good motives imprudently or ignorantly directed. Decided outrage and wickedness so rapidly produce a reaction in the moral feelings of mankind, that their reign is of short duration; but errors based on good intentions are far more difficult of extirpation, and many ages of suffering must elapse before they are at length worn out. Ever since the battle of Waterloo, England had openly or covertly promoted the cause of revolt in other parts of the world. She had succeeded in revolutionising and ruining South America, altering the government in Spain and Portugal, and exciting a fearful insurrection in Italy and Hungary. What has been gained to the cause of freedom or the independence of nations by these endeavours to force upon other people institutions not fitted for them? The hour of retribution had even now struck. The Hungarian insurrection, by reviving the ambitious dreams of Russia, led to the invasion of Turkey and the Crimean war, and it, in its turn, by spreading the belief of the destruction of Britain's only army, to the Sepoy revolt. England has now felt the burning of those torches in her own bosom which she had so long thrown with impunity into that of others. She did all this with philanthropic views, but mistaken judgment. It has been said that hell is paved with good intentions: with equal truth it may be said that earth is blood-stained by imprudent zeal, or desolated by ignorant philanthropy.

CHAPTER LVI.

GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IRISH REVOLT IN 1848 TO THE FALL OF LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY IN 1852.

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Free Trade, when once introduced into a country, must be extended to everything.

As the cry for Free Trade is the wail of aged civilisation suffering under the high prices which its own long-established wealth has produced, and seeking to compensate them by making its purchases in poorer, and therefore cheaper lands; so, when once introduced in reference to one great branch of commerce, it must of necessity be extended to every other. It is first called for in regard to articles of rude produce or general consumption, because they are the ones in which the power of capital and machinery, and of the division of labour, contend with least success against the rise of prices consequent on long-continued affluence. Accordingly, rich, old, and manufacturing England, first established Free Trade in regard to cotton, however fatal to her independence with reference to the United States, and next demanded and obtained it in regard to corn, however clearly that tended to bring her into a state of subjection to her grain-growing neighbours. But when the victory was once gained in reference to these articles of rude produce, it became impossible to withstand the demand for a similar concession in regard to other articles of commerce, or the charges consequent on their conveyance; for the persons dealing in them were soon able to show with truth, that,

when the general scale of prices had been altered by the abolition or great reduction of other import-duties on articles of commerce, they would inevitably be ruined if they alone were subjected to them. Accordingly, the concession of free trade in grain was immediately followed by the demand for an equalisation of the duties on sugar, which was granted, although the authors of the change were well aware, and admitted, that it would prove the ruin of our West Indian colonies. And this was followed before another year had passed away by the cry for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, in order to lessen the cost of importing foreign produce.

2. Great political importance of the period from 1848 to 1852.

Unmarked by political or external events of any great importance, the four years which elapsed from the suppression of the Irish revolt in July 1848 to July 1852, are second to none in the history of England in social and political importance; for then was tried, on a great scale and on a fair theatre, the effects of the social and political changes which had previously been introduced. The whole period from 1830 to 1846 had been one continued struggle between the agricultural and conservative, and the commercial and innovating class, which had for its ultimate object the benefit of the latter, by forcing down the price of the rude produce, on the raising of which the former were dependent. When the victory was gained by the latter, by the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, it became an object of the deepest interest, not merely to the inhabitants of the British empire, but of the whole civilised world, to examine its effects, and see whether the benefits expected by the latter, or the evils predicted by the former, really were to flow from the change. No other period but these six years has as yet elapsed which can with justice be referred to as illustrating its effects; for the disturbing causes, both before and since that period, have been so powerful, as during their continuance to obliterate its effects. In the last half of 1846 and the

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whole of 1847, the effects of the Irish famine were in full operation; and that terrible catastrophe was attended with such woeful consequences, that, while they continued, it is unfair to look for those of any other cause. Subsequent to 1852, the gold discoveries in California and Australia have come into operation, and by raising prices and stimulating productions in every part of the world, and especially in its commercial centre, Great Britain, have in a manner superseded, or concealed the effect of, all other circumstances. But from 1848 to 1852, the effects of Free Trade were displayed, undisturbed by any other or counteracting influences. Plenty had again returned, and spread its sunshine over the land. The harvest of 1847 had been so favourable, that, at Lord John Russell's suggestion, a public thanksgiving was offered up for it; and this blessing continued unabated in a sensible degree, as appears from the prices, to be immediately quoted, throughout the period, which, were beyond all precedent low. Peace, so far as England was concerned, continued unbroken, and domestic dissension, appeased by the concession of Free Trade in grain, became almost extinct. The crown of England, resting on the attachment of a free people, remained unshaken amidst the storm which had so violently convulsed all the Continental monarchies; and Queen Victoria, instead of being driven into exile like the King of France, or expelled from her capital like the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, was chiefly occupied in progresses through her dominions, to receive the affectionate homage of her loyal subjects. On this fortunate period, therefore, of external peace and internal plenty, the eye of the historian may securely rest, to discern the effect of the great political and social changes which the preceding twenty years had introduced.

No one can have lived through that period, or, still more, been charged, as the author has, with the peace of a great commercial city and county during its continu-

ance, without being sensible that the temper and feelings of the middle and working classes towards the Government have been sensibly ameliorated by the changes which then came into operation. The people had become, so far as actual outbreaks or treason is concerned, much more loyal and docile than they formerly had been. The long-continued and almost normal state of antagonism between the Government and the manufacturing and mining classes, which had so long existed, and threatened disunion, had worn out. The people belonging to these classes were not in reality either better off than they had been before the changes were introduced, or more contented with their lot. On the contrary, suffering was never so acute, or general, or long-continued, as during the three years which immediately followed the monetary crisis of 1848, as will immediately appear from incontrovertible evidence. But the difference—and it was a very great one—lay in this, that their discontent was no longer directed against the Government. They had got everything they desired. They had been told, and they believed, that their sufferings in former days had all arisen from the nomination boroughs and the Corn Laws, and that when these were abolished, universal prosperity would prevail. They were both abolished, and yet they were worse off than ever; but they could not now charge it against the Government. The idea accordingly was taken up and widely spread in the manufacturing and mining districts, that their grievances in reality were social, not political, and that no alteration in the frame of government was likely to be of any real service till a total change in the relative position of the classes of society took place. The master was held out as the real enemy of the workman; it was his riches which made their poverty, his prosperity their suffering. Trades-unions and strikes, with all their disastrous consequences, accordingly were frequent during this period; but the pressure was taken off the Government, and it

3. Increased loyal and docile temper of the people.

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was directed against the employers, not the Queen or the Legislature. The effect of this change was great, and most beneficial in a political point of view; for it enabled the Government to maintain its ground without difficulty during a crisis as perilous as any which the monarchy had yet passed.

4. Real suffering of the country during this period.

If from the contemplation of the improved temper of the people during the five years which immediately followed the Irish famine and monetary crisis, we turn to the consideration of their real condition during that period, we shall find much less cause for satisfaction. Although the Irish famine and terrible suffering of the year 1847 had passed away, and a fine harvest had blessed the labours of the husbandman in both islands, yet distress, general and long-continued, wasted the empire during the next five years. A general feeling of languor and distrust pervaded the commercial towns and districts, the sad and uniform consequence of a severe monetary crisis. The moneyed classes, by the aid of the populace, had succeeded in getting the power into their own hands; the cheapening system was in full activity, and the main changes for which they had contended had become the law of the land; but none of the improvement in the condition of the people which they had predicted had resulted from their adoption. This is decisively proved by the evidence of the statistics of the period. The exports of Great Britain exhibited an increase of £16,000,000 from 1847 to 1852; but that was not more than was the result of the gradual rise in the price of the chief articles of commerce, when the depressing effect of the monetary crisis wore away, and the effect of the beginning of increased supplies of the precious metals was felt. In imports, the measure of the national consumption, there was a considerable decline; they had sunk from £126,000,000 in 1846, to £109,000,000 in 1852, in spite of that rise of prices. The paupers relieved in Great Britain had remained much

the same in the period; they were about 870,000 in England, and 75,000 in Scotland, the whole time. In Ireland, in consequence of the termination of the famine and the prodigious extent of the emigration, there was a very great reduction; they had sunk from 640,000 to 140,000 a-year.* But the emigrants from the empire had increased enormously and beyond all precedent; they had swelled from 129,000 in 1846, to 368,000 in 1852.

5. Prices of grain during the period, and effects of the fall.

When the price of grain during this period, and the immense extent of the importation of that article of subsistence, are taken into consideration, it will not appear surprising that very great distress should have prevailed, and that this immense exodus should have taken place. Upon comparing the prices of wheat for six years preceding 1842, the year when the tariff was lowered, and six years after 1846, when Free Trade was introduced, the difference was about a third; it had fallen from an average of 58s. to one of 44s. As this great and, as it then appeared, lasting fall and change of prices had occurred during a period when taxes were unchanged, rents had not as yet come down, and the cost of labour, from the effects of the prodigious emigration which had taken place, had considerably risen, it was felt with very great severity by the agriculturist interest over the whole country; and it was their suffering, and consequently lessened consump-

* Exports, Imports, Paupers relieved, and Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, in every year from 1846 to 1852.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Paupers relieved—England.	Paupers relieved—Ireland.	Emigrants.
1846	£57,786,875	£132,288,345	...	...	129,851
1847	58,842,377	126,130,986	...	...	258,270
1848	52,849,445	132,617,681	934,489	620,747	248,039
1849	63,596,025	164,539,504	920,543	307,970	299,498
1850	71,367,885	100,460,433	860,893	209,187	280,849
1851	74,448,722	110,484,947	834,424	171,418	335,966
1852	78,076,854	109,331,158	798,822	141,822	368,764

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 35; *Trade and Navigation Returns*, 1855; Newmarsh, v., 453; Porter, 357, 400, 405.

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tion, coupled with the effects of the monetary crisis, which occasioned the great decline of imports characterising the period when the vast import of grain consequent on the famine had ceased. The British and Irish agriculturists found themselves, while working with increased wages, suddenly exposed to the competition of foreign corn-growing countries, in which labour was not a third of what it was in Great Britain, and rents, where they existed at all, were less in a similar proportion. The effect was immediate and universal; with the rapid and serious fall of prices, and the immense extent of the importation of grain during the period, which ranged from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 quarters, corn went out of cultivation to a considerable extent in both islands; arable lands were very generally thrown into grass, and the lessened supply of wheat in the two islands just about equalled the foreign importation. If we are to give credit to the boast of the Free-traders, that during the twelve years from 1846 to 1857 no less than 224,000,000 quarters of foreign grain or flour were imported, being *at the rate of* 18,700,000 *quarters a-year*, we should arrive at the conclusion that the effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws has been to change the nation from the state of being in ordinary years nearly self-supporting, to one in which *two-thirds* of the food of its inhabitants is imported from foreign countries.*

6. Outcry for the repeal of the Navigation Laws.

The general reduction in the price of commodities of commerce, especially such as were the immediate produce of the soil, which resulted from the combined effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws and the monetary crisis, produced a general unsettling, and demand for relief in

* "What is the result? Why, from 1846 to 1857—a period of twelve years—we have received into the country of grain of all kinds—of flour and Indian corn (maize)—all formerly articles, not of absolute prohibition, but which were intended to be prohibited until it was no longer safe that the people should be starved—no less a quantity than 224,000,000 qrs. *That quantity is equal to* 18,700,000 *quarters per annum for the twelve years,* and during that period your home growth has been stimulated to an enormous extent."—Mr Bright's Speech at Manchester, Nov. 2, 1858; *Times,* Nov. 3.

every quarter, among those suffering from the change. Foremost among these were mercantile and colonial classes who had been injured by the fall in the price of their produce. They insisted that it was indispensable that the price of the conveyance of goods should be reduced in the same proportion, or they could no longer carry on their business with any profit. This could only be done by establishing a free competition between British and foreign shipping, and breaking down the monopoly which for two centuries the protective system had established in favour of the former. To this it was added by the colonies, and especially Canada and the West Indies, that now that all protection for the staple articles of their produce had been taken away, and they were exposed to the unrestricted competition of their neighbours in the United States, it was absolutely necessary that the restraints which hitherto had been imposed on their coasting trade, for the benefit of the British shipowners, should be removed. Thence a general demand from the interested classes for the REPEAL OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS; and this clamour was so violent, that it was with some difficulty that ministers were prevailed to postpone the question during the session of 1848. It came on early in that of the succeeding year, on the motion of Mr Labouchere, who moved in the House of Commons, "That it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British possessions abroad, and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject nevertheless to such control by her Majesty in council as may be necessary; and also to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." This motion gave rise to most able and instructive debates in both houses of parliament.[1]

Feb. 14, 1849.

[1] Parl. Deb.; Ann. Reg. 1849, 22, 23.

On the part of the promoters of the bill, it was argued by Mr Labouchere, Sir James Graham, Lord John Rus-

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Argument of the Free-traders for the repeal of the Navigation Laws.

sell, and Mr Gladstone :* "The Navigation Laws rested upon three fundamental principles: they secured to this country the monopoly of the colonial trade, of the long-voyage trade, and the carrying or indirect European trade. Of the first, great part is already gone from the effect of the reciprocity system; and it is the height of injustice, under such circumstances, to refuse to the colonies the abolition of restrictions of which they have always complained, and which true wisdom tells us we should no longer exasperate them by refusing to remove. The documents laid before the House illustrate the evils of which the colonies complain, and which Canada in particular suffers, from the Navigation Laws. They throw grievous impediments in the way of an advantageous trade between Canada and the American territory, both on the margin of the lakes; for how could so distant a traffic be carried on prosperously by British vessels? In regard to the long-voyage trade, the system is inconsistent, and inverts the true principles of commerce; while in regard to the monopoly of the carrying European trade, it depends on its being confined to ourselves, and as long as we could secure that, it was no doubt advantageous,—but it is no longer possible to do so, for other countries have shown that they are aware of the injustice to them of this one-sided system, and that they are determined either to abrogate or retaliate for it. Is it not wise then for this country, which has been the first to introduce a liberal system into commerce, to complete it by placing the laws upon a rational footing, exchanging a narrow for an enlarged and liberal policy? If other countries shall not follow our good example, it is easy to re-enact the restrictions, in whole or in part,

* "Mr Gladstone spoke most ably on the subject, and voted with the Liberals; but his speech was so mixed up with considerations on the other side, as to call forth the remark of Mr Drummond, which elicited general cheers, that he had spoken on one side, and voted on the other."—*Parl. Deb.*

with reference to such countries as shall adopt a policy prejudicial to British interests. Great inconvenience also has resulted from the obligation in the present laws on shipowners to take a certain number of apprentices, and this it is proposed to repeal.

8. Continued.

"Little real advantage has ensued to the British shipowners from the laws, who, by the very policy of these laws, are exposed to competition in the long-voyage trade in every country where competition is most dangerous to them. All the tests which have been applied prove the ability of British shipowners to compete with the foreign. Even in the American trade, British ships have increased more rapidly than the foreign. The laws in many cases act as a protection to foreign ships at the expense of the British; and while practically they are of little benefit to the shipowner, their restrictions operate, especially in emergencies, very injuriously upon consumers, and ultimately upon shipowners themselves. If a commercial marine is necessary to sustain our navy, Free Trade has increased, and must still farther increase, that marine. It is absurd to suppose that a system which goes largely to increase the commerce between nation and nation is not to benefit the shipping interests of the nation which is at once the centre of that commerce and the greatest trading nation in the world. The British shipowners will, by the repeal of the Navigation Laws, without doubt be exposed to a sharp competition from the Baltic and the United States all over the world. Some compensation to the British shipowner is due for this disadvantage, and the compensation is to be found in the opening of new fields of commerce by the system of conditional relaxation. The effect of that system would be to give to the vessels of such states as conferred privileges upon our shipping corresponding advantages in our ports. Such a system would be an equal advantage to both sides.

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9. Continued.

"It is a mistake to say that the commercial interests of the country are unfavourable to the bill, and have spoken out against it. There are, indeed, a few petitions on that side presented by respectable parties; but they are few in number in comparison of the great body on the other side. The measure now on the table has been brought forward by the representatives of the great towns and emporia of commerce. The measure has been introduced on the responsibility of the Member for London (Lord John Russell), and it has been supported throughout by the representatives of the chief seats of commerce—Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding. Without declaring reciprocity a condition of our opening our ports to foreign vessels, it will extend commerce and promote mutual intercourse all over the world, and in that event the lion's share is sure to fall to England. Admitting that the superiority of our mercantile marine is the keystone of our naval power, the measure is entitled to support, because there is no reason to suppose it will injure our mercantile marine. The complication of our reciprocity treaties is another and a most powerful reason for repealing the Navigation Laws at once, for they have now become so involved that none but those whose attention is constantly given to the subject can bear them in mind.

10. Concluded.

"But most of all, the repeal of these laws is indispensable, if we would preserve our colonial empire from dismemberment. The colonies, in particular Canada, have spoken out on the subject: it is now evident that unless we are prepared to return to the protective system, and reimpose the duties on foreign corn, we shall lose Canada. The urgency of the question, in this point of view, is such that it will admit of no delay. If we attach any importance to the retention of Canada, no time is to be lost in passing the bill now before the House. It is a mistake to suppose that the Navigation Laws are a support to the shipping interest of the country. In fact, the old

reliance on impressment for the manning of the royal navy, is mainly owing to the injurious operation of these laws. If a change has become necessary, now is the time to make it, when the old protective system has been abandoned in regard to the producing interests both of the mother country and the colonies: it is indispensable to consummate the commercial policy on which the country has embarked. Without it all that had been done would prove infirm: with it, that which had been achieved could not easily be undone. This measure, then, is the great battle-field on which the last struggle must take place between reaction and progress. The peace and tranquillity of the country during the last year were mainly to be ascribed to recent legislation, and to go back now to protective duties might lead to convulsions and fatal consequences." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. c. iii. 464, 581; Ann. Reg. 1849, 23, 46.

11. Answer of the Protectionists.

On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr Herries, Mr Disraeli, and Lord Derby, who found an unexpected but powerful ally in Lord Brougham: "The Navigation Laws have secured to this country a large commercial marine, and laid the foundation, in a numerous and trained body of seamen, of our maritime superiority: and the question is, are you to diminish that foundation, and lessen that superiority, in order to carry out a favourite theory. The reasons assigned in support of the change are visionary and problematical: the dangers with which it is fraught, real and imminent. It is said Canada demands this measure, because she has lost the benefit of protection: that is to say, having done one foolish thing, and essentially injured one great interest, you must do another foolish thing and ruin another great interest in order to put them on a footing of equality. The fact is undoubted that foreign ships can be built and navigated cheaper than they can in this country, for this plain reason, that many of them have the materials of shipbuilding at their own doors, whereas ours must be brought from a distance, and all of them, except the Americans, pay less

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than half the wages to their seamen. British ships, it is now proved, do not last longer than foreign: how, then, can our shipowners, labouring under these disadvantages, compete with foreign? The result of the reciprocity treaties, which has been to seriously increase the proportion of foreign to home shipping in trade with all the countries with which they have been concluded, should make us pause before we apply the same system to our entire maritime interests. The proposed abolition of the seaman apprenticeship system is, if possible, still more hazardous; for it goes directly to diminish the skill, and lessen the efficiency, of the seamen who are employed in the mercantile marine, from whom alone our royal navy must be manned.

12. Continued.

"It is in vain to say that, having taken protection from agriculture, we must remove it from shipping also. If that argument has any force, it amounts to this, that having done wrong once, we must do so on every future occasion, and shun as you would a pestilence any return to right principles. But in truth there is no indissoluble connection between free trade in grain and the removal of all protection from shipping. Each case must be judged of by its own circumstances, and by them alone, irrespective of past deeds, be they wise ones or errors. Reaction is indeed to be dreaded; but not because, like repentance, it is the first step to reformation, but because it can proceed only from the agony of a suffering people. The present bill is not called for by any great interest in the country, or any loud popular voice; it is the mere shift of a party to elude or conceal the consequences of their own measures, and forced by it upon a reluctant people and a hesitating parliament. Last year we were told that Free Trade had taken such root in the minds of the people, that reaction was impossible: and already it has become so strong, that the main argument adduced in favour of the bill is the danger of a prolonged contest between that principle and the old protective system.

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13. Continued.

"The time is coming when the people of England will no longer be satisfied with vague declamations about progress: they will ask what they are progressing to? We are told we may look for rebellion in Ireland unless this bill is passed. Is this, then, the fruit of your boasted free-trade measures: to threaten the dismemberment of the empire, to pluck the brightest jewel from the Crown, unless another great interest of the State is sacrificed? Probably we shall be told at this rate, next year, that the shipowners and sailors will revolt, unless a sacrifice to appease them is made of the royal navy, which now competes with their industry. Are the results of Free Trade, so far as they have gone, so very encouraging as to call for a prolongation and extension of the system? During the three years which have passed since Free Trade was established, the poor rates have increased 17 per cent, the capital of the country has decreased an hundred millions, and the deposits in the savings' banks have decreased one-half. Is that a reason for extending the same system to another great interest in the State, and that the one which is the foundation on which our maritime superiority and national independence rest?

14. Concluded.

"The present question is not one of Free Trade: it has nothing to do with that question any more than the manning of the royal navy has. Adam Smith, Mr Huskisson, Mr Washington, Mr Madison, have all declared in favour of a protective system to encourage the breed of native seamen. The Navigation Laws did not create a monopoly in favour of our colonies: that has long ago been demonstrated. It is to no purpose in this question to refer to the statistical returns which show the growth of our shipping, irrespective of that of foreign states. The real question is, in what relative proportion have they advanced, and to what goal are they tending? Judging by this standard, the dangers of free trade in shipping are immense, and cannot be exaggerated. It may well make us pause when we recollect that the measures we are con-

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sidering may jeopardise 4,000,000 tons of shipping, navigated by 230,000 seamen, who now ride triumphant on every sea of the globe. Consider the effects of our false and meddling despicable foreign policy, and say, are we prepared for the maritime wars which, sooner or later, must be its inevitable consequence? That man is bold who entertains no apprehension for the peace of Europe, and can look across the Channel and see the character of the Republic there established without fear. Look at Italy, Germany, Hungary, all wrapt in flames, and can it be said that Europe is in a period of profound peace? Is this a period for making great and portentous changes in a navy by which victories have been nobly won, and immortal triumphs gained? Is this a time for reducing our thousand ships of war to an hundred? The slave trade, which we have made such efforts to extirpate, will spring up afresh when the Americans, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians are admitted by this bill into what has hitherto been our carrying trade."[1]*

[1] Parl. Deb. c. iii. 1170, 1174; Ann. Reg. 1849, 36, 41.

15. The bill is passed in both Houses.

The amendment proposed by Mr Herries was rejected, and the bill passed in the Commons by a majority of 61; the numbers being 275 to 214. In the Lords, however, the division was more narrow, the majority being only 10. So close a division on a question vital to the Administration, awakened doubts as to its stability; and reports soon began to fly about of a change of Government. These reports, however, were premature; the bill became law without any further discussion, and ministers recovered their majority sufficiently on other questions to be enabled to carry on the Government; and this great change, extricated from the collision of party interests and passions, took its place as part of the settled institutions of the country.[2]

[2] Ann. Reg. 1849, 39, 47.

Perhaps there is none of the great questions which

* The last paragraph but one is taken from Mr Disraeli's, the last from Lord Brougham's, admirable argument on the subject.

have been agitated in the country during the forty years embraced in this History, which have been so quickly brought to the test of experience, as this of the abolition of the Navigation Laws. The two most bulky articles of commerce, as Adam Smith calls them, *Man and Corn*, came, shortly after it was introduced, to be conveyed to an unprecedented extent, across the ocean, to and from the British empire. The gold discoveries in California and Australia raised prices 40 per cent over the whole world, and stimulated speculation to such an enormous extent, that the exports of Great Britain in 1857 had reached £122,000,000, and the imports £187,000,000, being more than double of what they had been when the Navigation Laws were repealed. Two terrible wars have broken out in the Crimea and India, each of which required the transportation of a hundred thousand men and horses, along with artillery in proportion, across the ocean. No circumstances could be conceived so favourable to a great experiment on the Navigation Laws; so favourable, indeed, that they might well have concealed its effects, and made them appear highly beneficial, when in fact they were the very reverse. From the effects which the change has produced, some idea may be formed of what they are likely to be under circumstances less propitious.

16. Its results.

From the returns presented to Parliament it appears, that while under the protective system the British shipping had *increased* from 922,000 tons in 1801, to 1,599,274 tons in 1821, the foreign employed in the British trade had *declined*, during the same period, from 780,155 tons to 396,256. On the other hand, under the reciprocity, which was a semi-free-trade system applied to particular countries, the British tons had increased from 1,664,186 tons in 1822, to 4,884,210 in 1849, and the foreign had increased from 469,151 tons in the former period, to 2,035,690 in the same year. In other words, during

17. Continued.

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the twenty-seven years of peace, the British tonnage had *tripled*, but the foreign tonnage employed in carrying on our trade had increased nearly *fivefold*. But during the eight years which had elapsed from 1850 to 1857, both inclusive, subsequent to the repeal of the Navigation Laws, while the British shipping has increased, under all the favourable circumstances above mentioned, only from 4,700,000 tons to 4,915,712, the foreign, during the same period, has swelled from 2,400,000 tons to 4,470,296 tons. In other words, in eight years subsequent to the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the British shipping has increased 6 per cent, the foreign 90 per cent. The clearances of the United Kingdom from 1843 to 1848 exhibited an increase of 30 per cent; and from 1849 to 1858, of 65 per cent. During the first of these periods, the clearances of foreign vessels exhibited, in the first period, an increase of 46 per cent, *and in the last, subsequent to the repeal, of 90 per cent.* In other words, under the protective system, the annual increment of British shipping was three times that of the foreign: under the reciprocity system, the increase of foreign shipping has been a half more than the British; and since the abolition of the Navigation Laws, *the increase of foreign shipping has been forty times that of British.* The returns on which these results are founded are all given in the note below, taken from the Board of Trade returns; * and it is evident from them, that in a few years the foreign shipping employed in carrying on our trade will come to exceed the British. The vital importance of this change will not be duly appreciated

* I. British and Foreign Tonnage, 1801-1821—Protection.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1801 ...	922,594 ...	780,135 ...	1,702,709
1806 ...	904,367 ...	612,904 ...	1,517,271
1810 ...	896,001 ...	1,176,243 ...	2,672,244
1814 ...	1,290,248 ...	599,287 ...	1,889,535
1819 ...	1,809,128 ...	542,684 ...	2,351,812
1821 ...	1,599,274 ...	396,256 ...	1,995,530

British Tonnage increased as 9 to 15; Foreign declined as 7 to 3.

unless it is recollected, that under the free-trade system, on an average, a third, and in years of scarcity, a half, of the whole food of our people has come to depend on foreign supplies.

18. Mr Disraeli's motion for relief to the agriculturists.

It was evident, from the animation of this debate, that notwithstanding their frequent defeats, the Protectionists did not as yet give up the contest, and deemed it still possible to obtain some relief for the suffering agricultural interest. Accordingly, on the 8th March Mr Disraeli made a motion for a readjustment of the direct taxation of the country, in such a way as to take off some of the burdens which now exclusively affected the landed property of the kingdom. It must be confessed, the facts he adduced were sufficiently striking. From the parliamentary returns to which he referred, it appeared, that of the direct taxation of the country, no less than £12,000,000 a-year was *exclusively levied upon the land*, although, of the entire property of the kingdom

II. British and Foreign Tonnage, 1822-1849—Reciprocity.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1822 ...	1,684,186 ...	469,151 ...	2,133,337
1827 ...	2,086,898 ...	751,864 ...	2,839,762
1832 ...	2,185,980 ...	639,979 ...	2,825,959
1837 ...	2,617,166 ...	1,905,940 ...	3,623,101
1842 ...	3,294,725 ...	1,205,303 ...	4,500,628
1847 ...	4,492,094 ...	2,253,939 ...	7,196,083
1849 ...	4,884,210 ...	2,035,690 ...	6,919,900

British Tonnage increased 3 to 1; Foreign, from 46 to 203, or 4½ to 1.

III. British and Foreign Tonnage, 1850-1857—Free-trade in Shipping.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1850 ...	4,700,199 ...	2,400,277 ...	7,100,476
1851 ...	4,938,386 ...	2,933,708 ...	7,872,094
1852 ...	4,934,863 ...	2,952,584 ...	7,787,447
1853 ...	4,513,207 ...	3,284,343 ...	7,797,510
1854 ...	4,789,986 ...	3,109,756 ...	7,899,742
1855 ...	4,174,082 ...	2,844,386 ...	7,018,468
1856 ...	5,086,262 ...	3,155,402 ...	8,241,664
1857 ...	4,915,712 ...	4,470,296 ...	9,386,008*

Increase of British Tonnage as 47 to 50, or 6 per cent; of Foreign, as 24 to 44, or 90 per cent.

—Porter, 397, 3d edit.; and *Stat. Tables*, 1854, p. 63; *Stat. Abstract*, p. 417.

* Exclusive of steamers.

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rated to the income-tax, which amounted to £186,000,000, only £67,000,000 came from heritable property. Why, he asked, should one-third of the property of the kingdom be exclusively burdened with so heavy a load of direct taxation as twelve millions, being more than double the existing income-tax, which was £5,600,000? "The injustice of this exclusive and class taxation upon the land appeared the more striking, when it is recollected that of all interests in the country, the land has suffered most under the effects of recent legislation; and that it was already the boast of the Free-traders, expressed in the House of Commons by their leader Mr Villiers, that by the introduction of that change, the consumers of food had gained, in other words, the producers of food had lost, £93,000,000 a-year! Thus, you select a fragment of the community possessing only a third of its income, which has been enormously injured by recent legislation, while all others have been proportionally benefited, to subject it to *three times the income-tax which the rest of the community bears!*" It was difficult to see what answer, founded in reason and justice, could be made to this appeal; but the free-trade majority in the House of Commons threw out the proposal by a majority of 91—the numbers being 280 to 189.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. March 6, 1840; Ann. Reg. 1849, 48, 54.

19. Change of circumstances which weakened the Protectionists' cause.

Notwithstanding the proof so often exhibited of the strength and resolute character of the free-trade majority in the House of Commons, it is probable that the strength of the case for a readjustment of direct taxation was such, that it would in the course of time have worked out some legislative change on the subject, were it not that several circumstances combined to strengthen the party that supported Free Trade, and concealed for a season its injurious effect. The first of these was the enormous extent of the emigration going on at that time. The effect of this change upon the market for labour, and the remuneration which it received, was immense; for it kept up wages at a comparatively high level when the

price of subsistence was rapidly falling. Wages for country labour in Ireland, which in 1845 had been 4d. a-day, were now 2s., and the same effect was observable in a lesser degree in Great Britain. The second was the immense amount of labour required for the completion of the railways which had been set on foot during 1845 and 1846, and took many years for their completion. The multitude of workmen and artisans employed in the construction of these, powerfully contributed to keep up the wages of labour and increase the general well-being of society in all classes except the agricultural. The third circumstance was the gold discoveries in California and Australia, which came to raise prices considerably all over the world, and, by consequently encouraging speculation everywhere, gave an immense impulse to manufacturing industry of every sort. The manufacturers, and whole inhabitants of towns, felt the beneficial influence of these circumstances in the augmented wages of their labour, while the money they received in exchange for it was worth 40 per cent more in consequence of the fall to that extent in the cost of subsistence. This was all sedulously ascribed by the free-trade party to the effect of their measures, and with such success that nearly the whole urban population came to adopt it as the basis of their political creed. But these very circumstances, which so largely benefited the manufacturing and commercial classes, only aggravated the sufferings of the agricultural, for they forcibly kept up the wages of labour at a level higher than had ever been known, at the very time when the vast importation of foreign grain had lowered by a third the price of their produce.



20. Rise in the price of foreign grain from the repeal of the Corn Laws.

If the prices of foreign and British grain had continued, after the change of 1846, the same respectively as they had been before it, the consequence must have been the almost entire destruction of British agriculture. But three circumstances have intervened since the change, and had an important effect in mitigating the conse-

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quences with which it otherwise would have been attended. The first of these was the very considerable and permanent rise which took place in the price of foreign grain, and especially wheat, in the great grain-countries of Europe. So entirely is the price of grain in them, as measured by the markets of Dantzic and Odessa, dependent on the amount of export which is practicable to foreign countries, and especially Great Britain, that it has been raised permanently, fully 40 per cent, by the repeal of the Corn Laws; it has risen from an average of 25s. a quarter to one of nearly 35s. This, coupled with the natural protection to British agriculture which arises from the cost of freight from the countries where the corn is grown, has gone far to mitigate the severity of the blow which had fallen on the farmers of this country; a striking instance of the manner in which the wise provisions of nature mitigate the injurious consequences of hasty or selfish legislation.

21. Great improvements in agriculture, especially draining.

The second of these circumstances is the great improvements which, at the same period, and not a little owing to the change, took place in farming over the whole country, especially by improved draining. This may appear a strange and anomalous result to have flowed from a change which so seriously lessened the value of agricultural produce, and consequently the remuneration of British rural industry; but in reality it is not so. The same thing for a long time was observed in the West Indies, where the profits of their cultivation were so grievously affected by the emancipation of the negroes and the reduction of the duties on foreign sugars. It arose in both cases from the desire to *compensate reduction of price by increase of production.* Experience has proved that the system of tile-draining, when rightly executed, raises the produce of corn lands about 30, and grass lands about 45 per cent, from whence may be conceived how vast a change in the productive power of British agriculture this felicitous discovery has made.

But as the price of cereal produce of every sort was so ruinously low, and in 1849, 1850, and 1851, after the corn-law repeal had come into full operation, the price of wheat sank to 44s., 40s., and 38s. respectively, this altered system of agriculture ran chiefly into an increased pasturage and improved mode of dealing with green crops, instead of any addition to corn-fields. Every one who lived in Britain during these years must have seen how generally this change took place at that time. The unfortunate jealousy of the English farmers has prevented the magnitude of this change from being ascertained in their country by statistical evidence; but in Ireland, Captain Larcom's reports prove that while the production of grain was lessened within five years of the repeal of the Corn Laws by above 2,000,000 quarters, the surface of grass land, and the average in grain crops, has considerably increased; and the ascertained fact, that with the great rise of prices consequent on the gold discoveries and the Crimean war, the production of wheat in Scotland increased 100,000 quarters in a single year, may give some idea of the corresponding diminution in the growth of that cereal which took place during the great fall of prices which resulted from the establishment of free trade in grain.*

A third circumstance which tended powerfully to counteract at this period the depressing effect of the fall of

* Production of Grain, Potatoes, and Green Crops in Ireland from 1849 to 1853:—

Years.	Barrels, 30 st. Wheat.	Barrels, 20 st. Potatoes.	Tons. Turnips.	Tons. Mangold Wurzel.
1849	3,641,198	32,112,679	5,805,848	346,595
1850	2,604,164	31,567,917	5,439,005	364,036
1851	2,508,963	35,528,175	6,081,326	466,235
1852	1,938,941	34,044,831	5,675,847	557,139
1853	1,904,302	45,932,301	6,562,471	588,988

—*Agricultural Returns*, "Ireland," 1848, p. 5, Introd.; 1855, p. xv. Introd.

Wheat raised in Scotland—In 1855, 191,300 qrs.; in 1856, 261,842 qrs.; in 1857, 298,400 qrs.—*Highland Society's Returns* in these years.

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22. Great effect on agriculture of the completion of the railway system.

prices in grain consequent on the repeal of the Corn Laws, was the completion of the vast network of railways which overspread all the fertile and some of the desolate parts of the British Islands. The extent to which this railway system of communication has been pushed, the sums of money which have been expended upon it, and the effect it has had upon rural industry and the balance of political parties in the State, are equally astonishing. From a parliamentary report in the year 1858, it appears that the total sum authorised to be raised in ordinary shares, preference shares, and loans, for British railways, up to the year 1857, amounted to the enormous sum of £370,000,000, of which £303,000,000 has been actually raised and expended. The effect of this enormous expenditure of capital on purposes entirely domestic, and giving employment exclusively to our own people, has been immense; and its consequences upon the agricultural interests have been in the highest degree important. By it the monopoly of the farmers in the neighbourhood of the great towns has been destroyed, and markets opened, especially for butcher-meat and the produce of the dairy, to rural labour in most parts of the country. To such an extent has this result ensued, that cattle are now sent up in a day from the uplands of Aberdeenshire and Morayshire to London, at a cost of 20s.—a sum not greater than was lost in value by the animal in driving during three days from Glasgow to Edinburgh; and an enterprising Scotch shipowner,* who has transferred part of his great capital to Ireland, has 1500 acres of turnips in his own hands in the north of that island, and within five miles of his estate, finds a ready-money market for his cattle at a railway station, all of them going direct to London.

Another consequence of a very singular and unexpected kind has arisen from the establishment of the railway system in Britain, namely, a great extension of the urban

* Mr Pollock, of Pollock, Gilmour, & Co., of Greenock.

political interest in rural districts. This, like all the other great changes introduced by time, was unobserved in its origin, and only began to attract attention when it had come to make a great and lasting change in the balance of parties. As much and generally as it has brought the produce of the whole country into the towns, has it brought the interests and ideas of the great towns into the country. It is the *great* towns, however, only which have in this manner been spread over the country; the small towns are comparatively withered and dried up, from the superior attractions for customers of the shops and places of business in the large ones. But in the great commercial and manufacturing cities the change has been great and decisive. Their increasing wealth and importance has resulted in a general migration of the more wealthy citizens to country residences within a circuit of twenty or thirty miles around their boundaries, where they have their homes, and their families are established, and from whence the men return daily to their places of business during the forenoon in the great commercial emporiums to which they belong. The effect of this migration of urban classes and interests into the country has been in the highest degree important. These citizens of towns, for the most part, have carried into the country the ideas and wishes of towns; they have overspread the counties with city influence. The vast majority of these citizens are Liberal; their homes are in the country, but their hearts and their interests are in towns. As commercial towns in all ages have been the centres of democratic influences, and rural districts of conservative, it may be conceived how great has been the effect of this transference of country political influence to city majorities.

23. Effect of the railway system on the balance of political parties in the State.

But although these circumstances tended powerfully, even before the gold discoveries came into operation, to counteract the depressing effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws, yet the first effect of that repeal was in the highest degree distressing, and produced an unprece-

24. Violent outcry among the agricultural classes.

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dented amount of clamour among the agricultural classes in every part of the country. In 1850 and 1851 especially, when the quarter of wheat was 40s. and 39s., the outcry was universal. Meetings were held in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and almost every county town in Great Britain, where the most alarming statements were put forth as to the depressed state of agriculture in all its branches, and the utter ruin which must overtake cultivation, if Protection in some form were not restored. It is no wonder these statements were made; for the fall of at least *a third* in wheat, from an average of 56s. to one of 40s., at a time when wages were higher rather than the reverse, was to sweep away entirely the profits of cultivation, and leave the farmer nothing either to pay his rent or subsist his family. The story told at all these meetings was the same—that they could not compete with foreign cultivators, who raised grain by means of labourers paid 4d. a-day, while they were paying 2s., and that to avoid ruin they had no alternative but to turn their arable lands into grass, and abandon, except in the most favoured situations, all attempts to raise grain crops. This, again, led to a fresh set of evils; for the quantity of corn lands suddenly turned into pasture produced such an increase in the supply of butcher-meat, that it fell in a proportion even more alarming than the reduction in the price of grain. Meat sank from 9d. to 6d. and 5d. a pound: the complaint was universal among the graziers that, after buying sheep or cattle and feeding them for six months, they were obliged to sell them lower than they had bought them. In a word, the landlords and farmers in every part of the country were in despair; and the outcry raised was so general and violent, that, in former times, it must inevitably have led to a change of measures.

The Free-traders, while these violent declamations were going on on one side, made no attempt to get up a counter-agitation on the other. They knew that the Reform Bill

had given them command, through the boroughs, of three-fifths of the seats in the House of Commons, although two-thirds of the entire inhabitants of the empire were directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture for their support. Conscious of this, they allowed the Protectionists to get it all their own way in the public meetings, and calmly awaited the decision of the House of Commons, where they were sure of a majority on the question at issue. The journals which supported their side contented themselves with observing that, although without doubt the prices of rural produce had fallen very considerably, yet the efforts which were everywhere making to extend and improve agricultural industry by draining, enclosing, and the use of guano, afforded a sufficient proof that prices had not yet declined so much as to check it, and therefore that the reduction of price was a great benefit to the other classes of the community, and no injustice to the farmer. He was merely deprived of the benefit of an unjust monopoly, and brought to a level which, without being injurious to rural industry, is consistent with justice to the other great interests of the Empire.

25. Attitude of the Free-traders on the question.

The question came on for final discussion, after it had been exhausted by repeated debates previously in Parliament and the country, on the 23d November 1852, on a motion brought forward by Mr Villiers, the purport of which was to pledge the country to the principles of Free Trade.* It was maintained by the mover, and Mr Bright and Mr Gladstone: "All are agreed that recent legislation has improved the condition of the working classes: and that legislation has been, partly with com-

26. Argument of the Free-traders in Parliament in favour of their system.

* "That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the Act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corn, and that that Act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure. That it is the opinion of this House that the maintenance and farther extension of the policy of Free Trade will best enable the property and industry of the country to bear the burdens to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general contentment and welfare of the people."—*Ann. Reg.* 1852, p. 136.

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mon consent, characterised as 'wise, just, and beneficial.' Everything which affects the price of food is material to the condition of the people; and the very argument so strongly urged on the other side, that the Act of 1846 has made so great a reduction in the price of subsistence of all kinds, affords a measure of the benefit which it has conferred upon them. This benefit has not been partial or confined to the commercial classes only; on the contrary, it has been universal, and pervaded as much the rural as the manufacturing districts, the farmers and agricultural labourers as the master manufacturers and operative workmen. Undeniable statistics prove this. On what other principle can we explain the increase of exports from £57,000,000 in 1846 to £74,000,000 in 1851, and the diminution of the paupers relieved from 934,000 in 1848 to 834,000 in 1851? Farmers have many grievances to complain of, which well deserve the attention of the House, but protection is not among the number. They are injured by the laws authorising distraining for rent, the laws of settlement, compensation for unexhausted improvements, and the game laws, but not by Free Trade. Their distresses are real, but they are ascribed to a wrong cause by the gentlemen opposite, who have so long converted them into a trading capital for party purposes.

27. Continued.

"It is a mistake to say that the improved condition of the working classes is owing to the gold discoveries, or emigration, and not to the effects of recent commercial legislation. It is Free Trade, and Free Trade only, which has done the whole. The opinion of the country is completely and irrevocably made up upon this point. The constant assertion of their own views by the Protectionists has done, during the last six years, incredible mischief, for it has gone far to mislead foreign nations on the subject, and prevented them from meeting us by a corresponding removal of their restrictions. In this country, however, there is but one opinion among all men of sense

on the subject. The Protectionists have appealed to the country, and lost the verdict. It is of the utmost importance that it should not only be affirmed by this House, but affirmed by so large a majority as to show the world that the policy of the country in regard to it is fixed and immutable, and that other nations would do well to descend into the same arena, and imitate our example.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. 1852.

28. Concluded.

"Notwithstanding the bitter exasperation and extraordinary prolongation of this conflict now closing, a similar spirit of moderation and forbearance still animates the House, which prevailed when the change was introduced, and especially the honourable author of it. It is our honour and pride to be his followers; and if we are so, let us imitate him in the magnanimity which was one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the man. When Sir R. Peel severed the ties of five-and-thirty years, he felt the price he was paying for the performance of his duty. He looked, perhaps, for his revenge; but for what revenge did he look? He did not seek to vindicate it by stinging speeches, or by motions carried in his favour, or in favour of bad policy, if they bore a sense of degradation and pain to the minds of honourable men. The vindication to which he looked was this: he knew that the wisdom of his measures would, in the end, secure their general acceptance. He knew that those who had opposed them from erroneous opinions, would acknowledge them after competent experience. He looked to see them established in the esteem and sound judgment of the country. He looked to see them governing by slow but sure degrees the policy of every nation of the civilised world. He believed that the aristocracy themselves would, in the end, come to see that he had never rendered them so great a service as when, with the whole weight of the Government, he proposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. His belief was, that theirs was a great and

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sacred cause; that the aristocracy of England was an element, in its political and social system, with which the welfare of the country was irreparably wound up; and to him, therefore, it was a noble object of ambition to redeem such a cause from association with a policy originally adopted in a state of imperfect knowledge and erroneous views, but which, with the clear light of experience poured upon it, was each day assuming more and more, in the view of the thinking portion of the community, the character of sordid and false."[1]*

[1] Parl. Deb. Nov. 6, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 150, 151.

29. Answer of the Protectionists.

On the other side it was answered by Mr Disraeli, the Marquess of Granby, Sir John Pakington, and Sir E. B. Lytton: "If, as alleged on the other side, 'enormous mischief' has been produced by the conduct of the Protectionists, it is incumbent on this House to stigmatise it by a distinct expression of opinion, concerning which there can be no mistake. The Protectionists opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 on two grounds. The first, that it would prove injurious to the interests of labour; that it was a labourer's, not a landlord's question: the second, that it would prove injurious to a great national interest. The same objection was made to the repeal of the Sugar Laws and of the Navigation Laws, so that since 1847 the nation has been incessantly occupied with discussions on agricultural, colonial, and shipping distress. From the time, however, that the change was made till the present moment, no attempt has been made by the Protectionists to restore the Corn Laws; for this reason, that the facts had not as yet so fully declared themselves as to warrant a demand for a return to the old policy. In this respect the Protectionists have imitated the conduct of Sir R. Peel, and the party which he headed, in regard to the Reform Bill, which they strenuously opposed while still under discussion, but accepted as an established

* The concluding paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Mr Gladstone's eloquent peroration.

fact when the change was finally adopted by the legislature.

"There is in reality no question before the House on which it is necessary to come to a division. If the object is to settle the question, the Government had acknowledged that the conduct of the country in the recent elections was against the principles which they had supported, and they no longer attempted to struggle against it. This being so, it was a most unwise course, and grating to personal feelings, to compel persons to confess that a measure was just which they knew had been the cause of severe suffering to many. Since 1846 it has been apparent to all on this side, that, after so great a change in our commercial policy, the legislature could not retrace its steps but in deference to the general voice of the country. They are free to confess that the change has not as yet arrived, and therefore without having changed their private opinions, they make no attempt to bring about a return to the former policy. Many of the gentlemen on this side could not concur with Sir R. Peel when he introduced the measure of 1846; and in opposing him they made a great sacrifice, both of party and personal feeling."[1] Mr Disraeli concluded with moving the following amendment: "That this House acknowledges with satisfaction that the cheapness of provisions, occasioned by recent legislation, has mainly contributed to improve the condition and increase the comfort of the working classes; and that unrestricted competition having been adopted, after due deliberation, as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is the duty of Government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform, which under the circumstances of the country they may deem it their duty to introduce."

[1] Parl. Deb. Dec. 7, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 146, 147.

It is evident, from the turn which this debate took, that the mind of the majority of the House was made

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31. Result of the debate.

up on the subject. The Liberals plunged into the whole question of Free Trade, and repeated all the arguments by which they had so long and ably supported it. The Conservatives did not venture to dispute any longer the general question, but struggled only to render their fall as gentle as possible, and to avert the humiliation of being obliged to confess that the change they had so strenuously opposed was just and expedient. In principle, and apart from party considerations and triumphs, the amendment of Mr Disraeli did not differ from the motion of Mr Villiers. The division, however, was considered as a trial of strength between the two parties; and probably its result afforded a tolerably just measure of the relative proportions in which the constituencies were divided. The motion was carried by a majority of 80, the numbers being 336 to 256. After this decisive division on the general question, any subordinate matter, of whatever importance, was of no real public moment. An amendment proposed by Lord Palmerston, however, deserves to be noted, as affording a measure of the strength, or rather weakness, of the Protectionists, who still, under circumstances the most adverse, adhered to their old colours. Before the division on this amendment took place, 71 members had left the House, and the motion was carried by an overwhelming majority, the numbers being 468 to 53.* [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. Dec. 8, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 141, 142.

Thus was the principle of Free Trade and unrestricted competition finally established in the British legislature;

* Lord Palmerston's motion was as follows: "That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and especially the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for the purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people; and that it is the opinion of this House that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people."—*Ann. Reg.* 1852, p. 142.

for the House of Peers, seeing the overwhelming majority in the Commons, prudently abstained from any division; and a resolution, proposed by the Marquess of Clanricarde, and slightly amended by Lord Harrowby, was carried unanimously, to the effect that "this House, thankfully acknowledging the general prosperity, and deeply sensible of the evils attending frequent changes in the financial policy of the country, adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any attempt to impede its operations or disturb its progress." Thus the minority in the legislature acted on the same wise principle in regard to Free Trade which they had previously done in regard to Reform; and seeing the country firmly bent on the adoption of that policy, withdrew all opposition, and allowed it to be tested by its effects. And without prejudging what the annalist of future times may say on the subject, when time has impressed its signet on the opinions of man upon it, it may at least be safely observed, that when the decision of the legislature and the nation was thus irrevocably taken on the question, neither was as yet in possession of the facts requisite to the formation of a correct judgment regarding it. During the seven years preceding this decision, nearly three hundred millions sterling had been expended in the two islands on railways. In the same period the population of Ireland had declined two millions and a half, and the average emigration had been two hundred and sixty-six thousand annually; and during the two last years of the time, the gold discoveries, as will immediately appear, had come materially to affect prices, and stimulate industry, and encourage speculation all over the world. Whether the general prosperity which characterised the close of the period has been owing to these causes, or to a reduction in the price of subsistence, which, as Mr Villiers boasted in the House of Commons, had come to save the nation £93,000,000 annually, is a question

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which can be resolved only when time has developed the effect of the one set of causes without the simultaneous operations of the other.

33. Finances of the Empire from 1849 to 1852.

The extreme severity of the monetary crisis in 1848 had diffused such distress through the community, and imprinted such languor and distrust on the operations of commerce, that relief from existing taxation, and the imposition of fresh burdens on the people, were alike out of the question. The payments from China, which came so opportunely a few years back to relieve the exchequer, had ceased; and the only resource of Government was the most rigid economy in every department, cutting down the army and navy to the lowest point, and the copious sale of old stores, to bring the expenditure within the income. As it was, they contrived to exhibit in the parliamentary accounts an excess of receipts over disbursements during three years; but this was obtained entirely from the income-tax, without which the deficit every year would have exceeded three millions. The average net revenue of the nation during the period was £56,000,000, of which £5,500,000 was derived from that tax. The sums voted for the army and navy were about £6,500,000 each, and the ordnance £2,500,000; a woeful stretch of false economy, which the nation ere long expiated in tears of blood on the heights of Sebastopol and on the plains of India. The army kept up was only 92,000 men, exclusive of those in the employment of the East India Company, a force totally inadequate to the due discharge of the public service, especially as we were engaged in a serious and protracted war with the Caffres. The navy had only 34,000 men voted. With all this rigid economy, and the continuance of the war burden of the income-tax, little progress was made in the reduction of the national debt; and it was a melancholy reflection, that after forty years of peace that

burden was not materially less than it had been at the commencement of the period. Since the year 1833, when the government of the Reform Parliament began, the public debt, funded and unfunded, had *increased* £4,500,000, though unbroken peace in Europe, so far as this country was concerned, had obtained during the whole period.*

34. Population census of 1851.

Important as these details are, they yet yield in moment to the returns obtained by the general census of the British Islands, taken in 1851, which exhibited results of a novel and startling character, that seem to indicate a turning-point in the fortunes and destiny of the State. For a long period the population of the empire had steadily increased, and it had gone on since the peace of 1815 at the rate of somewhat above 2,000,000 souls in ten years, or 200,000 a-year. The increase between 1831 and 1841, in the two islands, had been no less than 2,700,000. Applying this rate of increase to the five years imme-

* Income, Expenditure, and Public Debt in each Year from 1849 to 1852.

Years.	Income.	Expenditure.	Surplus.	National Debt.	Unfunded Debt.
1849	£57,006,412	£55,480,659	£2,098,126	£773,168,316	£24,869,060
1850	57,431,796	54,938,534	2,517,341	769,272,592	25,185,954
1851	56,834,710	54,002,994	2,726,396	765,126,582	25,011,267
1852	57,755,370	55,229,336	2,417,559	761,627,760	24,786,525

—*Ann. Reg.* App. Public Documents, p. 432.

Public debt in 1833,		£754,100,549
Unfunded do.,		27,752,650
	Total, 1833,	£781,853,199
Public debt in 1852,		£761,627,763
Unfunded do.,		24,786,529
	Total, 1852,	£786,414,292
Added to the public debt in 20 years of peace,		£4,551,096

—*Finance Accounts*, 1833. Porter's *Parl. Tables*, p. 6.

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diately succeeding 1841, the population of 1846 must have been at least 28,000,000.* But the population of the two islands, as ascertained by the census of 1851, was only 27,511,862, showing a *decrease* in five years of at least 700,000 souls, being at the rate of 140,000 a-year during the whole period. We have only to look at the emigration, which, from the end of 1846 to the same period in 1851, amounted to 1,422,000 souls, and add to that 450,000 who perished directly from the effects of the Irish famine, to see what has been the main cause of the decline. Emigrants, it is to be recollected, are for the most part in the prime of life: four-fifths of them are under thirty; and therefore the abstraction of a million and a half in five years of such persons is far from being compensated by the addition of an equal number of infants, who cannot be fathers or mothers for eighteen or twenty years. Till the census of 1861 comes to be taken, it cannot be said with absolute certainty what the decline or increase of the population of the empire will then be; but it will undoubtedly be very small either way. Fonblanque, in his admirable statistics of Great Britain, estimates the inhabitants of England and Wales in 1856, from the result of the registered births and deaths, added to the census of 1851, at 19,045,157, and of Scotland, at 3,035,000; in all,

* Population by Census of 1831 and 1841.

Years.	England and Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
1831 ...	16,364,693 ...	7,767,401 ...	24,132,294
1841 ...	18,658,372 ...	8,175,124 ...	26,833,496
Increase,	2,293,689 ...	407,723 ...	2,701,202

Census of 1851.

Population of whole empire in 1841-42, . .	26,833,496
Estimated increase to 1846 (half of 2,701,202), .	1,356,101
Population in 1846, ...	28,189,597
Ascertained population in 1851, . .	27,511,862
Decrease, 1846-51, ...	677,735

—*Census* 1851, Introd.; *Irish Census*, 1853, p. 16, Introd.

22,080,187. The Census Commissioners of Ireland have reported, that the inhabitants of that island, in the same year, did not exceed 6,000,000, so that, not allowing for the emigration, the whole in 1856 was 28,080,000. But the emigration from 1851 to 1857 has been 1,558,268 persons.* Thus, the whole inhabitants of the empire, in 1856, were under 28,000,000, less by at least 500,000 than they had been ten years before.[1]

[1] Fonblanque, Miscel. Statistics, i. 12; Irish Census Report, 1851, p. 4.

35. Mortality of town and country districts.

In addition to these causes which have of late years stopped the increase of population in the British Islands —some of which may possibly be of a temporary nature— there is one cause of a lasting and general kind, which has of late years been so powerful as, of itself, to render the increase, in many places, of the people stationary. This is the daily increasing number of the inhabitants who have become indwellers in cities or thickly-peopled places, and the increased mortality of such localities when compared with rural districts. This change has long been observed since the great increase in trade and manufactures which has taken place since the peace; and in the census of 1851, while the population in many of the rural counties was found to have declined, that of the towns, with few exceptions in Great Britain, and *without one in Ireland*, has increased. But the census returns have now placed the matter beyond a doubt. Notwithstanding the immigration from the country into the towns which is everywhere going forward, so great is the comparative unhealthiness of the latter, that the mortality in the towns is 50 per cent greater than in the country, while the annual increase is nearly twice and

* Viz.—

Years.	Emigrants.
1852, . . .	368,966
1853, . . .	329,937
1854, . . .	323,429
Carry forward,	1,022,332

Years.	Emigrants.
Brought forward,	1,022,332
1855, . . .	176,807
1856, . . .	176,554
1857, . . .	212,875
	1,588,568

—*Parl. Paper*, June 28, 1858.

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a half greater in the former than the latter.* The other fact, also ascertained by the census, that the entire inhabitants in the former are constantly and rapidly increasing and those in the latter as constantly and rapidly diminishing, proves equally clearly the strength of the impulse which is now daily urging the people from the healthy rural to the unhealthy urban districts. Such is the force of the impelling cause, that in mountainous and generally barren Scotland, the inhabitants of the town districts are about equal to those of the rural; and even in rich and fertile England the proportion is nearly the same. *It is* evident, in these circumstances, that a powerful arresting cause has set in upon the inhabitants of Great Britain: the same as in all other countries has been the commencement of national decline. All great empires have perished, not from the redundance, but the want of inhabitants—from the desertion of the country, and the flocking of its inhabitants to great towns in quest of subsistence. Reflect on Rome in ancient, and observe Turkey in modern times. Lord Shaftesbury, whose life has been spent in investigating the condition of the poor, has lately said at the Social Science Association: "The time is coming, and is not far distant, when we shall experience a want of population for social, industrial, and military purposes."

* Deaths and Annual Increase in Scotland in Towns and Country Districts.

Years.	Country Districts.	Town Districts.	Annual Mortality.		Annual Increase.	
			Towns.	Country.	Country.	Towns.
1855	1,475,489	1,483,241	1 in 40	1 in 60	1 in 192	1 in 70
1856	1,530,364	1,552,021	1 in 42	1 in 68		

—Fonblanque, p. 12.

In Glasgow, in the quarter ending 30th September 1858, the deaths in the rural districts were 1 in 45; in the town districts, 1 in 75: the births in the former, 1 in 33; in the latter, 1 in 28. In Glasgow, 60 per cent of the deaths were of children under five years of age.—*Registrar-General's Report*, quarter ending 30th September 1858.

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Remarkable increase in crimes of violence in Great Britain during last forty years.

Lord John Russell was the first statesman who prominently brought before the public, at a late meeting of the Social Science Association, the remarkable fact, that not only, during the forty years embraced in this History, had crime greatly increased—which of course was to be expected from the increase of the population—but that it had increased in a *much greater ratio than the increase of the population;* and, what is still more remarkable, that this increase was particularly conspicuous in crimes such as robbery, burglary, and deadly assaults requiring violence for their completion.* The increase in murders of late has been so great as to have attracted general attention: from 1854 to 1856 the persons sentenced to death in England for that crime had increased from 11 to 31.[1] The common observation, that this increase of crime is apparent, not real, and that it arises from the more extended and improved police of later times, which has brought it to light, is an entire fallacy. Police establishments are an *effect*, not a *cause*. They are very expensive, and are always resisted to the very uttermost in every part of the country; and the "ignorant impatience of taxation" is never overcome till the

[1] Fonblanque, 60.

* Committed and Convicted in Great Britain in the Years 1817, 1827, 1337, 1847, and 1857.

	1817.	1827.	1837.	1847.	1857.
Shooting, stabbing, and wounding,	26				208
Robbing, ...	154				378
Burglary, ...	374				473
Housebreaking, . . .	152				561
Theft in houses, . . .	143				246
Forgery, and uttering forged notes, ...	62				184
Totals, ...	911	1113	1061	1498	2057

The population of Great Britain has increased from 1811 to 1851, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000, being 70 per cent, while these serious crimes have in the same period increased from 9 to 20, or 116 per cent. In the year 1857, no less than 3584 men were brought before the police magistrates in England alone, charged with assaults on women, chiefly their own wives.

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mass of unpunished crime has fairly forced an effort to check it on a most reluctant people.* In truth, there is a progress in human affairs; but these facts would seem to indicate that there is a progress two ways as well as one, and recalls the observation of Disraeli, "Progress! yes, *but to what?*" It is evident, however, that these facts as to the more rapid increase of crime than population in an age when so much has been done to arrest it, by no means warrants the assertion that society, as a whole, is retrograding instead of advancing in morality. Unquestionably, in the higher and middle classes, and a great part of the working, the improvement is great and undoubted. The just inference from it is, that it is the effect of great wealth and long-established civilisation to multiply to a great extent the "classes dangereuses," as the French call them, who are at the bottom of the social ladder, and in whom vicious habits and crime arise so naturally from the circumstances in which they are placed, that they seem to be almost unavoidable.

37. Relinquishment of the transportation system, and its injurious effects.

To this it must be added that a great and prolific cause of the increase of crime has come into operation in recent times in the British empire, owing to the virtual abolition of the *System of Transportation*. This great and calamitous change, which appears at first sight the most strange and inexplicable which has taken place even in an age in which every imaginable absurdity has been put in practice, under the influence of the passion for innovation, till it was abandoned by the force of experience, arose, in truth, from want of practical acquaintance with the subject on the part of those intrusted with its administration. The transportation of criminals is by far the best system which ever was devised by human

* For twenty years the county of Lanark successfully resisted all the efforts made to establish a rural police among its immense population. At length it was established in 1858 by Government authority; and in the first *six months* after it was set on foot, the persons brought before the magistrates were 1180, of whom 976 were convicted.

wit, alike for the interests of the mother country, of the colonies, and of the criminals themselves. As such it succeeded perfectly for a very long period in Great Britain, and was attended with such advantages as rendered it the object of envy to all the statesmen and philanthropists of the Continent, who were oppressed by the manifold evils of galley-slaves and public bagnes. Under it, too, the colony of New South Wales, to which the convicts were sent, made unprecedented strides in population, industry, and wealth—considerably greater than were made during the same period by either Canada or the Cape of Good Hope, though these possessed the advantage of much greater proximity to the mother country—a matter of the highest importance in regard to free emigration. The progress of Australia with convicts, before the gold discoveries gave it its recent prodigious start, had been double that of either the Cape or Canada—a fact which decisively demonstrates the immense advantage of forced penal labour to an infant colony.*

But towards the continuance of this salutary and healthful state of things, so fruitful of good both to the aged mother-country, overcharged with inhabitants and

* Comparative Progress of the Cape, Canada, and Australia, before the Gold Discoveries.

Years.	Canada.		Cape.		Australia.	
	Exports to	Population.	Exports to.	Population.	Exports to.	Population.
1828,	£1,691,044	1,781,000	£218,849	476,261	£443,839	276,012
1838,	1,992,457		623,323		921,568	
1846,	3,308,059		480,979		1,441,640	
1847,	3,233,014		688,208		1,644,170	
1848,	1,990,592		645,718		1,463,931	
1849,	2,280,396		520,896		2,080,364	
1858,	3,235,651	2,900,000	796,600	67,218	2,602,253	
					2,807,356	641,196

—Porter's *Parl. Tables*, 1846, i. 21; 1852, i. 48.

Increase of Canada in twenty-two years,	. .	2 to 1.
„ of Cape, „	. .	3½ „ 1.
„ of Australia, „	. .	7 „ 1.

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crime, and to the young colony, in want of both, because both might be converted to the purposes of useful labour, it is indispensable that a *due proportion* should be observed between the convicts sent out and the free settlers, and that the former be kept a small fraction compared to the latter; because, unless this is done, the criminals will approach to an equality with the free inhabitants, and life and property will become insecure. Unhappily the immense increase of crime in the British empire, especially since the year 1846, occasioned such an augmentation in the criminals sent out, that they came to bear an undue proportion to the ordinary inhabitants. When the criminals of Great Britain and Ireland were only 27,000, as they were in 1822, and of these only 1200 or 1500 were sent out, no undue increase of criminals was complained of; on the contrary, Australia was constantly demanding more, and its inhabitants viewed with peculiar complacency heavy assizes in the British Islands. But when the proportion was changed, owing to the great increase of criminals committed at home, and committals had risen, as in 1848, to nearly 74,000, the stream of persons transported became from three to four thousand. This was felt as a serious grievance by New South Wales, the more especially as, anterior to the gold discoveries, the voluntary emigration had never exceeded three or four thousand annually. Accordingly the tide of public opinion in the colony turned; its inhabitants came to regard the convicts with apprehension; and numerous petitions were forwarded to Government from Sydney and its dependencies, praying to be entirely relieved from the burden of receiving transported criminals.

38. Causes which led to this.

39. What Government should have done.

When matters came to this point, Government had two courses to pursue. They might either have issued an order in council to the colonies, engaging that to whatever colony which would agree to receive the convicts they would send *four free settlers* for each penal

one; and employ the latter in making roads, bridges, canals, harbours, and railways, so that every free settler would find the means of communication at the public expense brought to his door. Having from 250,000 to 300,000 emigrants to deal with annually, a small bounty paid to each would easily have brought the requisite number of free settlers to keep in order the convicts, and the whole colonies of the empire would soon have been on their knees to receive the prolific stream. Or if this failed, they might have established a new penal colony in a suitable part of our vast colonial possessions, and treated it in the same manner, with four free to one convict settler. It would soon have distanced all its competitors; property would have doubled in value in it every three or four years.

40. Course pursued and its ruinous effects, and abandonment of transportation.

Pressed by financial embarrassment, the sad result of the commercial crisis of 1848, Government did neither of these things; but, to allay the terrors of Sydney, they sent the whole convicts to Van Diemen's Land, the most distant colonial settlement of the empire, and the passage to which costs £25, five times as much as one to America. No steps were taken to send out a due proportion of free settlers; and the passage to this remote settlement being so long and costly, the *numbers of free settlers annually going out was much less than that of the convicts.* The consequence of course was, that it became a scene of disorder and crime, much what Norfolk Island, to which the convicts were next sent, afterwards became. Every sort of atrocity was practised in it, often with impunity: the other colonies were confirmed in their determination to avert such a moral pestilence from their own shores; and when Government, by way of experiment, sent a shipload of convicts to the Cape, the people made such preparations to resist their being landed that it was deemed prudent to desist from the attempt. Pressed with so many difficulties, the Government saw no way of escaping from the dilemma but by

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abandoning almost entirely the system of transportation. Penal servitude, varying from four to six years, was by act of parliament substituted for it; and for six years past, with the exception of a few hundred sent annually with the best possible effect to Western Australia, where, being kept in due proportion to the free settlers, they are received with open arms, transportation has been entirely given up in the British dominions.

41. Ruinous consequences of the change.

The consequences of the change, as was predicted by every person in the empire who had any practical acquaintance with the subject, and was fully explained to the parliamentary committees who sat on it, have been disastrous in the extreme. The difficulty, instead of being removed, has been only transferred from the extremity to the heart of the empire. The convicts, four or five thousand in number, annually convicted, who were formerly transported, being now kept in the country, the prisons were soon filled to overflowing. In the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, the average number of persons sentenced to imprisonment by summary and jury trial, in England alone, was about 114,000; in the two islands, from 140,000 to 150,000 annually. It may readily be conceived, therefore, how serious a burden four or five thousand criminals sentenced to five or six years of penal servitude each must have produced.* No building could hold, no establishment control, so prodigious a multitude. The cost of maintaining prisoners in the empire paid by the

[1] Fonb. 119.

* Persons committed by Jury and Summary Trial, in Great Britain and Ireland, from 1854 to 1856.

Years.	England.		Ireland.		Scotland.		Total.
	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	
1854	29,359	71,193	11,718	23,212	3994	15,999	135,472
1855	25,972	70,116	9,012	36,392	3630	16,342	151,494
1856	19,437	77,712	7,099	23,576	3713	16,231	147,758

—Fonblanque, pp. 57, 71.

Treasury, independent of a still larger sum paid by the counties, rose to £1,424,907 a-year in 1856, and to £984,874 in 1857.

42. What Government did in the circumstances, and its effects.

In this extremity Government had no recourse but to exercise largely, through the official persons intrusted with the right of doing so, the power of liberating the penal servitude men, and letting them loose on the country long before either any real reformation had been effected in their habits, or the period of their sentence had expired. The consequences of this system have been in the highest degree pernicious. From the accounts laid before Parliament, it appears that in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, there were received into the convict establishments of Government 19,884 convicts, of whom 6563 were liberated before the expiration of their sentences, on tickets-of-leave, independent of those pardoned or whose sentences had expired.* With truth does the *Times* observe on the returns: "These figures show

* CONVICTS RECEIVED INTO, AND DISCHARGED FROM, THE GOVERNMENT PRISONS IN THE YEARS 1854, 1855, and 1856.

	1854.		1855.		1856.	
	Received.	Discharged.	Received.	Discharged.	Received.	Discharged.
Pentonville, .	436	38	453	1	793	55
Parkhurst, . .	121	157	100	10	209	106
Millbank, . .	1513	92	2624	52	2640	319
Portland, . .	665	334	1260	684	881	507
Portsmouth, .	545	264	886	458	617	349
Dartmouth, .	443	396	545	495	560	308
Borstow, . .	589	13	108	107	393	201
Chatham, . .					677	21
Hulks, . . .	848	544	1235	633	153	104
	5760	1718	6511	2371	6823	2474

—FONBLANQUE, p. 86.

Received in 3 Years.			Discharged on Tickets.
5760	...	...	1718
6511	...	...	2371
6813	...	...	2474
	...	...	
19,884	...	...	6563

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an uncertainty in the punishment of crime which can be paralleled in no country where protection of life and property is professed to be guaranteed by the State. They also make apparent a discrepancy between judicial sentences and actual punishments, which tends to bring our whole judicial system into contempt, and to render a criminal trial little better than a farce. The criminal's captivity has been measured, not by the circumstances of his crime, but by his behaviour in the jail; it has been of less importance to him to convince his judge than to cajole his chaplain."* The consequence has been that a stream of nearly three thousand criminals of the worst and most dangerous character is annually let loose from their places of confinement upon the country—those who have superadded hypocrisy to their original offences. On no other principle is it possible to explain the fact that, while there has been a great decrease of crime in the country generally, for three years after 1854 there has been a great and most alarming increase of violent attacks on property in England. †

43. Concession of right of self-government to the colonies.

If there is little to approve in this one particular of the British colonial administration, of late years a very different mode of approbation must be bestowed on another change, of far more importance, which was brought into

* The Sheriff of Lanarkshire stated in his evidence before the Transportation Committee in 1857, that in one instance which had come before him judicially, a garotte robber was first sentenced to ten years' transportation for a robbery on the streets of Glasgow; within a year after that, to fifteen years' transportation for a second garotte robbery committed within fifty yards of the same spot; and within another, to transportation for life for a *third* garotte robbery, committed within a few yards of the original spot.

† CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY, WITH VIOLENCE, IN UNITED KINGDOM.

Years.	Crimes with Violence.	All Offences, with Jury.		
		England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1854	1.403	23,647	2989	7051
1855	1.315	19,971	2689	5220
1856	1.787	14,734	2723	4024

—FONBLANQUE, p. 58.

general use about the same period, which may with truth be said to have been the salvation of the colonial empire of the country. This was the right of SELF-GOVERNMENT and the electing responsible legislative councils, which was generally conceded to the colonies between 1837 and 1854, and was universal at the close of the latter period. In this respect the nation has been deeply indebted to the liberal administrators who have ruled the country since 1850; for it is doubtful whether the old Tory government would have been as much impressed as their successors have been with the necessity of yielding on this vital point; yet that it was absolutely necessary is now apparent. Self-government is indispensable to colonies as soon as they have attained anything like mature years, for this plain reason, that it is forced on them by the necessities of their remote and isolated situation; while the same cause renders the home government ignorant of their wants and indifferent to their complaints. In every quarter and age of the globe, accordingly, colonies have contended for self-government, and those alone have been prosperous, and laid the foundations of mighty empires, which, springing from popularly governed nations at home, have successfully asserted their title to establish similar institutions, and enjoy privileges as great in their new seats abroad. Witness the colonies of Greece, Carthage, and Rome around the Mediterranean Sea in ancient, and the more widespread colonies of Great Britain in modern times.

44. Difficulties of a direct representation of the colonies in Parliament.

At first sight it would appear that the natural way to do this would be to give the colonies a share in the imperial legislature in proportion to their wealth and inhabitants; but a little reflection must convince every impartial person that this would by no means answer the desired purpose. The difficulty in the way is not, as is generally imagined, the distance of the colonies from the seat of the imperial legislature, for steam has obviated that impediment. The real obstacle is the entire divergence of interests on most subjects between the inhabit-

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ants of such widely-severed countries, and the certainty that, as one or other must be in a minority, one or other will, in an united assembly, suffer injustice—it may be great and irreparable—at the hands of the other. It is true, taxation without representation is injustice to the colonies; but representation without taxation *would be not less injustice to the mother country.* Yet how adjust a scale of taxation for an aged community staggering under thirty millions a-year of interest of debt, and a young colony in which a direct impost has never yet been imposed, and if imposed, could not by possibility be levied? Not less at variance are the interests of the colonies and mother country. To produce and sell dear is the interest of the former; to purchase cheap is the interest of the latter. This lasting and irreconcilable diversity became still more serious in its effects when the Reform Bill had virtually disfranchised the colonies by putting the nomination boroughs into Schedule A, and a decided majority of the House of Commons became composed of the representatives of boroughs, actuated by an adverse interest from that of the colonies. From that moment, accordingly, the concession of separate legislatures and the right of self-government became the necessary condition of our colonial empire holding together, and but for its concession it must have been dissolved.

45. Colonial discontent produced by the Reform Bill, and its results.

The first symptom of this irreconcilable variance between the reformed imperial legislature and the interests of the colonies, occurred in 1834, when, as already mentioned, the immediate emancipation of the negroes was forced on Government through the portals opened by the Reform Bill. This important, and, as it has proved, ruinous change, could never have passed the House of Commons under the old system, when our West India interest was the strongest in the House, and could command eighty votes, nor under the new system of entire self-government in local matters conceded since the Reform Bill. It was during the transition from the one to

the other, before the effect of the change was understood, that it could alone have passed. The next instance of the divergence was the Canadian revolt of 1837, during which the cry for self-government, and a responsible government, was loud and menacing; and it was that revolt which, by forcibly drawing the attention to the subject and awakening their fears, mainly led to the change. The adoption of Free Trade as the commercial principle of the empire in 1846, rendered the change a matter of necessity; because, having lost all protection in the home market of Great Britain, and being exposed to a rude competition from all nations, it was impossible to suppose they would continue in their allegiance, unless they acquired the power of regulating at pleasure their internal concerns. The Cape, in resisting the landing of the convicts in 1852, gave token of the spirit which was rising up; and Australia, though not yet numbering 400,000 inhabitants, was talking of Bunker's Hill and Saratoga. Awakened at length to a sense of their danger, Government somewhat tardily, but at length universally, conceded the desired boon. Representative Assemblies were everywhere established, and all the British colonies except India became practically self-governed. The chief merit in pushing through this great change belongs to Earl Grey, who for long, under the Whig government, held the office of Colonial Secretary, and brought to bear on the subject the great talents which he had inherited from his illustrious father. And the good effect of the change is already conspicuous. The jarring between the colonies and the mother country has ceased; discontent, by getting a legal channel, has evaporated; loyalty has succeeded; and in Canada these feelings have become so strong that they have led to the raising of a noble regiment—the 100th—for the British service; magnificent subscriptions, both there and in Australia, on the occasion of the Crimean war and Indian revolt, have attested their warm sympathy with

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the glories and the sufferings of the mother country; and the rejoicings on the fall of Sebastopol and the capture of Delhi were as enthusiastic in Montreal and Sydney as either in London or Dublin.

46. New and true colonial system.

If this concession of the right of self-government was important in allaying the discontent of the colonies, and preserving for some years longer the slender bond which unites them to the mother country, another change, scarcely less material to their internal progress, was at the same time introduced by the Liberal government. This was the substitution, for huge grants of land to favoured companies or individuals, of its sale at prices varying from 5s. to £1 an acre to adventurers, in lots of such moderate size as they really could bring into cultivation themselves, and applying the funds thus acquired to the general purposes of the colony, and especially the giving the means of emigration to active and industrious persons from the British Islands. This system, which is evidently the true one on the subject, and which has been at length generally, it may be said universally, adopted in the British colonies by all administrations, is mainly due to Sir William Molesworth, a statesman of enlarged views and valuable practical talents, whose premature death has been a serious loss to the British empire.

47. Affairs of the Cape, discontent there, and its causes.

The concession of constitutions and the right of self-government came in time to stop the progress of discontent, and restore the feelings of loyalty in the other colonies, but not to avert a terrible catastrophe at the Cape of Good Hope. The origin of this disaster, as of all others which have shaken the fidelity or disturbed the prosperity of the British colonies, is to be found in the senseless measures of the home government, who applied to that distant settlement among savages the principles which are adopted amidst European civilisation. Two especially are worthy of notice as the direct cause of the calamitous events which followed. The first of these was the sudden emancipation of the Hottentot slaves in

the colony, for a most inadequate compensation, by the Act of 1834. As this act deprived the colonists of their labourers, and gave them not a third of their value in compensation, it excited the most violent discontent among the settlers. To such a degree did this feeling go, that Government ere long deemed it unsafe to intrust them with the chief defence, as heretofore, of their country against the Caffre tribes, and required them to deliver up their arms, leaving the defence of the frontier to the British regular troops. These had been reduced, in consequence of the wretched passion for economy which prevailed at home, to thirteen hundred men, who were now alone charged with the defence of an endangered frontier thirteen hundred miles in length and a country as large as Great Britain. Sensible of the difficulty, Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, in pursuance of the system of conciliation and concession then so much in vogue in Europe, had withdrawn the British colours from the Kei River—to which they had been advanced at the close of the last war, and which presented a very strong frontier—to the Great Fish River, the old boundary, but which presented no defensible positions. The motive for this withdrawal of the British authority from a district of country half as large as England, was good, for it was the restitution of a conquered country; and, judging by European ideas, it was expedient, for it evinced moderation in a victorious power; but applied to a barbarous people, who had not a conception of justice or moderation themselves, it was ascribed, as all similar concessions to barbarians are, to fear and a sense of weakness. It was attended, accordingly, by the most disastrous consequences.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1851, 283, 285.

48. Caffre war, its early disasters.

The Caffre tribes could bring three thousand fighting men into the field. Sensible of their advantage, they had for long been meditating a general rising against the British, and had established a secret correspondence with the natives in the British service, especially the

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mounted Cape Rifles, an admirably drilled and efficient corps, nearly the whole of which, when hostilities broke out, deserted to the enemy, carrying with them their arms and horses. So far from being grateful for the abolition of slavery, the Hottentots generally followed their example. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, no sooner heard of the threatening meetings of the Caffre chiefs, than he hastened from Cape Town to King William Town, the capital of British Caffraria, and summoned a general meeting of the Caffre chiefs to that place to explain their conduct. They came, accordingly, in numbers about three hundred and fifty, and professed loyalty and obedience; but Sandilli, the principal and most hostile chief, kept aloof, and refused either to attend the council or submit. He was, accordingly, formally deposed by Sir Harry Smith, in virtue of the right of sovereignty which was still claimed by the British over the ceded territory. This was the signal for a general outbreak of hostilities along the whole frontier, which was immediately followed by a general defection of the Hottentots in the British service. The consequences were extremely serious, and at first most threatening. The Governor himself was shut up in Fort Cox, a fortified post to which he had advanced on the frontier, by some thousand of these formidable savages, to whom the defection of the Cape troops had given the advantages of arms, organisation, and discipline. Colonel Somerset, who attempted to relieve him with a small body of regular troops from Fort Hare, was driven back, after a gallant resistance, to that post, with heavy loss; and Colonel M'Kinnon, who had left Fort Cox with six hundred men to clear the country in the Keiskamma Valley, was defeated in the Amatola fastnesses, and with difficulty got back to Fort Cox, after sustaining considerable loss. Sir Harry Smith escaped from Fort Cox at the head of a flying escort, and reached King William Town with a few followers. Emboldened by these suc-

Oct. 16, 1850.

Dec. 29, 1850.

cesses, the Caffres now broke on all sides into the British territories, and soon carried their ravages into the heart of British Caffraria. Not content with burning and plundering the whole open country, they laid siege to the principal fortresses, and were only repulsed from Fort Hare itself after a severe assault.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1851, 284, 285.

49. Progress of the war.

The war which ensued, and which was protracted for above a year, was for long bloody and indecisive. The force at the disposal of the Government, now that they were deprived of their native auxiliaries, was evidently inadequate to the task of combating a nation of armed and skilful warriors, who combated at the same time at all points, and possessed in the forest-clad rocks of the Amâtola and the Water-Kloof intricate fastnesses, where the advantages of courage were of little avail, and the bravest of the British fell an early sacrifice to an unseen enemy, where rifles were discharged from the thickets often within three or four feet of their breasts. So terrible were the ravages of these ruthless plunderers in British Caffraria, that it was stated in a memorial presented to the Government by the inhabitants of Grahamstown, dated 19th July 1851, "that within the last six weeks, 20,000 sheep, 3000 cattle, and 300 horses, have been swept from the district of Somerset alone; and since the commencement of the war, 200 farm-houses, on the north-eastern border, have been reduced to ashes." Deeply impressed with the total inadequacy of the force at his disposal to meet this terrible invasion, Sir Harry Smith, when the war began, called out a levy *en masse* to defend the frontier; but it was by no means generally responded to, partly from the sullen discontent which pervaded the colony from the emancipation of the Hottentots, and their own subsequent disarming; partly from the general desertion of the farmhouses by their Caffre and Hottentot servants, which rendered it impossible for the masters to leave them without ruin to their families.[2] Thus for nine months the war was almost an

[2] General Cathcart to Earl Grey, Feb. 11, 1853; Cathcart's Corresp. 7; Ann. Reg. 1851, 287.

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uninterrupted series of disasters; the frontier was rapidly receding before the torches and rifles of the ruthless invaders; and even in Grahamstown and Cape Town great apprehensions were felt, and preparations made to resist the enemy.

50. Progress and termination of the war.

It was a deplorable proof of the prostration of the military strength of the country, that the empire should in this manner be successfully set at defiance in a colony within a few weeks' sail of the British shore, by a tribe of naked savages. So it was, however; and it was not till the end of 1851 that, by great exertion, something like an adequate force was put at the disposal of the Governor. At length, however, several regiments were sent out: the 74th Highlanders arrived, and brought to the contest the experience of Indian warfare and the prestige of Indian glory, and by a succession of skilful movements the enemy were so straitened that they were at length driven into the fastnesses of the Amatola and the Water-Kloof. The enemy, however, still held these fastnesses when General Cathcart landed, and took the command in April 1852. This able and accomplished officer, trained in the great wars of Europe of 1813 and 1814, brought to bear upon the contest strategic talents of the highest order. After a series of hard-fought combats, and undergoing excessive fatigues, the British troops at length drove the enemy entirely out of the Amatola, Water-Kloof, and Gaikee fastnesses, and forced them to retire altogether beyond the Kei River, the real frontier of British Caffraria, which in an evil hour had been abandoned. The final stroke was put to the war by the general in person, in a series of skilful operations in December 1852, on the right bank of the Caledon River, which ended in the capture of 6000 cattle and the submission of the chief, Moshesh, the last of these predatory warriors who held out against the British.[1] By the treaty of peace which followed, the colony was again ad-

Dec. 21, 1852.

[1] Cathcart's Desp., Jan. 13, 1853; Add. Desp. 175, 185.

vanced to the Kei, and a defensive frontier gained which has never since been disturbed.

Although, however, the war, which, as General Cathcart justly observes, had been, from the beginning, rather a domestic insurrection than a foreign warfare, was thus for the time terminated, yet the heartburnings and animosities to which it had given rise were not so easily appeased, and the Caffres nourished in secret the strongest feelings of hatred against their invaders. It is probable that these feelings, so natural to warlike and predatory tribes, whose patrimony had been in part torn from them by a foreign enemy, would have, ere long, led to a fresh calamitous outbreak, had it not been averted by an event so extraordinary that, though occurring beyond the period embraced in this History, it deserves to be mentioned as intimately connected with its events. In the year 1858 a person appeared among the Caffres who gave himself out for a prophet, and soon acquired unbounded influence over the people. He preached that their misfortunes had been owing to the wrath of the gods, for their permitting Christian missionaries to settle among them, and that they could only be appeased by their sacrificing their whole cattle upon their altars. If they did so, the prophet announced the speedy destruction of the British power, and the gift by the gods of ten head of cattle for every one so voluntarily slaughtered. The announcement was believed, and forthwith acted upon. In a few weeks forty thousand cattle were killed by their own hands; and as this occurred at a season of the year when the inhabitants had no other food to subsist upon, they were soon involved in all the horrors of famine. From thirty to forty thousand savages are computed to have perished by this extraordinary act of self-immolation; and the survivors, in the last stage of destitution, crowded into the British territory, humbly imploring employment and food at the hands of those into whose

51. Subsequent transactions.

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dwellings they had so lately brought fire and sword. Immense has been the benefit which this unparalleled event has brought to the British colonists: for it has at once delivered them for a long period, perhaps for ever, from their most formidable enemies, and furnished them with an ample supply of hunger-tamed labourers, who have supplied the great want experienced in that particular ever since the emancipation of the Hottentots in 1834.

52. Renewed predial outrages in Ireland.

IRELAND, during the period embraced in this chapter, was fast relapsing into that state of chronic agitation and disorder from which it had so often been rescued by the rude method of coercion-acts. The potato blight, which had greatly abated during the years 1847 and 1848, reappeared with partial severity in 1849, and with it the burnings, predial outrages and murders, the usual accompaniments of general distress in that distracted land. So far from being grateful for the unparalleled generosity with which the British Government had acted towards them during the famine, the Irish agitators were organising, with the utmost activity, a renewed insurrectionary movement. In the township organisation there were already 500 clubs, containing 30,000 fighting men. The prolonged war in Hungary kept alive the hopes of these desperadoes; the *Nation*, their chief organ, poured forth incessant incitements to rebellion, and denounced with peculiar scorn the "vice of loyalty." The disarming bill of last session had been attended with little practical good, so sedulously had the arms been concealed by the possessors. In these circumstances Sir George Grey, on the requisition of Lord Clarendon, the Lord-Lieutenant, brought in a bill for the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for six months longer. So strongly was the necessity of the case felt, that the bill passed the Commons by a majority of 203, there being only 18 in the minority. In the Lords it passed without a division. Various measures of pecuniary relief

were at the same time passed, and a committee appointed to examine into the working of the Irish poor-law. A rate-in-aid bill, as it was called, was also, after a long debate, passed, the object of which was to extend the area of local taxation, and thereby equalise the burden of pauperism, which at present fell with undue and crushing severity on particular districts. It was evident from these measures that Government, taught by stern necessity, had at length come to see how Ireland was to be dealt with, which was to cease to make it the battle-field of parties, to repress sternly the efforts of the agitators, and do everything possible to relieve the real distresses of the people.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. cii. 310, 671; Ann. Reg. 1849, 56, 70.

53. Sir Robert Peel's Encumbered Estates Bill.

These measures, how wise and necessary soever, did not, however, go to the root of the evil. It was to be found in the excessive redundancy of the population, the result of long misgovernment; the low price of agricultural produce, the consequence of the contraction of the currency and free trade in grain; the impoverished state of the landed proprietors which the latter caused, and the lawless state of the country, which prevented the establishment of fisheries or manufactures in it. Nature was silently, and unobserved amidst the strife of parties, preparing a remedy—the only effectual remedy for these evils—in the extension of the currency of the world by the gold discoveries, and the diminution of the population by the prodigious emigration; but neither of these measures could affect the encumbered estates, the insolvency of which acted as a dead-weight upon the industry and energies of the country. But Sir R. Peel discovered a remedy for this evil, which, though startling and even revolutionary in its character, met with general support, and ultimately was adopted by the legislature, from the sense entertained of its paramount necessity. The general outline of his plan was brought forward in an admirable speech, during the debate on the Rate-in-Aid Bill; and it was afterwards taken up by Govern-

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ment, and embodied in the famous ENCUMBERED ESTATES BILL, which passed both Houses without a division. The object of this bill was to facilitate the sale of estates which were drowned in debt, by extricating the procedure regarding it from the delays and technicalities of the Court of Chancery, which then had the sole jurisdiction on the subject, and to induce purchasers to come forward by giving them a clear, indefeasible, parliamentary title. To effect these important objects, a commission of three persons was appointed, invested with the whole powers of the Court of Chancery for the sale of encumbered estates, with power to make regulations for their own procedure, which was to be of the simplest and most summary kind, and a sale under which was to confer upon the purchaser an absolute, indefeasible title. This bill having passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, the commission was immediately issued.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. c. ii. 786, c. iii. 255, 318, 847; Ann. Reg. 1849, 86, 89.

54. Working of the plan, and its great effects.

Beneficial as this Act has proved in its effects to society in general in Ireland, and co-operating, as it has done, with the other and more general causes of amendment induced at the same time by the merciful interposition of Providence, it was attended in the first instance, in reference to the interest of individuals, and even whole classes of society, with the most flagrant and alarming injustice. The estates in the country being for the most part deeply in debt, and those which, from their insolvency, fell under the operation of the Act, hopelessly so, there was in many cases a shortcoming, often of great magnitude, when the estate was brought to a forced sale, between the debts charged on the estates, and the price which was realised for them. This arose chiefly from the prodigious difference between the value of agricultural produce during the plentiful currency of the war, when the debts were contracted, or the provisions for wives and children fixed on the estates. This great difference must at any time, and under the most favourable circumstances, have produced in many cases a very large defi-

ciency ; but at this time it was still further aggravated by the terrors excited by the potato rot, and the almost total cessation of the payment of rents, or their entire absorption in poor-rates, owing to the failure of that crop, and the great fall in the price of rural produce of all kinds, owing to the vast importation of grain and cattle. So great was the effect of these concurring causes, that few estates at first, when brought to sale by the Encumbered Estates Commission, realised more than fourteen, some only nine years' price of the nominal rental. The debts affecting the encumbered estates, in the form either of mortgages, jointures, or provisions to children, were estimated at £30,000,000 sterling ; and as, by the Irish law, debts are preferable for principal and interest according to the dates of the registration of the deeds vouching them, the most distressing cases immediately occurred of creditors and families whose deeds had not been recorded, being totally ruined by the sale, for a third of its value, of the estate over which their security extended. Several millions of debts were lost in this way, especially in the early years of the Act's working, and unspeakable misery induced on innocent and respectable parties.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 86, 87; Report of Commissioners, Sept. 1, 1853.

55. Its beneficial effects in the end.

The bill, however, continued in operation, and the Commissioners worked it with diligence and fidelity. As prices rose, and the country became tranquillised by the effects of the prodigious emigration, the purchase-money rapidly rose, and in seven years came to twenty-eight or thirty years' purchase of the rental, then greatly augmented. Then the injustice to creditors ceased, for they were nearly all paid in full ; and the benefit of a transfer of a considerable part of the land of the country, unencumbered, to new hands, possessed of more capital than the old insolvents, was strongly felt. From the Act coming into operation (25th October 1849) to 31st August 1858, the estates brought to sale had realised £23,160,000 ; the lots sold had been 11,000, and the

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amount distributed to creditors £21,934,000! So immense a transfer of landed property by forced sales can only be paralleled by the confiscation of the estates of the emigrant noblesse in France by the decrees of the Convention. But the injustice done in Ireland by this indispensable revolutionary measure was far less than resulted in France from the sale of the confiscated estates: the purchase-money realised, gradually came to pay off the whole encumbrances in full; and the increased rural activity, induced by the expenditure of capital by the new proprietors, is to be reckoned as one of the causes of the marked and extraordinary improvement which took place in the condition of Ireland after the crisis was past, which will for ever render memorable the middle of the nineteenth century.[1]

[1] Commissioners' Report, Sept. 30, 1858.

56. Difference with Russia in regard to the Hungarian refugees.

The foreign affairs of Great Britain during the period embraced in this chapter were chiefly remarkable for the narrow escape which the country made from a war, first with Russia, and soon after with France and Russia united, when in a state, as the event afterwards proved, little qualified to maintain a contest with either taken separately. The origin of the dispute was a demand made by the cabinets of St Petersburg and Vienna, jointly, for the extradition of Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and a large body of Hungarian and Polish exiles, who had crossed the frontier of Servia, and taken refuge in the Turkish dominions, after the capitulation of Georgey in the preceding autumn. The two powers made a formal demand upon the Sultan for the surrender to them of these fugitives, upon the ground that they were not ordinary enemies, but subjects of their own who had been guilty of high treason, and should be given up to the power whose laws they had offended. This demand the Porte resisted, alleging in support of their refusal that the fugitives had been guilty of no violation of the Turkish laws, and of no machinations against either Austria or Russia while on Turkish territory, and

that to require them in these circumstances to be given up, was to demand an outrage upon the laws of hospitality, and their own degradation as an independent power. Russia, however, persisted in her demand; and as the Turkish government adhered to their refusal, Baron Titoff and Count Sturmers intimated to the Porte that all diplomatic intercourse with them had ceased. In this extremity the Sultan applied to the English and French governments for succour, and they were perfectly united in supporting him. The English fleet in the Mediterranean accordingly received orders to make sail for the Dardanelles; and they arrived there in the beginning of December, under the command of Admiral Parker. Matters now looked very serious; for the British fleet, as it was said, owing to stress of weather, which rendered it dangerous at that season to lie outside, passed the straits, and lay inside the Dardanelles. This, according to the letter of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, was a *casus belli*; and if the Russians had chosen, they might have treated it as such, and declared war. The firm attitude of the British and French governments, however, prevented a collision: the Cabinet of St Petersburg was not prepared for immediate hostilities; and after some negotiations it receded from its demand, and the exiles were not disturbed in their retreat. To justify their protection, however, the Turkish government intimated to the fugitives that they had better embrace the Mohammedan religion. Kossuth returned an evasive answer, and avoided compliance; but Dembinski and Bem made no scruples, and became Mussulmans, saying it was their vocation to fight the Russians, and not to enter into disputes about religion! Times were changed since Zriny defended the towers of Sigeth against the army of Solyman the Magnificent, and John Sobieski hastened with the Polish pospolite to raise the siege of Vienna, beleaguered by the Turkish host.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1849, 342; Lord Palmerston's Speech, Dec. 1850, 89; Parl. Deb. c. iv. 127, 132.

Hardly had the country escaped from this danger

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57. Origin of the quarrel with the Greek Government.

when another peril arose from the assertion of pretensions on the part of the British government, neither so much called for by national honour nor so justifiable by the law of nations. A diplomatic correspondence had for some time been going on between the British government and that of Greece, in regard to certain claims of the former, founded partly on an alleged act of injustice of the King of Greece to a British subject, and partly on injuries said to have been inflicted on another British subject by an Athenian mob. The facts alleged were, that King Otho, in the course of clearing the ground for the construction of a palace near Athens, had taken part of a garden belonging to Mr Finlay, a British subject long settled in Greece, and had refused to give any adequate compensation; and that another British subject, but a Portuguese by birth, Don Pacifico, had had his house broken into and plundered by a Greek mob, and no redress had yet been obtained, either from the parties implicated in the outrage or the Government of Greece. The Government of Athens answered, that they were willing to give a reasonable compensation, and that they would agree to the settlement of the claim by arbitration; but that the demand made was exorbitant, and twenty times what was really due; and this was warmly supported by the Cabinet of the Tuileries, who tendered their good offices to adjust the dispute. This, however, did not suit the views of Lord Palmerston, who was resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and extort immediate concessions to the demands of England at the cannon's mouth. Accordingly, he sent orders to Admiral Parker, who was returning from the Dardanelles with the British squadron, to make sail for Athens.[1] He accordingly did so, and anchored off the Piræus with fifteen ships of war, repeating in the name of his government a peremptory demand for the reparation sought; and on its being still withheld, it was formally notified

[1] Per Lord Palmerston, May 12, 1850, Ann. Reg. 1850, 61; Parl. Deb. c.

to the captain of a vessel of war lying in the Piræus, that the harbour was placed in a state of blockade.

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This demand thus enforced was clearly a violation of the law of nations, and an unjustifiable stretch of power by the stronger against the weaker. It never was heard of before that the claims of *private* individuals of different countries against each other, or the government of either, could be made the subject of national demand, or be enforced at the cannon's mouth. The English never thought of calling the Government of the United States, or the Republics of South America, to account for the many millions of British capital which had been lost by the North American repudiation of their debts, or the "universal insolvency" of the "healthy young republics of the southern parts of that hemisphere." If such a doctrine were admitted into the law of nations, private debts would universally be made the pretext of public wars, and society would revert to the barbarous state when family feuds or individual wrongs kept nations in constant hostility. The French government accordingly viewed the matter in this light; for having demanded explanations, and received none that were satisfactory, they instructed their ambassador at the Court of London, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, to leave that capital, which he accordingly did; and at the same time the Russian minister, Baron Brunow, declined an invitation to dinner at Lord Palmerston's. These two powers were acting entirely in concert, as joint guarantees, by the treaty of 15th July 1824, with Great Britain, of the independence of Greece. War seemed inevitable, or rather already begun, between England and the two greatest of the Continental powers.[1]

France is on the verge of war with England in consequence.

May 14.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1850, 60, 64.

The announcement that the French ambassador had left London, and that the Russian was preparing to follow his example, which was made in London on the 15th May, created, as well it might, a prodigious sensa-

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Proceedings in Parliament on this subject.

tion. Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby), in a powerful and eloquent speech brought the subject before the House of Lords, calling on them to clear the character of a great nation, which had been prostituted by an attempt to enforce unjust demands upon a weak and defenceless State. The Government was strongly supported by Lord Lansdowne and the whole Whig party, but the motion of Lord Stanley was carried by a majority of 37—the numbers being 169 to 122. This hostile majority, in a house which had been so largely recruited from the Whig ranks during the last twenty years, made a great impression on the country, and a change of ministry was generally contemplated. Lord Palmerston tendered his resignation to Lord John Russell on the following morning; but the Premier declined to accept it till the opinion of the House of Commons was taken on the subject. They were not long of coming to the rescue. On the 20th June Mr Roebuck gave notice of a motion approving the foreign policy of Government, which came on for discussion on the following day, and led to an important debate. In the course of it Lord Palmerston vindicated the aggressive policy he had pursued, by appealing to the old Roman saying when its citizens were brought to trial in a foreign land, "*Civis Romanus sum;*" a maxim more suitable to the ancient republican masters of the world than to a state such as Britain, surrounded by powerful and jealous monarchical neighbours. His speech on that occasion, which occupied four hours and a half in delivering, was one of the most powerful and effective ever made within the walls of Parliament. The House, after a debate of four nights, divided, when Government had a majority of 46—the numbers being 310 to 264. This victory prolonged the life of the Administration. The whole strength of the united Liberal and Roman Catholic party supported Ministers on this occasion.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. c. xii. 102, 739; Ann. Reg. 1850, 83, 88.

As the House of Commons by so large a majority supported Ministers on this question, and brought the

nation to the verge of a war with France and Russia united, it is worth while to examine what preparation they had made to sustain a war with these two powers. This is now ascertained by authentic evidence. From the return presented to the House of Commons on 5th June 1857, on the motion of Mr Sidney Herbert, it appears that the total military force voted by Parliament was, for 1850, exclusive of those in India, 99,128, of whom 39,730 were required for the colonies, leaving only 59,398 for service in the British Islands. Nor was the state of the navy more satisfactory; for the men and boys voted for the sea service in that year were only 39,000; and by no efforts could five sail of the line, *adequately manned*, have been collected in the Channel to protect the British shores from invasion. On the other hand, the Russians had 25 sail of the line constantly manned and equipped in the Baltic, and 15 in the Euxine, and France had 53,000 men ready to man 20 sail of the line, and as many frigates and war-steamers to join in the crusade. And the danger was averted by no other means but abandonment by Great Britain of the pretensions she had in so heedless a manner advanced. After all this discussion, Lord Palmerston quietly succumbed, and agreed to submit the disputed claims to arbitration, as France had all along urged; and the matter ended by the arbiters giving about a thirtieth part of the sums originally demanded.[1]

1850. 60. Military and naval armaments of the empire at this period.

[1] Return, June 5, 1857, Commons; Parl. Deb. c. xii. 378, 472.

The speech of Sir R. Peel during this debate was one of the most brilliant which he ever delivered, and it was attended with one mournful peculiarity—it was his last. Within a few hours after, on the 29th June, as Sir R. Peel was riding up Constitution Hill, he was unfortunately thrown from his horse, and severely hurt. He was carried home, and the best surgical aid immediately obtained, but in vain; for after lingering in great pain for some days, he expired at eleven o'clock on the 1st July. It is impossible to describe the impression which

61. Death of Sir R. Peel. July 1.

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this melancholy event produced on the country, or the universal grief with which the intelligence of it was received. The news of his death created as great a sensation abroad as it did in this country. The Queen was desirous to make Lady Peel a peeress, as had been done with Lady Canning under similar circumstances, but she declined it, agreeably to the expressed wish of her deceased husband. All parties concurred in the eloquent peroration of Mr Gladstone in the House of Commons: "Though he has died full of years and of honours, yet it is a death which, in human eyes, is premature; for we had fondly hoped that whatever position Providence might still assign to him, by the weight of his ability, by the splendour of his talents, and the purity of his virtues, he might still have been spared to render service to his country:[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. c. xii. 858; Ann. Reg. 1850, 175, 176.

'Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quench'd in smoke,
The trumpet's silvery sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill.'"

62. Bill lowering the franchise in Ireland.

The only other matter of general importance which came before Parliament in this session was a measure for change in the electoral qualification in the counties of Ireland. The proposition of Government was that the franchise should be lowered from £10 a-year of rated value, which it at present was, to £8. The ground on which this demand was made was the great diminution which had taken place of late years in the number of registered voters in that island, which was found, by the returns presented to Parliament, to have declined from 208,000 to 72,000. The motion was strongly opposed in both Houses, as being virtually a new reform bill, placing the constituency of Ireland on a different footing from what it was in any other part of the empire. An amendment was proposed, on the one hand, to lower the franchise for the counties to £5 rating, and on the other to raise it to £15. Lord John Russell, however, on the

part of Government, resisted both these changes, and at length the matter ended in the rating of £8 a-year being adopted as the standard both in boroughs and counties. It afforded a melancholy picture of the state to which Ireland had been reduced under the combined operations of the potato famine and the free admission of foreign grain, that it became necessary for the authors of the Reform Bill, and the supporters of Free Trade, to lower the suffrage, in order to prevent the constituency dwindling away to nothing—to a level scarcely equal to the annual maintenance of an English pauper.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. c. ix. 318, 354; Ann. Reg. 1850, 102, 109.

63. Circumstances which led to Lord Palmerston's removal from office.

It is remarkable that the question upon which the Government was most decidedly in the wrong was the one on which they ultimately went to issue with their opponents, and on which a change of ministry for a brief period soon after took place. It is still more remarkable that this change took its origin, not in consequence of a defeat on any of the great questions of the day, but of a matter personal to one of the cabinet ministers. Lord Palmerston, who had so long conducted the foreign affairs of the country, had become so much elated by the triumphant majority which had carried him through on the Greek question, that he was not only complained of by his colleagues for carrying on matters in his department too exclusively of his own authority, but even fell under the censure of his sovereign for not making her sufficiently acquainted with important public measures, and altering some state papers in material passages after they had been submitted to her approval. In addition to this, the Premier complained of some expressions used by the Foreign Secretary to the Hungarian refugees, as likely to disturb the peace of Europe, and of a conversation held by him with the French ambassador in London, regarding the *coup-d'état* of December 2, 1851, repugnant to the tenor of the instructions sent by the Government to their ambassador at Paris,[2] which was to abstain from all interference whatever in the affairs

[2] Ann. Reg. 1852, 3, 15; Parl. Deb. c. xix. 24, 89.

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of France. The result was that Lord John Russell felt it his duty to recommend to her Majesty to remove Lord Palmerston from office, which was accordingly done, and Lord Granville was appointed his successor.

64. Defeat of the Ministry on the Militia Bill.

So far Lord John Russell was successful in maintaining the system of non-interference in the affairs of foreign nations, which was the only true policy for the country, and getting quit of a rival in the cabinet, whose abilities he perhaps had some reason to dread. But he had an experienced and skilful antagonist to deal with. Lord Palmerston ere long had his revenge. Notwithstanding the extreme reluctance of the majority of the House of Commons to any augmentation of the army or navy estimates, the Government felt so strongly the perilous position in which the country was now placed in presence of the Sovereign of France, whose intentions were as yet unknown, that they felt it absolutely necessary to adopt some measure which might in some degree strengthen the national defences. Accordingly, on 16th February 1852, Lord John Russell brought in a bill, the object of which was to establish a *local* militia of 70,000 men in England, in addition to a trifling addition of 4000 infantry and 1000 artillery to the regular army. The troops were only to be called out for a few weeks in the year, and in the first instance the cost would be only £200,000 a-year. In the second year, however, the force was to be raised to 100,000, and in the third to 130,000, still, however, on the footing of a local militia. Lord Palmerston, who, notwithstanding his daring foreign policy, was fully alive to the defenceless state of the country, and was more conversant than the prime-minister with the necessity of *permanent* embodiment towards the formation of an efficient military force, moved as an amendment, that the word "local" should be left out of the bill, besides other alterations of a less important character. The object of this was to render the proposed militia a permanent force, differing from

the line only in not being bound to serve out of the country. Probably Lord John Russell was too well versed in history not to know that this species of force was much more likely to be efficient than the other; but he stood too much in awe of the members for the manufacturing towns, and deemed the finances of the country not sufficiently recovered from their long-continued depression to acquiesce in the amendment. He resisted it, accordingly, with the whole weight of Government; but a coalition having been formed between the Conservative opposition and Lord Palmerston's personal friends, the Premier was thrown into a minority, on a division, of 9, the numbers being 135 to 126. Upon this, Lord John Russell threw up the bill, assigning as his reason for doing so, that the vote of the House was substantially one of want of confidence in the administration, and that he could no longer conduct the government when he had lost the power of carrying its measures. The result was that the whole ministry resigned; and the Queen having sent for the Earl of Derby (formerly Lord Stanley), he, with some hesitation, undertook to form an administration, the members of which were announced shortly after.[1]*

Feb. 23.

[1] Parl. Deb. c. xix. 838, 874; Ann. Reg. 1852, 21, 29.

* The Ministry of the Earl of Derby.

First Lord of the Treasury,	Earl of Derby.
Lord-Chancellor,	Lord St Leonards.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,	Mr Disraeli.
President of the Council,	Earl of Lonsdale.
Privy Seal,	Marquess of Salisbury.
Home Secretary,	Right Hon. Spencer Walpole.
Foreign Secretary,	Earl of Malmesbury.
Colonial Secretary,	Sir John Pakington.
First Lord of the Admiralty,	Duke of Northumberland.
President of Board of Control,	Right Hon. John Herries.
President of Board of Trade,	Right Hon. Joseph Henley.
Postmaster-General,	Earl of Hardwicke.

Not in the Cabinet.

Commander-in-Chief,	Duke of Wellington.
Master-General of Ordnance,	Lord Hardinge.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,	Earl of Eglinton.
Attorney-General,	Sir F. Thesiger.
Solicitor-General,	Sir Fitzroy Kelly.

—*Parl. Deb.*, cxix., Introduction.

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The Earl of Derby, who was now called to the chief direction of affairs, has not on this occasion, or since that time, been so long in office as to enable a just estimate to be formed of his merits as a statesman, and it will belong to a future historian to pronounce a judgment on that subject. But there is one quality he possessed, which already had become so conspicuous that a confident opinion may even now be pronounced upon it. He is, beyond all doubt, and by the admission of all parties, the most perfect orator of his day. His style of speaking differs essentially from that of the great statesmen of his own or the preceding age. His leading feature is neither the vehement declamation of Fox, nor the lucid narrative of Pitt, nor the classical fancy of Canning, nor the varied energy of Brougham. Capable, when he chose, of rivalling any of these, illustrious in the line in which they excelled, the native bent of his mind leads him rather to a combination of their varied excellencies than an imitator of any one of them. In many respects he is a more perfect and winning orator than any of his predecessors. His eloquence presents a combination of opposite and seemingly inconsistent excellencies, but which combine, in a surprising manner, to form a graceful and attractive whole. At once playful and serious, eloquent and instructive, amusing and pathetic, his thoughts seem to flow from his lips in an unpremeditated stream, which at once delights and fascinates his hearers. None was ever tired while his speech lasted; no one ever saw him come to a conclusion without regret. He is capable at times of rising to the highest flights of eloquence, is always thoroughly master of the subject on which he speaks, and never fails to place his views in the clearest and most favourable light; but the natural bent of his mind is to win the assent of his hearers by the charm of his fancy or the delicacy of his satire, rather than sweep away their judgment by the torrent of his oratory.

Lord Derby as an orator.

Lord Derby's cabinet, by the admission even of its

adversaries, was composed of men of distinguished abilities. As a leader of the House of Commons, armed at all points in the panoply of talent, Mr Disraeli stood pre-eminent; and if his peculiar and great sarcastic talents had not such a field for their exercise as when he was the chief of the Opposition, he had a still more favourable opportunity of exhibiting his vast stores of information and practised powers of debate. Lord Malmesbury conducted the foreign affairs of the country with judgment and temper, and in the most conciliatory spirit—qualities of the highest importance in regaining the confidence of the European powers, whose jealousies had been generally awakened, or hostility produced, by the aggressive propensities of his predecessor; and Sir John Pakington, in the important situation of colonial secretary, exhibited an amount of information on these great and varied interests, and judgment in dealing with them, which won for him universal confidence. The days of this administration, however, were numbered from the hour when they first ascended to power: not from distrust of the nation in their capacity for government, but from an opinion generally entertained, and sedulously inculcated by their opponents, that they were in secret adverse to the new principles, and that the ascendancy of the urban class, in whom the Reform Bill had vested the government of the country, would be endangered by their continuance in office.

66. His Cabinet.

In one particular of vital importance, as it ultimately turned out, to the character and safety of the country, a great and salutary change was introduced. The state of the national defences, to which the attention of Parliament had at length been aroused, early occupied their serious attention, and a bill was introduced into Parliament for embodying the militia in England, to the extent of 80,000 men, to be raised in the first instance by voluntary enlistment, and failing that, by ballot. Scotland and Ireland were, in the mean time, excluded from the

67. Embodying of the militia, and increase of the military force of the country.

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operation of the bill. It was warmly supported in the Commons by Lord Palmerston, who said with truth, "it was impossible to over-estimate the importance of this bill," and it passed the House by a majority of 187 to 142, notwithstanding a fierce opposition from Sir de Lacy Evans and the Radical members. In the Lords, the bill passed without a division; but not before it had called forth a powerful and invaluable speech from the Duke of Wellington, memorable as being the *last*, of any moment, he ever delivered in Parliament.[1]*

[1] Ann. Reg. 1852, 51, 65; Parl. Deb. c. xx. 705, 720, 1178.

68. Lord Hardinge's measures to increase the artillery.

Meanwhile Lord Hardinge was actively engaged in measures to augment the regular army in that department in which it had become most inefficient. When he came into office he found only *forty guns* in the island capable of service, and most of these would have gone to pieces the first time they had got into a clay-field. By the indefatigable exertions of that able officer the number of

* "I am certainly the last man," said the Duke of Wellington on this memorable occasion, "to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined or half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops you are acting with a certain degree of confidence, that what they are ordered to perform, they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence; on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to. Look at the state in which we stand at the present moment. We are at peace with the whole world; but who can say how long that peace will last? Our peace establishment should have in contemplation future wars, and this should have been provided for long ago. It is futility to expect anything from troops after only a month or six weeks' training. *We have never up to this moment maintained a proper peace establishment:* that is the real truth; and we are now in such a position that we can no longer carry on that system, and we must have a suitable peace establishment. I tell you that, for the last ten years, you have never had more men in your armies than were sufficient to relieve your sentries in the different parts of the world; such is the state of your peace establishment. You have been carrying on war in all parts of the globe, in the different stations, by means of your peace establishment: yet on that establishment you have not more men than are necessary to relieve the sentries and regiments on foreign service, some of which have been twenty-five years abroad. In the last war we had several militia regiments in the field, and they were as fine and highly-disciplined a body of men as I ever saw. Everything must have a beginning, and the militia now proposed to be established is that beginning. The eighty thousand men now proposed to be raised will, in time, become what their predecessors have been, and form an invaluable auxiliary to the regular army."—*Parl. Deb.* cxxii. 728, 731. *Ann. Reg.* 1852, pp. 65, 67.

guns fit for service was, by the end of the year, raised to 200; and this was the train which upheld the national honour in the siege of Sebastopol. Such was the anxiety of that gallant soldier on the subject, that he could speak and think of nothing else; and while the peace party in Manchester and Liverpool were resisting every attempt to augment the national defences, and dreaming only of pacific influences, the hero of Albuera and Ferozeshah spent sleepless nights ruminating on the imminent peril of a misled and infatuated people.[1]

[1] Personal information from Lord Hardinge.

69. Dissolution of the House of Commons.

The House of Commons acted with the forbearance, to the new Ministry, which they usually exercise towards a young speaker. They gave them a fair trial. It was understood and tacitly agreed to, that no measures not absolutely necessary should be brought forward till the sense of the country was taken on the comparative claims of the two rival parties to power; and that, to such as were indispensable, no mere party opposition should be offered. Both parties honourably abided by this understanding. Parliament was prorogued on July 1st, and next day the House of Commons was dissolved by royal proclamation. The general election which ensued was conducted on both sides with great keenness, but happily without the violence or intimidation which had so often of late years disgraced the people of both islands. Bribery and corruption, however, were carried on to an extent unknown on any former occasion: and it was hard to say which of the two contending parties attained the greatest eminence in this unenviable particular. No less than fifty-two petitions were presented against the return of members in the new House—a number as yet unprecedented. One thing, however, was very remarkable in the elections: none of the Conservative candidates, not even those most strongly wedded heretofore to protection principles, were bound to maintain them on the hustings. They either professed themselves converts at the eleventh hour to the new opinions, or passed them over in silence,

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saying they no longer contested the matter out of deference to general opinion. The general prosperity, the result in reality of the gold discoveries, which had begun to affect prices in the preceding year, and were in full operation in this, was invariably ascribed by the Free-trade party to their measures; and this obtained such general credence, that any resistance to it was out of the question. Whatever posterity might say on the subject, it was evident that, in the opinion of the great majority of the constituency at this time, Free Trade was a specific for all the evils under which the nation laboured.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1852, 123, 127.

70. The Budget, upon which Lord Derby is defeated, and he resigns, and the Whigs return to office.

The new Parliament met on the 4th November. By mutual consent, the trial of strength was reserved for the budget, which Mr Disraeli had been preparing during the recess, and which in one respect involved an important financial principle. An addition of 6000 men was, in spite of the violent resistance of Mr Hume and the peace party, voted for the navy, *in order to lay the foundation of a Channel fleet*, and 2000 men and 1000 horses for the artillery. But the great resistance was reserved for the budget. Mr Disraeli proposed a reduction of the duty on tea from 2s. 2d. to 1s. a pound, by progressive reductions during six years, of half the present duties on hops, and half the malt-tax. Altogether, the reductions proposed amounted to between three and four millions. So far all were agreed; but when he came to the new taxes to supply the deficiency thus created, the case was very different. The income-tax was to be continued, at least for another year, and Ireland included in it, that island being taken at the moderate sum of £60,000, while Great Britain was £5,420,000. But then came another proposed tax, at which the British urban constituencies immediately took fire. He proposed that the house-tax, which at present did not descend below houses rated at £20, should be extended to those rated at £10 and upwards. In support of this change, he reminded the House that, since

1832, the inhabited houses of Great Britain had been relieved of direct taxes, amounting to £3,080,000, besides indirect taxes, of which more than half fell on them, amounting to £17,000,000 more; while the landed interest, which paid exclusive taxes to the amount of £13,000,000 a-year, had obtained the remission of none of them. "Who can justify a house-tax," said he, "the operation of which is limited to houses of £20 value?" It was all in vain; the urban constituencies, threatened with an approximation *to the dire scourge of equal taxation*, said, "We can justify it." No sooner was the dreaded change announced, than meetings got up in all the chief boroughs of the kingdom, and the most peremptory and significant instructions were sent to their representatives to make every effort to throw out the hated measure. The result was, that, after an animated debate of four nights, the budget was rejected by a majority of 19, the numbers being 305 to 286.[1] Next day the Earl of Derby and all the ministers resigned their offices, and Lord John Russell, with the whole Whig administration, were, as a matter of course, reinstated.

[1] Parl. Deb. c. xxiii. 1432, 1570, 1709; Ann. Reg. 1852, 170, 192.

Two events of a calamitous nature occurred in this year, which forcibly attracted the attention of the country and of Europe. The first of these was the burning of the "AMAZON," a magnificent steamer, of 2250 tons burden, having on board, including crew and passengers, 210 persons, in the Bay of Biscay, on the 4th January. Among the passengers lost on this melancholy occasion was the gifted and eloquent Mr Elliot Warburton, whose recent work, *The Crescent and the Cross*, had already attained, and has since maintained, an European reputation. A large vessel passed within 300 yards of the burning ship, and was hailed with the energy of despair by the unhappy crew, but it rendered no assistance. If this heartless conduct makes us blush, the next catastrophe makes us proud of human nature. The "BIRKEN-

71. Loss of the Amazon and Birkenhead steamers.

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HEAD" steamer had been despatched with detachments from several regiments, amounting to 13 officers, 466 men, and 20 women and children, in all, with the crew, 630 persons, to reinforce their respective corps in Caffraria. She sailed from England on the 5th January, and from Simon's Bay, at the Cape, on the 23d February, and was proceeding on her way, when, at two next morning, she struck on a sunken rock within sight of the shore, and shortly after went to pieces. There were six life-boats on board, but one was swamped in endeavouring to lower it, and two could not be got loose from their moorings. Thus only three boats were available, capable at the very utmost of holding 78 persons out of 630. The scene which ensued must be given in the words of one of the survivors of the wreck. "Mr Salmond, the captain of the vessel, gave orders to Colonel Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, to send the troops to the chain-pumps, which was immediately done. The women and children were calmly placed in the cutter, which lay alongside under charge of an officer, and pulled off to a short distance to be free from the rush. In this awful moment the resolution and coolness of all on board were very remarkable, far exceeding anything which could have been conceived possible from the most exact discipline. Not a cry nor a murmur was heard among them, even when the vessel made her final plunge. All the officers received their orders, and had them carried out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom, with this difference only, that I never saw an embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion. When the vessel was first going down, the commander called out, 'All those that can swim, jump overboard and make for the boats.' We begged the men not to do as the commander said, as the boat with the women must be swamped if they reached it. *Not more than three left their ranks and made the attempt.*" Only 194 were saved of the 630 persons on board when the vessel struck, and of these 7 were women

and 13 children, being the whole of those on board. The names of the officers are given below ;—would that it were possible to give the names of the soldiers also, to be ennobled in the proudest niche of their country's glory.* And with this memorable deed of heroism, more glorious than the rush of the charge or the ascent of the breach, because more generous and disinterested, the author closes his long narrative of the deeds of his countrymen during the wars of the French Revolution.[1]

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[1] Captain Wright's Narrative, —an Eye-witness; Ann. Reg. 1852, 463, 473; Rem. Occurrences.

72. The gold discoveries in California and Australia in 1850 and 1851.

It will belong to a succeeding historian to narrate the wonderful spring which the country made during the five years which followed 1852, under the influence of the gold discoveries in America and Australia ; but a brief notice of them is here indispensable, in order to explain the main causes which were in full operation in that year, when the general election took place and Free Trade was finally adopted as the system of the nation. It is well known that, in consequence of the extension of the American dominion over Texas in 1848, and the war with Mexico which ensued, the peninsula of California was ceded to the United States, and became a part of the Union. The Spaniards, thirsting for gold, had been there for three hundred years, and the gold was mixed with the alluvial sand under their feet, but they never found it out. Before the Americans had been there six months it was discovered, and the face of the world was changed. Miners speedily flocked to this *El Dorado* from all parts of America, and many of Europe, and the progress which ensued was so rapid that it would be deemed fabulous if not ascertained by authentic evidence. In February 1849,

* They were Cornets Bond and Rolt, 12th Lancers ; Ensign Boylan, Queen's Royals ; 6th Reg., Ensign Mitford ; 12th, Captain Blake ; 43d, Lieutenant Girardol ; 45th, one officer ; 73d, Lieutenants Robinson and Booth, and Ensign Quear ; 74th, Lieutenant-Colonel Seton and Ensign Russell ; 91st, Captain Wright and Staff-Surgeon Brown. Captain Wright, Lieutenants Girardol and Lucan, Cornet Brown, and Staff-Surgeon, alone were saved.—CAPTAIN WRIGHT'S *Narrative ; Ann. Reg.*, 1852, pp. 473, 476.

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the population of Europeans in the State was 2000; in June 1852 it was already 182,000; and in 1856 it had risen to 560,000. Soon after this great discovery had been made, a similar vein of prosperity was opened in Australia. Gold was there discovered in 1849, in the alluvial plains near Ballarat, and this led to a general search in the vicinity, and the precious article was soon found in great quantities. The effects were immediately the same as they had been in California. Population and wealth enormously increased, and the emigration to it in 1854 rose to 87,000 persons; the exports turned £14,000,000, being about £28 a-head; and the gold obtained amounted to the enormous value of £15,000,000.

73. Their vast effects.

The annual supply of gold and silver for the use of the globe was, by these discoveries, suddenly increased from an average of £10,000,000 to one of £35,000,000! The words of poetic genius were more than realised. "Methinks, as I gaze around, I see the scheme of the *All-beneficent* Father disentangling itself clear through the troubled history of mankind. How mysteriously, while Europe rears its populations and fulfils its civilising mission, these realms, which have been concealed from its eyes, divulged to us just as civilisation needs the solution to its problem; a vent for feverish energies, baffled in the crowd, offering bread to the famished, hope to the desperate, in very truth;" enabling the new world to redress the balance of the old.[1] Here the actual Æneid passes before our eyes. From the hearts of the exiles scattered over this hardier Italy, who cannot see in the future

[1] Sir E. B. Lytton's Caxtons, iii. 212; Whitmarsh, vi. 754, 758.

> A race from whence New Albion's sons shall come,
> And the long glories of a future Rome"?

74. Especially in the British empire.

Most of all did Great Britain and Ireland experience the wonderful effects of this great addition to the circulating medium of our globe. That which for five-and-twenty years had been awanting—a currency commensurate to the increased numbers and transactions of

the civilised world, was now supplied by the beneficent hand of Nature. The era of a contracted currency, and consequent low prices and general misery, interrupted by passing gleams of prosperity, was at an end. Prices rapidly rose; wages advanced in a similar proportion; exports and imports enormously increased, while crime and misery as rapidly diminished. Emigration itself, which had reached 368,000 persons a-year, sank to little more than half the amount. Wheat rose from 40s. to 65s.; but the wages of labour of every kind advanced in nearly as great a proportion: they were found to be about 30 per cent higher, on an average, than they had been five years before. In Ireland the change was still greater, and probably unequalled in so short a time in the annals of history. Wages of country labour rose from 4d. a-day to 1s. 6d. or 2s.; convicted crime sank nearly a half; and the increased growth of cereal crops, under the genial influences of these advanced prices, was as rapid as its previous decline since 1846 had been. At the same time, decisive evidence was afforded that all this sudden burst of prosperity was the result of the expanded currency, and by no means of Free Trade, in the fact that it did not appear till the gold discoveries came into operation, and then it was fully as great in the Protected as in the Free Trade states.*

The Duke of Wellington, full of years and honour,

* Exports, Imports, Convicted Criminals, Emigrants, and Price of Wheat in Great Britain, from 1852 to 1857.

Years.	Exports—Declared Value. United Kingdom.	Imports—Real Value.	Convicted Criminals. United Kingdom.	Emigrants.	Paupers.	Wheat per qr.
						s. d.
1852	£78,976,574	£109,331,159	49,215	368,764	718,822	39 6
1853	98,923,781	123,099,313	45,917	329,937	774,214	43 10
1854	97,184,786	152,389,053	45,141	323,429	864,617	73 7
1855	95,688,085	143,542,830	38,614	176,807	897,686	70 1
1856	115,826,948	172,544,154	30,249	176,564	917,084	73 8
1857	122,066,107	187,844,441	31,319	212,875	885,010	69 1

—*Stat. Abst.*, Whitmarsh, vi. 465.

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died of an affection of the head, on the 18th September. The body was brought to London on November 10th, it being resolved, in obedience to the universal voice of the nation, to give him a public funeral. No words can convey an idea of the excitement which pervaded the metropolis and the country when the appointed day drew near, and England was to bestow the last honours on her greatest hero. Despite storms and floods of severity unusual even in the gloomy month of November, multitudes flocked to the metropolis from every part of the country; and before the 18th, which was the day fixed for the mournful ceremony, it was calculated that at least five hundred thousand persons had been added to the two millions and a half which already formed the population of the metropolis. In London nothing was heard of for days before but preparations for the mournful pageant, which was to pass from the Horse-Guards up Constitution Hill, and from thence, by Piccadilly, St James Street, Pall-Mall, and the Strand, to St Paul's, where the most magnificent preparations had been made for its reception. Seats for above 200,000 persons were provided along this long line, which were disposed of at very high rates. In a word, as was well expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the feeling was so strong and universal that "a peaceful people had become inspired with warlike enthusiasm, a practical people with sentiment, and a busy people had resolved to sacrifice a day to give expression to the universal feeling."

75. Universal excitement on Wellington's funeral.

76. Preparations for the ceremony of the interment. Nov. 18.

The morning of the 18th November 1852, as that of the 18th June 1815, opened gloomily. A deluge of rain had fallen during the preceding night, and the lowering clouds presented a melancholy prospect for the approaching day. Nothing, however, could damp the universal passion to see the approaching spectacle. By four in the morning, carriages were to be heard in every direction, conveying the noblest, the most celebrated, and the fairest, to their selected places in the

cathedral, in the clubs or private dwellings in the line which the procession was to pass. By six, every one not detained by sorrow or sickness was astir; and the balconies and seats prepared for their reception were by eight all filled with respectable persons clad in mourning. All the club-houses and principal mansions on the line of the procession were hung with black cloth. The streets, before the procession began to move, were crowded to excess; in Waterloo Place there were not less than eighty, in Trafalgar Square above a hundred thousand. Throughout the line the procession was to move, even from Apsley House to St Paul's, a distance of fully three miles, not a crevice was unoccupied in the streets; the windows were filled with respectably-dressed persons, all in deep mourning; the very roofs were covered by spectators, who risked their lives to obtain a glimpse of the pageant beneath. On the whole line, it was computed that not less than a million and a half of human beings were collected together. Yet, though so great a multitude was assembled, there was no jarring or confusion; each took his place in order and silence, as if the discipline and spirit of the mighty commander had animated the immense mass; and so admirable had been the arrangements of the police, and so numerous the opportunities afforded by the length of the line for viewing the procession, that not one person, even of the humblest, was disappointed in the means of seeing it.

77. The procession.

At ten o'clock the clouds dispersed, and the sun shone forth in uncommon splendour, which continued during the whole remainder of the day. The procession itself was well calculated to satisfy all expectations, and give a memorable proof at once of the power and grandeur, and of the deep feelings of the British people on the occasion. The first and noblest in the land were there, of all parties and persuasions. Prince Albert occupied a conspicuous place; the Duke of Cambridge had the military command of all the troops employed on the occasion; the

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Duke of Norfolk, as hereditary Earl-Marshal of England, regulated the array. Both Houses of Parliament attended, in uncommonly full muster. The splendid array of the Horse and Foot Guards attracted universal admiration; the latter, presenting as numerous and imposing a column as that which defeated the Old Guard at Waterloo, headed the procession. His own regiments, the Rifles and the 33d, entire, and detachments from every corps of artillery, cavalry, and infantry in the service, followed in succession. All the ambassadors, and the whole *corps diplomatique* of Europe, were present. That of France even attended, in a noble spirit; the British did not feel less warmly to their old and worthy antagonists for their conduct on this occasion. The whole superior officers of the English army, and representatives from all the monarchs of Europe, save Austria, were present. An unworthy feeling of irritation at the recent policy of England caused the Government of Vienna to withhold an expression of respect which none felt more sincerely than its brave and loyal inhabitants. Many veterans who had fought with Wellington during the war followed his remains to the grave; but not the least moving spectacle was the charger of the deceased, led by his old and faithful groom, with his boots and spurs, reversed, suspended in the stirrups.

78. Chief persons who attended in it.

All the ministers of state, judges, and public functionaries of the realm were present. There was to be seen the Marquess of Anglesea, who, albeit past eighty-four, and bereft of a limb at Waterloo, still exhibited a spirit and vigour beyond his years; and Lord Hardinge, whose iron soul had saved the Peninsula at Albuera, and India at Ferozeshah. The keen glance of Sir Charles Napier bespoke the hero who had contended against tenfold odds at Meeanee; Sir William Napier, though wounded and broken by sickness, exhibited the spirit which shone forth in every page of his *History of the Peninsular War*. Lord Gough, who had added lustre to the long line of Indian triumphs at Goojerat; Lord Combermere, the

hero of Bhurtpore, and companion-in-arms of Wellington; and Lord Seaton, who commanded the 51st Regiment in the last attack at Waterloo, were there. The intrepid air of Sir Harry Smith marked the veteran who turned the tide of fortune at Aliwal. The chivalrous Marquess of Londonderry, the worthy representative of him who so nobly struggled for his country, was one of the pall-bearers. So great was the impression produced by the scene, that when the magnificent car, bearing the body on its summit, was drawn past by twelve horses, robed in black velvet palls, every head was uncovered, and there were few dry eyes among the countless multitude. Among them was one man, now advanced in life, who in early youth had hastened from his paternal roof to see the allied armies on their first entrance into Paris in 1814, and who now, forty years afterwards, witnessed one last scene in the mighty drama of which he then formed the conception of writing the history, and which, during the interval, he had completed.

79. Ceremony in St Paul's.

Precisely at twelve the procession reached the great door of St Paul's, having been met at Temple Bar by the Lord Mayor and all the civic authorities. The Duke of Cambridge, as representing the army of England, received it at the gate with his sword drawn; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and three hundred of his clergy, in full canonicals, met the coffin as it entered the churchyard. The interior of the cathedral was hung with black, and magnificently lighted with gas, which, as evening approached, threw a mellow light over the vast interior of the dome. Splendid music added its charm to the magic influence of the scene. Eighteen thousand persons, arranged on seats in the form of an amphitheatre, embracing the first and noblest in the land, witnessed the spectacle. When the procession entered the cathedral, and the anthem was struck up from the powerful organ and a splendid orchestra, twenty thousand voices swelled the strain. When the titles of the

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deceased came to be read out by Garter King-at-Arms, it appeared he had been loaded with honours from every country in Europe. A Prince in Belgium, a Duke in England and Spain, he was a Field-Marshal in Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, France, Hanover, the Netherlands, Portugal, and England; nine batons fell from his hand when he breathed his last. Foreign princes and marshals stood at the head of the coffin; Prince Albert and the English generals, who had borne the pall, at its foot.* Every heart throbbed with emotion when, in dead silence, the coffin was lowered into the grave in the centre of the cathedral, close behind Nelson's tomb; and the last earthly honour he received was from his old companion in arms, the Marquess of Anglesea, who, as it vanished from the sight, bowed to his unconscious remains.

"Such honours Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."

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* Marquess of Anglesea, Marquess of Londonderry, Lord Gough, Lord Combermere, Lord Seaton, Sir Harry Smith, Sir Charles Napier, Sir Alexander Woodford, and Sir Peregrine Maitland.

CHAPTER LVII.

FRANCE FROM THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT, IN DECEMBER 1848, TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE, IN 1852.

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1. State of Government after the election of the President.

THE immense majority by which Prince Louis Napoleon had been created President of the Republic added greatly to the power of the executive, and was an important step in the restoration of order after the Revolution, but it was far from appeasing the parties, or producing a similar union in the Assembly. It was, in truth, a declaration of France against the Revolution, and bespoke the anxious desire of the inhabitants to terminate the disorders which it had introduced, and return to the occupations of peaceful industry. But to the legislature, or at least a large part of its members, it was a serious blow, and was felt the more severely that it had been so completely unexpected. They had entered the Assembly expecting to be little kings, or, at the very least, Roman senators; they found themselves reduced to the rank of ordinary legislators. The executive power—so important in all countries, so powerful in every age in France—had been appointed over their heads by the general voice of the people; the President was no longer their officer or administrator, but the nominee of a rival power, and might be expected on a crisis to be supported by the army, which looked to him for promotion, employ-

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ment, and glory. The seeds in this way, not merely of discontent and division, but probable strife, were sown in the very outset of the President's power; the balance between a popular chief magistrate and an ambitious but discontented legislature could not long be preserved; and as the nation would certainly not again go back to the Republic, it was already foreseen that it must go forward to the Empire.[1]

[1] Cassagnac, ii. 34, 38; Ann. Hist. 1849, 2, 3.

2. Formation of the army of the Alps under Bugeaud.

The first care of the President, after installation in office, was to organise a powerful army under the command of Marshal Bugeaud at Lyons and the adjacent provinces near the Alps. The foundation of that army had been laid in March 1848, when it was expected that the Republic would be attacked by the neighbouring powers, and it at first consisted only of three divisions, mustering 30,000 bayonets and 4000 sabres, with 38 guns. It was now raised, by the care of the President, to 72,000 infantry and 8000 horse. The threatening aspect of affairs in the north of Italy amply justified these precautionary measures; and it was mainly owing to the formidable front thus presented that the Austrians, after their successes over the Piedmontese, had been prevented from crossing the Ticino. But the army was destined also for another object, and its main purpose was to form a support to the President's power in the event of a rupture with the Assembly. It had already rendered important service to the cause of order on occasion of the insurrection in June preceding, when it prevented an outbreak at Lyons from immediately succeeding that at Paris; and one of its divisions had on the first alarm advanced by forced marches towards the capital. It was to this powerful force that Louis Napoleon mainly looked for the support of his authority, in the event of that breach with the Assembly and democratic party, which it was evident, sooner or later, must ensue.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. 1849, 3.

The thorns were not long of showing themselves, and that in the cabinet of the President. Following up the

3. Early divisions and changes in the Cabinet.

principle laid down in his circular to the electors, already given,[1] Louis Napoleon, in the first instance, formed his cabinet from a combination of all parties, though the majority was composed of those who were known to incline to the monarchical side. It is true M. Thiers, M. Molé, M. Berryer, M. de Broglie, M. de Montalembert, were not themselves in the cabinet, but their friends and supporters were so, and constituted its majority. M. Odillon Barrot, M. Leon de Malleville, Drouyn de Lhuys, M. Passy, M. Leon Tracy, belonged to the constitutional party, who had formed the Opposition, but desired a free government under the Orleans dynasty. It might be presumed, what was soon found to ensue, that they would incline to the monarchical side under the government of the President. On the other hand, M. de Falloux represented the religious party, united with the Legitimists, who formed so important a part of the electors, especially in the rural districts, and M. Bixio the extreme Republicans. Coalitions of this kind are often desired by the people, and deemed practicable by the inexperienced; they are always looked on with distrust by those versed in real life, and never fail to terminate in the expulsion of the weaker party from the administration. So it proved in the present instance. A sincere and honest republican, M. Bixio soon found that he was out of place in a Conservative cabinet, and he retired accordingly, and was succeeded by M. Buffet in the office of Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. This was immediately after followed by the resignation of M. Leon de Malleville as minister of the interior, who was succeeded by M. Leon Faucher, transferred from the Ministry of Public Works, in which he was succeeded by M. Lacrosse.[2] The latter changes were not produced by any divergence of political principle, but by a private rupture between the President and M. Leon de Malleville, occasioned by a warm altercation relative to the demand made by the President for the delivery of some

[1] Ante, c. li. § 23.

Dec. 29, 1848.

Jan. 6, 1849.

[2] Moniteur, January 7, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 4, 6; Cass. ii. 39, 41.

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documents in the office of the minister of the interior, bearing on the abortive Strasburg and Boulogne affairs ten years before.

4. Appointment of a Vice-President.

There remained, however, before the Government could be considered as fully completed, the office of Vice-President of the Republic to fill up. This was a situation of great importance; for not only was he *ex officio* President of the Assembly, but in the absence, or during the sickness, of the President, he exercised his functions, and was intrusted with his powers. The appointment, too, was of the more importance, that it was to be made neither by the President nor the Assembly taken separately, but by the latter from a list of three furnished by the former; so that both the rival powers would have a share in the election. In terms of the law, the Cabinet presented, on

Jan. 18.

the 18th January, a list of three candidates for the situation, and they were M. Boulay de la Meurthe, General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and M. Vivien. The two first were received with such marks of displeasure by the Assembly, that the President was obliged to invoke the respect due to the executive authority to bring it to a

Jan. 20.

close. When the election came on, however, the result was different: M. Boulay de la Meurthe was elected by a large majority, the numbers being 417 for him, against 277 for M. Vivien, who alone came to the vote. The ill-humour of the Assembly at this result was shown in the vote on the salary of the Vice-President, which was reduced from 60,000 francs a-year to 48,000 francs by a majority of 372 to 270. The Cabinet had even some difficulty in resisting a proposition of the Radical party in the Assembly, headed by Babaud-Laribière, to the effect that the Vice-President should receive for his residence, not a separate house, but the *upper flat* of the building occupied by the Council of State.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 19, 21, 22, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 7, 9.

The first serious subject, apart from the strifes of factions, which occupied the attention of the Assembly, was the finances of the Republic, which were still in the most

disastrous state, and threatened immediately to become utterly hopeless, in consequence of the cessation of the duty on salt, on 1st January, according to the decree of the Provisional Government on 13th April preceding. The loss of this tax, which brought in 70,000,000 francs a-year, would evidently reduce the Republic to a state of bankruptcy, for the deficit of the current year already exceeded 250,000,000 francs, and it was necessary to come to some immediate resolution regarding it before the fatal day of the termination of the tax arrived. The debate came on upon the 27th December, and the reasons for resisting any reduction of the tax were thus stated by M. Passy, the finance minister: "Never, not even in the days of its greatest prosperity, did the receipts of the exchequer reach 1,400,000,000 francs: in the last year of the reign of Louis Philippe they were only 1,370,000,000 francs. The entire revenue of 1848, if you deduct the produce of the 45 per cent addition to the direct taxes, will not exceed 1,200,000,000 francs, while the national expenses have increased in a still more alarming proportion. In the year which is drawing to a close, the expenditure has been 1,800,000,000, showing a deficit on the ordinary revenue of 600,000,000 francs in a single year. Nor are our prospects for the future more consolatory: the revenue in 1849 can only be estimated at 1,300,000,000 francs, while the charges of the year cannot be taken at less than, at the very least, 1,600,000,000 francs, showing a certain deficit of 300,000,000 francs in the ensuing year. Is this a time when it is possible to reduce the permanent revenue by withdrawing a tax producing 70,000,000 francs annually?" Notwithstanding the weight of these arguments, and the urgency of the case, such was the sense of the Assembly of the unpopularity of the tax, or their terror of meeting their constituents if they had had any hand in reimposing it, that though they departed from its entire abolition, it was only on condition of its being reduced

5. Disastrous state of the finances; debate on the salt duties. Dec. 27, 1848.

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from 1st January 1849 to two-thirds of its former amount. This was carried, on the final division, by 372 to 363. It was well understood to be a political vote breathing hostility to the Government; and it was sufficiently alarming, as indicating how nearly parties were divided in the Assembly. But it was a still more serious blow to national credit, and excited great alarm among all persons of property, from the apprehension that it was an unworthy concession to popular clamour, which could not fail to be followed, as in the preceding year, by a serious addition to the direct taxes.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 28, 29, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 13, 14.

6. Increased duty on successions. Jan. 15.

The financial situation of France was discussed and fully developed a month after, when the new taxes to be laid on to meet this great deficit came under consideration. As the temper of the Assembly against any increase of the indirect taxes had been so unequivocally evinced, no resource remained but an augmentation of the direct; and as the continuance of the forty-five per cent addition to the direct taxes was not for a moment to be thought of, no expedient remained but to levy an increased duty on successions. M. Goudchaux had, six months before, brought forward a proposal, when he was finance minister, to levy a *progressive* duty on successions, whether in money or heritage—a proposal evidently of a Socialist character, and tending to introduce a system confiscating the property of the rich to alleviate the burdens of the poor. It was rejected, accordingly, by M. Passy, the present finance minister; but he proposed a very serious addition to the tax by increasing it from twelve to twenty per cent, successions under 500 francs (£20) being entirely exempted. This proposal occasioned a perfect storm in the Assembly; but M. Passy was firm, alleging with truth that the public service could not be carried on unless the tax was conceded. He concluded with the significant words: "Either enable me to execute my duties, or I resign." The Assembly

felt the power of the appeal, and in spite of the extreme reluctance to increased taxation, was constrained to agree to the increased duties by a considerable majority. A similar measure was, from the same cause—the reduction of the indirect taxes—introduced into Great Britain. Thus, in both countries, the first durable effect of popular triumph was to change, to a considerable extent, the system of indirect taxation—the creation of European freedom—into that of direct and crushing burdens, the offspring in every age of Asiatic despotism.[1]

Jan. 15.

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 16, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 19, 29.

7. Comparative financial state of France in 1848 and 1849. Jan. 22.

A very valuable report was presented on 22d January by the finance minister, on the comparative financial state of France in 1848 and 1849. Though somewhat different from the position of the country in the preceding year, it still presented a mournful and almost hopeless aspect. The total receipts of 1849, as compared with 1848, showed a diminution of no less than 437,718,732 francs, arising from the termination of the 45 per cent on the direct taxes, and the want of the loan of 232,000,000 francs, which had been contracted by the Government in the preceding year. On the other hand, the ordinary receipts might be expected to be increased by 243,716,000 francs, of which no less than 99,230,000 francs were from the increased duty on successions, and 83,873,000 francs was hoped for from the rise in the produce of the indirect taxes arising from the increased strength of Government, and tranquillity of the country. Still this exhibited a diminution in the total receipts, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1849, compared with 1848, of 194,000,000 francs, which required to be made up by loan exchequer bills, or some other extraordinary resource. For the whole reduction in the expenses for 1849 which was deemed practicable, amounted to 178,491,000 francs, as no less than 41,493,000 was for increased interest of debt on which no reduction was practicable; so that, upon the whole, the deficit of 1849 would be 15,510,000 francs *more* than that of 1848, which already had been

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so enormous! Such were the first fruits, in a financial point of view, which France reaped from the Revolution of 1848, and they were bitter in the extreme. The magnitude of the public armaments, rendered necessary by that convulsion, in a great measure explained this deplorable state of the public finances; for the army on the 1st December 1848 numbered no less than 502,196 men and 100,452 horses, of which 78,000 men and 15,490 horses were employed in Algeria. These forces were to be reduced in the course of the present year to 380,824 men and 92,410 horses. The navy was fixed on a more moderate scale, proving that the Government had no apprehensions on the side of England. The ships afloat in commission were ten of the line, two floating batteries, eight frigates, and eighteen corvettes.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 17, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 30, 32.

8. Laws regarding prison labour. Jan. 9.

A very important matter, both as regards the social interests of the country and the party struggles in the legislature, came under the consideration of the Assembly early in January, connected with the administration of the prisons. The Provisional Government, in the first fervour of their philanthropy and sympathy with the inmates of jails, had on the 24th March 1848 entirely abolished labour in prisons; but the effect of this, as any one might have anticipated who knew anything of the matter, had been so injurious both in demoralising the prisoners by idleness, and augmenting the severity of their punishment by their having nothing to do, that the Assembly, on the 28th August, had reverted to the system of prison labour, leaving it to the prefects to decide in what species of work they should be employed. This immediately gave rise to violent remonstrances from the free labourers in the neighbourhood of the prisons, who complained that they could not compete on terms of equality with workmen who, fed, clothed, and lodged by the State, could of course undersell them in the produce of their labour. Pressed by these opposite interests and considerations, the Assembly adopted, with a slight modification, the

report of the committee, which was to the effect that the produce of prison labour should not be exposed for sale in competition with that of freemen, but so far as possible employed in furnishings to the troops by land and sea. This system is adopted also in Holland, Belgium, Bavaria, and Genoa; but it is evident that it is a mere elusory solution of the difficulty, and only *appears* to succeed, because it keeps the competition out of the sight of those who suffer under it. The true principle to adopt in the case is, that idleness in prison is so great an aggravation of its pains, that it is unjust to inflict, and so great an incentive to crime, that it is unwise to permit it. No class in society is entitled to insist that another class shall be kept in a state of compulsory idleness and moral ruin, lest its industry should interfere with their own. The command of Providence is that all mankind should eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, not that this sentence should be confined to the free. Any undue interference with the remuneration of free labour can be prevented by making the prices charged for the produce of penal labour not lower than the average.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 10, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 36, 41.

9. Measures on the question of primary education and the Council of State.

The all-important subject of primary education early occupied the attention of the Assembly. M. Carnot, their Minister of Public Instruction, had, on the 30th June 1848, immediately after the suppression of the revolt, brought forward a project for the universal education of the people at the public expense; but the necessitous state of the Exchequer had prevented it from being immediately adopted, and they fell upon the usual expedient, when delay was desired, of referring it to the Legislative Committee. They having made a report, it was again for a similar reason remitted to the committee for farther consideration; and at the same time commissioners were appointed, with instructions to prepare laws on primary instruction, secondary instruction, and the books to be taught in schools. The Council of State also soon came under consideration, a very im-

June 30, 1848.

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portant body, as it was appointed by the Assembly, and intrusted with the examination of all legislative motions which appeared to the Government to be too hastily prepared, or of so much importance as to be thoroughly matured, and requiring deliberate consideration. It was soon found, however, that the interposition of a body having such important functions between the executive and the legislature, nominated by the latter, led to great inconvenience, and might seriously fetter the executive, especially in matters relating to foreign states, or requiring immediate despatch. A motion was accordingly made and carried to reduce the number of the members of the Council from forty-eight to thirty-two, as a more manageable number; but it was provided that they should be re-elected *by the Assembly* before they entered on their functions. This was an effort on the part of the Assembly to maintain the influence and consideration of which they already felt they had been in a great measure deprived by the election of the President.

Jan. 11, 1849.

10. General reaction against the Revolution and the Assembly.

Public opinion meanwhile in France was so rapidly turning against the legislature, that it was foreseen its existence could not be long prolonged. The general feeling was forcibly expressed in meetings held in Rennes and Lille. "It will no longer do," said an orator in the former city, "for Paris to send us down revolutions by the mail-coach; for it is now no longer political but social revolutions with which we are visited. The departments in Jura have shown unequivocally that they are determined to put an end to this system. Reflect on the days which we denominate by the 24th February, the 15th May, the 23d June. Is it to be borne that we are still doomed to go to bed at night without knowing whether we shall ever waken in the morning?" "It is unprecedented in history," said a speaker in Lille, "that a few thousand turbulent adventurers, ever ready for a *coup-de-main*, should have succeeded on so many occasions in putting in hazard the

destinies of a people so advanced in civilisation as that of France. We present to Europe the extraordinary spectacle of a nation of 35,000,000 of men ever ready to take the yoke from 20,000 or 30,000 creators of revolutions, who descend into the streets at a signal given by a few ambitious leaders, and treat France as a conquered country. A few months only have elapsed since we saw a handful of misled men, taking advantage of the inertness of some, the connivance of others, the terror of many, and the weakness of Government, gain possession of the sanctuary of the national representation, and chase from it the representatives of the country. A unanimous resistance has now declared itself against the Parisian tyranny; a violent desire to shake off its yoke has made itself felt even by the central government. It is not a conspiracy, still less a dream of a federative government; it is an open and deliberate movement by the provinces of France, as the old ones of Gaul were determined that their interests shall no longer be swallowed up in those of Rome."[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. 1849, 73.

11. Proposition of M. Rateau. Jan. 12.

When such was the temper of men's minds in the provinces, it was only a question of time when the legislature was to be dissolved, to make way for one more in harmony with the general wish of the nation out of the capital. After the election of the President by so great a majority of votes over all France, this desire assumed a practical direction, because its realisation seemed more nearly approaching. The general wish found vent in a motion made by M. Rateau, that the general election should take place on the 4th of next May, and the existing Assembly be dissolved on the 19th of that month. This brought matters to a crisis; and it was doubtful how the matter would be decided, for the parties were very nearly divided upon it,—the general wish of the vast majority of the people being counterbalanced by the desire of the members in the Assembly to retain a power by which they hoped largely

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to profit. In the Council of State the votes were equally divided; and in the Assembly itself, it was decided by a majority of *four*—the numbers being 400 to 396—to take the motion into consideration, which was equivalent to giving leave to bring in the bill in the English House of Commons. The whole supporters of Government lent their aid to the measure. "There is something worse," said M. Montalembert, "for a real lover of his country, and friend to social progress, than the overthrow of existing governments; for however sad this may be, the executive power survives, and often gains by it. What is much more deplorable is the weakness of government in the hands of those who received it young and energetic. Do not, I implore you, present to Europe that mournful spectacle; do not let a power which has nothing above, nor even on a level with it, perish from inanition in your hands. A part of the Assembly does not wish to advance, because it is not sure it will be able to retrace its steps; another wishes to move on for the opposite reason. Terminate, I implore you, so humiliating a spectacle in the eyes of Europe." After a long and impassioned debate, the motion of M. Rateau, slightly amended by M. Lanjuinais, was carried by a majority of 424 to 387—a short respite being merely given to the Assembly in order to enable them to mature a new law regulating, in some matters of detail, the approaching election.[1]

Feb. 14.

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 13, and Feb. 14, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 77, 79; Cass. ii. 43, 45.

12. Preparations for a conspiracy.

Jan. 27.

It was not, however, without an attempt at a violent *coup-de-main* that this great victory was gained by Prince Louis Napoleon and the moderate party in the Assembly. The Republicans were quite aware that it would annihilate their ascendancy, and they resolved to anticipate the legal dissolution of the Assembly by a *coup-d'état* against the President. "Louis Buonaparte once down," said M. Proudhon, "and the counter-revolution is at an end. It is astonishing that, for a month past, neither the Republicans in the Assembly, nor the democratic

press, have been aware that that is the real state of the matter. Strike the idol, and the faith being dishonoured, the worship is at an end. Let the vote strike Louis Buonaparte, and it is done. Have no fear of a reaction; it has no force but in the noise which it makes. An energetic vote in five minutes will deliver you from all your dangers."[1] This was a direct appeal to a civil war, and an invitation to a *coup-d'état*; for the President, having been elected by the direct votes of the people, and not by the Assembly, could not be removed but by the same authority which had created him, before the legal period of his tenure of office, which was four years, expired. Government meanwhile were not idle. A motion was brought forward by the Minister of the Interior, to shut up the clubs, which was rejected by 418 to 342; and this was met by a counter-motion, proposed by M. Ledru-Rollin, for an accusation of the Ministers, upon the ground of their having, by this motion, violated the constitution. But the Republicans had no expectation of carrying this extreme measure in the Assembly; it was the hoisting the signal of insurrection that was really intended; and this design was carried into execution on the 29th January.[1]

[1] Le Peuple, Jan. 27, 1849.

[1] Cass. ii. 46, 47; Ann. Hist. 1849, 92, 95, 164; Lespez, Hist. de L. Napoleon, ii. 185, 187.

13. Conspiracy of Jan. 29.

The clubs had for long been in a state of extraordinary activity; and the demand for an accusation of the Ministers was signed, not only by a great many members of the Assembly, but by nearly the whole editors of newspapers in Paris. It was universally known, accordingly, that a great democratic movement was in agitation; and the conspirators at this critical moment received a great and unexpected accession of strength from the discontent of a part of the Garde Mobile, owing to a project which was in course of execution for reducing the strength of their battalions to that of the regiments of the line, and organising them in fewer battalions than heretofore. As this measure threatened to deprive several subaltern officers of their situations, it excited great

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discontent: and to such a length did this go, that two hundred of them repaired in a menacing manner, on the 28th January, in order to extort a revocation of the decree reducing them. General Changarnier, the governor of the armed force in Paris, received them kindly, and persuaded them to retire, but they did so uttering seditious cries, and immediately entered into communication with the heads of the clubs, who, charmed with such an unlooked-for accession of strength, immediately fixed a grand demonstration for the following day. It took place accordingly, but proved a miserable failure. The fire of democracy in the great body of the people was burnt out. The Government were acquainted with the whole plans of the conspirators, and from an early hour of the morning all their places of rendezvous were occupied by large bodies of troops, who, so far from joining them as they expected, forcibly prevented any attempt at assembling. Foiled, disconcerted, and utterly overmatched, the conspirators, who came up in considerable numbers from the clubs, had no alternative but to retire, and they did so worse than defeated—turned into ridicule.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 30, 1849; Lespez, i. 188, 196; Cass. ii. 47, 49; Ann. Hist. 1849, 95, 98.

14. The general election of May 1849.

During the panic occasioned by this abortive insurrection, the proposition of M. Rateau was again taken into consideration, and finally carried by a majority of ONE —the numbers being 416 to 415. The days of the Assembly being now numbered, its legislative acts ceased to be an object of any consideration; and the regulations for the approaching election having been passed without a division on 15th February, the clubs were closed after a stormy debate on the 20th March following, by the slender majority of 19 votes—the numbers being 378 to 359. This was the last important act of the Constituent Assembly. It rejected, on 15th May, by a majority of 37, a motion to the effect that the Ministry had lost the confidence of the country, and four days afterwards came to an end. Every eye was now fixed on the approach-

Feb. 15.

March 20.

May 15.

ing general election, fraught as it was with the future destinies of France; but the preparations on the opposite sides to meet the crisis were very different. The clubs were in ceaseless activity, and they had established branches in the chief provincial towns. The press was nearly unanimous in favour of the democratic side, and loud in its abuse of the President and the ruling authority. On the other hand, the Government was in a false position. Louis Napoleon alone was elected by a power independent of the Assembly; all his ministers were members of that body, and accustomed to regard its majorities as the only foundation of their authority. Thus the chief magistrate of the Republic and his ministers looked to different bodies, and were actuated at bottom by opposite motives. The first, depending directly on the people, regarded the Assembly as an enemy to be overcome; the second, in constant collision with the legislature, looked upon it as an ally to be conciliated. Had it been possible for Louis Napoleon to dispense with the Assembly, and govern of his own authority, he would probably have secured the suffrages of an immense majority of the people. But the nation was not as yet sufficiently awakened from the illusions of the Revolution to render that possible; and as the Government had been severely censured for interfering in the elections of the preceding year, it was deemed advisable to abstain altogether from any attempt to influence them on the present occasion. Thus the people were left without either leaders or direction on the one side, and with both of the most efficient kind on the other. A club to secure the return of members of Conservative principles was established in the Rue de Poictiers, and raised considerable sums to organise an opposition to the Socialist doctrines, which were now spreading in every direction from the capital to the provincial towns. But like all other attempts since 1789 to resist the spread of democratic principles by any other means than the Government, it

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had very little success. The electors, distracted between their own secret wishes and the republican clamour with which they were surrounded, saw in general no resource but in returning a member on each side, or electing a republican not as yet pledged to violent measures. Thus the parties were nearly equally divided in the new Assembly, as they had been in the old. But there was this difference between them, and it proved most material; the leading republicans were not elected. Ledru-Rollin nearly alone survived amidst the general wreck of his party.[1]

[1] Cass. ii. 76, 77; Ann. Hist. 1849, 232, 264; Lespez, i. 196, 233.

15. Meeting of the Legislative Assembly. May 28.

The equally divided state of the returns, when announced in Paris, produced universal consternation. The disorders and miseries of the Revolution were immediately anticipated, and the public funds sank 7 per cent in one day. An attempt was made to renew the intimidation of the Assembly by a threatening mob, which surrounded its doors on the 28th May, the first day of meeting; but it was dispersed without difficulty by a body of cavalry, which cleared the approach amidst frantic yells from the Jacobin party. *M. Dupin aîné*, an able and intrepid man, was elected President, which situation he held, with credit to himself and advantage to the State, during the two years that its sittings continued.[2]

[2] Moniteur, May 29, 30, 1849; Cass. ii. 79, 80.

16. Preparations for the insurrection of June 13.

The first great effort of the democratic party was made on the 13th June, and was brought about by the affairs of Italy. By a vote on 7th May, the preceding Assembly had enjoined the Government to take steps for preventing the expedition to Rome from being any longer diverted from the object for which it was intended. That object, in the view of the Government, was the establishing the French power in Rome, to prevent the Austrians getting there; but in the sense of the Assembly which passed the vote, it was to aid Garibaldi and the Republicans of that city. A large part of the new Assembly, and even some of the President's ministers, had taken the same view; and this feeling was so strong and general, that

possibly, contrary to the intentions of the Government, it might have led to the French troops entering Rome as allies, as the Romans expected, had it not been for the collision and bloody repulse sustained by Oudinot before its walls, which at once set up the passions of the French people and decided the side they were to take. This, however, was a subject of bitter regret and vexation to the Revolutionists, who had looked to that expedition as the commencement of that system of propagandism which they had so long and so ardently desired. In contemplation of the great movement which was organised on this subject coming on, the Socialists had compelled the members elected under their influence to subscribe a declaration setting forth—"*The Republic is above any majorities.* If the constitution is violated, the representatives of the people should be the first to set an example of armed resistance. The employment of the forces of France against any people is a crime, and a violation of the constitution. France is bound to give succour to every people combating." This was the programme of the revolutionary campaign, which was immediately followed up in all the Radical newspapers and in the clubs, which had never been thoroughly suppressed. "A contest is commencing," said one; "it will be terrible. Treason is consummated; they are about to assassinate the Roman Republic. We are entitled to say so to a functionary who has betrayed the Republic, and Buonaparte is that functionary. Louis XVI. conspired, and little time elapsed between the return from Varennes and its expiation."[1] "To-morrow," said the *Vraie Republique*, "the Mountain will come to the Tribune to proclaim the dethronement. High treason has been committed: the right of dethronement has arisen; to oppose it would be to tear in pieces the constitution, destroy the Republic, and abdicate, by the very act, the sovereignty of the people."[2] In pursuance of these principles, M. Ledru-Rollin laid on the table of the Conven-

[1] Club Roisin, Faub. St Antoine, No. 169.

[2] Vraie Republique, June 11, 1849; Moniteur, June 12; Cass. ii. 87, 88; Rev. Dem. et Sociale, June 12, 1849.

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tion, on the 10th June, an act of accusation against the President and Ministry, signed by 123 members of the Assembly; declaring, at the same time, they would "defend the constitution, even with arms in their hands."

17. Insurrection, and its defeat. June 13.

The die was now cast, and war declared; but the revolutionists found that they had a very different antagonist to deal with than Louis XVI., Charles X., or Louis Philippe. The act of accusation against Louis Napoleon was rejected by a large majority of the Assembly; but the bringing it forward was only a signal for insurrection. Early on the morning of the 13th June, a crowd began to assemble on the Boulevards, at the Chateau d'Eau, which soon swelled to a formidable number, being reinforced by the whole Socialists of the Faubourg St Antoine and the Faubourg St Marceau, and soon began to march towards the Tuileries along the Boulevards, having a man of resolution, and a colonel in the National Guard, Stephen Arago, at their head. They loudly proclaimed, as they moved along, they were going "to finish with Buonaparte and the National Assembly." But the Government were on their guard. Changarnier, who commanded the armed forces of Paris and of the department of the Seine, was at the head of two regiments of dragoons, two of infantry, and one of the Garde Mobile. With these troops, whose steadiness could be relied on, he remained motionless in the Rue de Richelieu, which falls at right angles on the Boulevards, till half the column of insurgents was passed; and then, suddenly issuing forth, he fell perpendicularly on its flank, and instantly passing through, cut it in two. The force which had done so, rapidly accumulating as the rest came up from the rear, charged vigorously to the right and left, driving the insurgents either way before them, and completing their defeat and dispersion without ever having occasion to make use of their arms.[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 14, 1849; Cass. ii. 94, 95; Ann. Hist. 1849, 316, 319.

While the insurgents on the Boulevards were undergoing this humiliating defeat, M. Ledru-Rollin and

18. Flight of Ledru-Rollin and the Mountain; and measures of repression in Paris.

twenty-five of the most determined leaders of the Mountain were in anxious expectation in a house in the Rue Hazard, leading off the Rue de Richelieu, from whence, when they heard of the defeat of the column on the Boulevards, they sought refuge with 400 artillerymen of the National Guard as an escort, in the Conservatoire des Arts et des Métiers, in the Rue St Martin. They proclaimed at first their determination to defend themselves to the last extremity, and preparations to barricade every access to the building were made. But these bold resolutions speedily gave way, when they found themselves surrounded on all sides, and no general insurrection in the city, as they had expected, hastening to their relief. Three barricades were commenced in the streets adjoining, when a company of the 6th Legion of the National Guards arrived, and having been fired on from one barricade, rushed forward and carried it by storm. The effects of this discharge of firearms must be given in the words of an eyewitness: "Some panes of glass of the Museum were broken by the shots, and immediately the deputies threw themselves out of the windows, and took to flight, leaving all their papers and effects behind them. Ledru-Rollin got out of the garden into the Rue de la Croix, and thence into the Rue du Temple, where he disappeared, and finally made his escape in the obscurity of the evening." Thus, amidst ridicule and contempt, terminated this attempt of the Jacobins to *revolutionise the Revolution*, and from which its authors anticipated nothing less than the final triumph of extreme Democratic and Socialist principles. The Government was materially strengthened by the defeat of this insurrection. The clubs were finally suppressed, and so thoroughly were they sunk in general estimation that this important step excited very little attention.[1] Paris was declared, and continued for a short time, in a state of siege, and after long debates, in the course of which M. Montalembert drew a picture in the most sombre colour

[1] Moniteur, June 15, 1849; Attentat du 13 Juin, 1849; Requis du Procur. de la Republique; Cass. ii. 97, 98. June 14.

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1849. July 28. of the state of France, a fresh law was voted restraining the liberty of the press, and imposing fresh penalties upon all who should incite the citizens to revolt, or endeavour to dissuade the soldiers from discharging their duty to the Government.

19. Revolt in Lyons. It soon appeared that this was not a mere insulated insurrection in Paris, but that it was connected with a general democratic movement in other great towns. On the 15th June the capital was thrown into consternation by the receipt of a telegraphic message from Lyons, announcing the breaking out of a revolt in that city. It had commenced

June 14. on the night of the 14th, by some unknown criers announcing in the streets, that "Paris was in a state of insurrection, the Assembly dissolved, a convention summoned, and the President and his ministers arrested." The Socialists im-

June 15. mediately rose, and in the course of the night erected strong barricades on the heights of the Croix Rouge, and other dominant points in Lyons. Fortunately the troops remained steady, otherwise the consequences might have been very serious. Heavy guns were quickly brought up, and a warm fire opened upon the barricades, especially those on the Croix Rouge, the headquarters of the revolt, and after being shaken by the discharges, they were stormed, with great slaughter, and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Seven hundred prisoners were made on the spot, and eight hundred men were taken with arms in their hands at the Bernardine Convent, and in the Hôtel de Ville. The losses of the insurgents were severe, as they fought desperately at all points. The intelligence of the suppression of this formidable revolt excited a great sensation at Paris, and augmented the loyalty of the army, who had a grand military display a

June 17. few days after, at the funeral of Marshal Bugeaud, who had died after a short illness of cholera. Thirty thou-

[1] Lespez, i. 522, 533; Ann. Hist. 1849, 321, 328. sand soldiers attended the funeral of the veteran:[1] the pall was borne by M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, Marshal Molière, General Changarnier, M.

Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, and M. Rulhières, the Minister of War. A strange combination, considering how they had stood opposed at the fall of Louis Philippe, but eminently descriptive of the union of parties around the President which was now taking place to defend the last refuge of order and government.

20. Entire change of Ministers. Oct. 31.

Notwithstanding this double victory in the metropolis and the chief manufacturing town of France, the position of the President was still a false one, and there was little harmony between him and his ministers. He resolved to be done, accordingly, with parliamentary administrations: and, suddenly dismissing his whole cabinet, he astonished the world by the formation of an entirely new ministry, composed of persons of capacity and business habits, but by no means known in the debates of the Assembly. In his opening address to the new Assembly, at the beginning of the new session, the President then explained the motives which had induced him to take this step. "To strengthen the Republic, and on all sides by crushing anarchy to secure order better than has hitherto been done, and to preserve to France that high position she has hitherto occupied among nations, we require men who, animated by patriotic devotion, are alive to the *necessity of a single and firm direction*, and of a policy distinctly announced, who will not compromise power by any consideration, who are as much impressed with my responsibility as their own, and who may be limited in action as well as in words. I wish to inspire in the country by my sincerity, my perseverance, and my firmness, such confidence as may permit affairs to resume their usual course. The letter of the constitution has, without doubt, a great influence on the destinies of a country, but the manner in which it is worked has a greater still. Let us then unite in restoring power, without injuring real liberty.[1] Let us calm apprehension by boldly extinguishing the bad passions, and giving to all useful instincts an

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 1, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 400, 403, and App. 38.

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useful direction. Let us confirm the religious principle without abandoning the conquests of the Revolution, and we shall save the country in spite of the madness and ambition of parties, and even the imperfection of institutions which we are called on to rectify."

21. Impression made by this step in Paris and the provinces.

Immense was the sensation which this decisive step, and still more the message with which it was accompanied, exerted in the Chamber, the capital, and over all France. The members of the new cabinet were so unknown, and drawn from such various quarters, that it could not be said that any known party in the Assembly or the country had obtained a triumph: it rather appeared that the President was endeavouring to create one of his own, which might act independently, and, in the end, obtain the mastery of them all. This system would have been impossible had the President been elected by the Assembly, or dependent on a parliamentary majority for his existence; but the case was different when he was elected by the direct votes of the people, and capable of appealing to them in any quarrel between him and the legislature. The impression made, accordingly, was very different in Paris and in the provinces. In the former, after the first moments of stupor, the prevailing feeling was one of astonishment and indignation. The popular members of the Assembly could scarcely believe that it was seriously intended to form a Government independent of their influence, and setting at nought their eloquence. "It is the Government of *one man*," they exclaimed: "the shadow even of constitutional or parliamentary government is at an end." But in the provinces the impression was very different. They regarded it as an attempt to emancipate the Government from the thraldom of the clubs in the capital, or the despotism of an oligarchy of orators in the Chamber, and loudly applauded it as the commencement of the only government really suited to the circumstances of the country.[1]

[1] Constitutionnel, Nov. 22, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 402, 404; Cass. ii. 111, 112; Lesseps, i. 380, 384, ii. 1, 10.

The power of the President being founded on the direct

voice of the people, he was careful in all matters which fell under his power as chief magistrate to attend to their interests, and as far as possible anticipate their wishes. But so profoundly had society been shaken in all its parts by the Revolution of 1848, that it was no easy matter to apply a remedy to the multiplied evils which prevailed. He did, however, what he could, though slowly and cautiously, to restore order without alarming democracy. By an edict of 3d November he restored the magistracy over all France, which had never been properly constituted since the fall of Louis Philippe. On the 13th of the same month, the judgment of the superior criminal court of Versailles, which had convicted the members of the Assembly, twenty-three in number, who had been implicated in the insurrection of the 13th June, was carried into effect, and they were expelled from the Assembly. On the 16th, the necessity of a "certificate of studies," as it was called, before children were admitted to the primary schools, was taken away, as that was nothing but a security of their having been brought up in revolutionary principles. On the 1st March 1850 a new law was brought forward regarding the mayors and substitutes, which put an end to the anarchy which, since the last revolution, had prevailed in the municipalities. Such, however, was the disorder which had crept into this part of the administration, that it was found necessary, before the end of the year, to dismiss 124 mayors and 83 substitutes, and to dissolve the National Guards in 153 communes.[1] On the 15th March a general and important law on primary education was passed; and on the 7th April, in the same hall of the Luxembourg where M. Louis Blanc had so recently destroyed industry by organising labour, both were reanimated by the opening the session of the Council-General of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures. Finally, on the 13th of the same month, the Pope returned to Rome,[2] and openly resumed his government under the

First measures of Louis Napoleon as an independent magistrate.

Nov. 3.

Nov. 13.

Nov. 16.

March 1, 1850.

April 7.

April 13.

[1] Message du President, Nov. 12, 1850; Moniteur, Nov. 13.

[2] Cass. ii. 116, 117; Lesseps, ii. 39, 52.

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protection of the French legions, a step which strongly confirmed the opinion of the rural districts of France in favour of the President, to whom mainly the French intervention in his favour had been owing.

23. Election of March 10, 1850, in Paris.

These were all steps, and not unimportant ones, in the reconstruction of society in France; but they did not strike at the root of the evil, which was the vast spread of socialist and anarchical principles in the metropolis and great towns, in consequence of the incessant efforts of the revolutionary press. This had gone to a length which was neither generally known nor suspected by the other classes of society. The Socialists had long boasted that they had 137,000 men in Paris alone who subscribed to their opinions, and were ready to support their principles. Though not a fourth part of that number had ever turned out with arms in their hands, yet an event occurred at this time which demonstrated that the estimate was far from being exaggerated. The Jacobins, ruined as a revolutionary party by the defeats of 27th June 1848 and 13th June 1849, had now thrown themselves into the arms of the working classes, and become Socialists. So early as the 13th September 1848, Ledru-Rollin had said in the club of *La Reine Blanche*, "I am a Socialist, and have been so for eighteen years. In the Executive Council they were eight to one against me, and therefore I have come this evening to say that all the treasures of the earth are not, in my opinion, equal to your esteem, and to say how happy I should be to receive a ball in my breast in your service." All the other chiefs of the Mountain had done the same; the fusion of them with the Socialists was complete, and their united strength was tested by what occurred in March 1850. The elections then came on to fill up the vacancies occasioned in the Chamber by the sentences passed on those who had taken part in the revolt of the 13th June, and no less than six of them were in the metropolis. The clubs, which, though formally closed, were still in activity, im-

mediately put forward candidates of the most decided Socialist principles, and in every one of them they were successful, and by such large majorities as demonstrated that their leaders had by no means overrated their strength in the constituency of that city. MM. Carnot and Vidil, both noted Socialists, were each returned by 138,000.* In the provinces it was quite the reverse; the returns from them were almost all in the conservative interest.[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 11, 1850; Cass. ii. 119, 127; Lesseps, ii. 67, 72.

24. Effects of this election on public opinion.

The returns, by such overwhelming majorities, of these decided Socialists in the metropolis, struck France with astonishment. In Paris the consternation among the superior classes was extreme; the public funds fell 2½ per cent in an hour when the numbers were announced. Terror and general distrust again prevailed; the danger, which it was hoped had been averted by the victory of the 13th June, again appeared instant and threatening; the triumph of Socialist principles, the division of property, and dissolution of society, seemed to be inevitable. The favourable returns from the provinces were far from counterbalancing the alarming result in the metropolis; it was now proved that more than 140,000 Socialists were in Paris, at the very door of the Government, who might any day rise in insurrection, and to whom the defection of a few regiments would give the command of the State.

25. Meeting of Louis Napoleon with the electors. March 14.

So general was the alarm, and so anxious the wish for a union of the respectable classes to resist the dangers with which they were threatened from the anarchical, that the President, in obedience to the universal desire, convened a meeting of the leaders of the differ-

* THE VOTES WERE, IN ROUND NUMBERS—ALL SOCIALISTS.

M. Carnot,	139,000 votes.
M. Vidil,	138,000 „
De Flotte,	126,000 „
Fernand Foy,	125,000 „
De la Hette,	125,000 „
Bougeau,	124,000 „

—*Moniteur*, 11th March, 1850.

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ent parties in the Assembly to consider what was to be done. It took place accordingly in the Elysée Bourbon, and was attended by M. Montalembert, M. Thiers, M. Molé, the Duke de Broglie, and some others. The President received them courteously, and opened the discussion with these words: "I have assembled you, gentlemen, to assist me with your intelligence and patriotism in this crisis. What, think you, should be done to avert the dangers revealed by the progress of the Socialists?" A long pause ensued; but at length Montalembert said: "In the old assemblies of the clergy the youngest always spoke first; I will answer the question of the Prince with as much frankness as he has put it. In my opinion we can only escape from the dangers with which we are surrounded by the President appointing, as his ministers, the chiefs of the majority. That is the most decisive and significant answer which we can make to the provocation of the enemies of society." "I am ready," replied the Prince, "to follow the advice of Montalembert; what say you, gentlemen?" "The Republic," said Thiers, "is a young maiden. *It costs me much to marry her; but if there is no other way of saving the country, I am* ready to do so." "I am entirely of an opposite opinion," said the Duke de Broglie: "the union, in one cabinet, of the chiefs of the Legitimist party and the old ministers of Louis Philippe, could afford no guarantee either for union, strength, or durability. It could be fruitful only in strife and discord." The other chiefs were of the same opinion; and accordingly, with many expressions of patriotism, the meeting broke up, leaving the President more than ever confirmed in his opinion that the division of parties in the Assembly was so wide that any fusion of them was impossible, and a real government could be formed only on a basis independent of them all.[1]

[1] Cass. ii. 132, 135; Lesseps, ii. 77, 78.

The parliamentary chiefs were too strongly impressed, however, by the extreme danger evinced by the Socialist

26. Law of the 31st May, on the electoral rights.

returns in the metropolis, not to make some effort to avert it. This could only be done by a modification of the law of election, and the imposing of certain restrictions on the universal suffrage, which, in the metropolis at least, was producing such alarming results. One effect of the Revolution, which overturned Louis Philippe, had been to fill Paris with a multitude of Italian, Bohemian, Spanish, Belgian, Irish, Polish, Sclavonian, and German refugees, who, having ruined their prospects in their own country, all flocked to the French capital as the headquarters of insurrection throughout the world. Their number amounted, it was supposed, to forty or fifty thousand, and they were alike ready, at a moment's warning, to vote for the most extreme Socialist candidate, or descend into the streets and aid in the formation of barricades. To exclude, by a general law, such dangerous allies from the electoral rights, seemed the first duty of the legislature, and the matter was accordingly remitted to a committee of eighteen members, embracing, among others, Thiers, Montalembert, Molé, and Leon Faucher. They brought forward a report, recommending that the condition of six months' previous residence, which was the existing law, should be extended to three years; and that all persons convicted of violating the laws, either by entering secret societies, engaging in revolt against the civil or military authorities, or leading a life of vagrancy, should be excluded from the franchise. This change would, it was foreseen, exclude several hundred thousand persons, a large part of whom were in Paris; and the Liberals, accordingly, made the most vigorous efforts to prevent its being passed into a law. The 18th May, being the day when the report was to be taken into consideration by the Assembly, was even fixed on as the day for a general revolt. But the Government were on their guard.[1] Every day, from the time the question had been mooted, the Assembly was guarded by large bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and so well were the

[1] Moniteur, May 31, 1850; Cass. ii. 134, 139; Lesseps, ii. 122, 142; Ann. Hist. 1850, 97-112.

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precautionary measures taken, under the able direction of General Changarnier, that the Socialists, though the whole secret societies were only awaiting the signal to rise, did not venture to move. They made every resistance possible in the Assembly, however; but after a debate of four days the report was adopted, on the 31st May, by a majority of 433 to 241.

27. Effect of this law on public opinion and the President.

Great was the impression produced in Paris and over France by this victory. The funds immediately rose 2 per cent. It was not so much from its actual effects, as from its being regarded as a test of the strength of Government, that it was looked on with so much satisfaction. For the first time since the Revolution of February, the Revolutionists had been set at defiance, and not only overawed in the streets, but defeated in the legislature. The President was far from sharing these sentiments. He was well aware of the incubus which it would take off the elections in the metropolis; but that advantage, considerable as it was, appeared to be more than counterbalanced by the discontent which any measure abridging the electoral right might excite among the provincial electors, upon whose support his power was entirely founded. The law which had excited so much agitation had been passed by a coalition of all the monarchical and conservative parties in the legislature. The same union might be directed against his own power; and if so, where would he be if he had lost the support or confidence of the rural electors? So impressed was he with these views, that he exerted all his influence to prevent the bill passing, and yielded at length rather in deference to the opinion of others than in consequence of his own convictions.[1]

[1] Cass. ii. 139, 146; Lesseps, ii. 143, 149.

It was not long before events occurred which proved that these anticipations on the part of the President were by no means ill-founded. On the 5th of June, a motion was brought forward by the Ministers to augment the President's salary from 600,000 francs (£24,000) a-year

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to 3,000,000 (£120,000). The largest of these sums cannot be regarded as extravagant for the chief magistrate of a republic which boasted of a revenue of £60,000,000 a-year; the smallest was obviously and scandalously inadequate to support the situation in common decency. No sooner, however, was this proposal broached, than the whole leaders in the Assembly coalesced against it; and although the press in the departments declared loudly in its favour, it was only by the mediation of General Changarnier, and under humiliating conditions, that the enlarged salary was voted by a majority of four. The hostility of the parliamentary majority was still more clearly evinced a few days after by the rejection of a proposal on the part of the Government, that the mayors should be appointed by the executive instead of the inhabitants. This change was loudly called for; for as matters at present stood, the mayors in some places were Legitimists, in others Orleanists, and in the great towns nearly all Socialists, so that no united action could by possibility be expected from them. The Legitimists united with the Mountain to throw out this useful measure, and they succeeded. A still more decided proof of hostility was afforded in the appointment of the permanent commission of the Assembly to watch over the President during the recess, which was to extend from the 11th August to the 4th November, and was composed of the leaders of all the parties now coalesced against the President, embracing, among others, General Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, General Lamorcière, M. Molé, and General Creton.[1]

28. Hostile spirit evinced in the Assembly in the vote on the Mayors, on the civil list, and on the permanent commission. June 24.

June 29.

[1] Cass. ii. 147, 153, 161; Less. ii. 131, 135; Moniteur, June 7, 9, 1850.

Seeing the Assembly thus decided, and formed into a coalition against him, the President resolved to throw himself upon the real supporters of his authority, and appeal to the provinces. On the 12th August, the very day after the Assembly broke up, he set out for Lyons, which he reached on the 14th, and on the day following he was entertained at a public banquet. It was a strik-

29. President's tour in the provinces.

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ing proof at once of his courage and his wisdom that he selected for his first public demonstration a city so recently the theatre of a bloody Socialist revolt. It proved eminently successful. "We are told," said he, "of surprises and usurpations: you attach no faith to such absurd reports. *Coups-d'état* are the dream of those who have no moral support in the nation; but the elected of six millions of men executes the wishes of the people, and has no need to betray them. Patriotism may consist in self-denial as well as in heroism. In presence of a general danger, personal ambition of every kind disappears; but patriotism reveals itself as maternity did on the evidence by which the real mother of an infant was discovered in the story, from her who pretended to be so. It was by the renunciation of her rights to save her child that the real mother was discovered. I shall not forget that sublime lesson. But, on the other hand, should culpable pretensions revive and menace the peace of France, I shall know how to reduce them to impotence by invoking the sovereignty of the people, for I recognise in no one the title of representative of the people more than in myself." These words were received with loud acclamations: the banquet proved a civic ovation. From thence the Prince went to Strasbourg, Rheims, and Cherbourg. Everywhere his reception was of the most unanimous and enthusiastic description. His words at Rheims truly described the feeling of the provinces. "Our country desires only order, religion, and a sage liberty. Everywhere I have found that the number of agitators is infinitely small, that of good citizens infinitely great. God grant they may never be divided."[1]

[1] Ormond, Napoleon III., 140, 142; Cass. ii. 174; Less. ii. 200.

30. Parliamentary coalition against the President.

Notwithstanding the clear proof thus evinced of the general feeling of the country, the leaders of parties in the Assembly still clung to the phantom of parliamentary government, as if it could be anything but a phantom when the great majority of the constituency was evidently against it. Seeing the President had openly taken his

line, the different parties in the Assembly coalesced in the closest manner against him; and preparations were secretly made for an appeal to arms, in the event of his not yielding obedience to the wishes of the legislature. Advances were made to General Changarnier, both by the Royalist, the Democratic, and the Orleanist leaders; and his important position as commander of the armed force, both in Paris and the department of the Seine, rendered his concurrence a matter of very great importance. He was at length gained over to the coalition, though he had at first been a warm supporter of Louis Napoleon. The universal homage paid to the President during his tour in the provinces, and especially the cry of "*Vive Napoléon!*" which was frequently heard at the reviews of the troops, awakened his apprehensions, as well as those of the Parliamentary Commission, which formally remonstrated with the President on certain distributions made to the troops after the reviews were over. They were very moderate, being at the cost only of 25 *centimes* (2½d.) per head; but even this trifling sum seemed dangerous in a country and a state of society where everything had come to depend on the voice of the military. The knowledge that such a charge had been preferred against the President, which soon got wind, and the vague sense of an approaching crisis in which the military were to play the leading part, caused a large concourse of spectators to assemble to witness a great review, which was to take place at Satory, near Versailles, on the 16th October. The infantry, consisting of three regiments, passed in silence, which struck every one with surprise, as being contrary to what usually took place on such occasions; but the surprise was redoubled when the cavalry, consisting of forty-eight squadrons, defiled past at a quick trot, amidst cries of "*Vive Napoléon! Vive l'Empereur!*" The difference was too marked not to attract attention; and inquiry being made on the spot, Changarnier declared he had given no orders on the

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subject; but General Neumayer, who commanded one of the divisions, admitted that he had ordered the infantry to be silent under arms. The rules of discipline required that such an act on the part of an inferior officer should not be passed over; but the Prince merely deprived him of the command of his former division, and appointed him general of two others at a distance from Paris.[1]

[1] Cass. ii. 196, 197; Ann. Hist. 1850, 353, 354; Less. ii. 228, 229.

31. Rupture between the President and General Changarnier.

Hitherto General Changarnier was not ostensibly implicated in this affair, although, being the general in command of the troops on the occasion, it was generally suspected that a subordinate officer would not have taken the strong step of interdicting the customary salutation to the President without his concurrence, or the direct orders of the Commission of the Assembly, which was known to be decidedly hostile to him. For twenty days he maintained a studious silence, taking no notice of General Neumayer's dismissal, and it was thought that he was about to play the part of General Monk, and attempt a second restoration. At length he declared himself. On the 2d November there appeared an order, signed by him, forbidding the troops under his command to utter cries while under arms. So universally was this understood to be a declaration of war on his part against the President, that the journals in Changarnier's interest immediately announced his dismissal, accompanied by the statement that it was not as yet executed, because no minister could be found bold enough to attach his signature to such an order. The President, however, judged it prudent to dissemble for a while, and to delay the counter-stroke against his powerful lieutenant, until either his own imprudence or some act of the legislature should more clearly put him in the wrong in public opinion; for as long as republican institutions were in form established, it was impossible to deny that cries from the military pointing to an emperor were improper, if not seditious. The excessive

Nov. 2.

imprudence of the Parliamentary Commission ere long furnished him with such an opportunity. A pretended conspiracy was revealed by some agents of the police to the Commission, professing to have for its object the assassination of General Changarnier and M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, as the chief obstacles to the re-establishment of the Empire. The informer, named Allais, who gave the information, disappeared immediately after doing so, and could not be found, and no evidence corroborating his statement could be obtained; but, nevertheless, the Commission affected to believe the story, and laid on the table of the Assembly a proposal to have a police appointed and paid by themselves to watch over the safety of the National Assembly.[1]

[1] Cass. ii. 204, 211; Moniteur, Jan. 17, 18, 1851; Ann. Hist. 1850, 354, 357.

32. Opening of the new session of the Assembly.

The President now deemed the time come when he might move with advantage. His first step was the dismissal of General Hautpoul, the minister-at-war, which was done in the most delicate terms, and with every expression of regret. He was succeeded by General Schramm. His next was the message to the Assembly, which opened on 12th November, in which he said,—"Whatever changes may lie buried in the womb of time, rest assured that it is never passion, surprise, or violence which decides the fate of a great people. Let us inspire in the people the love of repose, by showing the example of calmness in our own deliberations; let us inspire them with a reverence for what is right, by never transgressing its bounds ourselves; and when this is done, the progress of political morals will compensate the danger of institutions created in days of distrust and uncertainty. The noblest and most worthy object of an elevated mind is not to seek when in power the means by which it is to be perpetuated, but to keep in view continually the means of consolidating, for the advantage of all, the principle of authority and of public morality, which bids defiance alike to the passions of men and the instability of laws." This message produced only a

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temporary lull of the hostilities between the Assembly and the President; and ere long a proposal was brought forward by M. Creton to repeal all the laws against the return of princes of the exiled families. This was done with the design of rearing up, in the Orleans princes, rivals to the President; but it was abandoned, because the Legitimist deputies refused to concur in the motion.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 9, 1850; Cass. ii. 213, 214; Ann. Hist. 1850, 356, 357.

33. Commencement of the rupture with the Assembly.

Still Changarnier retained the command of the troops in Paris and the department of the Seine; and this important military situation naturally caused him to be regarded as the military chief and man of action of the parties coalesced in the Assembly against the President. An event, however, occurred early in January 1851, which brought him directly in collision with the chief magistrate. On the 2d January, a journal known to be in the interest of the Assembly, reported certain instructions issued to the troops in January 1849, requiring them to obey no orders but such as emanated from the general-in-chief, and declared null "every requisition, summoning, or order on the part of *every functionary, civil, political, or judiciary.*" Louis Napoleon now deemed it indispensable to act, and he did so in the most decided manner. On the day following he came unexpectedly to the Assembly, and demanded that they should either declare these instructions apocryphal, or censure the general-in-chief, who had republished them of his own authority. The minister-at-war, General Schramm, taken by surprise, asked for time to consult the Commission of the Assembly; but General Changarnier, with more candour, while denying that the interpretation put on the order was warranted, and asserting that he had never taken into consideration the right of the Commission to command the armed force, admitted that he "had drawn up the orders in order to preserve the unity of command, and in contemplation of a combat."[2] The Assembly, "desirous to accept the homage of the army of Paris, and in order to give it a proof of

Jan. 2.

Jan. 3.

[2] Ann. Hist. 1851, 3, 4; Moniteur, January 8, 1851; Cass. ii. 216, 219; Less. ii. 240, 245.

its confidence, passed to the order of the day." Upon this General Schramm resigned his situation of minister-at-war, which broke up the cabinet. But Louis Napoleon's resolution was taken, and on the 7th it was generally known that in the afternoon General Changarnier was to be deprived of his military command at Paris. Jan. 4.

Upon this bold resolution being known in the Assembly, the most violent storm commenced; but the public funds rose considerably. It was felt that the contest was now openly begun, and that everything would depend on the command of the garrison of Paris. As in the English civil wars, the strife had begun with a struggle for the command of an armed force. In the first transports of their indignation, the Assembly spoke of ordering the formation of an army of fifty thousand men, and placing them under the orders of General Changarnier. The extreme division of parties in the Assembly rendered it impossible to obtain a majority for any decisive measure, and they contented themselves with proposing a vote of no confidence in the Ministry, which it was known would be carried. Meanwhile the President convened the leading members of the Assembly, on the 8th January, at the Elysée Bourbon, when he "declared his earnest desire to remain on good terms with the legislature; offered to take his ministers from the majority; to abandon his enlarged civil-lists; in a word, to do everything they desired, except give up the right which the constitution gave him of dismissing an inferior officer." There was no doubt that this was legally within his power, and accordingly the conference broke up without any result. The Ministry upon this resigned, and the President reformed it with the changes only of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who was appointed to the ministry of Foreign Affairs; General Regnaud de l'Angely, who was made Minister at War; M. Ducos to the Marine; M. Mapu to Public Works; and M. Bonjeau to Agriculture and Commerce. On the same day, the military

34. Violent proceedings in the Assembly.

Jan. 8.

Jan. 9.

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command of Paris was divided, General Perrot being appointed to the command of the National Guards of the department of the Seine, General Baraguay d'Hilliers receiving the command of the regular troops in Paris, and General Carrelot that of the regular troops in the first military division forming the environs of the capital. Thus General Changarnier was superseded without his name being once mentioned. The dismissed General repaired to M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, and proposed that he should receive an appointment as *General of the Army of the Assembly;* but Dupin declined to confer it on him, alleging, with truth, it was beyond his power.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 10, 1851; Cass. ii. 220, 225, 227; Less. ii. 257, 261.

35. Hostile vote of the Assembly against the President.

"The Assembly has lost its sword," exclaimed the *Gazette de France*, when the dismissal of General Changarnier was made public. The coalition, however, did not lose heart, and preparations were made for a grand parliamentary demonstration against the President. It was brought on, after a tumultuous debate of five days, by a motion of M. Rennold, to the effect that "the Government should be called on to explain why the preceding cabinet has retired and the new ministry been appointed; and when this question is answered, that the Assembly should separate into its bureaus in order to adopt all the measures the public exigencies may require." The debate on this motion, as may well be supposed, ran entirely on the dismissal of Changarnier and the position of the President, antagonistic to the Assembly, and it lasted five days. In the course of it, Thiers said, "There are but two powers in the State. If the Assembly yields now, there will be but one power; the form of the government will be changed. The word will come when he pleases; that is of little moment. Let it come when it may, the EMPIRE IS MADE."[2] The whole parties, Royalists, Orleanists, Republicans, Socialists, coalesced against the President, and the Assembly, amidst the utmost agitation, declared "that the Ministry has not its confidence,

[2] Moniteur, Jan. 15, 1851; Cass. ii. 240, 243; Less. ii. 266, 267; Nationel, Jan. 15, 1851.

and passes to the order of the day," by a majority of 417 to 286. CHAP. LVII.

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Upon this defeat the President, to a certain extent, reformed his ministry, but he did so by selecting as the new ministers strangers to the Assembly. In form and appearance, he yielded to the vote of the Assembly, but in reality and substance he did just the reverse, for not one cabinet minister was taken from their benches; that is, they lost the whole object for which they were contending. Sensible of their difficulties, the leaders of the parties which had coalesced, exhausted by the violence of the conflict, and disconcerted by the manner in which the President had eluded the effects of their victory, relapsed into a state of comparative quiescence, and prolonged for eleven months longer the strife, and halved government between the Chief Magistrate and the Assembly. The latter took a discreditable advantage of their majority by refusing the endowment of 1,800,000 francs (£72,000), instead of the 36,000,000 francs accorded to Charles X., and the 21,000,000 to Louis Philippe. This allowance was the patrimony of the old soldiers, artists, and men of letters, who hung upon the executive, rather than of the President who distributed it; but nevertheless they refused it by a majority of 98, the numbers being 396 to 294. This paltry economising, and reducing him to his old salary of 600,000 francs (£24,000) a-year, only increased his popularity; he sold off part of his horses, and dismissed the most of his establishment; and the indignation excited by this treatment of the first magistrate of the republic was such that large subscriptions were immediately made, even among the workmen of the Faubourg St Antoine, to indemnify him for what the parsimony of the Assembly had refused. The President only increased his popularity by respectfully declining the proffered bounty. It soon appeared that the majority was held together by a rope of sand; the exasperation of the parties of which it was composed

Change of Ministry, and exhaustion of parties.

Feb. 5.

Feb. 6.

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1851. March 1.

was so great that they could unite on nothing but votes hostile to the common enemy, the President. M. Creton having renewed on the 1st March his motion for the repeal of the laws against the exiles, the Socialists, Orleanists, and Legitimists broke out into vehement and acrimonious declamation against each other; and to such a length did the exasperation on all sides proceed, that M. Berryer, fearful of the majority being openly disunited, with difficulty obtained an adjournment of the question till the 1st September. Meanwhile the President remained calm at his post, and the Assembly did not venture to take the only decisive step legally in their power, —that of stopping the supplies, for fear of irritating the army and enabling the President to appeal to the people to deliver him from a factious parliament, which had rendered all government impossible.[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 2, 1851; Ann. Hist. 1851, 237; Cass. ii. 260, 266; Less. ii. 270, 273.

37. New Ministry.

Encouraged by this circumstance, and the lull of strife in the Assembly, he resolved cautiously to admit the parliamentary leaders into the Ministry, and with that view, he sent for M. Odillon Barrot to form a new cabinet, which might conciliate the legislature. That orator accepted the difficult mission, but he soon found that it was impossible either to reconcile the principles or satisfy the demands of the various and discordant parties of whom the majority in the Assembly was composed,

April 10.

and he was obliged to abandon the undertaking. Left in this manner to his own resources, but desirous of holding out the olive branch to the legislature, the President, on 10th April, formed a new cabinet, composed entirely, with the exception of General Randon, the war-minister, of members of the Assembly, although none of them were to be found among the leaders of the hostile parties. They were all men, however, of respectability and business habits, though without shining parts, such as in ordinary times would have commanded general confidence. But as every one saw that a struggle between the Assembly and the President was impending,[2] and must sooner

[2] Cass. ii. 266, 270; Ann. Hist. 1851, 94, 97; Less. ii. 275.

or later come on, these considerations were generally forgotten, and all eyes were turned to the future, straining to descry on what question the collision was likely to take place.

38. Revision of the Constitution.

The revision of the constitution was the first question on which the looked-for trial of strength took place. This step was loudly demanded by all intelligent persons in the kingdom, from the proof which had been afforded of the impossibility of the public business being conducted, with the executive in a constant state of antagonism with the legislature, and the latter so split up into irreconcilable parties that no cabinet capable of carrying on the government could be formed out of the majority. The time was now approaching when this revision might legally be made, as the third and last year of the Legislative Assembly commenced on the 28th May, and from that date it was competent by the constitution[1] to introduce changes into it, provided they were sanctioned by at least three-fourths of the Assembly, consisting of at least five hundred members. Petitions on this subject began to be presented on the 5th of May, and between that day and the 31st June they contained the signatures of 1,123,625 persons, of whom 741,000 demanded the revision of the constitution, and 382,624, in addition, the prolongation of the powers of the President. Three hundred thousand more signatures were presented before the 24th July. So great a demonstration of opinion left no room for doubt that the revision was anxiously desired by a great majority in the country, and accordingly Odillon Barrot expressed himself to that effect.[2] The public press was divided on the subject: the Orleanist journals were hostile to it, as likely to favour the Empire: the Legitimists were rather for it, as likely to advance the cause of Henry V.: the Republican and Socialist concurred, after a good deal of hesitation, in absolutely rejecting it, as likely to injure the dogma of the sovereignty of the people, the great conquest of the Revo-

[1] § 111.

[2] Odillon Barrot's Speech, July 19, 1851, Moniteur.

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lution. The Conservatives generally supported it, and M. de Broglie presented a petition, signed by 232 deputies, praying for it. But the Socialists boasted that the revision would never pass, because it could only be done by three-fourths of a house of at least five hundred, and they were strong enough in the Assembly to prevent such a majority ever being obtained.[1]

[1] Nationel, May 26, 1851; Cass. ii. 374, 377; Moniteur, July 25, 1851.

39. Napoleon and Cavaignac on the revision of the Constitution.

The President took advantage of a banquet at Lyons on 1st June 1851, to express his ideas on this all-important subject. "France," said he, "neither wishes a return to the ancient regime, under what form soever it may be disguised, nor an experiment of perilous and impracticable utopian schemes. It is because I am the most decided adversary of both the one and the other, that the people have such confidence in me. A new phase in our political course is about to commence. From one end of France to the other petitions are pouring in, praying for a revision of the constitution. I confidently expect the manifestations of the country and the decisions of the Assembly, which will be solely for the public good. If France sees that she is denied the right of disposing of herself without its concurrence, she has only *to say the word; my courage and energy shall not be awanting.* Whatever may be the duties which the country may impose upon me, it will find me ready to execute its will: be assured France is not destined to perish in my hands." On the other hand General Cavaignac said: "The revision of the constitution would put the Republic in the balance against the Empire. But the Republic should not permit itself to be called in question: every government which allows its principle to be called in question is lost. The national sovereignty is the fundamental principle which runs through all our institutions, and the Republic is the sole and only representative of that principle."[2]

[2] Œuvres de Napoleon III., 240; Cass. ii. 286.

The question came on for decision on the 20th July. 724 members voted, and consequently the 111th article of the Constitution required 543 votes, being three-fourths,

to authorise the change. The numbers were 446 for it, and 275 against it: a preponderance, making a majority of 158, great indeed, but not sufficient according to the constitution to authorise an alteration of its fundamental articles. The coalition had therefore gained a victory by this decision, and on the day following it was succeeded by a motion, on the part of M. Bazé, one of the quæstors,* for a vote of censure on the Administration for the part they were alleged to have taken in getting up the petitions. This was carried by a majority of 18, the numbers being 338 to 320; and on the 16th October following, the session was prorogued to the 4th November. It is remarkable that in the minority against the revision of the constitution were to be found the names of M. Thiers and M. Remusat, though there were not probably in all France two men more thoroughly convinced of the ruinous tendency of the existing institutions than those political philosophers.[1]

40. Vote against the revision of the Constitution, and prorogation of the Assembly. Oct. 10. July 21.

[1] Moniteur, July 21, 22, and Oct. 11, 1851; Cass. ii. 288, 291; Less. ii. 284, 289.

During the short interval of parliamentary strife the country was in anything but a state of repose. The secret societies, not only in the metropolis, but in all the chief towns of France, were in a state of unprecedented activity. Their members were full of hopes for the future. "Yet four months," said their organ, "and the Assembly will have reached the term of its existence. We shall be done with the President, as his re-election is forbidden by law, and victory will remain with the people."[2] The period assigned for the great strife was March 1852, when the Assembly's term of existence came to an end; and it was thought the vote against the revision of the constitution had secured the victory of the Jacobins on this occasion. The great legislative question on which the elections, it was thought, would hinge, and to which, therefore, all eyes were turned, was

41. State of parties during the recess; preparations of the President, and change of Ministry.

[2] Compte Rendu de la Montagne, Oct. 10, 1851.

* The "Quæstors," who became celebrated immediately after, were officers appointed by the Assembly, in imitation of the quæstors of Rome, to watch in an especial manner over the legislature and the public weal.

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the repeal of the law of 31st May regarding the elections. On this subject the President had never changed his opinion: he was decidedly in favour of a repeal of the law, thinking that its removal would do more for him in the rural districts than against him in the metropolitan constituency. His ministers were decidedly of the opposite way of thinking. They deemed it certain that a restoration of the old law would give a majority to the Socialists, and ruin both the Government and France. The opinions of the chief magistrate and his cabinet being thus irreconcilably at variance, nothing remained but an entire change of ministry. They all resigned accordingly, and were succeeded by a ministry entirely new, composed of men of respectability, but for the most part unknown to fame. It contained, however, one name destined to celebrity—GENERAL ST ARNAUD—who was appointed minister-at-war. The new cabinet was universally regarded as a declaration of the President in favour of the repeal of the electoral law of 31st May.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 28, 1851; Ann. Hist. 1851, 116, 124; Cass. ii. 291, 302; Less. ii. 305, 315.

42. Opening of the session. Nov. 4.

The last session of the Assembly opened on the 4th November; and in his message to it the President said: "A vast conspiracy of demagogues is organised in France and in Europe. The secret societies have spread their ramifications even in the most distant rural communes. All that the societies have that is insensate, violent, incorrigible, without having agreed either on men or things, have fixed on a rendezvous for 1852, not to construct but to destroy. It is in the zeal of the magistracy, the strength of the administration, and the devotion of the army, that we can alone hope for the salvation of France. Let us then unite our efforts to take away from the Genius of Evil the hope of even a momentary success." Somewhat inconsistently after this gloomy exordium, the message contained a proposal *to repeal the law of 31st May*, restricting universal suffrage, and excluding only from the right of voting persons having no domicile, or con-

victed of crimes. It proposed to restrict the domicile required by law to six months instead of three years. By this change it was calculated that nearly three million of inoffensive citizens would be restored to the suffrage, of which, by the existing law, they stood deprived. It was evident that the President was playing out his last card: he was preparing for an appeal to the nation, and securing beforehand the votes of the restored citizens.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 5, 1851; Ann. Hist. 1851, 127, 131; Cass. ii. 303, 304; Less. ii. 316, 325.

43. Motion of the Quæstors. Nov. 7.

The leaders of the coalesced majority in the Assembly viewed the matter in this light, and they immediately met this move of the President by a counter-move, which, three days after, was laid on the table of the Assembly by the quæstors, and which was qualified by the designation of "urgent." The motion was to this effect: "The President of the National Assembly is charged with the exterior and interior safety of the Assembly. He is to exercise, in the name of the Assembly, the right conferred on the legislature by the 32d article of the Constitution, to fix the amount of force required for its security, and appoint the chief to command it. It is authorised with that view to require the assistance of the armed force, and of all the authorities whom it may deem necessary for its support. These requisitions may be addressed *to all officers, superior and inferior*, who are all bound immediately to obey them under the pains fixed by law. The President may delegate his powers of requisition to the quæstors, or any of them. This law shall be read as an order of the day to the army, and placarded in all the barracks on the territory of the Republic." This proposal was a flagrant violation of existing law, as it went to take from the President the command of the armed force, expressly conferred upon him, and him alone, by the constitution.[2] It amounted to a declaration of war against him; but gave him the immense advantage, for which he had long been looking, of beginning the contest not only with the affections of

[2] Moniteur, Nov. 8, 1851; Cass. ii. 306.

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the army and of the great majority of the people, but with the legal right on his side.

44. Rejection of the proposal of the Quæstors. Nov. 17.

This proposal came on for discussion on the 16th November, after having been adopted by the committee to which it had been referred, and led to an animated debate on the following day. The agitation in the Assembly was extreme, especially when General St Arnaud admitted that he had given instructions to take down the decree of 11th May 1848, directing the soldiers to obey the orders of the Assembly, which had been recently put up by its command. St Arnaud's language was extremely firm on this occasion. "Passive obedience," said he, "is the vital principle of an army. I have learnt so in the school of Marshal Bugeaud. Discipline is essential to its existence: the moment that you destroy it you ruin the safeguard of the nation. The proposal of the quæstors goes to introduce deliberation and a division of power into the ranks; but the army is the servant of the country: it is united in the sense of its duty." These words spread a general conviction that the army would not support the Assembly, and shook the majority. "Do what you please," said the Minister of the Interior, "we are prepared for all eventualities." A gloomy silence now succeeded to the tumultuous cries which had hitherto disturbed the debate: terror froze every heart, and detached crowds from the majority. Many thought the proposal of the quæstors was the signal for a parliamentary *coup-d'état;* all saw in it the commencement of a bloody civil war. Under the influence of these feelings the vote was called for. On the vote being taken, 408 voted against the proposal of the quæstors, and only 300 for it. It was observed that Generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Changarnier, voted with the quæstors, all the other military men in the Assembly, twenty-one in number, against them.[1] M. Roucher brought the decision of the Assembly to the President, who was in the palace of the Elysée, ready, if the vote had been

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 18, 1851; Less. ii. 340, 341; Cass. ii. 326, 342; Ann. Hist. 1851, 176, 184.

different, to mount on horseback. "It is better as it is," cried he, and the preparations were immediately countermanded.

This great debate left the parties in a state of mutual exhaustion, and materially damaged the coalition in the Assembly, which had hitherto been so hostile to the President, by showing that, on a crisis, a large part might be expected to leave it. The narrow escape which the country had made from civil war, and the obvious risk of its soon recurring, had suggested to thoughtful and reasonable men of all parties the necessity of a change in the constitution; and since the Assembly could not muster a majority sufficient to do this legally, the only recourse was a *coup-d'état*. This was evident to all, and all were prepared to act upon it; the only question—and it was a most material one—was, to whose profit the *coup* was to be struck? Meetings of the leaders of parties accordingly took place, to consider what should be done in this emergency. M. Thiers "was of opinion that the President should be re-elected for ten years." "It will be a terrible day for Paris," said he, "when that is proposed; but I feel it is just and indispensable, and I am willing to agree to it." M. Molé and his friends were of opinion that the Assembly should be divided into two chambers, the President re-elected, and vigorous measures taken against Socialism. A third party, which met at M. Daru's, in the Rue de Lille, on the 15th November, and included M. de Montalembert, were for the division of the Assembly into two chambers, the re-election of the President, and the passing of these resolutions into a law by a simple majority of the Assembly, not three-fourths, as required by the constitution. Thus all parties were agreed, except the extreme Radicals, that a revision and change of the constitution were indispensable; but as it could not be effected in the present temper of the Assembly without a *coup-d'état*, and they were by no means agreed how or by whom that was to be done,[1] matters

45. Views of the leaders of parties at this time.

[1] Cass. ii. 374, 384.

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seemed inextricable, so far as the civil leaders of parties were concerned.

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46. Military meeting at General Magnan's. Nov. 26.

But, meanwhile, a more efficient body than the statesmen or philosophers had taken the matter up, and the fervour of the Revolution was about to terminate in its natural and inevitable end. On the 26th November a meeting of general officers took place at General Magnan's; they were twenty-one in number, including himself. The general-in-chief there briefly recapitulated to the meeting the state of the country, menaced by a furious democracy on one side and an ambitious parliamentary coalition on the other; and the intention of the President, the people's choice, to appeal to them to deliver the country from the otherwise inextricable difficulty in which it was placed. It needed no eloquence to enforce this appeal; the necessity of the case was felt by all. The recent proposal of the quæstors proved that a similar necessity was acknowledged on the other side. General Reybell was the first who came forward and declared that the generals were determined, one and all, to stand by the President in his effort to save the country. The other officers all followed his example, and mutually shook hands and embraced. When the emotion consequent on such a determination had a little subsided, General Magnan said, "Let us all swear, that, come what may, no one will ever reveal what has passed here to-day." They all took the oath accordingly; and so well was the secret kept that it was for the first time revealed, five years afterwards, by Cassagnac, with the consent of the officers present on the occasion.[1]

[1] Cass. ii. 391, 393.

47. Conspiracy in the Assembly. Nov. 26.

While the generals were thus coalescing to support the President, a conspiracy to overturn him was preparing in the Assembly. It was proposed to denounce the President, and declare his powers terminated; commit him to Vincennes, and subsequently transport or banish him from France. All civil and military officers refusing their support to the Assembly were to be proceeded

against according to law, as guilty of treason; and this decree was to be publicly affixed in all the barracks of the Republic. This motion was remitted to a committee of fifteen, consisting of the leaders of the three coalesced parties, by whom it was, with one dissenting voice, agreed to. The motion once carried, the command of the army was to be assumed, and the President lodged in Vincennes. Those who agreed to this scheme were the leaders of the Legitimist, Orleanist, Moderate, and Jacobin parties, and the execution of the plan was fixed for an early day; while, in the interim, the most entire secresy was enjoined on the design.[1]

[1] Less. ii. 351, 352.

48. Preparations for the coup-d'état. Dec. 1.

But meanwhile the President was not idle. The parliamentary coalition had to deal with a very different man from Charles X. or Louis Philippe, M. de Polignac or M. Thiers. Aware of the contest which was evidently approaching, he had in the utmost secresy taken all the steps necessary, not only to meet, but to anticipate it. General St Arnaud, M. de Morny, M. de Maupas, were alone in the secret; but the heads of the military and police were apprised that something was in agitation, and were on the alert. To appearance, however, everything was going on in its usual course; the Assembly were quietly discussing, on 1st December, the interminable project of the Lyons railroad and the registers of the municipalities. In the evening, M. de Morny was in company with General Changarnier at the Opera Comique, and the President was doing the honours in his usual reception-room in the Elysée. His visage was as calm, his manner as conciliatory and affable, as usual. No symptoms of anything extraordinary were to be seen; and the election of a representative for the department of the Seine, which took place on the 1st, sufficiently accounted for the appearance of several couriers and *estafettes* in the streets. When the company had retired, General St Arnaud, M. le Comte de Morny, M. de Maupas, the head of the police, and M. de Boville, colonel of the

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Etat-majeur, retired with the President to a private apartment, where the duties of each were assigned. M. de Morny was appointed Minister of the Interior, and was to sign all the warrants of arrest, and that ordering the dissolution of the Assembly; General St Arnaud was to direct the whole military operations; and M. de Boville was to undertake the delicate task of getting the proclamation announcing all these changes thrown off at the national printing-office, in concert with M. de St Georges, the director of that establishment. The whole measures concerted were forthwith carried into execution. The police and military were entirely at the devotion of the President, and executed energetically all the orders which they received. Before two in the morning of the 2d December—the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz—the whole leaders of all the coalesced parties were arrested, the most of them in their beds, and safely lodged in prison. Among them were Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, de Lamoricière, La Flos, and Bedeau; Colonel Charras, M. Thiers, M. Bazé, Lagrange, and Greppe. Along with these parliamentary leaders were arrested at the same time the chiefs of the clubs and secret societies, whose names were well known to the Government, and formidable from their influence with the Socialists of Paris. They comprehended the leaders of all the revolts which had taken place since the fall of Louis Philippe. The prisoners were all marched off to prison under the escort of a strong body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, where they were safely lodged by seven; and when the Parisians rose in the morning, they were astonished to see the walls everywhere placarded by a proclamation signed by Louis Napoleon, and de Morny, Minister of the Interior, announcing the dissolution of the Assembly, the re-establishment of universal suffrage, the abolition of the law of 31st May, the convocation of the whole electors for the 14th December,[1] the dissolution of the council of state, and the proclamation

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 3, 1851; Ann. Hist. 1851, 190, 194; Cass. ii. 399, 402; Less. ii. 358, 361.

of the state of siege in the 1st military division, which included all Paris and its environs.

The Empire was in reality established on this day; and the appeal of the President to the people was accompanied by a proclamation, in which he said: "If you desire to perpetuate the state of distrust and anxiety which degrades the present and endangers the future, choose another in my place; for I will not condescend to hold a power which is powerless for good—which renders me responsible for acts which I cannot prevent, and chains me to the helm when I cannot prevent the vessel drifting to destruction. The Assembly, which should be the support of order, has become the centre of factious designs; it is forging the arms of civil war, and striving to subvert the power which I hold directly from the people. It compromises the repose of France; I have dissolved it, and call on the people to judge between it and me. If you trust me, give me power to accomplish the great mission which I hold of you, which is, *to close the era of revolutions*, by satisfying the legitimate demands of the people. Persuaded that the instability of power, and the preponderance of a single assembly, are lasting causes of trouble and discord, the bases of a new constitution which I propose to you are,—1. A responsible chief, elected for ten years. 2. A cabinet appointed by him alone. 3. A council of state, consisting of the most eminent men, who are to prepare the laws which are to be introduced, and support them before the legislative body. 4. A legislative body named by universal suffrage, without any scrutiny of the votes. 5. A second assembly, formed of all the eminent men in the country, at once the guardians of the fundamental paction and the public liberties."[1]

49. The President's proclamation to the people.

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 3, 1851; Less. ii. 367, 368.

Some of the members of the Assembly who had not been arrested assembled at ten o'clock in the Rue Petits-Augustins, and M. Cremieux was elected president. They were immediately surrounded, and conducted to

50. Dispersion of the National Assembly. Dec. 2.

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prison. Later in the day, the Legitimist, Orleanist, and Moderate members, to the number of 217, assembled in the mayor's office of the 10th arrondissement, where they flattered themselves they would be supported by the national guard of the district. They were mistaken; it kept aloof; and the place being surrounded by a body of the Chasseurs of Vincennes, the deputies were all conducted in the midst of the troops to the cavalry barracks on the Quai d'Orsay, where they were kept under guard. The High Court of Justice was at the same time invited to suspend its sittings, which was immediately done; and a few deputies having succeeded in making their way into the hall of the Assembly with the President, M. Dupin, they asked him to proclaim the dismissal of the President; but he said, "Gentlemen, the constitution is violated; we are not the strongest. I have the honour to wish you good morning." He then withdrew, followed by the members, the most reluctant of whom were gently moved on by the military. At noon all was accomplished; the President, accompanied by the minister-at-war, the commander-in-chief, the commander of the National Guard, and a brilliant staff, rode through Paris, and past the troops, who were drawn up in all quarters, and were everywhere received with loud acclamations.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 3, 1851; Cass. ii. 404, 407; Less. ii. 369, 371.

51. Combat in in Paris. Dec. 3.

Hitherto the revolution had been entirely bloodless, and as the telegraph had announced the change of government to all France, it was hoped that it would continue to be of the same peaceful character. The troops, which consisted of twenty-eight battalions of infantry, ten squadrons of cavalry, nineteen batteries of artillery, and a large body of sappers and miners, in all 35,000 combatants, under tried and experienced generals, devoted to the President, had shown themselves zealous in the cause, and had been so disposed on the night of the 1st and the whole of the 2d as to render any popular rising, or attempt at resistance, out of the question. The Socialists and Jacobins were, however, not discouraged. During the

whole of the 3d they were to appearance quiet, but, in reality, they were making preparations for erecting barricades, and commencing a struggle. It broke out on the morning of the 3d, in the Faubourgs St Antoine, St Jacques, and St Marceau; and at daylight several barricades were found to be erected in the most crowded quarters of those populous districts. The secret societies were all in activity, and their members were in great numbers in the streets. The barricades, however, were speedily carried, under a heavy fire, by the columns of General Levassier, supported by the *chasseurs-à-pied* and municipal guards. Great part of the insurgent quarter was occupied before night; but the insurgents still held the Faubourg St Martin, and the streets of St Deny, St Martin, and the adjoining quarters, and a strong body of young men, chiefly belonging to the public press, occupied in strength the houses on either side of the Boulevard Italien so as to endanger the troops passing. The youths, however, though brave, were no match for the Algerian veterans. The troops advanced along the boulevards, and kept up such a fire on every house from which a shot issued that the passage was soon cleared. They then converged from all quarters on the insurgent districts; the barricades, after being severely battered by cannon, were all carried, and the insurrection was at an end. It had cost the lives of 200 men, however, to the conquerors, and a still larger number to the insurgents. The secret societies stirred up insurrections in several parts of France, which occasioned much local bloodshed and devastation; but they were all speedily suppressed by the military. In a few days all was over, and so firmly did the President feel his government established, that he was enabled to release, without any further proceedings, the whole persons arrested on occasion of the *coup-d'état*.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 5, 1851; Ann. Hist. 1851, 204, 209; Cass. ii. 426, 428; Less. ii. 369, 373.

It only remained to see how the revolution was to be received by the inhabitants of France, when they came

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to give their votes in their several electoral districts. The result exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the President and his friends. The Presidency for ten years, in effect the imperial crown, with the constitution which he had proposed, was approved by 7,572,329 votes, there being only 646,737 against it. The public funds, which were 91 on the 1st December, rose to 100 by the 8th. By an overwhelming majority France closed the convulsions of the Revolution by a military despotism based on universal suffrage.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 9, 27, 1851; Cass. ii. 438.

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53. Conclusion of the author's work.

With the accession of Prince Louis Napoleon to the imperial throne of France, the series of changes immediately flowing from the first Revolution came to an end. With it, accordingly, the Author concludes his engagements with the public, and brings to an end the continuous labour of thirty years. Great changes have taken place in the world since the work now concluded was first thought of, during the great review in the Champs Elysées in July 1814, and he was far either from suspecting then the magnitude to which it was to extend, or the immense changes in human affairs which were to take place before it was concluded. Insensibly his work has assumed a different character from what was originally either intended or anticipated: and annals, which at first were almost entirely taken up with revolutionary convulsions or military events, have latterly been chiefly occupied with social changes and conclusions from statistical details. Yet are these pacific changes nearly all the direct consequence of the former political or military struggles, and therefore it is that the history would be incomplete if it were not brought down to the restoration of the Napoleon Dynasty. The events which have since occurred have been second to none in European story: the Crimean War and Indian Revolt will for ever stand forth among the most memorable episodes in the annals of mankind. But they have no connection, direct or

remote, with the French Revolution: they have sprung from causes of discord more ancient than the struggle for freedom; they arose from the hostility of the Asiatics and Europeans, the same now as when Achilles dragged the body of Hector round the walls of Troy, or Godfrey of Bouillon and his victorious crusaders waded ankle deep in blood to the Holy Sepulchre. But from 1789 to 1852, all the events which occurred sprang from one source: they all belonged, as it were, to one family; and the great war of opinion which commenced with the declamations of Mirabeau in 1789, and the renewal of which was predicted by Mr Canning in 1825, was only terminated by the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1849, and the accession of Louis Napoleon in 1851. But all these changes, remote as they were, flowed directly from the principles diffused through the world by the first French Revolution; and we are now in a situation, from having witnessed its results, to discern some at least of the intentions of Providence in permitting that convulsion.

54. Results of the strife, so far as the cause of freedom is concerned.

So far as persons conducting government are concerned, the innovating party have been victorious in the strife. The Bourbons, after a contest of sixty years, have been finally expelled from the throne of France; the compromise of Louis Philippe has proved as unsuccessful as the forced restoration of the elder branch of the family, and seven millions of Frenchmen have been gratified by having an elective monarch of their choice intrusted with the imperial sceptre. The legitimate order of succession has been changed in Spain, and a revolutionary queen, in defiance of the Treaty of Utrecht, seated on its throne and that of Portugal. Belgium has been handed over from its lawful sovereign to an elective monarch: the King of Piedmont has been driven from the throne, and a constitutional government is now established in that country, as well as Flanders: the Emperor of Austria was forced to resign during the strife, and although the reigning family is unchanged there and in

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Prussia, yet the form at least of a constitutional government has been established in both countries. In Great Britain, although no dynastic change has taken place, and Queen Victoria still holds the sceptre of a loyal and grateful people, yet it is well known that this is in consequence of alterations having taken place in the real balance of government as great as ever were effected by a revolution; and that the constitution now is a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions, more truly analogous to that of the United States of America, than to that which existed in these islands under George III.

55. What have been the additions made to the cause of freedom.

If, from the consideration of the dynastic changes or alterations in the frame and form of government in the European States during this period of anxious effort and checkered achievement, we turn to the substantial and lasting acquisitions which have been made by the cause of freedom, or additions to human happiness, during its continuance, we shall have little cause for congratulation. There is no concealing the fact, that the result of the struggle in Europe generally has been eminently disastrous to the cause of liberty, and seriously endangered that of independence. France, after seventy years of almost incessant turmoil and frequent bloodshed, has been landed in an elective military despotism twice as costly, supported by a standing army three times as numerous and four times as strong as that which defended the monarchy of Louis XVI. The strength of Russia has been tripled in the strife, and now become such that it taxed the whole military and naval power of France and England to the very uttermost to wrest from her a single fortress on the Euxine. The unity, lust of conquest, military courage, and slavish disposition of the seventy millions who obey the commands of the Czar, are unchanged and seemingly unchangeable; and the European States regard with distant dread more than any hope of successful resistance, a power of such magnitude, animated by such desires, and whose inhabitants are

doubling every seventy years. The shadow of a constitutional government has been established in Spain, but it is the shadow only, stained by the corruption and venality, without any of the vigour or patriotism, which that form of government sometimes develops. The progress of real freedom has been commensurate only with the spread of the Teutonic race, whether in their native seats or the countries to which they have subsequently emigrated ; and the main hopes of the friends of freedom in Germany are now founded on the defeat of the Jacobin party, who, by establishing themselves in power, would have destroyed the elements of liberty on the right, as they have done on the left bank of the Rhine. But although we may now hope that Germany has entered on the career of gradual and progressive, and therefore desirable reform, yet there are many symptoms which lead to the conclusion that in the first-born of freedom —England and America—the safe line has been passed, the just equilibrium subverted, and both nations launched in that career which, by vesting uncontrolled power in one only, and that the most dangerous class of society, renders the durable perservation of freedom extremely difficult.

56. Effects of the European revolutions on the civilisation of the world.

If we limited our survey to the European States only, there would be too much room in these results for melancholy foreboding. But if we extend our views to a wider sphere, and take into consideration the effects of the passions which have so violently convulsed and desolated the ancient monarchies of the Old World, on the extension of the European race and civilisation of distant regions in the New, we shall feel warranted in arriving at very different conclusions. Without presuming to scan the designs of Providence farther than as they may be rendered undeniably manifest by accomplished changes, and disclaiming any attempt to divine the future plans of Omnipotence, it must be evident to all that a mighty system has been going forward during all the complicated events which

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have been commemorated in this History, and that the effect of that system has been to check the farther growth of the human race in their ancient seats, and promote their extension over the desolate parts of the earth. To the European race, and most of all to the Teutonic branch of that family, this great and arduous mission has been intrusted; and the means by which it has been impelled into the discharge of this duty have been the development of the passions consequent on an advanced and luxurious state of society. The whole movement—the greatest which has yet occurred in the annals of the species, for it is nothing less than the transposition of the race of Japhet from their ancient seats to the New World—has been accomplished by the altering effect of the same active desire of men on their social interests with the natural progress of opulence. And it is the magnitude of this change, and the intensity of the feelings by which it has been brought about, which has been the cause at once of the vehemence of the strife in the European States, and the magnitude of the world-wide events which have followed its termination.

57. What is necessary to make an ancient nation emigrate.

That the European race, gifted by nature with an energy, a roving disposition, and a passion for gain beyond any other, was the portion of mankind to whom the mission of spreading into the remote parts of the earth was intrusted, is manifest from what they have already achieved in accomplishing it, and the stationary condition of the inhabitants of the greatest and most ancient Asiatic empires in comparison. No one ever heard, till very recently, of an Indian or Chinese colony settling in distant lands, but the British colonies encircle the earth. But the problem which Providence had to solve in inducing the European race to enter upon the discharge of this duty, was to impregnate them in the advanced stages of society with the *desire to move*, a desire which usually diminishes among men with the increase of the gratifications and comforts which they can command at home. If there is

any disposition which, in the ordinary case, increases in the progress of civilisation, it is the *inhabitative ;* if there are any chords which are daily more and more strengthened in the later stages of society in the breast of man, it is those which "bind him to his native shore." How, then, is this stationary disposition of mankind, which has a tendency to increase at the very time when its removal to a great extent has become desirable to be overcome, and the European be brought to snap asunder the chains of centuries, and set forth a hardy emigrant, despising comfort, courting hardship, braving danger, into distant lands? This is accomplished by the counteracting influence of still more powerful desires, which spring up with the growth of opulence in a large class of society. And these desires are, the love of power and the love of gain.

58. The love of power does this.

I. The love of power is universally felt by such of mankind as have attained, or are near attaining, the position in life where it can be exercised ; but it is absolutely unknown in the lower ranks of society in the first periods of their progress. It begins with those classes in the middle ranks which have gained a certain degree of independence by the acquisition of property, and first appears in such strength as to attract notice and influence society in boroughs or populous places, where numbers inspire confidence, and prosperity of condition confers the means of defence. As it is the tendency of increasing wealth to increase the number of these boroughs and populous places, from the augmented demand for the handicraft of wares which can only be produced in them, the democratic spirit increases rapidly in prosperous countries in the later stages of society, and soon becomes recruited by the great majority of those who, from education and the consequent acquisition of intellectual strength, have come to feel as galling the chains of those who rest on brute force or military power. Hence the revolutions of France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, and the endless con-

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vulsions and wars, both foreign and domestic, which have arisen from them.

59. Which ends in stoppage of increase of the people, and great emigration.

The result of these contests, whether they terminate in the triumph of the people or the victory of the government, inevitably is either a great check to domestic increase or a still greater augmentation of foreign emigration. The triumph of either side is immediately followed by grievous disappointment and depression of mind, alike in the victorious and the vanquished in the strife. Independent of the actual waste of life in these struggles, the destruction of capital, and shock given to credit during their continuance, is such that the demand for labour is so much reduced as to induce for a long course of years a decline, if not an absolute stoppage, of the increase of population. In those countries in which the democratic spirit is weak in the country and rife only in the towns, as France, Italy, and Austria, the result of this is a great decline in the rate of increase in the people. But in those in which the democratic spirit is more widespread, and extends over the rural districts as well as the towns, the effect is a vast and most important increase of emigration. The ardent republicans, finding their hopes all blasted, and their expectations disappointed by the result of their efforts at home, turn their eyes abroad, and seek in the solitude and seclusion of a yet virgin world, that freedom of which Europe, as they conceive, has become unworthy. Decisive proof of this has been afforded by the annals of France, Germany, and Great Britain since the Revolution of 1848 ;—for, in the first country, the shock given to industry by that convulsion has been such that the quinquennial increase, which, from 1844 to 1849, had been 1,250,000 souls, had sunk in the next five years to 225,000, with only a very inconsiderable emigration ; and in each of the years 1854 and 1855, the deaths exceeded the births by 70,000 ;—the impulse given to emigration in the second, by the same event, has been so great that, within three years after it

occurred, it has risen from 20,000 to 250,000 a-year, and in ten years immediately following the Revolution of 1848 it had amounted to 1,200,000 persons ;—and the emigrants from the third had swelled to the enormous amount of 368,000 in 1852, and the average for ten years immediately following 1846 has been 266,000 annually.

60. Effect of the growth of wealth in raising prices.

II. While such is the effect of the ferment in men's minds, which arises in old and highly civilised states in the later stages of their progress, from the spread of opulence and the extension of information among the people, another change, not less decisive in its influence on the progress of population, takes place from that very increase of wealth. Money, from being plentiful, becomes cheap ; in other words, every article of commerce, the price of which is measured in money, becomes dear. The consumers of commodities, and all persons depending on fixed money payments, whether from the public funds, bonds, annuities, or other fixed obligations, seeing this, and comparing the price of articles especially of rude produce in their own country with what it is in the younger and poorer neighbouring ones, naturally feel dissatisfaction, and are inspired with a strong aversion to those protective duties, which prevent them from obtaining these articles of consumption as cheap as their neighbours. The common complaint, so often heard in Britain during the last half-century, that everything is so dear here compared to what it is abroad, and the numbers of persons, especially with limited incomes, who go abroad to obtain the benefit of low prices, proves how strongly this growing inconvenience, the necessary result of an extended commerce and great realised wealth, has been felt during that period in the centre of the British dominions.

61. Which induces the cry for Free Trade.

During the growth of a great and prosperous empire, this evil is felt, and often sorely, by all the consumers who live on fixed money incomes; and never was more so than by that class in Great Britain during the war. But

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for long their complaints are powerless to obtain redress; they submit and suffer in silence from the effect of evils of the origin of which they are ignorant, as they would do to the inclemency of the weather or any other visitation of Providence. But after a time they are no longer doomed to this state of hopeless submission. They become so powerful from the addition which a long period of prosperity makes to their numbers and influence, that they at first equal, and at last come to exceed in political power, all other classes put together. From the moment that this change takes place, the protective system is endangered, and at last, probably after a severe struggle, it is overthrown. Free Trade is first demanded for the productions of the soil, as it is in those that the improvements of machinery and application of capital can do least to counteract the rise of prices incident to a state of long-continued opulence; but when once introduced, it does not stop there; it is loudly demanded, and, in the circumstances, with justice, for all other branches of industry, whether in manufactures, shipping, colonies, or commerce. *Thus, the encouragement of wealth, and the demand for labour,* is rapidly transferred from the old and rich to the young and poor states; their agriculture comes to displace that of their ancient rival; their shipping conducts the greater part of its trade; their manufactures, at least of the ruder kinds, come to supplant its fabrics. From the moment that the protective system is abandoned, and Free Trade introduced in an old state, a check is given to domestic industry, and an increase to foreign, which at first retards, and at length comes to stop altogether, the growth of its population. As a nation, it at first becomes stationary, and at length declines. Accordingly, all the empires of whom history makes mention which once were great and powerful, the Roman, the Spanish, the Turkish, have perished, not from the excess, but the want of population,

and a decline in the number of their inhabitants has been observed as the first symptom of national decay.

III. Two other circumstances come in the national progress of opulence to contribute powerfully to expel the human race from their ancient seats, and disperse them over the desolate parts of the earth. These are the monetary measures, into which the love of gain impels the wealthy and influential capitalists, and the progressively increasing dependence of manufacturers on the foreign instead of the home market. On the first point an ample commentary has already been made; and this History has been written to little purpose if it is not apparent that, in an ancient, opulent, and commercial nation, the monetary measures which the holders of realised wealth, for their own sake, are prompted to pursue, is the source of such unbounded industrial distress and frequent recurrence of monetary and commercial crises, as perhaps more than any other cause impels the industrious part of the nation into distant lands. The second cause is hardly less influential in conducing to the same result; for the manufacturer for the export sale has no interest in common with his fellow-countrymen as the one for the home market has, inasmuch as he is not benefited by their prosperity, but depends on that of foreign countries. On the contrary, his interest is decidedly adverse; for it is for his benefit that the labouring classes around him should be as indigent, and their wages in consequence as low, as possible. Then that class comes to support all measures tending to depress, to their own profit, the wages of labour. In the progress of a nation, and some time after its maturity, the amiable after-dinner sentiment, that the interest of all classes is identical, is strictly true; after its maturity, it changes into the sad reality that they are adverse to each other.

Influence of monetary measures and manufactures for the export sale in arresting population.

Thus it distinctly appears that there is a provision

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63. Growth in old societies of the causes which retard and at last stop their increase.

made by nature in the progress of society, first, for the increase of population, the augmentation of wealth, and the growth of national greatness, and after a time, for their retardation and ultimate decline. This is effected without any violation of the laws of nature, but by their continued operation; by the two ruling principles of mankind in all ages, the desire for power, and the desire for gain, producing effects directly opposite in different stages of society, from the progressive vesting of the ruling power in the State in different hands, in consequence of the growth of a class interested in low prices, that is, the discouragement of domestic industry, from the effect of the very wealth which has grown up under the opposite system of protection. This cause of retardation is strongly co-operated with by the discontent which invariably attends all democratic movements, whether successful or unsuccessful. Thus the growth of an empire which has reached its maturity is inevitably arrested, partly by the diminution of the rural population, the true cradle of the species, and the influx of men into great towns, its graves, and partly from the general migration of its inhabitants to distant lands, where they are to begin the same circle of "valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decline," which has torn them up from their native seats, and sent them into distant lands to be instruments in the hands of Providence in the great and prophesied work of "replenishing the earth and subduing it." The dangers of a redundant population, so forcibly portrayed by Mr Malthus in the beginning of the century, were far from unreal or imaginary, as the instances of China, Hindostan, and Ireland have clearly demonstrated. But they never can be felt to any extent where the natural progress of society has not been set aside by human injustice or iniquity, because, long before they can have arisen, or population has approached the limits of subsistence, the retarding causes

must have come into operation from the very circumstances which had induced the former increase.

64. Which was the change going on in Europe during the period embraced in this History.

In effecting this great change, the increase of wealth in the higher classes of society, and the extrication of the democratic passion in the lower, are the great agents; and it is their combined operation which has rendered the period embraced in this History so prolific of great and memorable events. The aged monarchies of Europe were making the transition from the growing to the stationary or declining state; and out of their suffering loins were springing up new nations in the Transatlantic and Australian wilds. Vast revolutions have ensued from this violent convulsion; the cause of freedom seems ruined in France by the destruction of hereditary descent, and any intermediate class between the throne and the peasant, which has caused Asiatic to succeed European civilisation in that great country; the Imperial Guards have been at Moscow, the Cossacks at Paris; but none of these changes have left behind them any lasting effects. But the "mighty maze was not without a plan." During these alternate victories and defeats, and from the consequences with which they were naturally attended, the designs of Providence have been gradually put in execution; the principles which were to move the European race to the western and southern hemisphere were silently gathering strength and increasing in power, and during the last ten years four millions of Europeans have been transported to the new worlds, and the annual migration has now come on an average to be five hundred thousand.

65. Co-operating effect of steam navigation, railroads, the electric telegraph, and gold discoveries.

Observe in this view how marvellously the great physical changes of the period have conspired with the moral agencies in bringing about this stupendous result. Steam navigation has arisen, and been brought almost to perfection, during the period when these moral influences were so strongly impelling civilised man into the wilderness of nature. By the effects of this great discovery

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the Atlantic has been bridged, the great rivers of the old and new worlds opened to European enterprise and energy, and ample means furnished to the ardent and discontented denizens of Europe to leave their ancient dwellings, cross over into a new hemisphere, and ascend the mighty rivers by which it is penetrated. The application of steam to travelling by land, and the construction of railways, has, at the same time, opened innumerable feeders to these great highways of civilisation, and brought the means of rapid and cheap conveyance almost to every man's door. The electric telegraph, by rendering almost instantaneous the transmission of intelligence, not only by land, but through the bosom of the deep, has sensibly increased the influence of the moral causes which were so strongly impelling man from his native seats, and gave force to the exciting causes which were agitating society. Finally, the gold discoveries, first in California, and next in Australia, presented a magnet of universal attraction to large numbers of men in all countries, and not only drew them in great numbers to the places where it was thought, and often with truth, wealth was to be had merely for the taking, but stimulated industry and adventure by increasing prices over every part of the world. When we recollect that these great physical causes of change came into operation immediately after the Irish famine had in a manner loosened a whole nation from its moorings, and the failure of the European Revolution in 1848 had spread political discontent, the great moral instigator to emigration, far and wide through European society, it is not presumptuous to say, that the great designs of the Almighty in the whole have been made manifest even to the most finite of His creatures.

The real friends of freedom, therefore, must not be discouraged because the efforts to attain it have so generally and rapidly terminated in disaster, and that to

66. Democracy is a means, not an end, and it has answered its purpose.

such an extent that it is doubtful whether, in an equal time, any other cause ever produced such an amount of social disorganisation or private misery. These disasters and repeated failures have arisen, not from any inadequacy of the democratic spirit to produce the effects for which it was really intended, but from expectations being formed of its consequences utterly at variance with what it ever had or ever can produce. The great moving power of the moral world, it is, like its counterpart in the material, capable of bringing about lasting beneficial results on society, only when it is duly coerced, and kept under firm management. The explosion of a boiler does not more certainly scatter ruin and desolation around, or more quickly stop the onward way of the vessel it was impelling, than the triumph of democracy ruins the society, and in the end stops the advance, of the nation in which it takes place. The government of the few by the many—that is, of superior by inferior civilisation, of property by numbers, knowledge by ignorance, forethought by improvidence—is such an inversion of the natural order of society as cannot fail, after a brief period of suffering, in terminating in its only result, military despotism. During the struggle for supremacy, it never fails, by calling into action the energies of a whole nation, to make great changes, and often do great things; and the final cause of its development is very apparent from the vast progress of society which it occasions, and transposition of mankind which it effects. But it is a means, not an end; it never was intended to be, and never can be, the lasting state of society; and when it has done its work, and caused the swarm to hive off, it quickly gives way, and is succeeded by the stillness of military despotism.

The great and universal error which in every age has caused the strife for freedom to terminate in this disastrous result, is an over-estimate of the average capacity

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This arises from an over-estimate of the average capacity of human nature.

of human nature. It is the enormous inequality in mankind in point of intellectual power, and the immense mass of mediocrity with which the world is overspread, which causes the universal failure. It is easy to see why it is so. Society could not exist without it. If all were philosophers or orators, who would be the hewers of wood and drawers of water? There is not in any stratum of society, from the highest to the lowest, one man in twenty who is or ever can be made possessed of the information requisite to form for himself a correct judgment on public affairs: there is not one in an hundred capable of thinking otherwise than as he is taught by the few who are interested in leading or misleading him. No amount of education, no change of religion or political institutions, can make the least change in these proportions; on the contrary, they often make them more alarming, by augmenting the profit to be made or the power acquired by impelling the multitude in the wrong direction. Sometimes it is towards republicanism, sometimes towards despotism; never towards the right system, which is the government of a *real* aristocracy; that is, of the best in morals, intellect, capacity, and intelligence. But nothing terminates their sway so quickly as the government of the multitude, because they are in general led by the worst. Thence the extreme difficulty of preserving freedom for any length of time in any state, and the impossibility of inducing the majority of men so far to do violence to their *amour propre* as to acknowledge the general fallacy which is at the root of the difficulty.

Akin to this, and arising from the same cause—the pride of intellect—is the great error of nations in their intercourse with each other, which has, especially in modern times, and in the most civilised nations, been so prolific a source of public disaster and private suffering. This is the opinion that all nations are adapted for the

Corresponding error in the estimate of the capacity of nations for Freedom or true Religion.

same religious and political institutions, and that the only way to put them on the high-road to felicity is to force those of the most advanced nations upon them. No such erroneous and disastrous opinion ever was propagated among men. The religious wars of the sixteenth century were the result of the application of this error to matters of faith. The still more sanguinary contests of the French Revolution, and the diplomatic efforts at propagandism which have followed it on the part both of the French and the British, have resulted from the second. Both have terminated generally in defeat or disaster, and it is not difficult to say to which these multiplied failures have been most owing. Such is the variety in the minds and inclinations of men, arising from difference in the character of race, physical circumstances, and degrees of civilisation, that nothing in general is so destructive, both to individual happiness and social progress, as to endeavour to force the same faiths or political institutions upon them. Religious belief and forms of government, generally speaking, are not so much a cause as an effect. Men embrace that faith and establish those political institutions which are best adapted to their circumstances and the social stage in which they are placed. The Gospel itself is no exception to this ; on the contrary, it is its strongest confirmation. It was not delivered to man in the days of Moses, but in those of Cæsar. To attempt to force Christianity upon the Asiatics in their present state of civilisation, is the same mistake as it would be to endeavour to force the Koran upon Europeans ; and it would be not less an error to try to establish free institutions among the serfs of Russia, than to engraft slavery on the freemen of England. Make men fitter for advanced institutions by elevating their position in the social scale, or improving their moral character, and they will of themselves embrace the religion and political government adapted for an advanced stage of civilisation. Till this

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is done, it is worse than useless to attempt to make any violent change upon them. This work will not have been written in vain if it at all aids in the establishment of these great truths, and teaches that all attempts are vain to improve the condition of men, either by religion or political change, without first elevating their moral character, and thus leave progress to be effected by the silent amelioration of time and morals, without the aid either of the sword of proselytism or the armies of propagandism.

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