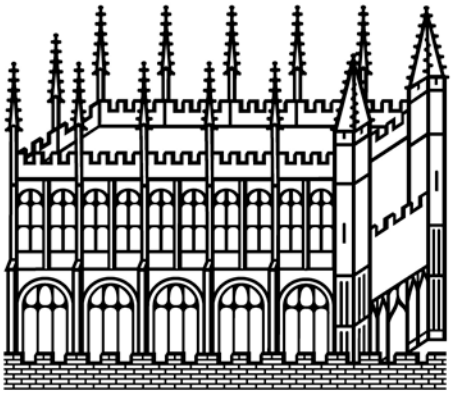

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THE THEATRE

OF

WAR AND REVOLUTION.

PREFACE.

Since the year 1814, when the assembled armies of Europe at length crushed the gigantic power of Napoleon, and replaced the family of the Bourbons on the throne of humbled France, the political condition of the continent has resembled that of a slumbering Volcano, the deceitful quietude of which, permits the inhabitants of the surrounding country, to lull themselves into a state of fancied security; yet still shows by occasional throes and convulsions, that its power, far from being extinguished, is as it were, only gaining strength for an eruption of perhaps tenfold greater violence, than that of any former occasion.

The war of Independence in Greece, and the continual outbreaks in Spain and Italy, showed that the power of the Holy Alliance was insufficient to extinguish the spirit of Liberty and National Independence, which the first French revolution had called into existence throughout Europe, and that a time was approaching, when some new convulsion would scatter to the winds, the vast fabric of force and fraud, raised by that great conspiracy against the rights of nations.

Although the revolution of 1830, occurred before the rest of Europe was sufficiently prepared to receive the impulse, its effects upon the destinies of other nations was nevertheless very considerable. This event brought the Reform agitation in England to a climax which might otherwise have been delayed for years; the independence of Belgium was achieved, and several of the smaller states of Germany obtained constitutions from their sovereigns. On the other hand, the ill conducted efforts of the Italian patriots were easily crushed by the Austrians, and the unfortunate insurrection in Poland, cost that unhappy country, the last shadow of independence that yet remained to it.

France herself rather lost than gained, by exchanging the imbecile Charles for the crafty Louis-Philippe, and with the exception of changing her flag from white to tri-coloured, it is difficult to say what change for the better, she achieved by the second revolution.

The consequences of the revolution of 1848, have however been of a very different character. The news of the events in Paris, acted like an electric shock on the nations of Europe. In rapid succession the smaller states of Germany flew to arms, and extorted from their rulers in an instant, the concessions for which they had in vain petitioned for years. Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Sicily, caught the flame, and Berlin, Vienna, Milan, and Palermo became the scenes of conflicts not less bloody and decisive, than those of Paris. From north to south, from east to west, Europe presented one vast theatre of War and Revolution. Nation not only arose against nation, but almost every nation became divided against itself, and never since the history of the world began, have so many events of importance been crowded into so small a space of time, as those which have already distinguished the year 1848.

To place the various scenes of this great drama vividly before the reader, by the combined means of profuse pictorial illustration, and of clear and succinct written descriptions of the events, in the order in which they occurred, in the various countries that have been shaken by this great political convultion, is the task which the proprietors of the present work propose to themselves. And they trust by these means, to give to the public a comprehensive and trustworthy picture, of the greatest political epoch of either ancient or modern times.

DENMARK.
DANEMARK,
SCHLESWIG, HOLSTEIN,
LAUENBURG.
LEIPZIG and DRESDEN,
A. H. PAYNE.
KATTEGAT
Skagens Odde
Skagen
Nässet
Aalbek
Hirtholmen
Frederikshavn
Nordre Rönner
I. Laessöe
Steensnaes
Albek
Aalborg
Nordmandshage
Limfiord
Thisted
Skioldborg
Agger
Agger Canal
Lemvig
Skive
Viborg
Randers
Mariager
Hobroe
Helstebroe
Flye
Vinge
Ulstrup
Ellesboy
Hornum
Junget
Harre
Otting
Lögstör
Sönderholm
Blenstrup
Hiarup
Grenaa
Fornaes
Glesborg
Stauerhoved
I. Anholt
Rostock
Wismar
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Schwerin
Ploën
Eutin
Neumünster
Ahrensbock
Segeberg
Barmstedt
Itzehoe
Glückstadt
Elmshorn
Pinneberg
Altona
Hamburg
Schwarzenbeck
Lauenburg
Harburg
Bergedorf
Wilhelmsburg
Hagenow
Wansen
Lüneburg
Ritzebüttel
Elbe
Neuwerk
Freiburg
Brunsbüttel
Marne
Meldorf
Reinfeld
Travendal
Seekoppel
Rehna
Molln
Klütz
Barhöft
Neuhaus
Tondern
Ribe
Hadersleben
Apenrade
Sonderburg
Flensburg
Tönning
Husum
Eckernförde
Kiel
Preetz
Oldenburg
Lübeck
Wismar
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswald
Anklam
Ueckermünde
Stettin
Pasewalk
Prenzlau
Neustrelitz
Neubrandenburg
Demmin
Stargard
Pyritz
Schwedt
Angermünde
Templin
Gramzow
Boitzenburg
Zehdenick
Oranienburg
Potsdam
Berlin
Spandau
Charlottenburg
Köpenick
Fürstenwalde
Frankfurt
Müncheberg
Seelow
Wriezen
Bernau
Strausberg
Eberswalde
Freienwalde
Bad Freienwalde
Neustadt-Eberswalde
Zehdenick
Gransee
Fehrbellin
Neuruppin
Rheinsberg
Wittstock
Perleberg
Pritzwalk
Havelberg
Kyritz
Wusterhausen
Neustadt
Ruppin
Lindow
Zechlinerhütte
Rheinsberg
Fürstenberg
Mirow
Wesenberg
Strelitz
Neustrelitz
Feldberg
Templin
Lychen
Gramzow
Prenzlau
Angermünde
Schwedt
Pasewalk
Ueckermünde
Anklam
Greifswald
Stralsund
Rügen
Hiddensee
Barth
Ribnitz
Damgarten
Tribsees
Grimmen
Stralsund
Rostock
Wismar
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Schwerin
Boizenburg
Lauenburg
Hagenow
Ludwigslust
Parchim
Plau
Malchow
Waren
Röbel

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

On the 20th. of January, 1848, Christian VIII, King of Denmark, and Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, was gathered to his fathers, and on the same day his successor Friedrich the VII, was proclaimed from the balcony of the royal palace at Copenhagen. Both the inhabitants of Denmark and those of the German Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, seem to have considered these events as the signal for allowing the long smouldering embers of the national hate, which has ever existed between the Scandinavian and Tuetonic races, to burst into open flame. Each party believing that the commencement of a new reign afforded an auspicious opportunity for achieving the triumph of their respective projects.

Before however we proceed with the detail of recent occurrences, it will be necessary to take a rapid glance at the previous history of the Duchies. Schleswig is a prize for which the Germans and Danes have been contending for more than a thousand years. In 827, a body of German troops entered Schleswig, for the purpose of assisting Horik and Erik, the sons of the deceased Duke Gottfried, who had been deprived of their patrimony by the Danes. Towards the close of the 9th century however, the country appears to have fallen completely under the Danish dominion. The Emperor Heinrich I, reconquered the country, and harassed the Danes to such an extent, as to compel them to erect a wall (the celebrated Daneverke) across the peninsula, in order to secure Jutland from the inroads of the Germans. Schleswig was again however overrun by the Danes, and in 948 again reconquered by the Emperor, Otto the Great.

Our space does not permit us even to enumerate the various contests of the following century. In 1021 however, Schleswig was abandoned by the Emperor Conrad II, who declared the river Eider to be the boundary of the Empire, while Schleswig was to be considered as the patrimony of the second sons of the Kings of Denmark.

Olav III, King of Denmark, had no male issue, he however respected the law of succession which had ever prevailed in Schleswig, and consequently in 1386 invested Gerhard, count of Holstein with the possession of that Duchy; and it is from this event that the union

of the two states is to be dated. On the death of Duke Adolf which occurred in 1459, the States-assembly both of Schleswig and Holstein, set aside the rightful line of Holstein-Schauenburg-Pinneburg, in favour of Christian I King of Denmark, the brother-in-law of the deceased Duke, under the distinct understanding however, that the two Duchies should not be separated, or considered in any other light than as an independent state. This Contract received in 1460 the guarantee of the English government.

During the early part of the 18th century, Holstein fell during a short period under the rule of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who was however compelled to abdicate in 1720, and in the following year, the possession of the Duchies was guaranteed to Denmark, both by England and France.

As long as the male line of the Danish Sovereigns appeared likely to continue unbroken, no serious attempt appears to have been made to unite the Duchies to the Danish crown. When however Christian VIII perceived that neither of his sons were likely to have issue, he became anxious that the Danish law of succession, which permits females to ascend the throne, should be declared to be equally applicable to Schleswig-Holstein, and in this view of the case, he was supported in the most energetic manner by his Danish subjects.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein were labouring under all the grievances which are usually complained of, when two separate races are united under one Sovereign. They declared apparently with justice, that the interests of the Duchies, were always sacrificed to those of Denmark. That all places of honour or emolument were filled by Danes to the exclusion of Germans, and in 1834 the States-assembly addressed a most energetic memorial to the King, in which they demanded that the civil, military and financial departments of the Duchies should be separated from those of Denmark, and that a separate ministry composed of Germans should sit in Copenhagen, for the purpose of administering the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein. These demands were refused by the Government, who employed every means in their power, to suppress the expression of public opinion in the German Duchies.

Christian VIII, whose liberal encouragement of Art and Science, Commerce and Industry, rendered him deservedly popular with all parties, had never found himself strong enough during the eight years of his reign, to make any attempt at reconciling the unhappy differences between his subjects; on the contrary, the earnest and even violent demands for a constitution which were made by both parties, induced him to adopt the unfortunate policy of making use of these differences, in order to check the constitutional movement. With regard to the law of succession, the Danish party continually urged him to adopt the most extreme measures, and the consequence was

that on the 8th of July 1846, he issued a decree dated from the palace of Sorgenfrei, to the following effect. —

That in order to put an end to the state of disquiet and solicitude with regard to the future succession to the crown, the King had caused the proper inquiries to be instituted, and that it had been established, that in accordance with the treaties with England and France of the 14th. and 23rd. of July, 1721, and also in accordance with the treaties with Russia of the 22nd of April 1767, and of the 1st. of June 1772, the law of succession to the Danish crown applied in every respect to the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, with the exception of a small part of the latter Duchy. And the King declared it to be his intention to take immediate measures for removing this difficulty, in order that the Danish monarchy might descend without dimunition to his successors. —

The consequence of this measure was, that the States-assembly of Holstein declared on the 15th of July 1846, that they protested against this decree, inasmuch as in the event of any failure of heirs male in the Danish royal family, they looked upon the Duke Carl Friedrich August, of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, as the legal heir to the Duchies. On the 21st of the October following, the States-assembly of Schleswig adopted a similar measure, and as these protests were not received by the King, they proceeded to lay their complaints before the German confederation. The Duke of Augustenburg and all the princes whose rights were affected through him, also took the same course.

This attack on the rights of the Duchies excited the warmest indignation throughout Germany; all the legislative assemblies demanded that they should be protected, the principal cities sent them addresses expressive of sympathy, and King Louis of Bavaria spoke openly of supporting them if necessary by force of arms. Such was the posture of affairs at the death of Christian VIII, which as we have already stated took place on the 20th. of January, 1848.

His successor Friedrich VII, shewed an earnest desire to comply with the constitutional yearnings of his subjects. By a royal decree dated the 28th of January, 1848, he promised them a Constitution on the basis of the French charter, freedom of the Press, an equality in the numbers of the Danish and German deputies, and the preservation of provincial interests. And he invited his subjects to send deputies to Copenhagen to consult together as to the details of the new form of government.

This proposal however met with the most decided disapprobation from all parties; nothing but a separate constitution would satisfy the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein, while the Danes were displeased at seeing their German brethren, placed on an equality with themselves; and the energetic addresses by which they sought to win the King

to their party, naturally made the Germans still more suspicious and anxious.

The precautions taken by the government, although natural enough under the circumstances, appear to have still farther increased the discontent of the inhabitants of the Duchies: these were, the withdrawal of such troops as were natives of Schleswig-Holstein and replacing them by Danes. and what caused still more irritation was a law declaring Danish bank-notes to be a legal tender in Schleswig-Holstein, by which measure it was asserted, that the silver currency was withdrawn from the Duchies for the purpose of enriching the Bank in Copenhagen. The censorship on the press was also increased in stringency, and no public political meetings were allowed.

Under these circumstances, a meeting of 60 members of the States-assembly took place at Kiel on the 17th. of February, at which it was unanimously decided that the election of deputies should be proceeded with, in obedience to the royal decree, but that these deputies should be instructed to oppose the formation of the proposed constitution, and to demand separate legislative chambers for the two Duchies, with a separate and responsible ministry, the general arming of the people, immediate freedom of the press, and trial by jury. This decision on the part of the committee, was received with universal applause and approbation on the part of all classes of the German population, who proceeded at the same time to procure arms in large quantities, in order if necessary to support their pretensions by force.

In this state of mutual irritation it is easy to imagine that any circumstance however slight, would be sufficient to bring the rival parties to an open rupture. And the news of the French revolution which flew through Europe like an electric shock, was certain to produce the most effect, on materials so well prepared for its reception. On the 20th. of March, a vast assemblage of the citizens of Copenhagen, repaired to the Palace, and presented the following resolutions for the immediate acceptance of their sovereign. —

1. That the granting a separate constitution to Schleswig-Holstein would be a betrayal of the rights of the Danish crown to the possession of Schleswig, and that such an act would not be endured by the Danish people.

2. That the Danish people assure their sovereign of their unlimited support in the fulfilment of the highest of his duties, that of watching over the security of the Schleswig-Danish kingdom.

3. That the present union of Denmark with Schleswig can only be supported by a common government, founded on a truly popular electoral law.

4. That the present provincial independence, and the equal rights of both the races residing in the province, must be guaranteed

by a separate parliament, and a proper arrangement of the administration.

5. That the welfare of Denmark demands that the Throne be surrounded by men of knowledge, energy and patriotism, who alone can give strength to the government, and confidence to the nation.

The address contained in addition to the above resolutions, a declaration, that the present Ministry did not possess the confidence of the nation, and that the fruits of their system of government, which were becoming every day more apparent, rendered it impossible that they could any longer remain at the head of affairs. The address concluded with these significant words, — "We intreat your Majesty not to drive the nation to despair, and thereby compel them to take affairs into their own hands."

The reply of the King was couched in the following words "I have anticipated your wishes, the Ministry is already dissolved. If you have the same trust in your Sovereign, that I have in my People, I will be your true guide in the paths of honour and freedom."

The new Ministry was composed of the following persons; — Bardenfleth, Bluhm, Hvidt, Orla Lehmann, Knuth, Meerod, Count Moltke Tscherning, and Von Plessen, all of whom belonged to the ultra Danish party. It therefore followed as a matter of course that when on the 22nd. of March, the deputies from Schleswig-Holstein arrived in Copenhagen, their demands were met by a decided refusal, and such was the state of excitement in the Danish capital, that the deputies escaped with some difficulty from receiving personal ill usage at the hands of the populace. The inhabitants of the Duchies did not wait for the return of their deputies, the news of the victory of the Danish party put an end to all hopes of obtaining their demands by peaceable means, and they unanimously resolved to have recourse to arms. On the 24th. of March, Vesaler, Count Reventlow, Prince Friedrich of Augustenburg, Schmit, and Bremer, formed themselves into a provisional government, and addressed the following proclamation to their countrymen.

"Fellow Citizens! Our Duke has been compelled by a popular movement in Copenhagen, to dismiss his Ministry and take up a hostile position with regard to the Duchies. The will of the Sovereign is no longer free, and the country is without a government. We will not submit to see our German land become the booty of the Danes. Great perils require great determinations, and to defend our frontiers, and to uphold order in the Duchies, an organized authority is required. In consequence of the pressing necessity, and supported by the trust which you have hitherto reposed in us, we have taken upon ourselves the preliminary direction of affairs, for the purpose of upholding the rights of our country and those of our hereditary Duke, in whose name we will conduct the government.

We will cause the united States-assembly to be immediately summoned, and will lay down the authority we have assumed, the moment that the will of our Sovereign is again free, or the States-assembly have appointed other persons to conduct the government. We will join with all our strength in the struggle for unity and freedom now taking place in Germany, and we invite all well disposed persons to unite themselves with us."

"Let us by firmness and order, give to our German fatherland honourable testimony of the patriotic spirit that fills the breasts of the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein."

"The advocate Bremer who is now absent, will on his return, be invited to join the provisional government."

Kiel, March 24th. 1848.

"The Provisional Government: Veseler, Friedrich, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein, F. Reventlow, M. T. Schmidt."

The whole of the German inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein, both civil and military, with the exception of a few officials, greeted the new government with every expression of joy, the garrison of Rendsburg permitted the inhabitants to take possession of the fortress, whereby the contemplated attack of the Danes on that city was prevented, and an envoy was despatched to the King of Prussia praying for assistance. The answer of that potentate addressed to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, declared — 1. That he considered Schleswig-Holstein to be an independent state. — 2. That the Duchies could not be legally separated, and — 3. That they were both male fiefs, and that consequently only the male line, could inherit the Sovereignty. And he declared himself to be ready to support the inhabitants of the Duchies in the assertion of their just rights.

The deputies who had been sent to Copenhagen, returned to Kiel on the 26th. of March, with the unsatisfactory answer, that the Danish government acknowledged the provincial independence of Schleswig, which however must be considered as an inseparable part of the Danish monarchy.

The provisional goverment now began to take measures for the defence of the country, they summoned the States-assembly to meet at Rendsburg on the 2nd. of April, and sent messengers to Berlin to solicit immediate military aid. The approaching struggle awakened a warlike spirit throughout Germany, numerous bodies of volunteers were formed in the various states, who hastened to share the glory and danger of their northern countrymen, who had already equipped a considerable body of troops, composed for the most part of students and members of the gymnastic clubs, for the defence of the northern frontier.

The Danes on their side were by no means idle, they armed themselves more rapidly, and advanced to the contest in greater

numbers than had been expected of them. In their endeavours to procure foreign assistance however, they were by no means fortunate; in Sweden, popular opinion was in their favour, but the government remained inactive, the attention of Russia was too much occupied by her own affairs, to make her desirous of taking up the quarrel; from France, since the fall of Louis Philippe, no help was to be expected, and England had learned too much wisdom from the past, to lightly interfere in a matter, that might possibly involve her in a bloody and expensive continental war.

Meanwhile the States-assembly of the Duchies met in Rendsburg. A hundred and thirty-six years had flown by, since in 1712, the last assembly, on the ground of the old constitution of 1460, had been held, and the people hailed with every demonstration of rejoicing, this resuscitation of their ancient privileges. In the assembly itself, the members of the provisional government were confirmed in their authority, and an address was voted to the German diet in Frankfort praying for the immediate incorporation of Schleswig in the German confederation.

On the 4th. of April, that body declared, that the German frontier was in danger, thanked the King of Prussia, and the 10th. Corps d' Armeé, for the steps that had already been taken for its defence, requested that Sovereign to put himself in correspondence with the other governments of Europe on the subject, and at the same time offered its mediation, in order if possible to bring the affair to a peaceable termination.

Prussia had not waited for the determination of the diet, her troops had already entered Holstein, and on the 5th. of April, 1400 Prussian soldiers took possession of the city of Rendsburg. Large bodies followed, who occupied the fortresses, and set all the forces that the provisional government had been able to collect, at liberty to act against the enemy in the field. The other rulers of Germany however, with the exception of the Duke of Brunswick showed little zeal in the matter, the contingents which they were bound to furnish to the 10th. Corps d' Armeé were assembled but slowly, and when assembled, remained for the most part, on the frontiers of Holstein withont entering that Duchy, and indeed acted with a degree of caution which showed, that their rulers had little inclination to enter into a quarrel which in no degree affected their interests.

This delay was in the highest degree injurious to the cause of the Duchies, it gave Denmark time to equip her fleet, and to overrun Schleswig, which she quickly occupied with her forces, in spite of the brave, but undiciplined bands of volunteers that opposed themselves to the advance of the Danish troops.

A glance at the map will enable our readers to clearly understand the position of the hostile parties at this time. The Danes occupied the Duchy of Schleswig, and the Prussians, Brunswickers,

and the Schleswig-Holstein volunteers, that of Holstein. The rival forces being separated from each other by the river Eider, and the canal of Schleswig-Holstein, which together form a water communication between the North Sea and the Baltic, and separate not only the Duchy of Schleswig, but in fact the whole Schleswig-Danish peninsula from the continent of Europe.

Before however going into the details of hostilities, it may be interesting to our readers to glance at the countries that were the theatre of these important events, as well as at the motives that induced Prussia to take such active part in the struggle.

Denmark the smallest of the three northern or Scandinavian Sovereignties, may be considered as altogether an insular kingdom. It consists of the peninsula of Jutland, the three large islands of Seeland, Funen, and Laaland, and a considerable number of smaller islands, some of which are situated in the Baltic and others in the Cattegat, and North-Sea. On the largest of these islands (Seeland) is situated the capital Copenhagen, which contains a population of 121,000 inhabitants, and is the only city in the kingdom whose inhabitants exceed 30,000. Altona (in the Duchy of Holstein) with a population of 28,000 inhabitants, being the second city in the Danish dominions.

According to the census of 1840, Jutland with its islands contained a population of 1,283,027 souls, while Schleswig contained 348,526, Holstein 455,093, and Lauenburg 45,342. And as the number of inhabitants is far greater in proportion to the extent of country in the German Duchies, than in any other of the Danish provinces, and they are at the same time the most fertile and productive, it follows that the preservation of them is a question of the most vital importance to the Danish crown.

The whole of Denmark with the exception of a few insignificant hills, consists of level land, which in the majority of the islands, and on both the eastern and western coasts of Jutland is only a few feet higher than the level of the sea. Many of the islands are subject to be overflowed during the prevalence of storms, and the west, or north-sea coast of Jutland, is only preserved by the construction of dykes similar to those used in Holland. In the centre of the peninsular is an inconsiderable range of sand-hills, the highest of which, the Himmelsburg, is only 530 feet high. On the south-east coast of Seeland and the neighbouring island of Mŏen there are however some cliffs of chalk which rise to the heigth of 200 feet. The island of Bornholm is also rather hilly.

The country generally speaking is fertile, especially the province of Holstein, which produces immense quantities of grain. The inhabitants of North Jutland rear a large number of cattle, and butter, cheese, and other agricultural products, form the principal articles of export. As may be supposed from the geographical position of

the country, the climate is mildest in the islands, and coldest in North Jutland. Denmark contains no rivers of importance, but the want of them for the purposes of navigation, is in in a great degree supplied by the numerous fiords or arms of the sea, which penetrate the land sometimes to the distance of 50 miles.

There are no manufactures of any importance either in Denmark or the Duchies, the only articles of that description that are exported, are lace and leathern gloves, the last named articles being well known for their excellence throughout Europe. The commerce of Denmark is however very considerable, the exports (inclusive of the Duchies) amounting on the average to about 2,700,000,*l* annually, while her imports are probably somewhat under that amount. In 1834 her commercial navy amounted to 3876 vessels, having a gross burden of 57,853 tons. Of these, Schleswig possessed 1184, and Holstein 1110, the majority of which were of small burden. The most considerable port is Copenhagen, where about one third of the commerce of the kingdom is transacted. The number of vessels that load and unload at this port during the year, varies from 800 to 1175, while from 250 to 350 enter the roads without unloading.

The revenue of Denmark amounts to nearly 3 Millions annually, and her expenditure to about the same amount. Her military force consists in time of peace of 24,150 Men. Her marine in 1844, consisted of six ships of the line, of 84 and 86 guns, 8 frigates of from 40 to 48 guns, four corvettes of from 20 to 26 guns, 4 brigs of from 12 to 16 guns, 3 cutters, and 81 gun-boats, together with 3 Steamboats of 200, 80, and 40 horse power.

One of the most considerable sources of revenue to the Danish crown, is derived from the Sound dues, a short acount of which is necessary, in order to enable the reader to understand the motives of Prussia, for taking so active a part in the contest.

By glancing at the map, our readers will perceive that the Cattegat is connected with the Baltic by three channels, the great Belt, the little Belt, and the Sound. The two former channels are in consequence of their intricacy, and the number of sand-banks, by which they are obstructed, seldom used, the only safe passage being the Sound, which between Elsinore and Helsingborg is not more than four English miles in breadth. Here Denmark from an early period of the middle ages, has been accustomed to levy a toll upon all passing vessels, which she could the more easily do, as up to the middle of the seventeenth century, both shores of the Sound, were in her possession. The enforcing this tax has been the cause of constant annoyance and complaint on the part of other countries, and the source of frequent disputes between Denmark and the other maritime nations of Europe. The Dutch in their endeavours to procure a preference for their shipping over that of other countries, were the first nation that recognised by treaty, the legality of this impost, the Emperor

Charles V, having closed a treaty to this effect with the King of Denmark, on behalf of his subjects in the Netherlands. This treaty was however little respected by the Danes, and it was not until the peace between Sweden and Denmark in 1645, that this treaty was guaranteed.

Sweden sometimes paid the tax, and at other times was exempted from it, until 1720, when she agreed that her vessels should pay the same duty as those of Holland.

This however only applies to certain articles named in the treaty of 1645. On all un-named articles, the favoured nations of Holland Sweden, Russia, Prussia, England, France, Spain, the United States, Brazil, and Hamburg, pay a duty of one per cent; all other nations 1½ per cent. As however these articles are liable to be valued at the caprice of the custom-house officers, who being paid by a percentage on the dues, have a direct interest in making them as productive as possible, it often happens, that a far higher duty is levied than that to which Denmark is legally entitled.

It is true that the captain, or supercargo of the vessel can demand a specific reckoning, but as this would certainly be attended with considerable delay, and as time is of great importance during the short summer of these northern regions, he generally prefers paying the overcharge, to submitting to an indefinite postponement of his voyage.

The custom-house where the dues are collected is situated at Elsinore, a lively little town containing about 7000 inhabitants, the name of which is familiar to all the world, from the circumstance of its being the scene of Shakspere's tragedy of Hamlet. The number of ships that stop here to have their cargos examined, cause it to be a place of considerable traffic. It contains a quarantine establishment, sea-baths, and a gymnasium. Near it is the fortress of Kronenburg, the guns of which command the channel, and enforce the payment of the dues.

However annoying the levy of this impost may be to other nations, none suffer so severely from its pressure as Prussia. The only outlets which this power possesses for the products of its industry, are its ports on the Baltic, and it consequently follows, that all the exports and imports of that state are subjected to be taxed by Denmark, for the mere priviledge of passing within sight of her coast, a case of injustice only to be equalled by the privilege which Hanover possesses, of taxing every vessel that enters the Elbe. And this state of affairs explains the eagerness which Prussia has shown in supporting Schleswig-Holstein in her quarrel with Denmark, were these Duchies once separated from that power and joined to the German confederation, many years would not elapse before a ship-canal would be cut through the peninsula, thereby enabling Prussian vessels to evade not alone the Sound dues, but also in most instances the tedious and dangerous circumnavigation of Jutland.

The extreme flatness of the country throughout the Duchies, renders this an affair easy of accomplishment, and a moment's consideration of the Map, will show the great advantages that must accrue, not alone to Prussia, but to all the states of northern Germany by the execution of such a work.

On the other hand, Denmark is well aware that the loss of Schleswig, would quickly be followed by the loss of the Sound dues, which together would reduce her to the condition of one of the most insignificant states of Europe, and consequently looks upon the struggle, as one pregnant with the most important consequences to her future welfare.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

The Campaign in Schleswig and Jutland.

We have already stated that the hesitation shown by the German forces in advancing to the Danish frontier, was highly injurious to the cause of the Duchies, as it allowed Denmark time to prepare her fleet for active service, and to overun Schleswig with her troops. It was also injurious in a moral point of view, as implying a doubt as to whether the German governments really considered Schleswig as belonging to the confederation. It is necessary however to go back for a moment to the 28th of March, the period at which the King of Denmark was compelled by a tumultuous movement in his capital, to place himself in a hostile attitude towards his German subjects.

The new ministry, which as we have already stated, was composed of the ultra Danish party, took every possible means to excite the national spirit of the Danes to suppress by force of arms, the movement which they stigmatised as the rebellion in Schleswig. These efforts were successful in the highest degree, numerous addresses from every part of the kingdom urged the King to warlike measures, considerable sums in the shape of voluntary contributions enriched the Danish treasury, and large bodies of volunteers placed themselves at the disposal of the government.

The hostile spirit thus exhibited on the part of the Danish people, was, as might have been expected, met by a corresponding feeling in the Duchies. The provisional government took every precaution for maintaining order, a task of no little difficulty in a period of such intense excitement, as well as for resisting the expected Danish invasion. Meetings were held in every town in the Duchies, in which

the firm determination of the inhabitants to resist all encroachments on their rights was abundantly manifested; all persons capable of bearing arms provided themselves with weapons, a code of signals, by means of the ringing of bells and lighting of watch fires, was arranged, by which the people could speedily be assembled at any point at which the Danes might land, and a considerable body of troops, consisting both of regulars and volunteers were collected on the northern frontier. This last measure was the more necessary, as a large proportion of the inhabitants of the northern part of Schleswig consists either of Danes, or persons of Danish descent, and an indifference for the German cause, was notoriously prevalent in the district. The provisional government also took the most effective measures for supplying the troops with provisions and necessaries, in order to make their presence, as little as possible oppressive to the inhabitants.

Unfortunately however, all the efforts of the provisional government were insufficient to enable them to put the troops in a condition for actual service with sufficient rapidity. This arose, principally from the want of experienced officers, those of the Schleswig troops having consisted for the most part of Danes, who of course left the service when the soldiers joined the people, and it therefore became necessary to procure officers from other parts of Germany before the organization of the troops could be proceeded with. Added to this the troops dared not to advance with too much rapidity for fear of being cut off by the Danes, whose naval force enabled them to act on either side of the peninsula.

The first act of hostility on the part of the Danes, was the occupation of the island of Alsen. The object of this proceeding was not only to seize on the possessions of the Duke of Augustenburg, but also to encourage the Danish inhabitants of Schleswig to resist the authority of the provisional government. As there were no troops whatever on the island, and the number of German inhabitants is inferior to that of the Danish, the occupation took place without resistance, even Sonderburg where most of the German inhabitants reside, surrendered at the first summons; the Danes then crossed to the main land, the few Germans troops retiring in the direction of Bau, while the Danes advanced to Tondern, which city however, after making some of the principal inhabitants prisoners, they again evacuated.

Although the German diet had declared that they would consider any advance of the Danish troops into Schleswig as a declaration of war, neither the Prussian, nor Hannoverian governments, seemed at all inclined to set their troops in motion, or to share in the excitement, which this event produced in the public mind throughout Germany. This excitement was however shown by the immense numbers of volunteers from even the most distant parts, who daily thronged to the Duchies to take part in the conflict.

While Prussia and Hannover confined their efforts to negotiations, and their troops lay inactive, those of the former in Holstein, and those of the latter on the banks of the Elbe, the Danes advanced rapidly, attacked the troops of Schleswig-Holstein that were stationed at Bau, and compelled them after an obstinate contest to retire towards Flensburg.

On the 9th of April, the centre of the army of Schleswig-Holstein occupied a strang position at no great distance from Bau, and consisted of the 15th. and the greater part of the 16th. battalions of infantry, with two pieces of cannon, and a squadron of dragoons. The right wing rested on the harbour by Krusau, and consisted of the 5th Jäger corps, and the gymnastic corps of Kiel, while the left wing formed of volunteers, and part of the 16th. battalion of infantry, under Captain Schmidt, extended towards Walsbüll and Handewitt. This little army was commanded by Brigadier-general, Von Krohn. The Danes attacked the position by Bau early in the morning, with a very superior force, especially of artillery, and notwithstanding the severe loss they sustained from the favourable position of the cannon, and obstinate resistance of the Germans, succeeded in driving them from their position. On the right a still more obstinate combat took place, and Captain Schmidt (who fell later in the day) defended his position with great bravery; but being at length compelled to retire, by some mismanagement the Bracklow corps of volunteers, and part of that of Rantzau, were cut off from their companions, and being unable to reach Flensburg, retired westward. The combat was still more disadvantageous to the Germans at Krusau, where about midday they found themselves not only engaged with the Danish sharpshooters in front, but exposed to a severe fire from the Danish ships of war which had entered the harbour, and when they at length retired, they found Flensburg already in possession of the Danes. They succeeded however in escaping by the side of Holnis, where the 17th. battalion of infantry, a part of the volunteers, and a small party of artillery still resisted the advance of the enemy. The position was abandoned as untenable, and the retreat which took place the next day was not made with sufficient order to prevent several detachments of volunteers from being cut off. The idea which was at one time entertained of taking up a new position at Idstedt in Anglia was abandoned, and the army retired into Holstein, and as we stated in the last chapter, took up their position on the line of the river Eider.

The Danes had indeed suffered considerable loss, but they were victorious at all points, and it was evident the Duchies were totally unable to secure their independence by their own exertions. The Danes proceeded to arrest a considerable number of persons supposed to be favourable to the provisional government, and to convey them on board their vessels, and the great bulk of the population submitted quietly to the re-establishment of the Danish authority; indeed there

is no doubt, that but for the excitement occasioned by the French revolution, no outbreak would have been attempted, and but for the existence of the Sound dues it never would have been abetted by Prussia.

The resistance made to the occupation of Schleswig, was indeed feeble in the extreme, and by no means calculated to show that the feelings of dislike to the Danish government were either so universal or so deeply grounded as one would be led to suppose by the perusal of the german newspapers. On the other hand the disposition of the Danish forces appears to have been extremely good, and certainly was very effectual; it must not be forgotten however, that the bulk of the German forces consisted of volunteers, who were utterly without dicipline, and that the openness of the country gave every advantage to regular troops; without reckoning the advantage the Danes received from the co-operation of their fleet.

In the affair at Bau, the Germans undoubtedly showed great bravery, but they appear to have had no officers of ability among them, and the Commander-in-chief only appeared upon the ground in time to order a retreat, which had in fact commenced before his arrival, while in Flensburg, the victory of the Danes was looked upon with feelings of satisfaction, rather that regret.

At length on the 12th. of April, the Prussian forces crossed the Eider and entered the Duchy of Schleswig, but could not attempt anything of importance in consequence of the want of artillery. The King of Denmark was in person with his army, and declared to the Prussian envoy who waited on him, that the Prussian army might remain at their pleasure in Holstein, but that in the event of their entering Schleswig, he would declare war against Prussia. The Prussian army had however already entered that Duchy, and advanced on the road to Schleswig as far as Sorgbrück, the Danish outposts having retired before them. The Danes occupied the old wall (the Daneverke) as far as Hollingstedt, the troops of Schleswig-Holstein lay upon the Eider, partly in Schleswig and partly in Holstein, while the Danes collected a large force in Eckenförde in order to threaten the city of Rendsburg, which was however covered on all sides by bodies of German troops. Most of the principal persons fled from Eckenförde on the approach of the Danes, but they pressed a considerable number of the lower classes into the service of their fleet, and they had already seized several vessels belonging to this port for service as transports.

The Danish troops assembled in the Duchy of Schleswig, amounted to about 15,000 men, they were not however concentrated on any particular point, their greatest force being in the neighbourhood of the city of Schleswig, and they had strongly entrenched themselves on the line of the old Danish wall. The German forces remained inactive in consequence of the non-arrival of the commander-in-chief,

and the want of artillery, until the 22nd. of April; on that day however, the Prussian General Von Wrangel, arrived in Rendsburg, and immediately issued the following

Order of the day. "Through a decision of the Diet, the command of the German forces assembled in Schleswig-Holstein, has been confided to me, which command I have this day undertaken. The Chief of the Staff is the Prussian Major-General Von Stockhausen, but until his arrival, the service will be untertaken by Major Von Kirchfeld, of the General Staff. The Commanding officer of Artillery is the Prussian Colonel Von Fidler, who is expected to join the Army this evening. The Ordinance officers, are a Hanoverian and a Schleswig-Holsteiner, who are to announce themselves to me at 6 o'clock to-morrow morning in Rendsburg, or at 7 o'clock, at the advanced guard of the column of the Major General Von Möllendorf, where I will receive all other announcements. The economical arrangements will as heretofore be under the direction of the respective commanding officers. Immediately before the commencement of hostilities, the following order of the day is to be read to the troops:"

"Soldiers! The rights of Germany have been violated by the Danes, and these rights you are destined to uphold. Nominated by the German Diet as your Commander, I feel it to be a high destiny, and an especial honour, to be called on to lead you to battle in this cause. Your approved leaders, and your own valour are a sufficient warrant for the result. 'Forwards for Germany!' is henceforth our watchword, and with God's blessing, the victory must be ours. Long live our common Fatherland! Long live Germany! — and now, Forwards!

Rendsburg, April 22. 1848. Von Wrangel, General of Cavalry in the Prussian service."

Shortly afterwards the trumpets were heard calling the troops to their posts, and the same evening the advanced guard crossed the Schlei. This rapid movement appears to have surprised the Danes, who accustomed to long negotiations and paper warfare on the part of the German Diet, could scarcely believe that the advancing troops were any thing but Schleswig-Holstein volunteers, whose undisciplined efforts they appear to have held in great contempt.

On the 23rd. of April, at half-past seven in the evening, a train of wagons filled with wounded soldiers, and a party of Danish prisoners entered Rendsburg, bringing the information that on the approach of the Prussians, the Danes had evacuated Kropp, and retired in the direction of Schleswig, and that a severe engagement had been fought at Bustorf near that city. The Prussians stormed the newly strengthened Daneverk, as well as the entrenchment at Bustorf, without waiting for their artillery; their loss was consequently very severe, and the engagement ended in the Prussians taking possession of Friedrichsberg, while Gottorf and the Dam still remained in the hands of the Danes.

The possession of the Dam gave the latter the power of laying the surrounding country under water, and they had constructed mines, for the purpose of destroying it when it suited their convenience; a strong east wind which had prevailed for some days previously had however caused the water in the Schlei to rise to such a heigth as to fill the mines, and consequently render them completely useless.

This misfortune rendered the resistance of the Danes less obstinate than it would otherwise have been. And when about mid-day the right wing of the confederate army had succeeded in effecting the passage of the Schlei, the position of the Danes became exceedingly critical, inasmuch as there was considerable danger of their retreat being cut off. They succeeded however by means of a continual fire of small arms, in checking the advance of the Germans, and retiring on Missunde.

Here also the Germans without waiting for their artillery attacked the Danish position with the bayonet, which they defended with great bravery, but after an obstinate contest were compelled to give way before superior numbers, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the city of Schleswig, as far as the Castle-dam of Gottorp, was in the hands of the Germans. The contest was afterwards recommenced upon the left, in order to turn the city and gain possession of the road to Flensburg; in consequence of this movement the Danes evacuated Castle Gottorp, thus leaving the confederate forces at liberty to advance on Flensburg, without leaving an enemy in their rear.

The Danes made no farther attempt to maintain their footing in Schleswig, indeed the superiority in numbers on the part of the Germans rendered such an attempt useless. The confederate troops were permitted to enter Flensburg without resistance, where they were received with every mark of rejoicing and welcome on the part of the inhabitants. The Danish gunboats which still remained in the harbour, were compelled by the artillery to retire to a more respectful distance, and on the 25th. of April, the German troops had advanced nine miles to the north of Schleswig, in the direction of Gravenstein, without having seen an enemy.

Apenrade and Hadersleben were occupied without opposition, and a division of the 10th. corps d'armeé, made a march on the 27th. of April, from Hőckerup to the sea-coast opposite the island of Alsen. General Halkett who commanded the division, expected the enemy would await him at the crossing place to the island, (which is fordable at low water) the more so, as it was known he had long been constructing fortifications at this place. The unfinished entrenchments were however only occupied by a few soldiers, who abandoned them on the approach of the Germans, without firing a shot. General Halkett caused them to be partially destroyed, but did not think it prudent to cross over to the island, the coast of which was strongly entrenched and well provided with artillery.

Thus was Schleswig, completely cleared of the Danes; on the west by the troops and volunteers of Schleswig-Holstein, on the east by the Hannoverians, Mecklenburgers, and Brunswickers, under General Halkett, and northward by the Prussians.

An attempt to bring hostilities to a temination, by means of negotiations having failed, General Wrangel crossed the frontier of Schleswig, and entered Jutland, informing the provisional government of the circumstance in the following despatch.

"I have the honour to inform the provisional government that yesterday the troops under my command crossed the frontier of Jutland at Kolding, and on the evening of the same day occupied the fortress of Fredericia, the most important point of communication between the Danish islands and the continent. The enemy abondoned the frontier of the Danish provinces, and the strong position at Kolding without resistance, and Fredericia opened its gates to a patrole of the advanced guard under General Von Bonin. All the Danish troops had been shipped over to Fűnen, together with the greatest part of the munitions of war. Seven pieces of heavy artillery which had been buried and considerable stores of corn and flour, have however fallen into our hands. The enemy appears to have had the intention of maintaining the position at Seefort, the trenches of which have beeng newly pallisaded. I have already given orders for the destruction of these forts. This day at three o'clock the German flag was hoisted on the Sea fort, and saluted with a hundred and one cannon. As long as this flag waves on the walls, no toll will be exacted from vessels passing the little Belt. The courage and perseverance with which the troops under my command, have surmounted the dangers and fatigues which were necessary to the attainment of this glorious result, I cannot sufficiently acknowledge.

May 3rd, 1848. The General in chief of the Army, Wrangel.

Although Denmark was unable to oppose the superior force of the German powers by land, she showed herself sufficiently active on her proper element, the Sea. She laid an embargo on all German vessels, and blockaded all the German ports, while her cruizers captured every German ship that ventured to put to sea. In the two great commercial cities of Hamburg and Bremen, trade was completely put a stop to, and this they were compelled to bear without retaliation, from their utter want of even the smallest naval force.

After the occupation of Fredericia, no further military operations took place, with the exception of some insignificant skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Alsen, occasioned by the Danes sometimes passing over to the main land under cover of their gun-boats. General Wrangel established his head quarters at Kolding, and laid the surrounding country under severe contributions. The authorities were compelled to deliver the following articles daily, and without payment, for the use of the Prussian soldiers. Beef 20,700 *lbs.* Rice 5200

lbs. Salt 1400 *lbs.* Butter 2650 *lbs.* or Bacon 5200 *lbs.* Brandy 5100 bottles. Fine Cigars 3300. Common Cigars 100,000. Tobacco 4000 *lbs.* Bread 40,000 *lbs.* White Bread 1400 *lbs.* Sugar 100 *lbs.* Oats 325 Tons. Hay 16,500 *lbs.* Straw 19,800 *lbs.* besides 600 horses, with harness, to be delivered before the 15th. of May. These contributions were to continue until peace should be concluded.

Meanwhile the Danes by means of their naval force, harassed incessantly such of the German stations as were within a short distance from the shore. On the 9th of May a Steamboat and four gunboats commenced an attack on Fredericia. The following account is by an Eye-witness:

"Yesterday, military business took me to Fredericia, and while there, I witnessed an attack on the town by a Steamer and four gun-boats, who appeared to have set themselves the task of shooting away the German flag from the Sea fort, as well as throwing shells into the town and batteries. Unfortunately one of these missiles fell into the Arsenal, in which was a quantity of cartridges left behind by the Danes; these exploded, and killed several of the unfortunate inmates. Meanwhile the fire was returned from the Prussian six-pounders with such effect, that two of the gunboats were so disabled that they had great difficulty in reaching the opposite shore. The Steamer also received considerable damage, one of her paddles being shot away."

In revenge for this insult, General Von Bonin caused some shells to be thrown from Snoghoi, into the town of Mittelfart, through which 5 or 6 houses were burnt down. This produced a note from the Danish General Hedmann, addressed to General Wrangel, complaining of the act as a wanton outrage and threatening retaliation by means of the Danish flotilla. To this the latter replied that for every house destroyed in Schleswig by the Danes, he would cause a village to be burnt in Jutland.

In this state, affairs remained for a considerable time, the Danes concentrated their military force in Fűnen and Alsen, from which islands, they could re-enter either Schleswig or Jutland whenever it suited their purpose to do so. Completely masters of the sea, they blockaded the German ports at their pleasure, to the utter ruin of commerce, which could only be carried on by means of the vessels of neutral powers. In revenge for the loss occasioned by this mode of warfare, General Wrangel determined to extort a contribution of two Million species, from the inhabitants of Jutland. Before however this extraordinary measure could be carried into effect, he received orders from his Government to withdraw his forces from Jutland and Schleswig, England and Russia having offered their mediation, and insisted on this step as one necessary to be taken before any hope of arranging the matter peaceably, could be entertained.

The movement of the German troops was the signal for the

Danes to re-enter Jutland, and press closely on the heels of the retiring forces, and repeated skirmishes between the advanced guard of the Danes, and the rear-guard of the Germans was the consequence, and these skirmishes were magnified into important victories, by the German and Danish newspapers, according as the result was favourable or otherwise to their respective parties. The most important of these affairs was the attack of the Danes on the German forces near Sundewitt on the 28th of May. As the Germans were in the act of withdrawing from their position before the island of Alsen, they were surprised by a body of Danish troops consisting of six battalions of infantry, a few cavalry and several pieces of cannon, a sharp contest ensued on the heigths of Düppelen, in which the Germans were worsted, and retired in some confusion on Gravenstein, and on the 30th. of May, the Danes re-entered Hadersleben.

The exultation of the Danes on re-entering Schleswig, was only to be equalled by the indignation which the retreat of the confederate troops excited throughout Germany. The General assembly in Frankfort, as well as the Diet, protested loudly against either of the Governments, whose troops formed the 10th. Corps d'Armee, either concluding a separate peace with Denmark, or withdrawing their forces from Schleswig-Holstein. In consequence of these protests, General Wrangel received orders to again compel the Danes to evacuate Schleswig.

Under pretence of holding a grand parade in honour of the birth-day of the King of Hanover, General Wrangel concentrated his forces on the 5th. of June. At 6 in the morning, the Prussians left Flensburg in order to support the Hanoverians who were ordered to drive back the Danes; a sharp engagement consequently took place near Apenrade, of which the details, will be best gathered from the following despatch of the Hanoverian commander, General Halket.

"The Commander in Chief of the Army having ordered a Grand Parade on the 5th. of June, in honour of the birth-day of the King, with the intention of at the same time attacking the Danes stationed in Apenrade and Sundewitt, the troops were arranged in three columns, which it was intended should advance simultaneously against the enemy. To this end it was arranged that at 10. in the morning, the Prussian brigade Möllendorf should advance on the road from Bau, towards Apenrade. The Prussian brigade Bonin was at the same time to concentrate itself behind its advanced posts, and push forward over Uldrup and Satrup, against Sonderburg, while the advanced guard, (Major General Von Schnehen) the first infantry brigade, (Major General von Marschalk) and the Hannoverian nine-pounder battery, of the 10th Corps d'Armee, were to assemble at Gravenstein, and at 10 o'clock advance over Atzbüll and Nübel against Sonderburg. The Commander in Chief was to accompany the second column."

"In consequence of these dispositions, the above named troops, were assembled on the 5th. of June, at between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning near Gravenstein. Instead of the 1st Regiment of Dragoons, who were on duty elsewhere, two squadrons of the Queen's Hussars were ordered to form the advanced guard, and as I had learned that the brigade Bonin had formed their Rendezvous rather distant from their advanced posts, I did not advance to the attack until ½ past 10. The brigade Marschalk, with the nine-pounder battery and the two squadrons of Dragoons took the lead. They were followed by the brigade of the Major General Von Schnehen, which I had strengthened with an Oldenburg batallion. The advanced guard pushed forward by Atzbüll, after the brigade Marschalk had fallen in with the enemy, on the right by Nübel.

The enemy had occupied this position, with a battalion of infantry, and two pieces of cannon, these were captured by the brigade Marschalk, without any other loss on our part, than that of a few draft-horses, and after an obstinate combat they succeeded in gaining possession of the village of Nübel, and also of the Büffelkoppel. From the position at Nübel, the advanced guard had pushed forward to about the same distance in the direction of Düppelkirche as the brigade Marschalk, while the second column, (the brigade Bonin) had not yet made its appearance on the road leading from Ulderup over Satrup towards Sonderburg, so that I was compelled to wait for their coming up. At length at ½ past 1 o'clock, I observed the head of the brigade Bonin near Satrup, I caused it to be immediately divided into two columns, the right consisting of four battalions took the branch road from Satrup to Düppelkirche, while the left consisting of three battalions, advanced on the main road towards Sonderburg. At Düppelkirche I formed my two columns again into one, with the brigade Marschalk at the head. After the Danes had thus been driven in on all sides, on their position by the Düppeller Windmill, the three columns attempted under cover of the fire of their artillery, again to advance; but the Danes received them with such a heavy fire of Artillery from their entrenchments, that the Commander in Chief contented himself with driving the enemy behind his trenches, and withdrew the troops into their former positions, in which we passed the night, but a false alarm prevented the troops from taking any repose. We remain in these positions to-day, but as I am informed are to-morrow to fall back to our old stations at Bau and Flensburg, the brigade Bonin remaining nearest to the enemy, at Sundewitt. I close this despatch with the remark, that the 1st. Dragoon regiment, in its expedition against Lyeum-Kloster, succeeded in capturing 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, and 35 Dragoons of the 6th. Danish regiment."

June 6th. 1848. (signed) Von Halket.

It will be perceived that this affair, which was magnified into an important victory by the German newspapers, was nothing more

than a reconnoisance in force, in which the only advantage gained by General Wrangel was, — the knowledge that his present force was insufficient for the purpose of driving the Danes out of Schleswig, at any rate he never made any attempt to do so. He however addressed the following order of the day to his soldiers. —

"I hereby address to the officers, and soldiers of the Army, my warmest thanks for, and fullest acknowledgements of, the courage and spirit, with which in the reconnoisance of yesterday they drove back the enemy to his entrenchments; as also for the endurance and order with which they overcame the fatigues of a long march through a difficult country. To-day we will bivouac on the territory we have won, and to-morrow retire to cantonments which are nearer to the enemy than our former ones, and which will be pointed out to the troops in the course of the day. The respective commanders are to take measures, to cause the baggage and necessaries for the troops during the bivouac of to-day, to be brought up; and where this is impossible, to procure the last, by requisitions on the country. Such troops as are in want of brandy will obtain the same, after 12 o'clock from the Intendant in Quars."

This was the last affair of any importance, in the campaign of Schleswig and Jutland: the loss of the confederate troops, according to an official report, consisted of 3 officers, 4 non-commissioned officers, and 29 rank and file, killed. 19 officers, 21 non-commissioned officers, 1 surgeon, and 184 rank and file, wounded. And 1 officer, 1 non-commissioned officer, and 64 rank and file, missing. The loss on the part of the Danes, has not been ascertained.

From this time, hostilities were confined to a few skirmishes between the Corps of volunteers, and the Danish foraging parties; after a few days however, these gradually ceased, a suspension of hostilities seemed to have been agreed on between the rival armies, although no official announcement of the circumstance was ever published. The Danes concentrated their forces at Sonderburg and Hadersleben, and the Germans theirs' at Bau and Flensburg, and in this position they quietly awaited the solution of the question, by means of the mediation of France, England, and Russia. The good offices of these powers have been so far successful, as to cause a formal suspension of hostilities, which will doubtless end in the establishment of a permanent peace.

We here close our account of the quarrel between Denmark and her German subjects, reserving however the privilege of returning to it, should hostilities recommence, or anything occur of sufficient importance to again call the attention of the public in that direction.

It therefore only remains for us to add a description of the scenes we have chosen from the theatre of War and Revolution, in Schleswig-Holstein.

SCHLESWIG.

The capital of the Duchy of the same name, is situated on the western side of the Fiord or arm of the sea, called the Schlei, it contains a Cathedral and two other churches, the former was erected in the year 1260: it is remarkable for its exquisitely carved altar-screen, executed by Hans Brűggeman in 1521, and for the tombs of various Dukes and Bishops of Schleswig. The city also contains a Grammar school, a Deaf and Dumb institution, an establishment for printing Bibles, a lunatic asylum, and several manufactories of lace, thread, etc. The inhabitants amount to about 11,000, and it formerly contained 15 churches and monasteries. On the opposite side of the Schlei are to be seen the ruins of two churches, which are the oldest in the Danish dominions, here was also a city in former times. Near the city stands Castle Gottorp, which formed an important position, in the engagement of the 23rd. of April 1848, it was built in the middle of the twelfth century, by bishop Occo. In the neighbourhood is to be seen the remains of the wall built across the peninsula in the 9th. century by the Danish King Gottfried, it is upwards of nine miles in length.

HADERSLEBEN.

This city is situated on an arm of the Sea, communicating with the Baltic, it contains about 3000 inhabitants. Here is a Grammar school, founded in 1567, by Duke John the elder, brother of Christian III. and a much frequented ferry to the island of Fűnen. Some remains of a large castle which formerly stood here, are still to be seen on the outside of the city. Hadersleben received a grant of municipal privileges in 1292.

KIEL,

is situated on the western side of the arm of the sea, called the Kieler Fiord. It is a place of considerable traffic, and contains upwards of 12,000 inhabitants. The fair held here on Twelfth-day is the most important in Holstein, and is attended by all the farmers and landed proprietors of the neighbourhood. It contains a University, founded in 1665, by Duke Christian Albrecht, an institutiou for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, an Academy for educating schoolmasters, and another for foresters, besides a grammar school. I has a communication with Hamburg by means of a rail-road, and previous to hostilities, Steamboats ran regulary to, and from, Copenhagen. On the other side of the Fiord, is a watering place called Sandkrug, and there is also an establishment on the eastern side of the city for Sea-bathing. Much attention has been drawn to this city of late, in consequence of its having been the seat of the Provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein.

THE INSURRECTION IN PRAGUE.

Since the year 1815, when the Congress of Vienna completed a new arrangement of the boundaries, extent, and relative political power, of the various European states, the idea of reviving the ancient Empire of Germany, by uniting the thirty-eight independent states into which that vast country is divided, into a grand political confederation under a common head, has been a favorite one with the politicians of Germany, and has daily taken more hold upon public opinion. The formation of the Zollverein or Customs league in 1830 between Prussia and a majority of the smaller states, was a great step towards carrying this idea into practice, by showing that the jarring interests of the various powers were by no means incapable of being arranged to the satisfaction of all parties. The revolutions which during the early part of the year 1848, prostrated the various governments of Germany, afforded a favorable opportunity for making this great and long desired experiment, and as our readers are doubtlessly aware, a Parliament composed of delegates from all the German states, under a Reichverweser, or Regent of the Empire, is at this moment sitting at Frankfort.

When the steps for the formation of this national Parliament came to be taken, a difficulty presented itself, which it appears had been almost entirely overlooked by the greater part of the German politicians. This difficulty arose from the circumstance, that a considerable part of the population of many of the Prussian and Austrian states is composed of persons of Sclavonic origin, whose manners customs and language, differ essentially from those of the Germans, (whom they look upon with the same feelings of dislike with which the Celtic inhabitants of Ireland regard their Saxon conquerors) and in the opinion of many of their leaders, the time had arrived for throwing off the German yoke, and forming a Slavonic empire, by the union of all the inhabitants of that race, in opposition to that attempted to be formed by the Germans. The consequence of this idea, was the civil war between the races in Posen, which at one time threatened to extend itself to the whole of the east of Germany, but as we shall have an opportunity of noticing this more particulary under the heads, Hungary and Posen, we confine ourselves at present to the kingdom of Bohemia.

This kingdom which is one of the most valuable possessions of the Austrian crown, is bounded on the north by Saxony, on the north-east by Prussian Silesia, on the south-east by Moravia, on the south by the Arch-duchy of Austria, and on the west by Bavaria. It appears to have been orginally peopled by the Bojers, a race of Gallic origin, from which the land received its name; during the convulsions of the 5th. century however, a Sclavonic tribe calling themselves Czechs, or rather Tschechs, took possession of the country, whose descendants under the same name, form the bulk of the inhabitants

at the preseat day. According to the census of 1847, the population of Bohemia consisted of 2,557,399 Tschechish, and 1,828,105 German inhabitants (exclusive of about 75,000 Jews) and the revenue to 20 millions of Gulden. (2,000,000 l.) The Christian inhabitants, with the exception of 12,000 Lutherans, and 6,500 Hussites are Roman Catholics. The German inhabitants form the majority of the population in the cities, and also in the districts on the Bavarian and Saxon frontiers, while the population of the interior of the kingdom is almost entirely Tschechish, these last speak a Sclavonic dialect, greatly resembling Polish, which is utterly unintelligible to most of the German inhabitants.

PRAGUE.

The capital city of Bohemia is situated nearly in the centre of the kingdom, on the banks of the river Moldau, it contains with its suburbs about 130,000 inhabitants, of whom ahout one third are Tschechs, the remainder, (with the exception of 8000 Jews) are Germans. It contains 48 Churches and Chapels, 13 Monasteries, 9 Synagogues, 2 Protestant Chapels, and 3 Hospitals. The University was founded in 1348 by Charles IV., and contains from 1400 to 1500 students. On the Hradschin (Castle-hill) stands the ancient Palace of the Bohemian Kings, it is decorated with 4 lofty towers, and contains 450 apartments; near it is the magnificent church of St Veit, the tower of which is 314 feet in heigth; here is to be seen the mausoleum of Charles IV., and his four wives, the tombs of Ferdinand I, Maximilian I., and Ferdinand II., and the splendid Chapel of St. Wenzel, the altar of which is of Silver, and weighs 30 cwt. the coffin of the saint is also of the same material. Prague possesses several other magnificent churches, and public buildings, among which the Clementinum, formerly a Jesuit's college, with 7 courts and two churches, the church of St. Nicholas, and that of Loretto, are the most remarkable. The city is connected with the suburb called the Kleinseite, by a handsome stone bridge of 16 arches, decorated with 28 statues of saints, among which that of St. Nepomuk is held in the greatest reverence, and is seldom free from a group of persons kneeling before it. The new town is also connected with the Kleinseite, by a suspension bridge which has recently been erected; the other suburbs of prague are Wissehrad, and Carolinenthal, the latter of which is chiefly inhabited by the working classes. The finest square in the city is the Horse-market, which was the scene of the meeting, that led to the fearful outbreak we are about to describe.

The grievances of the Tschechish inhabitants of Bohemia, were substantially the same as those of the German inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein; they complained that their interests were always sacrificed to those of the Germans, and that the government took every

means in its power to Germanise them. The news of the French revolution of February, produced a tremendous excitement throughout Bohemia, and more especially in Prague; meetings were held, and petitions adopted, stating their grievances and praying for redress, but before they could be replied to, the revolution of the 13th. of March in Vienna, swept away the government of Prince Metternich, and established a new order of affairs, that raised the hopes of the Bohemians to the highest pitch. No sooner had the news of the events in Vienna reached Prague, than the inhabitants hastened to follow the example, a national guard was formed by the citizens and students, and the Governor Count Leo Thun consented to share his authority with, or rather transfer it to, a committee chosen by the citizens, which only differed in name from a Provisional Government. The pretence for this step was, that the new state of affairs required a promptness of action, that would not permit him to consult the Government in Vienna, and that he was unwilling to act altogether on his own authority. The German party however loudly assert, that the real object was to embarrass the new ministry in Vienna, and make use of the Sclavonic party, for the purpose of upholding the old principles of Absolutism.

However this may have been, on the 1st. of May, the following address to the Sclavonic population of Austria was issued by Count Thun, and the Tschechish committee:

"Brother Sclavonians! Which of us looks not with sorrow upon the past? Which of us is not aware that all our sufferings have arisen from want of knowledge of each other, and from the disunion that has separated brother from brother? At length after forgetting each other for centuries, during which so many misfortunes have descended upon us, we have at length learned that we are one, that we are brothers. Eventful times have broken upon us, the nations are freeing themselves, and throwing off the burdens under which they groaned. These times have removed from us the greater part of our load, and we can now speak that which we have long felt, and deliberate and resolve on the measures most likely to be useful to us. The people of Europe understand each other, and unite themselves; the Germans are united, and a parliament is called to meet at Frankfort, the State of Austria is prepared to give up as much of its Sovereignty as is necessary to the German unity, and to join all its lands with the exception of Hungary, to the German confederation. Such a step would not only destroy the unity of Austria, but also the bond of union and independence which has hitherto existed between the Sclavonic races, whose nationality is consequently in danger. It is our duty to defend these our holiest rights, and the time is come when we Sclavonians, must understand each other's sentiments, and unite ourselves in order to carry these sentiments into effect. In compliance with a wish that has been expressed in various quarters,

we publish this summons to all the Sclavonians of the Austrian monarchy, and invite all men who have the common welfare of our nation at heart, to meet on the 31st. inst. in the ancient and renowned Sclavonic city of Prague, in order to take council with regard to all that affects our common Nation, and to determine what steps it is necessary to take in these eventful times. Should any Sclavonians who are not Austrian subjects be present at this meeting, they will be considered as welcome guests."

"Prague May 1st. 1848."

This appeal was responded to, delegates from the various Sclavonic provinces of Austria and Prussia daily announced their arrival in Prague, the idea of forming Austria into a Sclavonic empire was almost the only subject of conversation, and took daily more hold on the public mind. An attempt on the part of the populace to plunder the Jew's quarter, was easily suppressed by the National guard and the Military, as were also some other disturbances of a slighter character.

Meanwhile the members of the Sclavonic Congress, proceeded to organise themselves into three sections; the Bohemian Sclavonians, the South-Sclavonians, (Hungarians) and the Polish-Ruthenans, who severally elected Schaffarik, Stamatovité, and Libelt, as their presidents; they also formed a committee for the election of a Starost or General-President, and the choice fell upon Palacky, while Prince Lubormursky and Vratz were elected vice-presidents. On the first of June the Sections held preliminary meetings, and on the second, the Congress was formally opened. On the third, the question was discussed, if all three nations should send a petition to the Emperor, demanding his acknowledgment of the Patriarch that had been chosen by the Servians in South-Hungary, while the Ruthenans demanded that a similar petition should be prepared, demanding the same rights for Gallicia as had been granted to Bohemia. On the fourth, a public festival was held, at which the Arch-Priest Stamatovité rehearsed the Litany according to the old Sclavonic ritual; this ceremony which took place in the Horse-market, was attended by all the members of the Congress, and an immense crowd of other persons. On the fifth of June began the real business of the meeting. This was to draw up a Manifesto, addressed to the various Nations of Europe, stating the position which the Sclavonic People intended to assume, in relation to other countries. According to this document, the mission of the Sclavonic race is the equal adjustment of the rights of all nations with regard to each other, on the ground of true Christianity and mutual love. It declared that the rights of a people must be considered without regard to their being within or without the boundaries of a certain state, and the willingness of the Sclavonic Congress to assist in carrying these views into effect, by assisting them to ob-

tain free political Institutions, of a kind best suited to their particular national character.

Notwithstanding this declaration of brotherly love towards all nations, the proceedings of the Congress showed no small degree of bitterness of feeling, with regard to both the Germans and Hungarians, (Magyars) and every possible means were taken to induce the people of Bohemia to refrain from electing members for the German national parliament. In this however they met with but little success, the elections proceeded in spite of the most active exertions of the Ultra Tschechish party, who apparently despairing of carrying their plan of a Sclavonic union into effect by fair means, resolved to have recourse to force. It became daily more evident that a collision was inevitable, and the military Governor of Prague, Prince Windischgrätz took his measures accordingly: he caused the University to be closed in hopes of getting rid of the Students, who were the most likely to be first in any acts of violence, this however, was little use as they refused to leave the city; and at a review that was held on the 5th. of June, he withheld 2 batteries of Artillery that had been in the possession of the national guard: this last act caused a storm of threats, remonstrances and demands, petitions for his recall were addressed to the Government at Vienna, and he himself was requested not only to restore the batteries, but to furnish 6000 muskets, and 80,000 ball cartridges for the use of the burghers. It is scarcely necessary to say that under the circumstances, these demands were refused.

In consequence of this refusal, a great Sclavonic demonstration was arranged to be held on the 12th. of June, and which as was no doubt intended by at least a portion of the leaders, led to the final outbreak. In the vast square called the Horse-market, at the feet of St. Wenzel, the patron saint of the Tschechs, a solemn high mass was performed, at which the deputies, the adherents of the Swornost or General Assembly, the Students, and an immense crowd, composed principally of workmen from the suburbs of Podskal and Carolinenthal assisted. The ceremony concluded with an oath, by which all persons present bound themselves to be true to each other and to the Sclavonic cause, and immediately afterwards the whole assemblage streamed off towards the residence of Prince Windischgrätz, which was situated in a street called the Zeltergasse, singing in full chorus a popular Tschechish song in abuse of the Germans, called *Schuselka nam pice.* On approaching the house of the military Commander, the progress of the crowd was arrested by a patrol of Cavalry, who were assailed by the populace with every term of abuse that either the Tschechish or German languages could supply. Here the first hostile collision occurred, it is however difficult to say which party were to blame, the Tschechs assert that the soldiers commenced the assault by striking the people with their swords,

while the military declare that a shot was fired at them from a window; be this as it may, the soldiers succeeded in dispersing the crowd for the present: the Museum between the Horse-market and the Linden, was as the assembling place of the Congress, surrounded by military, who however permitted such of the members to withdraw as chose to do so; and a large body of troops were assembled between the Post-office, and the Powder magazine. In this state of hostile expectation the city remained during several hours, without any step of importance being taken either on the part of the military or the populace.

Suddenly the omenous silence that reigned throughout the city, was broken by the sound of a volley of musketry; and the next moment a cry of "Treason! Treason! they are murdering our brothers" ran through the streets, and with a rapidity that leaves little doubt that means had been provided for the purpose beforehand, barricades arose as if by magic in every direction; in the space between the Powder-magazine and the Suspension bridge, notwithstanding the breadth of the streets in that part of the town, not less than fifteen were erected in an inconceivably short space of time. Paralysed by the suddenness of the outbreak, the military took no active measures to prevent the erection of the barricades; on the contrary the insurgents were allowed considerable time to make their preparations, the soldiers apparently for want of orders, remaining perfectly inactive, but all attempts on the part of the insurgents to induce the military to join them failed; although at least half of them were of the Tschechish race, they remained without a single exception true to their colours.

At length at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the artillery opened its fire against the barricade nearest to the Powder-magazine, it was instantly abandoned by the populace, who took refuge in the nearest houses, such as were not opened willingly by the inhabitants being broken into forcibly by the mob. The barricade which does not appear to have been formed of very solid materials, soon yielded to the force of the cannon-shot, but while the infantry were engaged in clearing away its wrecks, in order to open a path for the cavalry, they were exposed to an incessant fire of small arms from the windows of the adjoining houses, mingled with stones and tiles from the roofs, heavy articles of furniture, boiling water, in fact every article that the most embittered rage could convert into a weapon. This was repeated at every barricade, and the loss on the part of the military was consequently very severe, while their opponents sheltered by the houses, suffered comparatively little; among the wounded was the son of the Governor Prince Windischgrätz, a young officer of cuirassiers, whose knee was shattered by a musket ball, while his mother the Princess Windischgrätz was basely assassinated in her chamber, by a woman who concealing herself behind the window

curtains of the opposite building, shot the unfortunate lady as she sat at her window.

Taught more caution by their losses at the first barricades, the soldiers proceeded more systematically with their dreadful work. The moment a barricade was shattered by the cannon, two files of soldiers advanced, each file keeping close to the houses on either side of the street and directing their fire at the windows of the houses opposite: covered by these parties, the rest of the soldiers removed the fragments of the barricade. In this manner the troops fought their way from the Powder magazine to the Suspension bridge, and the communication being thus established between the troops on both sides of the river, the combat ended for that day, and at 9 o'clock in the evening, only an occasional musket shot, disturbed the awful stillness that had succeeded to the tumult of the fight.

Early on the morning of the 13th. the battle recommenced, and at 12 o'clock the troops had so far obtained the mastery, that the Governor resolved to re-establish the communication between the old and new towns; for this purpose he caused the road-way of the suspension bridge which had been broken up, to be repaired and the barricades that had been erected in the suburb called the Kleinseite to be taken by storm. These operations were however, only carried into effect at the expence of a fearful loss on the part of the military, the defence of the insurgents having been of the most obstinate character, the steadiness of the troops however overcame all difficulties, and at 6 o'clock in the evening the fight was put an end to by the appearance of a flag of truce on the side of the insurgents, who now desired if possible to put an end to the contest by negociation. This was however refused by Prince Windischgrätz, who would listen to no proposals short of laying down their arms, threatening in case of refusal to bombard the town on the following day. This the Tschechs refused, unless he would consent to withdraw his troops from the city. Negotiations were consequently broken off, and the citizens saw themselves likely to be exposed to a calamity that would fall with the same weight upon the innocent as the guilty.

To add to the terrors of the citizens, a report was spread abroad, that it was the intention of the Tschechish party to massacre the German inhabitants during the night. This report notwithstanding its absurdity caused infinitely more terror than the thoughts of a bombardment, and thousands of the citizens were seen flying with their families to the neighbouring villages, leaving all their property to the mercy of the populace.

No sooner were the negociations broken off, than a large body of the insurgents retired from the town towards the suburb of Podskal, pursued by a party of Jagers and Hussars who endeavoured to disperse them, a terrible conflict was the consequence, in the course of which 26 Hussars were thrown by the populace into the Moldau,

where the greater part of them were drowned. The engagement continued the whole night, and it was not until half-past eight o'clock on the morning of the 14th. that the suburb was completely in possession of the military.

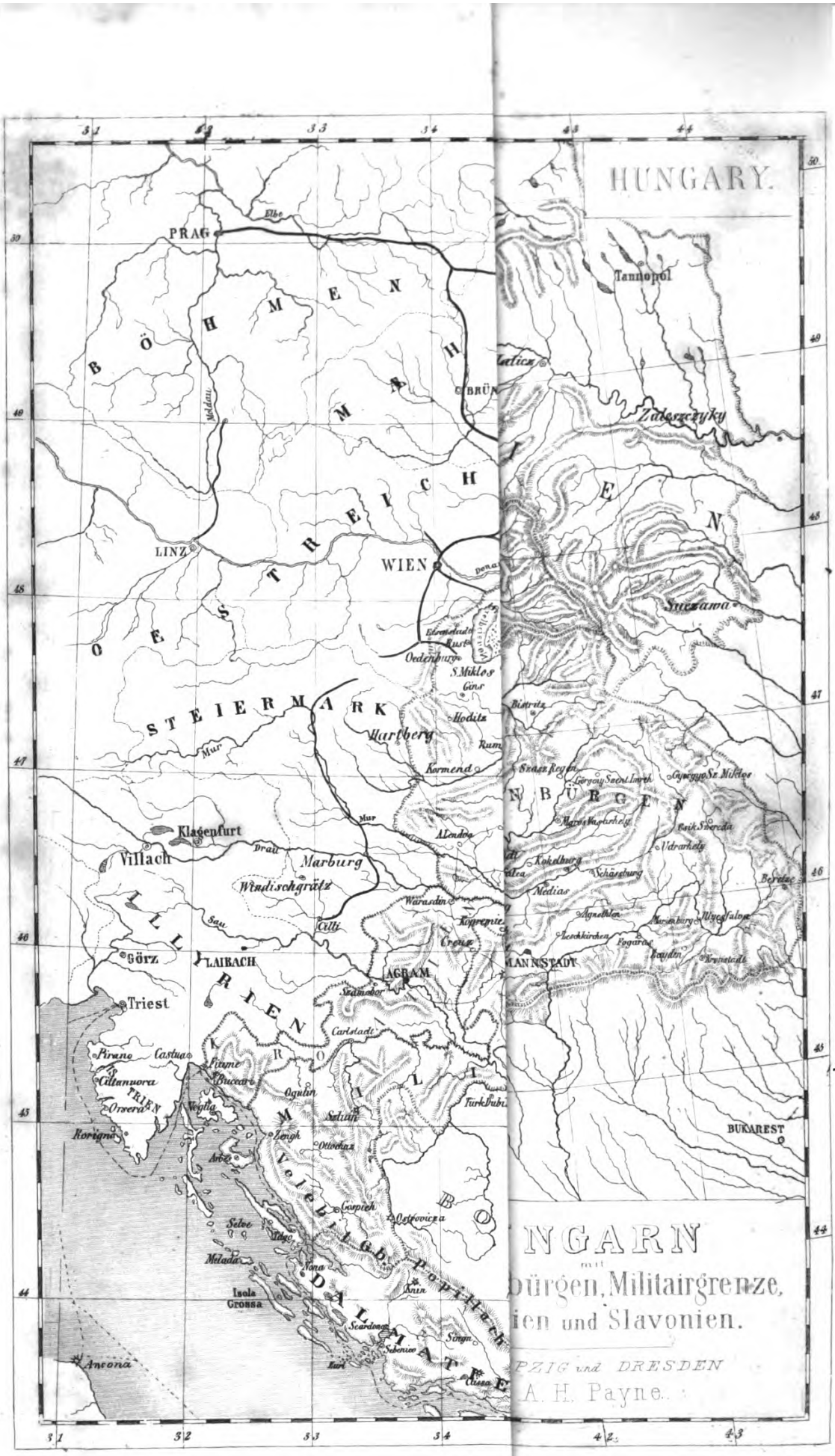
On this day Count Mensdorf arrived from Vienna to take the general command of the troops, it being thought that the insurrection was prolonged by the great personal dislike that the Tschechish party had conceived towards Prince Windischgrätz. The bombardment was consequently postponed, but all attempts to bring the Tschechs to surrender failed, they were still masters of the old town and appeared determined to defend it to the last man. Meanwhile Prince Windischgrätz, withdrew his troops to some distance from the city, and made every arrangement for commencing the attack.

At midday on the 15th. the cannonade commenced and lasted without intermission until 9, at night, without however doing so much damage as might have been expected. The hope of the insurgents that the peasantry in the neighbourhood would rise in their favour now grew every hour weaker, and in the course of the night many of them made their escape from the town. The cannonade was resumed on the 16th. and at 12, in the forenoon, a new truce of 24 hours was granted to the insurgents by Count Mensdorf, with the intimation that as at length the Mortars and heavy Artillery had arrived, they must in the event of refusing to surrender, be prepared for the worst.

During this truce, a great part of the Tschechs, including most of their leaders fled from the city, many of them were however made prisoners. At its conclusion, the terms of the Austrians were agreed to, and at 12 o'clock on the 17th. the Troops marched over the stone bridge to take possession of the old town; as however the head of the column approached the end of the bridge a volley of musketry was treacherously fired at them from a Mill at the side of the river, and it was evident that some of the more desperate of the insurgents were still inclined to continue the hopeless contest.

The troops were immediately withdrawn, and the bombardment now commenced in earnest, the first shells were directed against the Mill from which the volley had been fired, in a few minutes it was in flames, and the works for supplying the city with water soon afterwards took fire. The German party in the city who had hitherto taken no part in the conflict now aroused themselves, they dis-armed the few Tschechs who were still inclined to resist, and the Austrians were at length masters of the city.

Their proceedings on entering the town were marked by great mildness, the population was disarmed, and a few of the leaders including Count Thun were arrested. The Sclavonic Congress had of course dissolved itself, and order was once more established in the metropolis of Bohemia.


HUNGARY.
PRAG
Elbe
BÖHMEN
MÄHREN
OESTREICH
LINZ
WIEN
Tarnopol
Zaleszczyky
Suczawa
Oedenburg
S. Miklos
Gins
Hoditz
Marberg
Mur
Kormend
STEIERMARK
Klagenfurt
Villach
Drau
Marburg
Windischgrätz
Mur
Sau
Cilli
Warasdin
Kopreinitz
Creutz
Agram
Laibach
Görz
Triest
ILLYRIEN
Carlstadt
Fiume
Buccari
Ogulin
Sdulin
Zengh
Ottochaz
Arbe
Veglia
Pirano
Castua
Cittanuova
Orsera
Rovigno
TRIEST
Gospich
Ostrovizza
Selve
Tilgo
Milada
Nona
Isola Grossa
Scardona
Sebenico
Spalatro
Ancona
Kaschau
Eperies
Bartfeld
Tokay
Debreczin
Grosswardein
Arad
Temesvar
Mannstadt
Bukarest
Bistritz
Szasz Regen
Maros Vasarhely
Kokelburg
Schässburg
Medias
Agnetheln
Hermannstadt
Fogaras
Kronstadt
Udvarhely
Bereck
Szereda
Illyefalva
Neumarkt
Leschkirchen
Baiden
Ungarn
mit
Siebürgen, Militairgrenze,
Slavonien und Slavonien.
LEIPZIG und DRESDEN
bei A. H. Payne.

The loss on the part of the military is said to have exceeded 500 men, including the son of Prince Windischgrätz who died of his wound, that of the insurgents has not been ascertained, it was however in all probability not inferior to that of the troops.

THE REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY.

Long before the French Revolution of February 1848, had roused the latent discontent which existed in almost every country in Europe, into open insurrection, and given the signal for the most extraordinary political changes that ever convulsed the face of the civilized world. Hungary by its loud and long continued demands for a new National-Constitution, better fitted to the present state of intelligence than the antiquated form of Government which had hitherto existed in that country, had drawn the attention of many of the more profound political inquirers in that direction, and they found a not less curious, than interesting field of study, in the strange state of affairs existing in the ancient kingdom of the Magyars.

Situated on the verge that separates civilized Europe, from the countries that remain comparatively in a state of barbarism, Hungary is however, too far removed from the centre of political agitation, for the ordinary mass of politicians to interest themselves in its affairs; most persons have looked upon it as a mere province of the Austrian Empire, the commotions of which, might perhaps sometimes be embarassing to the cabinet of Vienna, but could have little or no interest for the rest of the world.

It entered the minds of few persons in Western Europe, that here in the "far East" a new sovereignty was struggling into existence, or rather that an old nationality was about to re-assert its ancient importance, and again take its place as an independent state in the political circle. The constant disputes between the Nobility and the representatives of the People, not only with each other, but with the cabinet of Vienna, and the far more important struggle between the Sclavonic and Magyarish races, not only in Hungary, but in the adjacent half barbarous states, excited little or no attention in any country of Europe, with the exception of Austria.

In the German states of the Austrian empire, and still more so in the imperial cabinet, the affairs of Hungary have however always been looked upon as subjects of the most primary importance. Since the year 1741, when the assembled Hungarian Magnates, exclaimed with one voice as they unsheathed their sabres, "We will live or die for our *King* Maria Theresa", Hungary has ever been looked upon as a fortress in the rear of the Emperor, the support of which has never

been looked for in vain, and at the same time as the means of keeping in subjection the Servians, Walachians, Bulgarians, and other half barbarous inhabitants of the eastern provinces. The Hungarian levies formed the flower of the Austrian Army, and though the people taxed themselves, and the sums voted by the Diet to the Emperor, bore rather the form of presents, than of regular dues; still the amount that flowed from this source into the Austrian treasury, was by no means inconsiderable, while in a commercial point of view the possession of Hungary was of incalculable importance to the empire.

For these, and other reasons of a similar nature, the Hungarians have ever shown themselves to be in the highest degree proud of their nationality, and jealous of any interference with their peculiar institutions; and this haughty and warlike race, have ever been treated with a degree of caution and circumspection on the part of the Austrian Government, which it has never bestowed on any other of its numerous provinces; and the title of Palatin, or Viceroy of Hungary, has ever been an object of ambition even to the princes of the Imperial house.

Notwithstanding this, the struggle between the various classes and races, of which the population of Hungary is composed, has been for many years past, constantly on the increase. The unprivileged classes, have sought to reduce the enormous power and unjust privileges of the Aristocracy and Clergy, and in the disputes concerning the right of voting for the members of the Diet, and others of a similar kind, they have generally obtained the advantage. With this however they were by no means satisfied, they demanded that the "Roboten" or taxes paid by the peasantry, as well as various other burdens on the cultivators of the soil, should be modified; that the Nobility should no longer be exempted from the payment of imposts, that the war-taxes should be more fairly levied, that all Hungarians should be equal in the eye of the law, and various other demands of the same character. The Magnates made a show of conceding some of these demands, but on the whole their power and privileges remained much the same as before; while the Government had recourse to temporising measures, turned both parties to account for its own purposes, and resolved to make no alterations, that could possibly be avoided.

To render this strife of a more embittered character, the national feelings of the various races that form the motley population of Hungary were brought into play, and the struggle with regard to language began, which like the rod of Aaron, soon swallowed up all other causes of dispute, and converted a mere agitation for executive reform, into a contest for supremacy between rival nations.

To clearly understand the cause of this dispute it is necessary to glance slightly at the previous history of the country. The population of Hungary consists at the present time of about 11 million

souls, of whom by far the most numerous class is composed of persons of Sclavonic origin, who under the names of Slowaks, Czechs, Croats, Slavonians etc. form the mass of the peasantry and working population of the kingdom, and speak various dialects of the Sclavonic language; while the people who are known to the rest of Europe as Hungarians, are of Tartaric origin, and are called Turks by the Byzantine historians of the middle ages, and there is little doubt that they are closely allied, if not identical in their origin, with the people who are known by that name at the present day. They are certainly a branch of the energetic and warlike Mongolian race, who have appeared as conquerers alike on the banks of the Ganges and the Danube, and have established dynasties both in Delhi and Constantinople. This people appears to have abandoned its original seat at the feet of the Ural mountains, and appeared on the banks of the Danube, in the latter part of the ninth century. They first established themselves in the province now called Siebenbürgen, and from thence overrun the whole of the adjacent countries. In the year 907, they defeated the Duke of Bavaria, overrun Saxony, and carried their arms into the centre of the German empire, they were however defeated hy the Emperor Henry the Fowler, in a decisive battle near Lützen, and were finally expelled from Germany by Otto the great. We have no space to follow their history farther, it is sufficient for our present purpose to state, that under the name of Madjars or Magyars they form the ruling Caste in Hungary at the present day, still speaking an essentially different language from the Sclavonians, they monopolise to a great extent the power and wealth of the country, and include within their numbers the whole of the numerous nobility, and by far the greater part of the landed proprietors.

Besides the Sclavonians and Magyars, Hungary contains at least half a million of Germans, while the Greeks, Jews, and Gipsies, (the last of whom, are more numerous than in any other country) are collectively estimated at two millions; all these differerent races speak their respective languages among themselves, while apparently from a principle of fairness towards all these different parties, the official language of the state is Latin.

It is only natural that the Sclavonians who form the majority of the nation, should wish that their language should be that taught in the schools, and used for all the ordinary purposes of communication, as well as that the privileges of the Nobility should be abolished; this, the Magyars who have been used for centuries to look upon themselves as a privileged class considered in much the same light, as an American would a demand on the part of the coloured population to be placed on terms of equality with the whites. This breach between the races, is said to have been widened by the machinations of Russian emissaries, and whether this is true or otherwise, it is certain that during the last few years it has rapidly increased; more

especially since the death of the late Palatine, the Archduke Joseph, who from the deserved popularity that he enjoyed among all classes, had hitherto prevented the hatred of the rival parties from bursting into civil war. On his death which happened early in 1847, his son the Archduke Stephen, was called by the unanimous voice of the nation to assume his place.

So peculiar an institution, as the rank of Palatine of Hungary, de mands a few words of explanation. He is in fact the representative of the ancient elective sovereignty of Hungary, and is interposed between the hereditary Prince, and the People. He is the mediator in all disputes between the King and the Diet; if the King is absent, or neglects the affairs of the nation, he supplies his place and is his guardian if he happens to be a minor. In all weighty affairs he must be consulted by the sovereign, and it is his duty to see that all petitions and complaints on the part of his subjects, are duly laid before him. From these, and many other duties of a similar nature that devolve upon him, he may be considered to be at once the Viceroy, prime minister, and minister of the interior, on the part of the Sovereign, as well as president of the Diet, and Commander in chief of the Forces. It will be perceived, that to perform these various duties to the satisfaction of all parties, it requires a man not only of great, but of various abilities; and that it is often an affair of no small difficulty to bring the policy of the Austrian court, into accordance with the demands of the Hungarian nation.

It is to observed of the Archduke Stephen, that he was perhaps the only man in the Empire, that could at this sime have undertaken the enerous office of Palatine, with any prospect of success. Stephen is young, highly intelligent, and has been carefully educated for his present destiny by the best possible teacher, his father; while his handsome person and chivalrous bearing are highly calculated to make a favourable impression upon such a people as the Hungarians. His illustrious birth disarms the envy, with which the elevation of a man remarkable only for his talent, would be regarded by his compeers, and renders it difficult for any of the many men of Genius which Hungary possesses, to enter the lists with him. His first acts were calculated to win golden opinions from all sides, but it soon became evident, that the cautions and pacific policy by which the Archduke Joseph had hitherto prevented any collision between the Sovereign and the Diet, would no longer be available. Shortly before the French revolution, that body declared that the acts of the Administrative Institute, which had been appointed by the Emperor, were not binding until they had been approved of by them; and that any attempt to enforce these acts would be considered as an attack on the sacred constitution of Hungary, and would be followed by the refusal of the supplies. A royal proclamation dissolving the Diet, and calling on the people to preserve order, produced the most extraor-

dinary excitement throughout the nation, and the people shewed their disapprobation of the measures of the cabinet of Vienna, by loading the opposition deputies, with addresses of thanks and assurances of confidence.

The citizens of Presburg refused to elect members for the new Diet and were cited without effect by the Crown-lawyers, and throughout the country it was demanded that the measures of Austria, which were calculated to reduce Hungary from the rank of a confederate state, into a mere province should be resisted. At this eventful moment the news of the events in Paris arrived in Presburg. The effect this news produced on the public mind throughout the Kingdom, is altogether indescribable, the Diet took its decision at once, it broke off all negotiations with the Austrian cabinet, and closed for ever its accounts with the olden time.

Louis Von Kossuth in a glowing speech, proclaimed to the deputies of the lower house of representatives the new demands which the nation was now prepared to insist upon. His plan of a new Constitution, was received and carried by acclamation on the 3rd. of March, and passed without alteration by the bewildered Magnates.

A kind of enthusiastic intoxication pervaded the entire land, the Magyars, seemed at once instinctively to comprehend the new era that had dawned upon their nation, the Sclavonians on the other hand, showed themselves to be somewhat distrustful of the new state of affairs. Revolutionary movements took place in every part of the Kingdom, and all eyes were fixed with expectation upon Pesth, and "what will Pesth do" was the question that agitated every mind. The capital of the easily inflamed Magyars, left by the energy and decision of its proceedings the rest of the Hungarian population, far behind it. From Pesth and Ofen, the following proclamation bearing the signature of the magistrates, was circulated throughout the whole of Hungary:

— What are the demands of the Hungarian nation? They are Peace, Freedom, and Unity! 1. We demand Freedom of the Press, and abolition of the censorship. 2. A responsible Ministry in Buda-Pesth. 3. A yearly Parliament in Pesth. 4. Equality before the law, of all ranks and religions. 5. A National guard. 6. Equality of taxation, without exemptions on account of rank. 7. Trial by Jury and representation of the people, on the principle of Equality. 8. A National bank. 9. That the military shall be sworn to the Constitution, and that Hungary be only garrisoned by her own troops. 10. The political prisoners shall be released. 11. The union of Siebenburgen with Hungary. 12. Abolition of the Urbarial laws. Equality! Liberty! Fraternity!

This was followed by a summons for the immediate formation of a Burgher-militia in order to enforce these demands, if necessary by arms. The Cities of Raab, and Komorn, adopted the demands on the same day by means of their deputies, and in a few days six com-

mittees in different parts of the Kingdom had adopted the famous 12 points as their political creed, with the addition of some others, such as the entire abolition of feudal rights, and that a deputy should be elected for every 30,000 souls, above all however, the formation of an independent ministry was demanded with the greatest impatience, and the whole nation whatever might be their differences on minor points, were unanimous in their desire to free themselves from the influence of the Camarilla of Vienna. Even the chamber of Magnates, who of course looked with displeasure on the attack on the privileges of their order, were perfectly agreed on this particular. The address of the Diet embodying the above demands, was presented to the Emperor by the Palatine Archduke, at the head of a deputation of the members, and after a discussion of two days, between the deputation and the ministry, everything of importance was granted, without any of the reservations which were afterwards sought to be enforced by the court of Vienna.

These concessions caused a perfect delirium of rejoicing throughout the land, the threatening attitude of the citizens of Pesth, who had talked of proclaiming a republic, in case their demands were refused, was abandoned; the Diet abolished some of the more oppressive taxes, and proceeded under the guidance of the Archduke Stephen, who now took the title of Viceroy, to the formation of the new national, and responsible ministry. Soon however differences of the most important nature, broke out between the Diet and the Government in Vienna, and now the celebrated Vienna journeys took place; during which the Archduke and the deputies, were for some weeks constantly on the road to and from Vienna, without however succeeding in removing the new difficulties. It was evident that the Austrian Government had re-considered the matter, and were inclined to withdraw part of the concessions into which they had been surprised during the first days of the revolution. At length a final Royal Resolution (the answers of the King to the addresses of the Diet, are so called) was received, setting considerable restrictions on the power of the Hungarian ministry, and showing clearly, that the Austrian statesmen were determined to retain if possible, the reins of power in their own hands, and that it was by no means their intention to suffer Hungary to become an independent state in anything but the name. This caused an outbreak of the most embittered feelings throughout the country, but more especially in Pesth, in which city, a violent proclamation addressed to the Hungarian patriots and soldiers was published, which had the effect of still more increasing the general discontent; violent demonstrations took place in various parts of the country, and in Pesth the royal tobacco manufactories were closed, and the Austrian eagle torn down from the public buildings.

With great difficulty however, the Archduke Stephen, succeeded

in allaying the threatening storm. He promised to again repair to Vienna, and pledged his honour, either to procure a better resolution from the King, or to tender the resignation of his office. The urgent representations of the Archduke were successful, and the King gave his consent to the required concessions in an instrument signed by his own hand, only retaining as Apostolic superior, the right of nominating the higher clergy, and investing the Viceroy with the whole of his power in other respects, such power to be used under the separate and responsible Hungarian ministry. It is true he wished to retain the power over the amount of taxes to be raised, to such an extent as to be able to make the budget of Hungary accord with that of the other states of the Empire, this point was however suffered to remain for the present in abeyance, and shortly afterwards the Diet of 1848, the most eventful in the Hungarian annals, was dissolved; its important results were embodied in thirty-one articles, and on the 16th. of April, the independent Hungarian ministry undertook by proclamation the government of the country.

This occurrence completed the first period of the Hungarian revolution, in which the old form of Government was abolished, and a new one created in its stead.

In no country in Europe have the changes made in the forms of government, by the revolutions of the eventful year 1848, been so great or so important as in Hungary. Urged forward by her agitators, and by the universal political excitement of the time, she demanded and obtained the same amount of political freedom, as was insisted on by the people of France, Germany, and Italy. In all these countries however, the Public mind was at least in some degree prepared for the new state of affairs, and yet the change from the old, to the new form of government, has in all cases been attended by convulsions, that have shaken the framework of society to its centre, and in more than one instance have with difficulty been prevented from plunging the civilised states of Europe, into all the horrors of anarchy, and prolonged civil war. If these agitations were fearful in states possessed of a high degree of civilization, and most of whom were in some degree familiar with the principles on which a representative government is founded; it could only be expected that in a country like Hungary, where the people emerged as it were at one bound, from a form of feudal subjection such as existed in other countries during the middle ages, to a form of Government differing from a republic in little but the name, that the accompanying convulsions would be proportionately violent and terrible.

The excitement which the news of the revolution in France produced on the fiery and half-oriental character of the Magyars, had made them overlook the important consideration that so large an

amount of political liberty was little suited to the half barbarous peasantry who constituted the majority of the Hungarian nation. A few weeks were sufficient to show, that in emancipating themselves from the guidance of Austria they had acted with little more wisdom, than a blind man, who in a fit of passion had driven away his guide. The abolition of all feudal rights, had literally reversed the natural order of society, and the haughty nobles of Hungary who might be said to include within their ranks all the education and intelligence of the country, saw themselves reduced at one blow to an utter state of insignificance. It was the existence of this active and powerful nobility, that had given the Magyarish element, life and character, had given it the moral influence it possessed over the various races composing the singular population of Hungary, and formed the only bond capable of holding such various and hostile elements together in the form of a nation. No sooner were the Nobility deprived of their power, than all the bonds of society seemed at once to be loosened, and a revolutionary mania seized upon the minds of the populace both in the cities and in the rural districts. In the former, a rude idea of a general division of property appears to have prevailed, which led in the first instance to the plundering and ill treatment of the Jews. The popular cry was that "these Vampires should be exterminated", and Pesth in the first place, and afterwards almost every city in the Kingdom, became the scenes of the most cruel outrages against this unfortunate race, many thousands of whom were but too happy to escape from Hungary with their lives, after having been robbed of every particle of property which they possessed. In vain the voices of the most popular men in Hungary were raised in their favour, the prejudice against them was universal, and even the citizens refused to suffer them to join the Burgher-militia, or to share in the universal equality that was to have formed the great feature in the new order of affairs.

The same idea in another form, began to spread among the peasantry, who now laid claim to the lands they had cultivated, and in many instances laid violent hands on the property of their former lords; even where this was not the case, the abolition of feudal rights, had deprived the nobility of their labourers, and in several districts the land laid waste because the peasants refused to work.

Under these circumstances, the strife of parties and races, became every day more violent, each putting forward their pretensions with an energy that soon made it apparent that the sword would ultimately be resorted to, to decide the quarrel, while to add to the confusion, the new ministry had already involved themselves in fresh disputes with the Austrian court.

The soul of the new independent ministry which had undertaken the onerous task of guiding the revolution to its ultimate object, national independence, was the celebrated Louis Von Kossuth, the

Mirabeau of Hungary; his most eminent associates were Francis Deak, the minister of Justice, and Count Stephen Szechenyi: Kossuth undertook the management of the finances, and soon discovered that it was a much easier task to declare Hungary an independent state, than to carry the measure into effect. The first difficulty arose from Austria insisting on Hungary taking her share of the national debt, which was found to amount to no less a sum than 250 millions of Gulden, (25,000,000 *l.* sterling) this the Hungarians refused to consent to, and declared they would prefer the alternative of a war with Austria to submitting to this load upon the national resources; and the public press teemed with the most violent articles, exciting a hostile spirit against that country. In vain the Emperor appealed to the sense of Justice and the Magnanimity of the nation; both were forgotten in this moment of turbulence, and he was at length obliged to propose, that the debt should rest upon the national property in lands, mines, etc. Here new difficulties arose, this property had already been devoted to another purpose, and the ministry were at length obliged to solicit the Archduke to undertake the arrangement of the matter by means of negotiation, but as Austria was not inclined to make farther concessions, little progress was made in bringing the affair to a settlement.

Difficulties of a still more pressing nature crowded upon the ministry on all sides, the treasury was empty, and the most urgent necessity for money existed in every direction; while the daily increasing anarchy, by paralysing every branch of trade and industry, threatened to add famine to the other evils under which the country was labouring. To raise money for the present, Kossuth had recourse to issuing treasury bills, or assignats, bearing an interest of from 4 to 5½ per cent, and payable within twelve months. Hungarian banknotes were also issued, a national bank, with various provincial branches was established, and the most urgent measures were taken to collect money even in the most disturbed districts, and by these various means he succeeded in raising sufficient funds to carry on the government.

The minister of war, was involved in not less serious disputes with the Austrian government, than the minister of finance; he demanded that the Hungarian troops in the service of Austria should be immediately sent home, and that instead of being employed in suppressing the revolt in Lombardy, they should be placed at the disposal of the new government. It was however by no means the policy of Austria to weaken her army in Italy, and still less by so doing, to give the Hungarians the power of persisting in their unreasonable demands. On the contrary, the object of the imperial cabinet was to humble by every means in their power the pretensions of the Magyars, whom it justly regarded as the leaders of the revolution.

The means of doing this were ready at hand: the Germans,

Croats, Sclavonians, and the various other races, of which the population of the eastern provinces of the empire is composed, had hitherto taken little part in the Magyarish commotion, they were rather inclined to rally round the ancient Sclavonic banner, and emancipate themselves from the dominion of that haughty race. Austria certainly played a dangerous game in setting the Sclavonic element in opposition to the Magyars, but it seems to have been the only means in her power to prevent the dismemberment of the empire.

Our space does not permit us to enter into all the various motives which induced this race to oppose themselves to that of the Magyars; both Austrian and Russian influence however appears to have been exerted to revive the old national dislike between the races, and Baron Jellachich, a nobleman of great influence, placed himself at the head of a powerful party, whose watchword was "Austria and Ferdinand". Field-Marshal Baron Jellachich, Banus of Croatia, is by far the most important person that the revolution in the various Austrian states has produced, and he has played the most eminent part in the various commotions which have arisen during the second period of the Hungarian revolution. He has frequently changed his character, appearing now as the Dictator of the Sclavonic districts, and now as the loyal subject of his Sovereign. In the prime of life, highly educated, and of acknowledged ability; a thorough soldier, and of a most energetic and active character, he possesses an astonishing influence over the minds of his countrymen, and it would seem that if he chose, nothing could prevent him from forming the Sclavonic provinces into an independent state, and setting the crown upon his own head.

At his beck, the whole of Croatia and the adjacent provinces rose in arms, and their battle cry was "No union with Hungary". Agram, Warasdin, Kreuz, Kotzremitz, and Carlstadt, were the principal points of this new insurrection, and in Carlowitz, the Archbishop placed himself at the head of the insurgents, while Semlin and Belgrade, became the seats of the South Sclavonic agitation. The Illyrians commenced the civil war in earnest, by driving the Magyars out of Neusatz and Carlowitz, and plundering and burning the city of Gross-Kikinka. Suddenly the whole military frontier was in a state of uproar, and the Hungarian government sent orders to General Jellachich, who sent them back unopened: this act caused a tremendous excitement in Pesth, where the people loudly accused the Austrian cabinet of duplicity, and asserted that the military had been purposely withdrawn from the frontier in order to give the insurrection scope. The cry for the recall of the absent Hungarian regiments was redoubled, and the demand for a general arming of the people became universal. The populace made an attempt to plunder the public arsenal, but were repulsed by an Italian regiment, and a party of Cuirassiers, and several of the rioters were killed. The conduct of

the commandant was however approved of by the Government. On the 29th. of April, the union of Siebenbürgen with Hungary was formally decided on in the radical club, and the government drove forward their warlike preparations in the most rapid manner possible. Louis Von Kossuth declared the Fatherland in danger, and any farther progress in the formation of the Constitution was out of the question.

Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, on the other hand, at a great meeting at Agram, declared themselves free of the independent government of Hungary, and General Jellachich, or as he is usually called the Banus of Croatia, received the command of all the troops on the frontier, together with the power of calling together the Landtag or Parliament, or in other words became the Dictator of the Sclavonic provinces. The Landtag was to be held alternately in the cities of Agram, Esseg, Zara, and Fiume, the debates to be held in the Sclavonic language, and the foundation of a national University was also decided on. It will be seen that the idea of forming a Sclavonic kingdom had spread with great rapidity throughout the whole of the population of that race, and it now seemed on the eve of being realised, for however loudly the Sclavonians might shout "Vivat Ferdinandus", from this moment little seemed to be thought of how the interests of Austria were affected by the proceeding; although the heads of the party declared that everything was intended for the interests of that power, Jellachich let slip on more than one occasion, that his efforts were directed not less against Austria, than against Hungary, in fact his whole course of conduct at this period was in the highest degree ambiguous, and equivocal. It is true that he has since endeavoured to explain away these assertions, but there can be little doubt, that in the first moments of the insurrection, the show of loyalty towards the Emperor, was only the cloak to designs of a far more extensive character.

After the armed political union of the Sclavonic population, a curious cause of dispute arose; they proceeded to choose a patriarch or religious chief of the nation, while as we have before stated Jellachich became the political chief or Dictator. Only one more step, and the idea of a Sclavonic kingdom would have become a reality, this step however the Banus, notwithstanding the wishes of the greater part of his countrymen hesitated to take, namely to declare himself King, and set the Austrians at defiance. This hesitation was extremely ill-relished by the more violent of the Sclavonian party, who began to censure his measures as too moderate, and to look elsewhere for a monarch for the new empire. Jellachich now found himself in a position not unlike that of the famous Wallenstein before he took the fatal step that cost him his life; and he sought to give affairs another turn, and to show that he had never had any but loyal intentions towards his sovereign. He was now summoned to Vienna to account for his conduct; he obeyed this

order, after a few days' delay, in which he took measures for repressing the continually increasing excesses of the Illyrians. No sooner had he done so, than by an Imperial manifest dated the 19th. of June, he was declared a traitor, and deprived of all his posts and dignities. This act has since been represented by the Austrian ministry as a mistake; it has been asserted that the manifest had been prepared in case the Banus should have refused to obey the imperial citation, and that its publication was owing to an accident. However this may have been, it shows pretty clearly that the Sclavonic outbreak was encouraged in the first instance by the Austrian court as a counterpoise to the Hungarian revolution, until at length it assumed an aspect that threatened to deprive the empire of its eastern provinces.

The publication of this manifest also admits of another explanation which is probably the true one; it was intended to conciliate the the Magyars, and to afford an answer to the complaints of that party who loudly accused the Austrian court of being the cause of the Sclavonic insurrection. In either case, the result proves that the game of the Austrian cabinet was calculated to produce the most dangerous consequences.

When the imperial manifest arrived at Agram, it caused the most frightful excitement throughout the Sclavonic provinces, and the Hungarian government were compelled to resort to the most extraordinary measures to preserve its existence. The whole of the National guards, amounting to about 30,000 men, were ordered to take the field, and all the regular troops at their command were concentrated at Essig and Szegedin.

A glance at the respective numbers of the different races opposed to each other may now be useful. The Magyars according to official accounts, amounted to 2,323,402, the Germans, or as they are called Saxons, who for the most part supported the Magyars, to 485,836 souls, and the Walachians who it was believed might also be reckoned on, to 651,055, On the other side, the Croats only amounted to 72,949, the Sclavonians to 66,425, and the Servians or Raizen to 378,352, but the Sclavonic party had behind them the warlike population of the military frontier, who were burning to take part in the contest, while the two principalities on the Danube, might be looked upon as towers of strength to the Sclavonic cause, and of the Slowaks and Rusniaks in the north, and the Walachians in the province of Siebenbürgen, the Hungarian government could be certain, that if they took up arms at all it would certainly be against the Magyars.

The Hungarian government was evidently in a most dangerous position at this juncture, more especially as the Magyars were by no means united among themselves, the War party clamouring for the return of the Hungarian regiments from Italy, while the more moderate were for trying measures of conciliation. The war party were however

in the right, every attempt at conciliation was looked upon as the effect of fear, and the Illyrians who were animated by the most burning zeal, now preached a complete Crusade against Hungary, and widened the circle of the insurrection daily. The idea of a union of all the different nations of the Sclavonic race, now began to assume the form of a reality, the insurrection spread into the district of the Walachia-Illyrian frontier regiment, whose head-quarters at Fejér-Templom, we shall shortly have occasion to mention.

The first act of the insurgents was to seize on the important City and Fortress of Semlin, and in this they completely succeeded; the Hungarian garrison allowed the place to be taken by surprise, and the insurgents thus gained a central point for their farther operations.

SEMLIN,

Lies on the military frontier of Hungary, at the junction of the Save with the Danube, and is situated on the tongue of land between the two rivers, opposite to the old Turkish fortress of Belgrade, and is the principal seat of trade between Turkey and the Austrian states. It lies on the main road between Constantinople and Vienna, and from this circumstance as also from its being the key of the steam navigation of the Save and Danube, and the metropolis of the Sclavonic population of the eastern provinces, is a place of great importance. Its population exceeds a hundred thousand souls, the greater part of which are Servians, the remainder are mostly Germans and the German language is spoken by most of the better classes. Of less importance are the towns of Carlowitz and Neusatz, w ich fell at the same time into the hands of the insurgents, because they are both commanded by the fortress of —

PETERWARDEIN,

A place of considerable strength on the right bank of the Danube. This town is the seat of the Commander of the military frontier, and contains 3,800 inhabitants, for the most part Germans, and an Arsenal in which are many curious relics of the Turkish wars. Here perched on his eagle's nest, sat the Commandant Hrabowsky, with his garrison of Magyars, and when the insurgents had the assurance to apply to him for cannon, he replied with true military brevity "For you I have only cannon shot".

While the government was making every exertion to send troops to the important points of operation at Peterwardein, Essig, Temesvar, Broad, Gradiska, and Warasdin, a party of Servians about 800 strong, broke into Hungary, mastered the town of Titel, a place of some importance, and plundered the arsenal of a considerable quantity of Arms and military stores, including several cannon, and established

themselves in an old Roman entrenchment between Gross-Podnitza and Földvár, where their numbers soon increased to several thousands, and led on by their priests, they committed the most fearful atrocities on the inhabitants of the surrounding country, compelling all such as were Magyars to fly into the interior.

The first contest of any importance between the Magyars and their Sclavonic opponents, took place in and near Carlowitz: Hrabowsky the commandant of Peterwardein, determined to drive the insurgents out of that City; accordingly on the night of the 12th. of June, he threw a number of Congreve rockets from the fortress of Peterwardein into the City of Carlowitz, and about twenty houses were speedily in flames, by the light of this conflagration a detachment of the garrison entered the city, stormed the church and the palace of the Archbishop, and drove the insurgents out of the town. The Servians made no very obstinate resistance, knowing that it was useless to attempt to hold the city as long as the fortress was in the hands of their enemies.

Meanwhile after threatening to inflict a similar punishment on Neusatz, he sent two battalions to occupy that city, on which the Servians quietly withdrew to a position in which they had determined to await the attack of the Magyars, and Hrabowsky had the mortification of seeing the national guard of the district of Peterwardein, that he had himself supplied with arms, join the insurgents and march off with them. They chose a position behind Carlowitz, in an old Roman entrenchment, and they formed two entrenched camps, near Temerin, where their numbers soon amounted to between 15,000, and 16,000 men. The presence of this large force, and the discontent that existed among the garrison of Peterwardein, soon compelled the isolated Hrabowsky, to conclude a truce with Count Albert Nugent, the deputy of the absent Banus, Count Jellachich. The insurgents were under the guidance of a Provisional Government, the seat of which was in the camp near Carlowitz, while another camp containing from 10 to 12,000 men, was shortly afterwards established near St. Thomas: on the whole nearly 40,000 armed men were in the field, and these were daily increased by parties of from 50 to 100 men, who crossed the frontier from Servia to join their brethren. A remonstrance addressed by Hrabowsky to the Prince of Servia complaining of this as an attack upon Austria in a time of peace, produced an answer to the effect that he was not in a position to prevent his subjects from joining the Sclavonic insurgents, and a proclamation from the Emperor to the Servians, Croats, and Sclavonians produced but little effect, a few Germans and people from the neighbourhood of Peterwardein, returned to their houses, but the great majority still remained in the field. The Hungarian Government therefore determined, since all fair means had failed, to resort to force, and as might have been expected from such a proud and warlike race as the Magyars, the

force placed at the command of the government was much greater than was even demanded, many of the Commitates or Counties brought double, and even triple the number of national guards that were required, into the field, and both these and the regular troops burned with impatience to attack the enemy, which however they could not yet do, as the truce concluded by General Hradowsky had not expired. In the mean time nothing was talked of in Pesth, but the conquest of Illyria, which was henceforth to be reduced to an Hungarian province. They seemed to have forgotten that their opponents were fully their equals in bravery and hardihood, and that even in the best days of the Magyars, Hungary had never been able to conquer the Croats and Sclavonians, but that they had been admitted as a free people into the Hungarian confederation, a circumstance that gave the insurgents no small degree of confidence in the final success of their cause.

The city of Weisskirchen was surrendered to a party of 600 Illyrians, under George Stanimirowitz, who found here three cannon and a considerable quantity of small arms, while parties of Servians advanced as far as Temesvar. At Kitinka a sharp engagement took place between the Illyrians and Magyars, in which the former were victorious, and it now became evident that the insurgents acted on a regular plan, the object of which was to isolate the Magyars and prevent them from receiving any assistance from without; they seized on all the steam boats on the Danube, armed them, and became by this means masters of the navigation of the river, and in every town or village that fell into their hands they proceeded to levy contributions, and assume all the powers of a recognised government.

The enthusiasm of the Hungarians began to cool rapidly as they perceived themselves attacked on all sides by bodies of Croats, Illyrians, Servians etc., who together with the disciplined soldiers of the military frontier, formed an army which would have been quite capable of coping with regular troops, and were in every respect superior to the newly raised Hungarian national guards; in addition to which they were much better provided with cannon. We have no space to detail the incessant and almost daily skirmishes and engagements between the rival parties, it is sufficient to state that in the combats at Toparfalva, Temesvar and Versces, the Hungarians were victorious, but that these advantages were more than counter-balanced by the defeat they subsequently sustained at St. Mihaly. The old Roman entrenchments at Varasd which were occupied by a body of insurgents were stormed by the Hungarians, but this success was purchased by a severe loss in killed and wounded, and had no other result than proving the obstinate and determined character of their opponents. Whether victorious or defeated the Hungarians lost ground day by day, and the decisive victory obtained by the Illyrians at St. Thomas, showed they were incapable of coping with their enemies in the field.

This frightful state of affairs in the provinces could not fail to produce a corresponding state of confusion in the National assembly in Pesth. The Arch-Duke Stephen from the moment he had received full powers from the Emperor, sunk into a state of utter insignificance, and his connection with the Imperial family caused him to be looked upon with suspicion by the Magyars. The loud demands of the nation that he should break off all connexion with Austria and declare himself the independent sovereign of Hungary, he was too honest or too unambitious to comply with, and from this moment he was thrown aside. As we have before stated, the time for the old politics of the Palatie of Hungary had gone by, and beyond these Stephen either could not, or would not advance, and while the Germans both in and out of Hungary, were filled with the utmost enthusiasm for the success of the cause of the Magyars, and drew closer daily the bonds which unite the two races, the Arch-Duke Stephen, who from his position should have been naturally looked to, as the head and representative of this feeling of Fraternity, remained the only German who was treated as a foreigner in Hungary.

Meanwhile the contest between the Magyars and Sclavionians became every day more embittered, the whole country became a vast battle field for the factions, and in the midst of this confusion, the Banus Jellachich again appeared at the head of his horde of barbarous Croats. It would seem he had succeeded in explaining his conduct to the satisfaction of the Emperor, but the exact position which he now held in relation to the court of Vienna, has never been accurately explained. True to the old system of half measures the Arch-Duke still endeavoured in the midst of all the fury and turbulence of civil war, to restore order by means of concessions, negotiations, letters to Jellachich, addresses to the Illyrians etc. etc. all of which in this desperate state of affairs were utterly useless.

The Hungarian ministry, from which too much had been expected were completely paralysed by the unexpected outbreak of the Sclavonic population, and even Louis Kossuth began to find his acknowledged abilities unequal to the present state of affairs. Whatever may be the ultimate result of the Hungarian revolution, Kossuth will ever be considered as a man of genius; he was the head of Hungary, and not a measure of any importance took place during the revolution, that did not either originate with him, or owed its execution to his energy. Notwithstanding his herculean exertions however, it now became evident that he was unable alone, to carry out the ideas of national regeneration which he had originated.

The separation of the kingdom from Austria was now complete, although a shadow of the Imperial authority still remained in the person of the Viceroy. Independent ambassadors were sent by Hungary to the Porte in order to complain of the conduct of the Bosnians and Moldavians, and any return to the old relations with the Empire seemed

to be impossible. Although the wish for an independent elective monarch, became every day more general throughout the country, none of the ministers chose to take this decided step, until at length Kossuth had the courage to declare that this alone could restore order to the chaos of parties in which Hungary was now involved.

The new Landtag or Parliament met at Pesth on the 5th. of July, and the nation now hoped, that this and every other important question would be settled, and that some arrangement would be made both with regard to the claims of Austria, and those of the Croatish and Slavonic interests. The Landtag however did nothing, or worse than nothing, and their proceedings seemed only to render the web still more entangled.

The indecision of the Landtag, formed a curious contrast to the vigorous language employed by their opponents: in an address to the Emperor from the inhabitants of the military frontier, the following passage occurs, which is curious as showing the feelings of the Sclavonic population towards their old masters the Magyars, "Emperor!" thus begins this singular document, "we will rather perish like a nation of heroes, than permit ourselves to be subjugated, least of all by an Asiatic horde from whom we have never received the least benefit, or learned the least good. Emperor! you must learn that we prefer the Knout of Russia, to submitting to the arrogance of the Magyars. Retain us for yourself and for your Empire; you throw from you the brightest jewel of your crown, if you reject our petition, for we are determined never to become Magyars; recollect that although our province forms only a thirty-fifth part of your vast dominians, we contribute to your army more than one third of the infantry."

It is evident that while such feelings as those expressed in the above address animated the contending parties, no hopes of an amicable arrangement could be entertained, and yet both the Viceroy and the Austrian cabinet, would seem to have still clung to the hope, that the Landtag in Pesth would have been the means of once more uniting Hungary to the Empire.

Jellachich meanwhile still pursued his strange and ambiguous course; at one time, apparently in obedience to orders from Vienna, he made a feeble attempt to disperse and disarm the Sclavonic insurgents, it is scarcely possible however that he seriously meant to carry this into execution, even if he had been powerful enough to do so. He probably merely meant to show the Austrian court, that even he, the chosen dictator of the Croats, was powerless when opposed to the will of the people, and that Austria must be content to become a Sclavonic monarchy with the Emperor for its head, or to lose Hungary and its other Eastern provinces altogether. On the other hand the notes that were exchanged between the Hungarian ministry and that of Vienna, showed that the former had no idea of submitting to the influence of the hated Austrian Camarilla. Kossuth had hitherto, by

the issue of paper money, and other means of a similar character, found funds sufficient to carry on the government, these now began to fail, and it was evident that a financial crisis was approaching that in all probability would complete the second phase of the revolution.

Under these circumstances, Austria appears to have adopted the policy of fomenting the internal disputes of the Hungarian population by every means in her power, in hopes that the nation would return to its old allegiance as the only means of putting an end to the deplorable state of anarchy and civil war, into which it was hourly sinking deeper and deeper, and this policy was to a certain degree crowned with success. Many of the commanders of fortresses, and other high officers in the Hungarian army, refused to obey any commands except those of the Austrian minister of war, and the old aristocratic party began again to raise its head in the provinces.

As might have been expected, this led to increased bitterness and hatred on all sides; Hungary presented, and still presents, a picture of the horrors of civil war in its worst and most unmitigated form, and the daily conflicts between the factions, were ever followed by scenes of cruelty such as are rarely heard of in civilized countries. After an engagement near Moholy Tornatal, in which the Magyars were victorious, 70 Servian prisoners were murdered in cold blood, and unfortunately this is by no means a solitary instance of the extent to which party hate has been carried in this unnatural and brutal contest. In vain the Hungarian Government looked around for foreign aid to put an end to this horrible state of affairs, France and England were too distant; Italy needed help for itself, instead of affording it to others; their only hope was in Germany, and a Hungarian envoy appeared in Frankfort to implore assistance from the Central government, but although the cause of the Magyars was popular with the German people, the Government in Frankfort were too much busied with their own affairs, and too insecure of their own position, to involve themselves in the complicated web of Hungarian quarrels.

Disappointed in this last hope, it was evident that the days of the Hungarian government were numbered, every day brought the news of some fresh disaster, some falling off of its friends, or some new triumph of its enemys. Day by day the Sclavonic forces approached closer to the walls of Pesth and Presburg, the centres of the Magyarish influence. Hrabowsky the commander of the government forces, received an order from Jellachich to place himself and his troops under his command as the representative of the Emperor, and Hrabowsky had no option but to comply, he well knew that his soldiers would not wait for his command to join the ranks of the Banus. This act which in Pesth was looked upon as one of the blackest treachery, deprived the government of the last gleam of hope; the few disorganised and dispirited troops which they still possessed were utterly unable to compete with the numerous and enthusiastic forces

of the Banus; an edict of the Emperor dissolved the Landtag, and Europe expected daily the news of the triumphal entry of Jellachich into Pesth, when suddenly the aspect of affairs changed as if by magic; a new revolution had broken out in Vienna, the Emperor had again fled from his capital, and Jellachich and his victorious Croats were summoned in all haste to his assistance. The seat of War was suddenly changed from the environs of Pesth to those of Vienna, and while we are writing that city is surrounded by the united forces of the Banus and Prince Windishgrätz. We are here compelled to pause, the results of this new and unexpected complication of affairs are still in the womb of time, and we make no pretensions to the gift of prophecy.

In the course of the above rapid and necessarily imperfect sketch of the revolution in Hungary we have given descriptions of the city of Semlin, and the fortress of Peterwardein, we now add those of Pesth and Hermanstadt, as two of the more important scenes on which this great drama has been performed.

PESTH,

Is situated on the left bank of the Danube, which is here about 1800 feet broad. It is connected with the city of Ofen or Buda on the opposite bank, by a bridge of boats, the population of the two cities amounts to about a hundred thousand souls. Ofen since 1784 has been the seat of the Diet and is consequently considered as the capital of Hungary. Pesth contained in 1776 only 13,550 inhabitants at present they are reckoned at 70,000, it is by far the handsomest and best built city in Hungary. It contains a University founded in 1465, which on the average is visited by about 1700 students, a National Museum, a Gymnasium, a Seminary. and various other educational establishments. A large Hospital, institutions for the instruction of the blind, dumb, etc. A large infantry, and still larger artillery barracks, a cathedral, theatre, etc. etc. Here are also important factories of glass, leather, cloth, and tobacco, and during the three fairs that are held in the course of the year, the city is visited by great numbers of Turks, Greeks, Poles, etc. and a lively traffic is carried on. On the east side of the city is the plain called the Rakos, on which in former times the election of the Hungarian kings took place. Ofen is the seat of the Palatin or Viceroy, and contains a magnificent royal palace, an Arsenal, a cannon-foundry, and an immense government printing establishment, also a considerable number of manufactories; the neighbourhood produces large quantities of excellent red wine, which is similar in taste and quality to that of Burgundy.

HERMANSTADT.

The capital of the province of Siebenburgen, and the seat of the Stattholder or Viceroy, is situated in a beautiful plain on the banks of the riven Zibin. Here is held the Landtag or Parliament of the Saxon or German inhabitants of the province; the city is fortified in the ancient manner, with a double wall and a deep ditch, and has three suburbs, a Catholic, and Lutheran Gymnasium, a Museum of National Archives, eight churches, and a Cloister of Ursuline nuns, also a German theatre, an Arsenal, A Public library containing 15,000 volumes, an orphan house, and several other charitable institutions. It contains a few manufactories of paper, cloth, gunpowder etc. etc., and 16,000 inhabitants.

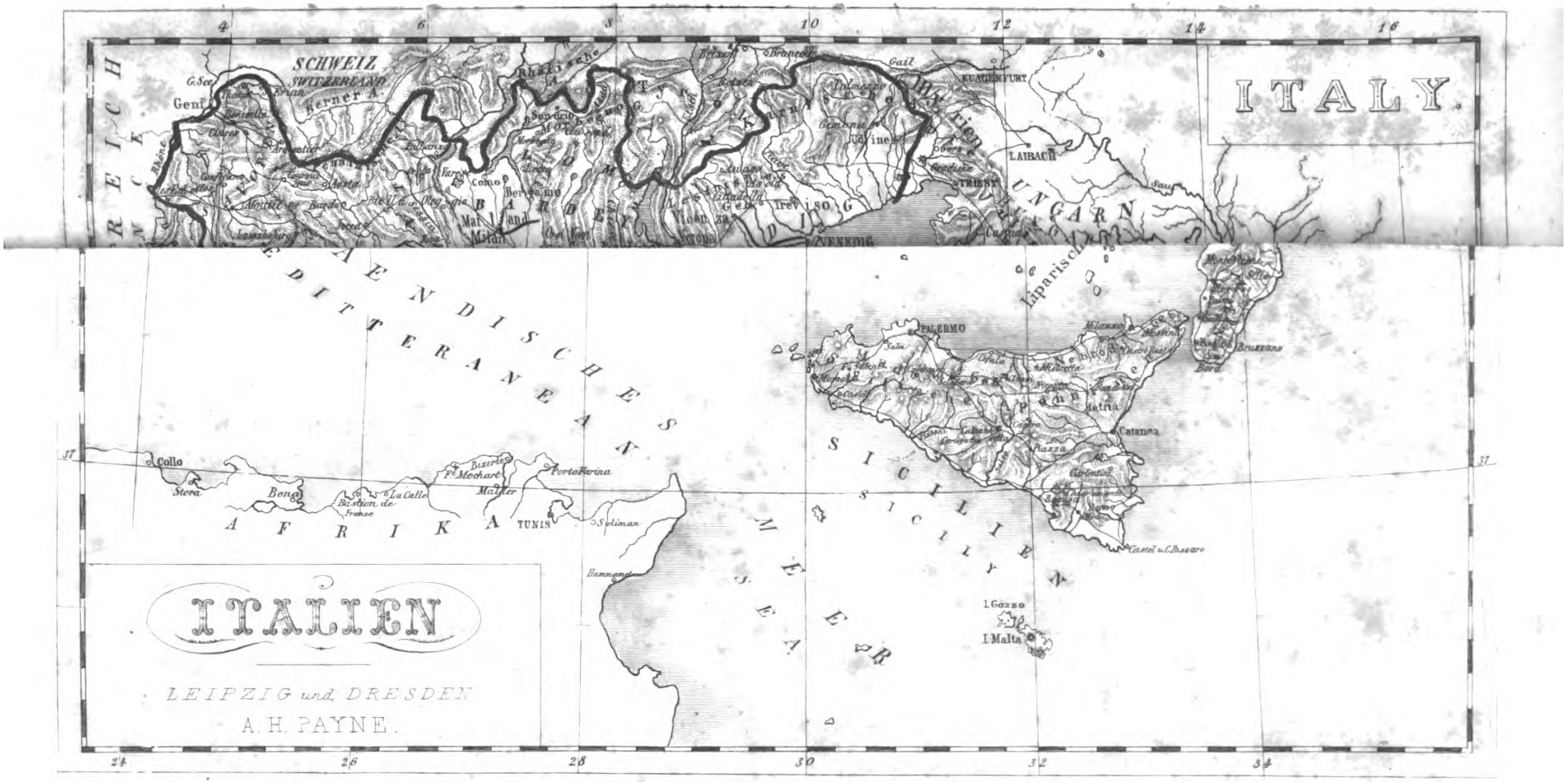
We here take leave for the present of the theatre of war and revolution in Hungary, the important events that are daily occurring in that quarter will however, lead us err' long to resume the subject.

THE REVOLUTION IN ITALY.

Perhaps the astonishment occasioned by the Parisian Revolution of February 1848, was nowhere felt with more intensity, than in the provinces of France, the lot of which during the last thirty years, seems to have been merely to accommodate themselves outwardly to the changes that have taken place in the capital, while their social and political relations remain for the most part without alteration, and no people in Europe seem less inclined to follow the contagious example of the Parisians, than the French provincial population. To them the "Republique française" seems as it were to have fallen from the clouds, and it will be long before they will cease to look upon the new form of Government with suspicion and distrust.

In Germany, where the theories of all the parties that have agitated the neighbouring countries with their practical attempts at social and political reform, such as Foururism and Communism in France, and Chartism in England, were well understood (at least by all the educated classes of society) and the tendencies of which were instinctively comprehended by the people, the French experiment, which placed the possibility of reaching the widest political wishes, and realising the freest theories of Popular government, in a practical form before the eyes of all men, produced an effect which was as sudden as it was terrible.

The political intelligence of the German people was indeed far, very far, in advance of their existing political institutions, still to spring


ITALY.
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SWITZERLAND
Genf
Berner A.
Rhätische A.
Tyrol
KLAGENFURT
LAIBACH
TRIEST
UNGARN
Mailand
Como
Bergamo
Brescia
Verona
Venedig
Udine
Treviso
Gorz
Lago di Garda
Lago Maggiore
Lago di Como
Lago di Lugano
Rhone
Po
Adige
Brenta
Tagliamento
Piave
Etsch
Inn
Drau
Save
Liparischen I.
PALERMO
Messina
Catania
Trapani
Girgenti
Augusta
Syracus
Melazzo
Milazzo
Brucciano
Castel a Mare
SICILIEN
SICILY
I. Gozzo
I. Malta
Collo
Stora
Bona
La Calle
Bastion de France
Fort Mahon
Biserta
Porto Farina
Tunis
Soliman
Hammamet
AFRIKA
MEER
MITTELLÄNDISCHES
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
ITALIEN
LEIPZIG und DRESDEN
A. H. PAYNE.
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at one bound from theory to practice, must be admitted to be a bold and somewhat dangerous experiment, and many politicians are of opinion, that this is a step that must be retraced, and that Germany will still have to develope her liberties, in a more gradual and natural manner.

In Italy the state of affairs was widely different, here since the year 1815 the state of society resembled a smouldering volcano, the long repressed energies of which were sure sooner or later to break into open combustion, and from the moment that Austria planted her eagles in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, her government has constantly been harassed by conspiracies and attempts at insurrection. The differences between the government and the governed, increased daily in strength and bitterness, the ancient national hate between the Germans and Italians, instead of being softened and repressed by the acts of the executive, was on the contrary by the systematic attempts to repress all feelings of nationality on the part of the Italians, irritated to the utmost possible extent.

The constantly recurring attempts of the Lombards to shake off the yoke of Austria, and to unite the various states of Italy into one great nation, were only repressed by the most severe measures on the part of the government, the Idea however was unextinguishable, and the cause hallowed by the martyrdom of the Romeos, the Bandiera, and so many other victims, made daily progress in the minds of "young Italy" and inspired the feelings of even the lowest classes of the populace.

"A free Italy" was the constant refrain of the press, whenever it could for a moment raise its depressed head, "A free Italy" was the watchword of the numerous restless spirits throughout the peninsula who frequented the political, or rather revolutionary clubs, and secret societies.

While this idea was daily gaining ground throughout the length and breadth of the land, the various governments of Italy become daily weaker, and the want of a proper system in the different states, showed that Italy was on the eve of a fearful and bloody convulsion. The Italian governments, with the single exception of that of Sardinia, remained obstinately and blindly ignorant of the progress of liberal ideas in the minds of their subjects. Thc courts of Rome and Naples as an English traveller justly remarked were only the rulers of "a horde of beggars and vagabonds," in all the states of lower Italy everything showed the utter want of knowledge and ability on the part of the government officials, Trade, Agriculture, and every other branch of industry, had sunk to the lowest possible ebb, and the people were perhaps the most ignorant, demoralised, and wretched, on the face of the earth.

Lombardy however presented a favourable contrast to most of the other Italian states, the Austrian government had really done every-

thing in its power to encourage the industrial developement of its transalpine dominions; but when its advocates pointed to the various roads, railways, harbours, and other Public works, which had been completed by the authorities, the Italians could reply with justice; that these works were but a poor compensation for the enormous public debt which the government had laid upon the shoulders of the people; they could point to the host of officials who lived in idleness on the labour of the industrious classes, and who were the ever ready tools by which the nation was kept in subjection to a foreign yoke, and to the corruption that existed in every branch of the public service; and could assent with truth that such a system deserved to be swept away altogether, and to be replaced by one better suited to the welfare of the people.

The party of "Young Italy" lost no opportunity of impressing these circumstances on the minds of their countrymen, they pointed out to them the utter debasement under which they could rather be said to vegetate, than to live, and which had made Italy a bye-word among the nations of Europe. These sentiments reiterated though a long course of years, had at length taken a firm hold on the public mind, and the bulk of the people longed for the moment when by a powerful effort they should be able to throw off a yoke that had become hateful to them, or as they expressed it, to drive the German barbarians from the sacred soil of Italy.

A circumstance at length occurred, which gave this long continued, but hitherto hopeless agitation a central point on which all eyes could rest, and a leader above all others best suited to the peculiar character of the nation.

Pius the IX, ascended the throne of St. Peter, and commenced a new epoch in both the spiritual and political affairs of Italy. The states of the Chureh were at this period in such a state of disorder, that a thorough reform in every department of the government had become a matter of the most pressing necessity, and the new Pope was a man admirably gifted by nature for undertaking this Herculean task. A new, but milder Sixtus the V, he was scarcely seated in the pontificial chair, before he addressed himself to the good work, "Pio nino, the Reformer!" now became the watchword in the mouth of every friend of Italian progress, and the idea of a national regeneration seemed now for the first time likely to be realised. One abuse after another was abolished or ameliorated by the vigorous measures of the Pontiff, and soon a cry arose throughout all the states of Italy, demanding that their respective sovereigns should follow the example set them by the father of the Church. Sardinia and Tuscany made some attempts to comply with these demands, and more out of necessity than inclination. The King Charles Albert, and the Grand-Duke Leopold, placed themselves at the head of the agitation, in order at least to have the direction of the coming storm. In Lombardy and

Naples also some trifling reforms were attempted, but soon the governments took up their old position, and determined to maintain what they considered to be their rights, after their old manner. The spirit of the people was however at length awakened, their expectations had become raised as it were to fever heat, and this state of the Public mind, manifested itself in numerous excesses and riots in various quarters.

Such was the position of affairs in Italy, when the news of the Parisian Revolution arrived, and this circumstance doubtlessly hastened the catastrophe, although it is evident that the outbreak must have occurred sooner or later, even if this had not taken place. Italy was already completely prepared to agitate, and if necessary to combat, for independence and liberty, and needed not like Germany and Hungary the influence of a French example. In January 1848, everything showed that the eruption could not be much longer delayed, the year commenced with riots in Padua, Milan, and Palermo, which like skirmishes between the advanced posts of rival armies showed that the decisive action could not be far distant. Disturbances in Calabria followed, which were not suppressed without bloodshed; Turin and Genoa, Florence and Pisa, successively caught the flame, and in Rome, Ferrara and Bologna the gradual reforms of the government did not prevent the impatience of the people from manifesting itself in disturbances of the public peace. Throughout Lombardy, in Milan, Venice, and Mantua, a sullen quiet reigned, which can only be compared to the awful stillness that precedes a hurricane.

Austria watched the gathering tempest with fear and anxiety, it was evident the principal fury of the storm would be directed against the Germans. Every precaution that foresight could dictate was accordingly taken, large masses of troops were moved up to the Italian frontier, and every favourable point in the neighbourhood of Milan strongly garrisoned, and no measure was neglected that could enable her to meet the first outbreak with security.

Charles Albert of Sardinia, whose army, was the only well disciplined and effective native force in Italy, pushed forward his warlike preparations with the utmost activity, and stationed large bodies of troops on the frontiers of Lombardy and Piedmont. These forces according to the representations made by his Ambassador to the Austrian court, were destined to suppress the threatened Piedmontese insurrection, and these representations were at least partly true, for it became every day more evident that the approaching outbreak would not be confined to an attempt to expel the Austrians, but would also be directed against the thrones of the native princes, the moment their newborn popularity should have been cooled by time, or shaken by the occurrence of any unfortunate *Faux pas.*

The policy of the Sardinian court was evidently to direct the whole of the popular hate against Austria, and this policy was carried

out in a very masterly manner. It coldly turned from the proposal of a closer alliance with that power, which under the pretence of forming a new Customs-union, was made by Austria. This proposal was also declined both by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and the Pope, and Austria saw that the only governments to which she could look for support, were those of Modena and Parma, with which she had previously concluded a treaty of alliance, in virtue of which she now occupied those states with her forces; a circumstance that rendered the feelings of the Italians if possible more embittered than before.

The press throughout Italy gave vent to the public opinion in violent articles in abuse of the Austrian government, and the Sardinian newspapers in particular urged the inhabitants of Lombardy to rise against the German barbarians; in vain the Austrian ambassador protested against these articles, it was evident that the editors followed the instructions of the higher powers, or at least that the Sardinian government did not choose to interfere in the matter. In Leghorn, Pisa, Lucca and Ferrara, the hatred to the Austrians developed itself in pompous funeral ceremonies, in honour of the Italians who fell in the excesses in Milan, Pavia, and other cities of Lombardy, and these ceremonies were performed amidst loud cries of "*A basso i Tedeschi;*" (Down with the Germans) at the same time every opportunity was seized in the theatres and other public places to openly manifest the same feeling. In Lombardy itself the position of the numerous German residents became every day more painful and dangerous, and the public hostility towards them was increased by the measures of the government, who caused the most active of the agitators in Milan and Venice, such as Timares, Baltaglio, Rosales, and several others, to be arrested and conveyed to Laibach, and the highly popular Poet and Novelist Cäsar Cäntu narrowly escaped the same fate. Prevented from openly expressing their opinions, the discontent of the Lombards found vent in praises of the *Guardia Civica* of Rome (to which the city of Milan, in conjunction with that of Genoa presented several cannon) and various themes of a similar nature, and in lampoons and satirical remarks on the assembling of the Stände or Parliament of Lower Austria which was advertised to take place on the 10th. of March.

Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome, showed by their ever increasing demands, that nothing would satisfy the Italian people short of a liberal constitution, and that they waited with the utmost impatience for the estabishment of the new form of government, which had been repeatedly promised in the proclamations not only of the Pope, but of Charles Albert of Sardinia and the Arch-Duke Leopold of Tuscany.

This period of stormy and tumultuous agitation, the forerunner of a general insurrection throughout Italy, was suddenly terminated by an important occurrence in the extreme south —

Sicily had openly displayed the banner of insurrection against the government of Naples.

SICILY AND NAPLES.

During a long period the Sicilian islanders had groaned under the galling and oppressive yoke of the Neapolitan cabinet, for more than thirty-three years the Parliament had not been called together; and during this interval the taxes had been nearly tripled through the medium of arbitrary and illegal royal Ordinances, although by the constitution of 1812, the representatives of the people alone had the right of granting or refusing the supplies. Added to this, the personal freedom of the citizens was encroached upon on all sides by the acts of a jealous and despotic government, and the rigid censorship that was imposed not only on the press, but even on the pieces that were performed in the Theatres, and the absolute prohibition of all public meetings of a political character, left the people without any means by which they could make their desires known either to each other, or to the government. This tyrannical system was felt the more acutely by the Sicilians, inasmuch as they had already tasted the sweets of liberty, and felt that their constitutional rights were capriciously and unjustly withheld from them by the government of Naples.

While the Southern portion of the Italian peninsula rejoiced in the comparatively liberal government of the celebrated Joachim Murat, a name which is still held in respect by all the patriots of Italy; Sicily still continued under the rule of the Bourbons, whose interests in that island were warmly and effectually supported by England. This dynasty which in whatever land it has ruled, has ever been the irreconcilable enemy of political freedom, was only upheld upon the throne of Sicily, by the cannon and bayonets of the King's German Legion, and England found it necessary to interfere as a mediator between the sovereign and the people.

When in 1811, the Queen insisted on the evacuation of the island by the British forces, in order that she might have a better opportunity of carrying her despotic and tyrannical intentions into effect, Lord Bentinck who at that time represented the English court, remarked that "England must in that case take measures for securing the future tranquillity of the country." He shortly afterwards departed for London, and on his return in 1812, a constitution modelled on that of England, became the law of the land.

The Sicilian parliament was to consist of two Chambers, one composed of Nobles, and the other of representatives of the people, all persons of whatever rank were to be equal before the law, the feudal rights of the nobility were to be abolished, freedom of the press was guaranteed, and the power of the Crown was limited in much the same manner as that of England.

No sooner however, was the Crown of Naples restored to the Bourbons, than a systematic attack on the rights of the Sicilians commenced, and the new constitution was subjected to considerable mo-

difications. In vain the Sicilians appealed in 1816 to the protection of England, in vain in 1820 they had recourse to arms, the rising was suppressed by force, and from this moment the constitution became a dead letter. No better success attended the risings in 1831, 1837, and 1847, the Bourbons who would seem to be incapable of either learning wisdom from the past, or accommodating themselves to the present, persisted in their attempts to restore the bye-gone system of despotic and irresponsible power.

The King refused to listen to the great lesson which the constantly increasing agitation of Italy afforded, he not only closed his ears to the complaints of his Sicilian subjects, but also to the urgent representations made in their favour by the British cabinet, and he was resolved rather to risk the loss of Sicily altogether, than to submit to the limitation of his power by a parliament.

The agitation that pervaded the whole of continental Italy in 1848, did not fail to manifest itself with increased intensity in Sicily. Palermo the capital, placed itself at the head of the movement, which by means of the secret societies soon made itself felt throughout the island. A eport was generally spread abroad, although no one could discover its author, that on the 12th. of January, a decisive blow would be struck for Sicilian independence; but long before this the impatience of the inhabitants of Palermo, was shown by demonstrations against unpopular officials, and other proceedings of a similar character. On the appointed day the insurrection accordingly began, the shops were not opened as usual, and from an early hour great numbers of strangers were seen pouring into the city. Soon crowds of armed men whose numbers increased every minute, began to collect at different points, the detachments of cavalry which were constantly moving up and down the streets amidst cries of *Evviva la Cavaleria!* soon found themselves unable to disperse the crowds, and at length orders were given to fire upon the people, and the battle commenced. The Cavalry were speedily compelled to retreat behind masses of infantry who now advanced to their support, while on the side of the people barricades seemed to arise as if by magic.

On the 13th. the troops attempted without success to recover the ground they had lost on the preceding day, and the combat consequently assumed a more serious character; at the Royal offices of Finance, a great deal of firing took place, but with comparatively trifling loss on either side. The Villa Butera, celebrated as having been the winter residence of the Empress of Russia, was successfully defended by forty young Sicilians against an overwhelming force of soldiery. The splendid high street in front of the Palace was swept by discharges of grapeshot, but fortunately little damage was done. Although the troops did their duty, and showed no inclination to fraternise with the citizens, they were nevertheless beaten at all points, and during

the following night they evacuated the city, and while some withdrew into the Citadel, the remainder encamped in the surrounding country.

From Castellamare, the cannon of which command the whole of the city, a perfect shower of bombs and cannon shot was now poured upon the heads of the defenceless inhabitants of Palermo. Seized with despair at this act of barbarity, the unfortunate citizens fled in every direction, many taking refuge on board the foreign vessels in the harbour. The whole of the foreign consuls, together with the commander of the English Steam-ship Bull-dog, now made a formal protest to the commander of the Citadel against the farther continuance of the bombardment, and the tone of decision with which Sir Charles Napier demanded satisfaction for an insult that had been offered to the ensign of the British consul, and the threatening position which he assumed, served to give no small weight to the offer of English mediation, and a Truce of twenty-four hours was concluded between the contending parties. Meanwhile the principal inhabitants of Palermo formed themselves into a Provisional Government, which was divided into three separate committees, for conducting the affairs of Sicily, and which immediately commenced their labours.

No sooner had the unwelcome intelligence of this outbreak reached Naples, than a royal squadron, under the command of the Count of Aquila, the King's brother, and having on board a considerable body of troops, got under weigh, and on the 16th. arrived before Palermo, when the Prince immediately put himself into communication with the Provisional Government. This body used very decided language, and their demands may be summed up as follows —

1. Lord Bentinck's Constitution of 1812. 2. The formation of a National Guard. 3. Freedom of the Press. 4. The entire separation of the governments of Sicily and Naples. 5. That one of the Princes of the blood, should be appointed Viceroy. 6. A Municipal Constitution.

As the Prince was not empowered either to comply with, or to refuse these demands, he contented himself with advising the citizens to return to their allegiance, and as notwithstanding the protection of the Castle, he did not choose to risk a disembarkation in front of the town, he landed his troops at the distance of a few miles, with orders to unite themselves with the forces of the Viceroy, (The Prince of Salerno) and those of General Desauget. They succeeded accordingly in throwing themselves into the Citadel, when the commander of the newly arrived troops proposed immediately to recommence the bombardment, which proposal was however negatived by the Viceroy, who determined to wait for farther orders from Naples. The Count of Aquila was no sooner informed of this decision, than he returned, in order to lay the state of affairs before the King.

On the 17th. of January, the Provisional Government issued a somewhat bombastic proclamation to the Sicilian nation, calling on all

persons to appear in arms for the assertion of their rights and liberties. Meanwhile on the 12th. and 13th. the insurrection had broken out in various parts of the island, more especially at Catanea and Messina. In the latter city it was however suppressed for the present by a strong military force under General Muziano, which had recently landed from Calabria. It was however evident that the royal forces were utterly insufficient to suppress the outbreak, which had now extended itself to the peasantry, large masses of whom under the guidance of their priests, put themselves in motion to assist the threatened cities of Palermo and Catanea.

The Neapolitan forces in the neighbourhood of Palermo alone, amounted to upwards of 8000 men, but they suffered severely from being forced to take the field in the midst of winter, added to which all provisions and military stores had to be sent to them from Naples, a circumstance that added not a little to the difficulties of their position; then they were harassed by continual marches and counter-marches, necessary to maintain the communication between Palermo and Messina, in short a few days' active service was sufficient to demoralise these Neapolitan soldiers, who even under Murat, never exhibited a very warlike spirit, and desertion to the enemy became an every-day occurrence. In the mean time the combatants under the Green, Red, and White banner of the insurgents, daily increased in numbers and confidence.

Symptoms of an approaching outbreak now began to show themselves in the continental dominions of the king of Naples, the principality of Salerno was in a high state of excitement, and the cry for a Constitution became general throughout the country. The sympathy which England showed for the extension of liberal principles in Italy seemed to render any hope of carrying on the government according to the old *Regime* fallacious, and King Ferdinand feeling that his power was insufficient to suppress this widely extended disaffection, resolved to have recourse to concessions. Conscious that half measures would be useless, he took a decided step, and published the plan of a Constitution of so liberal and comprehensive a nature, that it left little more to be desired, on the grounds of rational political and municipal liberty.

This was embodied in six decrees, which were dated the 18th. and 19th. of January; their contents were shortly as follows — A Constitution modelled on the plan of the French Charter was to be immediately prepared. The governments of Sicily and Naples were to be altogether separate, and the Count of Aquila was appointed Viceroy of the former country. The offices of state, both spiritual and temporal were to be filled in Sicily by Sicilians, and in Naples by Neapolitans, this in the case of civilians was to take place within four months, and in the case of divines after the death of the present occupants. To this was added the abolition of the censorship, the

formation of a national guard, and various other concessions of a similar nature.

The publication of these decrees produced a perfect delirium of rejoicing throughout the kingdom of Naples and the adjacent states, and for a few days King Ferdinand of Naples was more popular than Charles Albert of Sardinia, Leopold of Tuscany, or even the great Papal Reformer Pius the IX, and in Rome the peace between the two Sicilies was celebrated with banquets, illuminations, fire-works etc.

In Sicily itself however these decrees were received in a different manner, it is true both the concessions and the amnesty that accompanied them were received with rejoicings, but they were rather the rejoicings of victory than of thankfulness, and the decrees were principally welcomed on account of the indisputable evidence they afforded of the weakness of the Neapolitan Government. The Radical party affected to believe that it was the intention of the government to deceive them; and declared that they would on no account lay down their arms, until the Sicilian parliament was assembled in Palermo. From this moment however the excitement in the capital began to cool, the proclamations of the Provisional government became more moderate, and they proceeded with the business of the country, as a body whose legality had been acknowledged by the royal authority.

But although the capital began to show signs of returning order, the civil war still raged with unabated fury in the provinces. Messina and Catanea resolved to rid themselves, at all events of the military despotism under which they laboured; while in Palermo the press enjoyed full freedom, and liberal newspapers such as *Il Cittadino,* and *Il Risorgimento* appeared daily; in these cities the old restrictions both with regard to the press and the theatre remained in full force, and no public assemblies were permitted. Among the troops which marched under the command of General Desauget from Palermo to Messina, every kind of disaster prevailed, several companies of infantry revolted, and a company of Calabrian Jägers deserted; nevertheless the forces under the command of General Nunziano produced considerable effect, the Citadel and Forts around Messina were still in his hands, and the inhabitants trembled at the thoughts of a bombardment, with which he threatened them in case of a revolt.

The troops in Palermo under Colonel Gros had been withdrawn from the city by command of the King, but the commander of Messina remained immovable, and refused to come to any terms with the citizens. At length on the 28th. of January the inhabitants of Messina flew to arms; without exposing his soldiers to a conflict in the streets, Nunziano sent word that he would fire on the city unless the armed mob immediately withdrew themselves. The foreign consuls protested urgently against this act, and the General so far relented as to promise that in the event of his commencing hostilities, he would allow sufficient time for foreigners to retire from the city. Neverthe-

less on the 29th. the forts opened their fire, and continued for an hour and a half to pour shot and shells into the town. The conduct of the French consul Count Maricourt, who in spite of the incessant fire betook himself to the commandant in order to make an energetic protest against his conduct, deserves to be especially mentioned. Two days later, the news of the constitution granted by the King, arrived in Messina, and was received with great joy by the inhabitants, and all thoughts of hostilities were for the present at an end.

In Catanea a similar scene occurred, here however the soldiers opposed themselves to the citizens in the streets, and as in all cases during the revolution where this occurred, they were beaten, and driven into the citadel, from whence they fired upon the town. Little damage was however done, the soldiers apparently directing their aim purposely, at the open spaces, and numerous uninhabited buildings in the town.

Negotiations now commenced between the Provisional Government in Palermo and that of the King in Naples, but it seemed impossible to make any arrangement between the conflicting claims of the parties, and the King disgusted at the cold manner in which his concessions were received by the Sicilians, seemed inclined to throw himself altogether into the hands of the aristocratic party, which is generally known by the bye-name of the "Camarilla."

This party however were too cautious to assume the reins of government unter the present circumstances, and on the resignation of the old Ministry, the formation of a new one was intrusted to the well known liberal, Count di Serra Capriola. The new ministry had however no greater success in arranging affairs with the intractable Sicilians than the former. A deputation from the Consulta Civica at Rome under S. Chiesh, together with Sir Edward Codrington and Lord Minto, were the mediators between the parties, but their efforts met with no success.

The new Constitution granted by the King of Naples to his subjects was published on the 11th. of February 1848, it was as we have already stated, modelled on the plan of the French Charter of 1830, and abounded in reservations and articles of doubtful meaning, and upon the whole was little calculated to satisfy the unreasonable expectations of the Sicilians, and while the Pope declared that its appearance was a pledge for the future liberty of Italy, the Provisional Government of Sicily rejected it as insufficient, and declared that nothing less than the constitution of 1812, would be accepted.

At the same time they took measures for reducing the places that were still in the hands of the Neapolitans. The principal of these was Messina, the second in importance Syracuse, and it was determined to at once lay siege to the forts around the former of these cities. On the 26th. of February the lesser Citadel surrendered, but the larger still held out, and the city had to endure a second bom-

bardment from its garrison. The fury of the people now rose to its highest pitch, the most terrible imprecations were heaped on the head of Ferdinand of Naples, whom they looked upon as the cause of this new calamity, nor did they confine themselves to words, hostilities were pushed on with desperate vigour, and one military position after another was stormed by the indignant populace. The great Citadel was now closely invested, but its fire caused terrible devastation in the town, and numerous houses both in the city and in the free port became a prey to the flames.

While the Italian newspapers were prophesying happiness liberty and peace, as the consequence of the ceremony of the King of Naples taking the oath to the new constitution, the Sicilian people fanaticised by their priests, called aloud for his resignation of the throne of that island, and abused him as one of the most bloody tyrants that had ever disgraced humanity, and as if to add to the fury of the populace, the news of the occurrences in Paris arrived at this time in Messina; and added not a little to the desperate courage displayed by the people in storming the forts on the north and south sides of the city, the Arsenal, the *Porto franco* and the Cloister of St. Chiara.

The Artillery taken at the above mentioned points, together with the guns found in the forts of Catanea, and of Milazzo, were now arrayed against the Citadel of Messina, the garrison of which continued to make a gallant defence. The Neapolitan government were unable to land troops to relieve this fortress and that of Syracuse, in consequence of the protests of Admiral Parker, who with a British Squadron was cruizing in the Sicilian waters; and it much be admitted that every interference between the hostile parties, on the part of the British officials, seemed to be contrived to give every possible advantage to the Sicilians, whose cause became consequently every day more florishing.

A considerable sensation was produced at this time by the publication of a pamphlet on the Sicilian question by the celebrated Pater Ventura, the trusty counsellor of the Pope. This person is a Sicilian by birth, and his book is a brilliant defence of the rights of his native land. With great eloquence he compares the dispute between Naples and Sicily, to the position of England with regard to Ireland, and Holland i its former relations to Belgium, and these parellels are worked out with great acuteness and plausibility, although at least to English ideas, the analogy will not always be very apparent. He proposes that Sicily shall recognise King Ferdinand as her sovereign but that in every other particular the governments of the two countries shall be altogether separate.

From this moment the public voice in the Italian peninsula became more decidedly in favour of Sicily. In Naples no sooner did the people become aware of the intention of the government to send fresh troops to Messina, than crowds assembled in the streets with

the continual cry of "Down with the Ministry! peace with our brethren in Sicily!" and the people showed themselves especially bitter against the new president of the council, Count di Serra Capriola.

It will be seen that the Italians have made considerable progress in political information, and that the bulk of the nation understood the question between Naples and Sicily as well as King Ferdinand and his Camarilla. The Neapolitan military had also become impressed with the new ideas, and when General Nunziante the scourge of the Calabrian insurgents, was about to administer the oath to the military, to be true to the Constitution, the Cavalry declared that after the cruelties he had been guilty of, he was unworthy to take the oath himself, much less to administer it to others.

The observation of Pius the IX, with regard to the concessions made by the King of Naples, is said to have been, that Ferdinand had given his little finger when he ought to have given his whole hand, and continned he "by and by he will be forced to give the hand and arm also."

Such was in reality the case; the Sicilians so far from abating their first demands, now insisted that he should resign his office of King of Sicily in favour of the heir to the crown, and Lord Minto who had hitherto negotiated without much success, now returned to Naples. It is said that the King on hearing this new demand of the Provisional Government, lost all self-possession; This formerly proud and obstinate monarch now burst into tears, and had he not been withheld by his Ministers, would have granted every thing that was demanded of him.

In Naples the Lazzaroni now began to arouse themselves in favour of the old state of affairs. They attributed the troubles of the kingdom to the progress of liberal ideas and the expulsion of the Jesuits, and succeeded in effecting a kind of Counter-revolution, in the course of which a great number of persons were killed and wounded. This occurred in spite of the exertions of the National guard who continued faithful to the cause of Liberty and political progress.

The Sicilian national guard in the mean time had completly organized itself, and now presented an imposing force, under the command of patriotic officers elected by themselves. The total loss of Sicily became every day more imminent, and at length the ministry consented to comply with its demands. The King himself signed the act which in everthing but the name renders Sicily completely independant of Naples. The contents of this important act are as follow.

Ferdinand II, (here follow the titles) is henceforth to be designated as Ferdinand the IV of Sicily, and Ferdinand the V of Naples. The Regent of Sicily is to be either a prince of the blood royal, or a Sicilian. This Royal substitute, must be acknowledged by the Sicilian parliament previous to entering on the duties of his office. The governments of the two countries to be entirely separate. In diplo-

matic affairs, an equal number of Sicilian and Neapolitan officials to be employed, and in the event of equality of votes, a Sicilian and Neapolitan are to repair to Rome to procure the dicision of the Roman court. Sicily is to have a separate Parliament and complete independence in every particular. A separate Army, Navy, and national guard, forts, etc. etc. The commander in chief of the army, and all other military officers to be nominated by the parliament. A separate flag. (Tricolour, with the Sicilian eagle.) A separate mint. The King to give the third part of the Neapolitan navy, with the cannon, etc. belonging thereto, to the Sicilians. Union with Italy, all treaties, proposals etc. on this subject to be decided by the parliament. King Ferdinand confirms all acts, laws, and appointments of the Provisional government.

These concessions, which met every demand of the people of Sicily, with the single exception of the abdication of the King, produced a temporary suspension of hostilities; with such a constitution it could matter but little who was the nominal sovereign; all real power was transferred to the parliament, and the despotic Ferdinand, was as far as Sicily was concerned, reduced to a mere emblem of royalty, without authority or influence. We avail ourselves of this pause in the Sicilian storm, to turn our attention to the affairs of continental Italy.

THE REVOLUTION IN ITALY.

CHAPTER II.

The effects of the outbreak in Sicily, and its accompanying political convulsions on the various states of the Italian peninsula, were of a most important character; from the Alps to cape St. Maria Leuca, aud farther to cape St. Spartivento, every city and government felt the influence of the events in that island, as though they formed the successive links of a galvanic chain.

The political reforms commenced by the King of Sardinia, had indeed preserved the popularity of that monarch for the present, the citizens of Turin however soon began to show that these concessions would by no means be sufficient, and that they only looked upon them as the forerunners of others, of far greater weight and importance. It therefore became a necessary part of the policy of the Sardinian Government, to direct the attention of the people as far as possible to external affairs, in order to obtain breathing time at home. The simple but effectual policy, which has been resorted to by the governments of all nations, under similar circumstances, and which teaches, that of the two evils, a foreign war is to be preferred to a domestic insurrection, induced Charles Albert to foment the ill feeling which existed in the minds of his subjects against the Austrians by

every means in his power; and he hoped by this means to withold them from imitating the violent and destructive proceedings of the Sicilians. He succeeded easily enough in inflaming the populace against the "German barbarians," but the people of Piedmont showed that they were sufficiently sharp-sighted to pay attention to external affairs without altogether losing sight of those of the interior.

The people soon perceived that the efforts of the ministry were directed, if not to deprive them of their newly acquired rights, at least to prevent them from making any farther progress, and the feelings of dissatisfaction that this policy gave rise to, exhibited themselves in various tumultuous demonstrations in various parts of the kingdom, but notwithstanding this, the policy of the government caused Sardinia to be looked up to, as the head of the Italian nation, and its influence on the affairs of the peninsula increased from day to day. This influence was strengthened by various other circumstances, not the least of which was the fact that Sardinia from its position, was the only state in Italy who could for a moment dream of entering into a contest with Austria. If the great idea of Italian unity should ever be realised, if Italy should ever rise to be a great nation instead of a powerless and contemptible assemblage of petty states, it will owe its position mainly to the exertions of the Sardinian people. With an enthusiasm such as no nation has exhibited since the first French revolution, the people submitted to the enormous sacrifices demanded by the government in order to prepare its army for the field, nor was this all, the Piedmontese contributed with an unsparing hand to the support of the national cause in the other states, more especially in Sicily. This agitation in Piedmont excited no little anxiety in the Austrian court, and its representative at Turin, placed in its strongest light before the King, the fearful responsibility he was incurring, by placing himself at the head of the Italian movement. He pointed out to him, that if the barriers which had hitherto restrained the popular wishes, were removed, that in a short time the complete overthrow all order and legitimate government, might be expected.

Without altering his policy with regard to Austria, Charles Albert attended to the warning so far as to take measures for repressing, or rather discouraging, the irregular and eccentric agitation that had begun to show itself in the city of Genoa, any decided opposition was however out of the question, the spirit of revolution was abroad, and he was compelled to adapt his measures to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. Any attempt to oppose the new impulse, which the desire for innovation had received from the occurrences in Sicily, would have been to forfeit for ever his already declining popularity, and a significant hint of the new demands of his subjects was given by the Town council of Genoa on the 5th. of February. They declared that in consequence of the events in Sicily the proposed reforms in the government of Piedmont had lost their importance, or in other

words, that they were no longer considered sufficient. Under these circumstances the King no longer hesitated to grant his subjects a constitution.

The drawing up of this important document was entrusted to the council of State, and the King pledged himself on the first opening of the chambers, to take the oath of fidelity to the new charter.

This well timed concession raised the popularity of the King, and the zeal of the people, to the highest possible pitch; the preparations for war were pushed forward with increased ardour and rapidity, and the proprietors of every manufactory in the kingdom placed two workmen at the disposal of the directors of the Arsenals. The greater the precautions taken by the Austrians to preserve tranquillity, the louder rose the cry for war throughout the kingdom of Sardinia. The sea coast from Nizza to Spezia was fortified, and the forts of Genoa strongly garrisoned, the miserable troops of Tuscany were reformed and remodelled on the same plan as those of Sardinia, and a coast-guard with the necessary artillery was organized.

Although the National guard, and the general arming of the people were not yet decreed, every one to the best of his ability provided himself with arms, from the grey-haired man, to the children of the so-called "Legions of Hope." In their enthusiasm they affected to no longer consider upper Italy as belonging to Austria, and appeared to have persuaded themselves into the belief that their untried troops were as a matter of course invincible, and laughed at the precautions of that power, which still continued to advance fresh troops to the river Udine, and under the careful inspection of Radetzky to make itself master of the Railroad leading from Milan to Venice.

Charles Albert's army at this time consisted of 62,000 men, a force amply sufficient to strike the first blow, the more especially as the whole population of Italy might be looked upon as a *Corps de Reserve* in its rear. We here give the official returns of the population of the different Italian states as they were put forward at this time, apparently in order to impress a sense of their power on the minds of the Cabinet of Vienna. Piedmont and Sardinia contain 4,879,000 souls. Tuscany and Luspa 1,701,000. The states of the Church 2,877,000. Lombardy and Venice 4,759,000. Parma and Piacenza 477,000. Modena 1,483,000. Monaco 7,580. St. Marino 7,950. The Italian Tyrol 522,588, and Istria 485,000. Making a grand total of 24,766,738 souls. To this immense population Austria opposed a force of from 75 to 80,000 men under the command of General Radetzky, including 7000 Cavalry, and from 100 to 120 pieces of cannon. Of these troops however nearly one third were Italians, but the fidelity which they had exhibited during the insurrections of 1821 and 1831, caused the greatest confidence to be placed in them. As far as the officers were concerned, the leaders of the Imperial army acknowledge no other nationality than that of the sword and sash. Every

regiment contains officers of each of the numerous races of the Empire, and this must in some instances be extremely inconvenient, inasmuch as it often happens that the officer can only communicate with his troops, through the medium of an interpreter.

War between Austria and the confederation of Sardinia, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, was now looked upon as certain, although hostilities were not yet declared; the Pope was considered as the head of this new league, and the King of Sardinia, and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, as merely subordinates, and yet the concessions of the father of the church to his subjects had hitherto been less than those of the temporal princes of Italy. Pius IX, like many of his predecessors in the throne of St. Peter, made use of his double character as a temporal sovereign and a spiritual chief, and by adroitly changing his part from one to the other, he managed to restrain his subjects from the excesses which had marked the progress of reform in the other states. Whenever he felt himself pressed by new demands in his position as a prince, he succeeded in lulling the agitation in the character of the high priest. While by his affectionate and soothing addresses, he managed in most cases to allay the irritations of his own subjects; by constantly holding out the prospect of a constitution to the citizens, by his influence as the head of the church, and by the power of his name, he hastened the developement of the revolution throughout the other states of the peninsula.

Pius IX, declared in one of his addresses to the Romans, that "Whoever disturbs my subjects, or those of the other Italian states, in their domestic and rational struggles for improvement, forgets that at my beck 200 Millions of Catholics are ready to claim them as brothers;" and the power over these 200 Millions of spiritual subjects, it was necessary at all events to preserve. He dared not give the liberal party too great scope, or he well knew they would soon step from the affairs of the state, to those of the church, and Pius yielding to the remonstrances of the Cardinals, adopted a species of conservative policy, and by continually changing his ministers contrived to evade the demands of his subjects, and at the same time to preserve his popularity.

The acuteness and dexterity of the Pope was shown in a striking light, by the manner in which he trod this new path. When the Sicilians boasted themselves as "the firstborn of Liberty," because they were the first of the Italian states that received a constitution; the Pope comforted his Romans with the assurance that the Eternal city had been in the possession of a constitution for ages, and that it was only necessary to restore the old Institutions to their former vigour, and they would be found to answer every demand of the present day. He professed to find a chamber of deputies, in the Institute of the Consistorial advocates, and a chamber of Peers in the College of Cardinals; but on this occasion the Romans were by no means convinced

of the infallibility of the Holy Father, or if they believed the story, they looked upon it as a mere historical parallel, from which little practical good could be expected.

They demanded the restoration of the council of state, with an increased number of Senators; Provincial Colleges, the members of which should be chosen by the people; that the College of Consistorial advocates, should receive extended powers; that the administration should be conducted by laymen etc. etc. Pius requested time to consider these demands, which was granted.

"He is thinking the matter over a little," said the Romans, "but in the end he will give us what we demand. Long live the Constitutional Pope!"

At this unheard of title, Pius is said to have been not a little perplexed, and the old Cardinals shed tears at the blasphemy. It was no time for hesitating, every government was compelled to obey the voice of the newly awakened nation, and that of the Pope formed no exception to the rule. Hitherto however the people of Italy, although they had gone to a great extent with their demands, had not thrown aside all regard for their respective governments. Although they had stripped their sovereigns bit by bit, of the greater part of their former powers, still they had been content to accept these concessions as a matter of favour, they had never disputed the absolute right of their governments, and their existence such as it was, had never been made a matter of question. The time for raising this question had however arrived, when from the 1st. to the 5th. of March, the news of the Parisian revolution, arrived in succession at Genoa, Florence, Rome, and Naples. The Italian governments now saw there was no time to be lost, and hastened by wise concessions to prevent the fearful effects of this terrible example.

Already on the 5th. of March, in the midst of the tremendous excitement that this event occasioned in Turin, appeared the Constitution of Sardinia. On the 14th. of March the *Statuto fondamentale digli Stati di S. Chiesa,* was proclaimed in Rome. In Sardinia the Catholic religion was declared to be that of the state, but all others were to be tolerated. The Parliament was to consist of two chambers; a Senate, and a Chamber of deputies. The executive power to remain in the hands of the King, but the chambers to be consulted with regard to all treaties, alliances, etc. as far as possible. All treaties that affect the increase of taxes or the alteration of the boundaries of the kingdom require the sanction of the chambers. The right of holding political meetings is granted to the people, they must however be open, and under the observation of the police. The Senate to consist of members appointed by the King for the term of their lives, their number is unrestricted; judging from the analogy of a similar law passed in Tuscany on 15th. February 1848, these senators will consist for the most part of Bishops, Archbishops, the higher officials of

the state, Members of the lower chamber, who have served six years, Professors of the Universities, distinguished officers in the army, etc. etc. and as in the Tuscan constitution, the members of the royal family are Senators by birth.

The Senate is the highest political court of Justice, and in the event of a minister being impeached by the lower chamber, the case is to be decided by them. The first session was to commence as soon as the elections were completed. All Sardinians are equal before the law, and are to contribute to the State in proportion to their property. Personal freedom can only be forfeited by the judgement of a legal tribunal etc. etc. The press is free under certain legal regulations. The perogatives of the Nobility are abolished etc. etc. This Constitution was also adopted by Florestan I, the Prince of Monaco, instead of a Charter he had granted to his subjects on the 1st. of the preceding February.

Before the Roman constitution was proclaimed, the Pope gave a strong proof that the old state of affairs had indeed undergone a great change in Rome. He dissolved the order of Jesus, against whom various demonstrations had been directed in the different cities of Italy. On the 15th. of March, the Romans were surprised, by the appearance of placards in the streets, announcing that the fathers of that order had already left the city; that part of them had retired to their families, and that others had departed for America. On this occasion the Jesuits submitted to their fate with great resignation, and neither the Order nor their general, made any attempt to resist or even to protest against this act of the father of the Church. In Rome the act was a popular one, but in the greater part of South and Central Italy, the voice of the people was rather in favour of the Jesuits than against them. Indeed in many districts and especially in the smaller towns, the cause of the children of Loyola was a popular one.

Whatever may be the faults of this order of priests it is certain they are not without their virtues. In the kingdom of Naples during the time of the Cholera, they had distinguished themselves by a self devotion such as is rarely found in such cases, more especially in Italy where the fear of contagious diseases is greater than in most countries. These good deeds had not been forgotten by the people, and if the Jesuits were astonished at the order which banished them from the states of the Church, they had at least the satisfaction of knowing that a considerable party looked upon them as little less than martyrs; and that should any alteration take place in the affairs of Italy, that at least they would be welcomed back by those on whom they had conferred benefits. This was well expressed by one of their number who observed, "We are not saints, but on the other hand we are not demons; on the contrary we have done much good; and should circumstances ever permit us to return, our brethren will reap the fruits of our labours."

In the north of Italy however, in Genoa, Turin, and several other places, the news of the Parisian revolution was the signal for an attack on the houses of the Jesuits, which were plundered with all the circumstances of brutality for which the Genoese populace are but too notorious; a brutality which contrasts singulary with the urbanity and mildness which has distinguished the people of Rome even during the most exciting periods of the revolution. Even the hatred against the "German Barbarians," the "Tyrants of Lombardy," took a far more gentle form in Rome than in any other part of the Peninsula, and it needed all the artificial aid of violent articles in the newspapers, and still more violent speeches from the popular leaders, to keep up this feeling of national animosity in the minds of the good-natured Romans; and more than one cheer for the "*Confederazione Germanica*," was given by the multitude, on the occasion of a "Roth-Schwarz-Golden" flag being displayed from the windows of a German artist.

After the publication of the Roman Constitution, when all the population of the city paraded the streets in order to admire the lamps, transparencies, and fire-works, which were displayed in honour of the occasion, a solemn "Down with the Germans," was given by the populace in front of the residence of the Austrian minister, this was however instantly corrected, and the cry was changed to Death to the Austrians, "Death to the Austrians!" roared the multitude, "and long live the German confederation."

The Roman population appeared on this occasion to be absolutely drunk with Joy, this in their opinion was the first day of the Millinium of Freedom, the commencement of a second Golden age, in which all the "ills that flesh is heir to," were at once to disappear, the States of the Church were to be looked upon as the Model government of Europe, and the "*Statuto fondamentalo*," was declared to be the perfection of legislative wisdom, before which all other Constitutions, past present and to come, were to fade into utter insignificance. A slight glance at this wonderful Charter will however, show, that Pius IX was by no means desirous of making greater concessions, than such as were absolutely necessary to prevent his subjects from following the contagious example of the Parisians, and however extraordinary the "*Statuto fondamentalo*" may have appeared to the Romans, it is of a far less liberal character than those of either Tuscany or Sardinia.

It still leaves the preposterous evils of the worst possible form of government a Hierarchy, untouched, or at least unalleviated; all the inconvenences of uniting the powers of a temporal prince, in the same person as those of the Pontifex maximus, are plainly stamped on every paragraph it contains, and the great Charter of Pius IX, instead of being greeted with the vain blaze of lamps and fire-works, stands not a little in need of the enlightenment of spiritual and political knowfedge. It is probable however that the difficulties which

stood in the way of the great Roman reformer were greater than those of any other Italian prince; at every step he must have been met by the religious prejudices, and stubborn opposition, of the great body of the clergy; and to enact the part of a political regenerator, and that of the successor of St. Peter, with perfect success, would indeed require a greater degree of "infallibility," than falls to the lot of ordinary mortals. Without farther remarks, we proceed to lay before the reader a sketch of the Papal fundamental law, published on the 16th. of March 1848.

The College of Cardinals from which the Pope is chosen, is to from the Senate. In addition to this there are to be two other Councils or Chambers, the members of the upper chamber or High council, are to be appointed by the Pope for the term of their lives. The members must be upward of thirty years of age, and their number is indefinite. The president is to be chosen by the Pope, and the office may be held by a Cardinal or other person not a member of the council. The lower council or chamber, is to consist of members chosen by the people, in the proportion of one member for every 30,000 souls. The electors are to consist of all persons paying 12 Scudi annually in direct taxes to the government, and who have attained the age of twenty-five years. The members of the council must be upwards of thirty years of age, and both electors and elected must be members of the Catholic Church, as the profession of this creed is necessaty to the exercise of any political rights. The members of both councils are unpaid, they have the right of giving or witholding their consent to the passing of all laws, the levying of taxes, etc. They can also originate laws provided they are strictly confined to temporal matters, and do not in any way trench on the spiritual authority of the Pope, the Canons of the Church etc. etc. In both chambers all discussions with regard to the politico-religious relations of the Roman Court with foreign countries, are forbidden. The right of impeaching the ministers is confined to the lower chamber, should the ministers so impeached be laymen, the cause is to be tried by the upper chamber, if clergymen, by the College of Cardinals; that is, according to the Canonical form. The Papal civil list, together with the interest of the State-debt, the maintainence of the College of Cardinals etc. etc. is fixed at 613,000 Scudi. All laws after having past both the Chambers must be reported upon by the Cardinal's College, and the Pope has then the right of granting or refusing his consent. The Ministers are responsible, and an express law is to be prepared on this subject. All persons to be equal before the law. The press to be free, as far politics are concerned, but the clerical censorship to continue, both with regard to the press and the theatre. The Pope has the right of summoning, adjourning, or dissolving, both the chambers, whose sittings are in no case to exceed three months in duration, the internal regulations of the respective chambers to be made by themselves. The

Holy College in accordance with the Apostolic constitution, confirms the ministers in their appointments, or appoints others in their places.

A Council of State consisting of ten members, and twenty-four auditors, shall be appointed to prepare the drafts of the new electoral laws, laws of the press etc. etc. The first session of the new Parliament to meet on the first monday in June 1848, in order to take into immediate consideration the laws of the general and provincial constitutions, the police code, the law concerning the ministerial responsibility, the state officials etc. etc.

The constitution granted to his subjects by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, differs in no essential respect from that of Sardinia, it is dated the 14th. of February 1848, and was proclaimed on the 17th. of the same month. The person of the Grand-Duke is sacred, he is the chief of the executive government, has the command of the forces, the power of making peace and war etc. etc.

Having thus sketched the state of affairs in the native governments of Italy, up to the moment in which they succeeded in ob taining Constitutions from their respective Sovereigns, we now turn our attention to the gathering storm in the Austrian provinces, generally known as the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

THE REVOLT OF LOMBARDY.

While the other Governments of Italy hastened to anticipate by well timed and liberal concessions, the inevitable effects of the French revolution on the minds of the already excited people; that of Austria true to its old system, redoubled its precautions, and took every possible measure to strangle any attempted outbreak in its birth. The censorship on the press was increased in stringency, and public meetings of every kind that could even be suspected of having a political tendency, were strongly prohibited. The utmost efforts of the government were however unable to suppress even the outward signs of discontent; these were exhibited by the better classes in the fashion and colour of their clothes, white waistcoats and cravats, and strange shaped hats became universal. In vain the police prohibited the wearing of these hats, the Italians showed infinite ingenuity in evading their regulations, if the high crowned "Calabrian" hat was forbidden, it was immediately transformed into a low-crowned broad brimmed "Puritan" the meaning of which was equally well understood. Among the lower classes the general disaffection showed itself in the incessant quarrels with the Austrian soldiers; these last were so constantly galled and irritated by the malicious remarks, and petty insults of the populace, that they were ready to draw their swords on the slightest provocation. These quarrels increased the bitterness of the Italians to such a degree that

scarcely a night passed but single officers and soldiers were attacked by assassins, and by this means many were wounded and some killed, and Count Thun an officer of rank, narrowly escaped being murdered by a gang of these banditti.

Although these indications of an approaching insurrection, were greatly increased by the news of the French revolution, they had nevertheless existed for some time previous to that event. In Milan the head quarters of the liberal party was the Caffé Cova; the frequenters of which set the fashion in hats, waistcoats, and other outward and visible signs of liberalism; among other things they resolved to discontinue smoking cigars, the manufacture of which was a government monopoly, and the example was followed by the greater part of the inhabitants of the capital of Lombardy. This patriotic sacrifice of their darling cigars upon the altar of their country was a mere jest, it simply amounted to smoking in their houses, instead of consuming them openly in the streets, the real object was to show the strength and influence of their party. This jest however led to serious results, the German inhabitants, and more especially the Austrian garrison of Milan, refused to obey the laws of the Caffé Cava, single persons smoking in the streets were insulted, and from words it came on the 3rd. of January to blows; a riot was the consequence, which it was necessary to repress by military force, and two or three persons lost their lives, among others a highly respected citizen, whom accident conducted to the spot. As might have been expected, these persons who fell in what was nothing more nor less than a street brawl, were raised at once by the excited Italians to the rank of martyrs of liberty, and the press teemed with epitaphs and articles in praise of their conduct, both in prose and verse.

The warlike preparations of the King of Sardinia tended in no small degree to increase the disaffection of the inhabitants of Lombardy, and the recalling of the soldiers on furlough from four classes of the Piedmontese army, which added more than 20,000 men to its strength, excited considerable alarm in the Austrian cabinet. This was shown by an Imperial manifest, which spoke of defending the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom against all attacks "from whatever side they may come," and still more by an order of the day, addressed by the Field Marshal Count Radetzky to the troops on the 19th. of January, in which he states that, "His Majesty the Emperor is firmly resolved to defend his states from all attacks, whether they come from within or without." — "I still wield the sword," continued the venerable warrior, "which during more than sixty-five years, I have borne with honour on so many battle fields. — Let us hope we we may not be forced to display the flag of the double headed Eagle, the might of whose stoop is not yet departed." The troops answered this appeal of their leader with loud cheers, and this display of enthusiasm, rendered the feelings of the Italian patriots still more embittered.

On the 8th. of February, disturbances broke out simultaneously in Pavia and Padua; in both cities brutal attacks were made upon the officers of the Austrian garrison, by the Students of the University, and in both cases they were not suppressed without bloodshed. These, and similar scenes which occurred eight days later at Bergamo, showed the necessity of taking more stringent measures for preserving the peace; martial law was accordingly proclaimed throughout the kingdom. This vigorous measure certainly produced quiet, but it was a quiet that was not less to be feared than the preceding agitation. Count Radetzky, with an extraordinary activity for a man of his advanced age, directed all the preparations for the expected hostilities. At the principal points such as Milan, Pavia, etc. the troops were assured that an imposing force was collected under the walls of Vienna, ready at a moments notice, to be sent forward to their support, or to crush any outbreak that might occur in the hitherto quiet, but strongly suspected city of Venice. Meanwhile the moderate party in Lombardy, who wished at all events to avoid a contest with the gigantic power of Austria, were too weak to make themselves heard amidst the din of political agitation. If any one was hardy enough to raise his voice in favour of moderate measures, he was immediately believed to be a hired partizan of the government; the Lombards saw that the people of the other states of Italy, had succeeded in extorting concessions and constitutions from their Sovereigns, the value of which were magnified a thousand times by the spirit of popular exaggeration, while they instead of obtaining extended liberty, were subjected to the stern restraints of military law, and this reflection aggravated the spirit of the people to madness. On the other hand, it was scarcely possible for Austria to alter her politics, even if she had been inclined to do so. To have granted a constitution to her Italian subjects, would have been to encourage each of the numerous races under her sceptre to make similar demands, or in other words to resolve the great confederation of states forming the Austrian Empire, into its original elements.

The people of Lombardy well knew the stength of their chains, and the enormous power with which they had to contend, beforo those chains could be broken; the consequence of this feeling was, that as the moment for the contest approached, the people exhibited a stern, thoughtful, and anxious demeanour, which from its contrast to their usual gayety, formed one of the most portendous signs of the times; and when at the festival of the Sardinian Constitution at Turin, the people exhibited among the various flags of Italy, a mourning banner as the emblem of Lombardy, it must be admitted that the idea was not less poetically than practically true. Even the news of the Revolution in Paris, which threw the other states of the Italian peninsula into a fever of excitement, and produced from their governments the concessions we have already described, failed to produce

any effect on the sullen gloom of the people of Lombardy, otherwise than in the more numerous display of white waistcoats, and hats *â la Cicerovachio*; (so called from one of the leaders of the Sicilian revolt) and were it not that the decrees of the French Republic were to be seen in the Gazette di Milano, it might have been supposed that the news of that great event, had not yet reached the Austrian provinces of Italy.

This sullen repose surprised almost everyone, the Austrian officials watched it with fear and anxiety, they guessed rightly that it only boded the greater violence of the approaching outbreak. It is curious to read the newspaper articles from Milan at this time, "In Milan every thing is quiet." — "From Milan there is no news of importance." — "The reports of an outbreak in Milan are not confirmed." etc. etc. was all the information that could be obtained, and the cabinet of Vienna began to dream that the heavy storm that lowered on the Italian horizon, might yet pass harmlessly away.

Meanwhile the Revolution of the tenth of March in Vienna, swept away Metternich and his myrmidons, and the new ministry believed it to be their duty to try if the magic word "Constitution," would not have the effect preventing the coming tempest, ar at least of disarming it of its violence. For a long time the Senate of Lombardy, the Central Congregation of Milan, had addressed through the medium of the Viceroy, the most urgent representations to the Imperial court, impressing on it the absolute necessity of making some concessions in accordance with the spirit of the times, before it was too late. The people however looked with silent indifference on these praiseworthy efforts of the most influencial and respectable of the citizens of Milan. They hoped nothing from Austria; they were determined to shake off the foreign yoke altogether, the time was past when it could be a question of good or bad government, nothing could now satisfy the people but complete and perfect independance; and it is perhaps not too much to assert, that the very persons who pressed these reforms upon the Austrian government, only did so because they believed that of they could quietly obtain the freedom of the press, and the formation of a National guard, that they could then venture with a better chance of success, to enter upon the contest that must take place, before the Austrians were driven from the peninsula.

That the idea of even what was called the moderate party in Lombardy, was eventually to deliver the country from the rule of Austria, was pretty clearly shown by the course of events not only in the politically insignificant city of Venice, but also in Milan; which formed the centre to which the eyes of all the revolutionary spirits of Italy converged, and where the national feelings and interests were better understood than in any other part of the Kingdom.

At the very moment when the people of Lombardy awoke from the political stupor occasioned by the precautions of the Austrian

government, at the moment when the first blood in the great struggle for national independence had been shed, and the first steps to a general outbreak had been taken, appeared the announcement that the Emperor had determined, to grant his subjects a Constitution; and this announcement was followed by the Imperial Patent of the 15th. of March.

In Venice on the 18th. of March an unfortunate contest occurred on the Place of St. Mark, between the military and the people, and the loss of five lives on the part of the latter was the consequence. A burgher guard was immediately formed for the preservation of order, and scarcely was this first outbreak of the insurrection suppressed, when the Steamboat from Triest entered the harbour, with the intelligence that a Constitution and the formation of a National Guard, had been granted by the Emperor. A delirium of joy succeeded to the bitterness of conflict, the soldiers were now treated as friends, the night was spent in rejoicing, and the bands of the various Austrian regiments played in public until two o'clock in the morning, in order to increase the general feeling of festivity. The cries of *Viva l'Italia* were mixed with shouts of *Viva la Constitutione,* and *Viva l'Imperatore!* and Venice seemed to be suddenly changed into a vast temple of Hope. The Sbirri and Police Soldiers seemed to have vanished, the troops saluted the National Guard when they appeared in the streets, and the old hate between the Germans and Italians appeared to be entirely forgotten. This satisfactory state of things was however, not destined to continue many hours, on the 20th. the news arrived in Venice that Milan was in open revolt, and the new National Guard, that had been armed and equipped from the government arsenals, had great difficulty in preventing the populace from immediately following the example of the capital; and the news that followed peal on peal, that the insurrection had extended itself to Mantua, Bergamo, Como, etc. etc. and that the Austrians were in full retreat, produced such an effect upon all classes of the Venetian population, that it became evident that the National Guard were not to be depended on, and that their arms would certainly be turned against the Germans on the first opportunity.

The Counts Coireau and Manin, who were at the had of the National party in Venice, now proposed a convention between the Austrian garrison, and the Italian inhabitants; which the former, apparently terror stricken at the course affairs were taking elsewere, readily consented to. The revolution in Venice indeed presents a novelty in its way, such as perhaps never happened in a similar case, the Austrian governor consented to withdraw his troops from the city without striking a blow, and however gratifying this may have been as far as regards the interests of humanity, Count Palffy as an Austrian officer, ought to have considered the interests of his government, before "The preservation of the beautiful monuments of the city"

which in his convention with the provisional government, he assigns as his reason for evacuating the place.

In virtue of this convention, Palffy resigns his powers into the hands of Count Zichy, and concludes with the new governor of Venice Count Coireau, a treaty, of which the following are the principal points. —

1. The Civil and Military powers of Austria both on Sea and Land are surrendered into the hands of the provisional government. 2. The Regiment Linsky, the Croats, the Corps of Engineers, the land Artillery, and all other Austrian troops to evacuate the city and castle, the Italian troops to remain. 4. The military stores to remain in the city. 5. The safety of the soldier's families, and those of the civil officials, to be guaranteed. 6. As a guarantee for the full execution of the treaty, Count Zichy to be the last Austrian to leave the town. 7. The military chests to remain, the transport of the Austrian troops to Triest, to be at the expense of the provisional government, the payments to be made within three months etc. etc.

As might have been expected, the conclusion of such an unheard of treaty as this, which was calculated to do infinitely more harm to the Austrian cause than even the loss of a battle, produced the most bombastic proclamations from the new Venetian government, and with apparently good reason, for this "Victory without Bloodshed," as the Italians delighted to term it, was decidedly the most important that was obtained by the Italians throughout the revolution.

We must now go back for a few days in order to contemplate the course of events in Milan. The news of the revolution in Vienna reached that city on the 17th. of March, and as it was expected that disturbances would follow, the safety of the Vice Regal family was immediately provided for; they departed for the Tyrol on the same day.

The City of Milan, in proportion to its population of 168,000, inhabitants, is a place of very considerable extent, yet in some quarters of the city, more especially on the western side, the streets are narrow and crooked, and the population is closely crowded together. These parts of the city are easily defended by an insurgent populace, the more so as the houses are lofty, and massively built. From without, the city is scarcely defensible, the wall is only intended to prevent smuggling, and the gates are merely ornamental iron portals between elegant guard houses, such as are common in continental cities. On the west side of the city stood in the beginning of the present century the old citadel erected during the time of the Spanish government, "As the best remedy and hinderness against a rebelliously inclined community," as it is described by a quaint old writer. The Citadel commenced by Napoleon contains within its walls the old castle, it consists of several buildings which are used as barracks, and is sufficiently strong to resist the attack of an armed mob, but is of little use for the purpose of overaweing the city, added to which a

four fold avenue of trees interferes between the so called citadel, and the body of the place. The three brigades of troops forming the garrison of Milan were all quartered in barracks, the most considerable of which were in the Castle or its neighbourhood, the others however lay at a considerable distance, and the residences of the Field-Marshal and the Civil governor, were also a great way apart, all of which circumstances had their effect on the result of the contest.

In addition to the garrison, Milan contains a body of Police soldiers, about 900 strong. During the day-time these *Poliziotti* only wear their side arms, and carry a stick in their hands, but as soon as evening sets in, parties of these green coated gentry are seen mustering in complete arms of the corners of every street, for the protection of life and property during the night. The vast number of desperate characters produced by the passion for gaming in this city, rendering this precaution one of the most pressing necessity.

On the 18th. of March. it was made known in Milan that the Emperor had resolved to grant a Constitution to his Italian subjects, but scarcely had the official placards been posted at the corners of the streets, when they were torn down by the populace amidst loud cries of "Death to the Austrians! War, as long as a German remains in Italy!" etc. etc. The long repressed agitation now burst forth with headlong fury, and every class and condition of the citizens seemed to be suddenly seized with a revolutionary mania. The Town-council betook themselves with Count Cesati at their head, to the Civil Governor Count O'Donell, in order to make some fresh demands, these were joined by a body of armed citizens, who while the Town council were engaged with the Governor, amused themselves by attacking the government offices, and disarming the guards that were on duty there. Nevertheless Count O'Donell directed that the National guard should be formed, and that the Police Corps should deliver up their arms to them. Large bodies of people began now to assemble on the Broletto, the Contrada larga, and the open space in front of the Cathedral. As is usual on such occasions, a great deal of discussion has taken place, in order to determine which party fired first; perhaps the simplest way is to assume that the defeated party always fires first on such occasions, as they have of course to bear the blame of it.

Field-Marshal Radetzky had expected an outbreak, and had consequently betaken himself to the Castle, and about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, having been informed that the tri-coloured flag had been displayed on the Broletto, a part of the town not far distant from the Castle, he caused the alarm guns to be fired, and the troops, advanced into tbe city.

General Heinrich Rath marched with his grenadiers, whose muskets wsre not loaded, towards the Viceregal Palace; he was attacked

by a perfect shower of tiles and stones from the roofs, and musketry from the windows, which however did not prevent the brave Hungarians from reaching their post. General Wohlgemuth led his Brigade towards the Eastern part of the city, in order to recapture the government offices that had been taken by the mob; the barricades in the way were taken by storm, and the building occupied by the military, but the Civil Governor Count O'Donell remained in the hands of the people.

Meanwhile the insurrection had spread over the whole city, the the Tocsin sounded incessantly from the church steeples, and the crowds encouraged each other with loud shouts to raise fresh barricades, and to defend them with all the energy of despair. Wherever the soldiers appeared they were assailed with heavy articles of furniture boiling water, oil, etc. from the windows; stones and tiles from the roofs; in fact with all the weapons which in the hands of an infuriated people, have been so often wielded with effect during the present eventful year. In the face of resistance so general and so determined, little could be effected by the troops, and it soon became impossible to send orders from one point to another. The soldiers according to the admission of the Milanese, behaved both with bravery and moderation, but they lost ground every moment. At one of the barricades, an Austrian officer of Hussars sabre in hand spurred his steed completly over the obstacle, he had however scarcely reached the other side before he fell, pierced by a dozen balls fired at him by his concealed opponents. One of his brave soldiers followed him, his sabre between his teeth, and a pistol in each hand, but is was only to share the same fate. Both men and horses were the victims of the murderous fire.

It was now five o'clock in the evening; nearly six hours had elapsed from the first outbreak, when Radetzky ordered the Town-Hall in the Broletto, which formed the head quarters of the insurgents; to be taken at any price; and in carrying these orders into effect, the troops had to encounter resistance of the most obstinate and sanguinary character. Few of the insurgents were to be seen in the streets, and the barricades were defended less by the fire from the rfont, than by the flanking fire from the houses. Owing to the crookedness of the streets in this quarter, the artillery was of little use, and the work war performed almost entirely by the infantry, for this purpose they advanced not in column, but in single files, each file keeping close to the houses and directing its fire against the opposite side of the street. The insurgents on their side reserving their fire until the solders had passed, in order to shoot them more safely from behind. If no soldiers appeared in the street, they hastened through openings which had been made from one house to the other, to the defence of any point that might be attacked. Four hours were spent in this murderous conflict, before the troops of General Wohlgemuth arrived

before the Town Hall. The pioneers in vain attempted to force open the doors of the building with their axes, they were for the most part either killed or wounded, until at length their comrades by pulling down a booth opposite to the building, gained space sufficient to plant a couple of twelve pounders, the fire of which quickly opened a path to the interior. The building was now taken, and about 250 prisoners, consisting of members of the best families in Milan, were captured. A few, among whom was Cesati, succeeded in escaping over the roofs of the adjoining houses. Some of these prisoners were immediately set at liberty by Radetzky, who had been on intimate terms with their families in better days, some were detained as hostages for the families of Austrian officials in the hands of the insurgents, and the rest escaped after a few days confinement,

During the night it rained in torrents, the lanthorns had been destroyed by the people, and the military were compelled to inactivity by the darkness; while the insurgents safe within their houses, made every preparation for renewing the strife on the morrow. By the taking of the Broletto, the Austrians had now established a communication between the Castle and the open places in the interior of the city; inasmuch as the street of the Ponte Vetro is tolerably straight and is consequently easily commanded by artillery. Nevertheless every attempt to relieve the military posts in the interior of the city, or to supply them with provisions or ammunition led to new conflicts, and if the military ceased to patrole the streets for an hour, new barricades were instantly erected. With a boldness and knowledge of military tactics that astonished their practised opponents, the Milanese knew how to avail themselves of every inch of ground that could be used for the annoyance of their enemies, and even the short distance between the posts at the Episcopal Palace, and the Palace of Justice, could not be traversed without the troops being exposed to the fire of the insurgents. The Square of the Cathedral remained in the hands of the Austrians, the fire of a party of Imperial Jagers who were posted in the lower galleries of the church, prevented any one from approaching it, and the soldiers were so annoyed at the position in which they were placed, that they fired at every individual out of uniform, who showed himself either in the streets or at the windows of the houses, by which several innocent persons lost their lives. Radetzky had by no means lost the hope of reconquering the city, but in order to lose no more lives in street fighting, he resolved to withdraw his forces from the interior, to hold possession of all the gates, and to threaten the town with a bombardment. On the night of the 20th. of March this movement was effected. The Brigade of Wohlgemuth withdrew not without resistance, and took up its position on the north side of the town, from the Castle to the Porta Orientale, and many a splendid carriage that had formerly graced the Corso, was now employed as fuel for the numerous watch-fires of

the soldiers. General Count Clam with his division watched the city on the west and south sides, from the Castle to the Porta Tosa.

The night on which these important changes of position were effected was extremely murky, and in the poetical language of the Milanese, "Even the Moon refused in the midst of total darkness, to afford light to the Barbarians." The posts that had been held by the Police soldiers appear to have been overlooked by Radetzky in his arrangements, probably because these formed no part of the Army. These Italian soldiers remained true to their duty as long as any hope of being relieved remained, and until they were surrounded on all sides by an overwhelming force.

The retreat of the troops from the interior of the city, was an important advantage to the insurgents; from that moment the provisional government were able to commerce the organisation of the revolt, it gave an air of truth to the grandiloquent accounts of their complete victory which they circulated throughout the surrounding country, and encouraged the other cities of Lombardy to follow the example. According to the newspaper accounts of the time, this intelligence was conveyed to the people outside the walls by means of small balloons, which were prepared by the students of the University; anyone who has been in Milan will however be aware, that it could be no difficult matter for any number of emissaries to get over the wall, and during the darkness of the night elude the military patroles. Such a common-place method of communication, would however never be thought of during a revolution, or at least in the newspaper accounts of the matter.

The Town-council of Milan had not yet declared their defection from the Austrian Government; they still professed merely to act for the preservation of order, and the protection of property. For this purpose they called on all Citizens between the ages of twenty and sixty, to enrol themselves in the National guard, which was divided into companies of Fifty men. The chief command of this force, was given to General Theodore Lucci, an old soldier of Napoleon, and persons capable of superintending the details of the Corps, were soon discovered, many of these were political fugitives of the Epoch of 1831, who since that time, had served in the foreign Legion in Algiers, and brought to the service all the advantages they had derived from that rough but highly practical school of warfare.

The first object of the insurgents, was to obtain possession of one or more of the city gates, in order to be able to act in concert with the people without. From Tessin to Isongo, from the Po to the sources of the Piave, all the population of Lombardy was now in Arms. All supplies were cut off from the army of Radetzky, and all communication were intercepted, the streets of the city were barricaded, and in the rear of the Austrians the roads were rendered impassable by means of felled trees, the bridges were destroyed, and already bodies

of armed peasants, and citizens of the provincial towns, hovered round the outposts, and rendered the communication between them hourly more difficult. On the 20th. the Milanese attacked the Porta Ticinese, the gate leading in the direction of Piedmont, but without success; General Clam succeeding in retaining possession of the gate, as well as the adjoining Piazza of St. Eustorgio. On the western side of the city however, the troops were driven from the barracks of St. Francesco, as also from the building occupied by the corps of Engineers. The taking of this building was owing to the courage displayed by an old beggar named Cortocorni, who supported on his crutches passed repeatedly through the thickest of the fire, and at length succeeded in igniting the doors of the fabric; upon which the garrison, a company of Italians, went over to the people.

The Consuls of the foreign powers, endeavoured in vain to arrange a cessasion of arms between the parties, General Schönhals declaring that no terms could be made with rebels; on the 21st. the provisional government declared open war against Austria, and announced the speedy arrival of help from Piedmont. A large body of volunteers from that state having already entered Lombardy, and others from Switzerland were on their march. Radetzky also received information that the Swiss Canton Tessin was preparing to send troops into Lombardy, and although this turned out to be untrue, and it was always very improbable that Switzerland would undertake an aggressive war, still so many improbable circumstances had taken place during the last few months, that it was necessary to take every possibility into account. There could now be little question, that Charles Albert of Sardinia would immediately take the field with his army against Austria, and should a body of Swiss at the same time advance through Veltlin in the direction of the Oglio, it is evident that the position of Radetzky would have been extremely critical. Setting aside however the imaginary hostilities of the Swiss, or rather of the Canton Tessin, the position of Radetzky was still sufficiently alarming; the Army was already in want of necessaries, and it was impossible to obtain intelligence of the state of the country in his rear. With a heavy heart Radetzky saw himself compelled to retire from Milan, upon the line of the Adda; "It is a terrible decision" exclaimed the Venerable Hero, "but Milan must be abandoned." Already on the 21st. his dispositions were made for securing an undisturbed retreat from the Castle to the road leading to Lodi. The Generals Strassoldo and Maurer, had received orders to march upon Milan, and the first of these officers succeeded in spite of great difficulties in joining Radetzky, with the loss however of a battalion of Jagers who were cut of by the insurgents in Como, where they were surrounded in their barracks by the people, and after a resistance of twenty-four hours compelled to surrender themselves prisoners. The same fate befel a single company in Varese, it would seem however that these soldiers were allowed

after giving up their arms, to return home by way of the Tyrol. The Brigade of General Strassoldo, as also that of General Maurer, arrived before Milan on the evening of the 22nd.

A sketch of the life of the aged warrior, to whom Austria is indebted for the preservation of one of her finest provinces, under circumstances of the most extraordinary difficulty; may here be acceptable to the reader. Count Joseph Radetzky is descended from one of the most ancient families of Bohemia, and was born in the year 1766; at the advanced age of eighty two years he has retained his mental and physical powers to a degree that excites the surprise of all who are acquainted with him. Still a bold rider, he unites the chivalrous qualities of a good Cavalry officer, with those of an experienced Commander in Chief. In society, his urbanity, politeness, and cheerfulness, render him an universal favorite; in person he is of the middle height, and robustly formed. He has attained his distinguished rank in the Austrian service, by his personal merits, and not by family influence or court favour; during the first fourteen years of his military service, he was attached to a regiment of Cuirassiers, and served against the Turks at Belgrade, and against the French in the Netherlands. In 1797, he was Major and Commander of Pioneers. In the campaign in Italy under Suwarow in 1799, his talents obtained favourable notice, he was placed upon the Staff, and received the rank of Colonel. At the end of the War, he obtained the cross of the order of Maria Theresa. In 1805 Major-General Radetzky commanded a Brigade of cavalry in the Italian campaign. In the unfortunate campaign of 1809 in Bavaria, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-Field-Marshal, and for his services at Aspern and Wagram, he was appointed commander of the Military order. In the war of liberation 1813 — 1815, Radetzky filled the onerous office of Chief of the Staff to the Generallisimo Prince Schwartzenberg, and his services in this capacity were rewarded with nearly twenty crosses of the most important European orders. The long period of Peace, during which he received the rank of General of Cavalry (1828), and Field-Marshal (1836), has not been spent in inactivity, in addition to the discharge of his military duties, he has employed himself in improving the tactics of the Austrian army, and since his appointment to the general military command of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, he has exemplified his ideas in the grand military manoeuvres, that take place yearly onthe banks of the Etsch and the Mincio.

The breaking up of the Austrian army from before Milan, was an affair of some difficulty, owing principally to the great quantity of baggage; the numerous officials and their effects, could not be left behind, still less the wounded, and there were likewise large quantities of military effects which it was necessary to remove if possible. In order to prevent this immense train of troops and carriages from being attacked on the flank, and thrown into disorder during its pas-

sage round the walls, it was necessary that the insurgents should be driven from them. This was performed on the 21st. and 22nd. of March, by the Brigades of Clam and Wohlgemuth; after an obstinate combat they succeeded in driving them out of the houses and gardens, nearest to the walls, many of the buildings it was however necessary to demolish with artillery, or to set on fire.

On the evening of the 22nd. the troops formed themselves into compact masses on the *Place d'armes,* the Castle remaining occupied, and the Brigades of Clam and Wohlgemuth still retaining their positions. At 11 at night, the Army divided into five columns set itself in motion, and the retreat commenced; strong flanking parties covered the retiring troops, but except on the north side of the city, where some inconsiderable annoyance was occasioned by a party of volunteers who had just arrived from Lecco, the retreat was undisturbed. Soon after midnight, the Brigades of Clam and Wohlgemuth, evacuated the Castle and city wall, and followed the Army as a rear guard. The retreat of these Corps was illuminated by the light of several burning houses, and heaps of still smouldering ruins marked the position they had lately occupied.

After the Austrians had withdrawn, the gates of the city were stormed by the exulting populace. So in 1789, the Bastille in Paris was stormed, after the soldiers had ceased to defend it; so in many renowned engagements, Generals of all nations, have in person stormed strong positions after they had been evacuated by the enemy, and we cannot be surprised at the wondrous feats of valour performed according to their own accounts by the Milanese, upon an enemy who had already departed.

The citizens of Milan had indeed obtained a great victory, in the departure of the Austrian army, but they were mistaken when they supposed that this was owing solely to their exertions, or that its condition was so bad, that it could easily be destroyed in detail by the provincial insurgents; yet in the first moments of exultation at their victory, they appear to have supposed this to be an easy task. Pompeo Litta in an address to the priests and magistrates of Lombardy, informed them that the enemy were flying from Milan, and urged them to "Take every means to disperse and destroy the remains of these wild hordes." This idea that they had only to do with the "remains" of an Army, cost the citizens of Melegnano somewhat dear. On the 23rd. as some Austrian officers entered the town to order provisions for the approaching army, the inhabitants sounded the Tocsin, surrounded the officers, and threatened them with death unless the Field-Marshal and his troops instantly laid down their arms. "My life belongs to the Emperor! but the citizens had better consider what they are doing," replied Lieutenant Colonal Wratislaw. The officers were set at liberty as soon as the artillery began to play upon the town, but this did not prevent many houses from being plundered and burnt by the

troops, in consequence of shots having been fired at them from the windows. The massive bridge over the Lambro had resisted all the attempts to destroy it which were made by the insurgents, but the barricade which they had erected across it, compelled the Army to halt until it was removed. The retreat as far as Melagnano, was covered on the left, by the Brigade of Strossoldo, which took its way over Paullo; and on the right by the Brigade of Clam, which took its way over Landriano. On the 24th. the march upon Lodi was continued, here a provisional government and a national guard had been organized, but the example of Melagnano prevented them from making any attempt to interfere with the retreating troops. The army now took up its position on the right bank of the Adda.

On the same day as the Austrians commenced their retreat from Milan, the King of Sardinia in a manifesto addressed to the people of Lombardy and Venice, declared himself the Champion of Italian unity, and announced that his army was advancing to their assistance. On the 22nd. of March the Grand-Duke of Tuscany declared that he would support the national movement which had commenced in Milan by every means in his power, and on the same day a body of Tuscan troops, accompanied by about 800 volunteers from Florence, crossed the frontier of Lombardy, at Petrasanta and San Marcello.

Sardinia in the Prussia of Italy; its position between the two great military powers of France and Austria, have made it as a matter of necessity, a military state. Every Sardinian must serve as a Soldier, and after three years of active service, he must still hold himself prepared during the next sixteen years, to join the army in case of war. The active forces that entered Lombardy amounted at the highest estimate to about 40,000 men, exclusive of the various Corps of volunteers. The Army was divided into two Corps, the first commanded by Lieutenant-General Bava, and the second by Lieutenant-General De Sonnaz, while a reserved Division was under the guidance of the Duke of Savoy. The whole of the Army was under the personal command of the King.

The career of this warlike Monarch has been a singular one. As a young man and presumtive heir to a Crown, his love of War and adventure, led him in 1821, to place himself at the head of the revolutionary party; the firm conduct of King Charles Felix, who hated the very name of innovation, induced him however to withdraw himself from his new friends. Two years later when a French Army entered Spain in order to put an end to the revolution in that country, Charles Albert served as a volunteer under the Duke de Angouleme, and distinguished himself on more than one occasion by his bravery and coolness. On ascending the throne, he would hear of no political reforms, and punished with the utmost severity all political offenders. He governed his Kingdom according to the old style, but his nobles were not too powerful, and the commonality were not oppressed.

Now however he again put himself at the head of the revolutionary party as the "Sword of Italy," and his repugnance to innovation was overcome by his love of War. In person Charles Albert has the stature of a grenadier, is tall, broad shouldered, and wears large mustaches, which are combed outwards. A peculiar twinkling of the left eye is said to be the indication of his being in good humour, but this sign is not always to be depended on.

Although the Sardinian army was at this time inferior in numbers to that of Austria, it was to be expected that a short time would reverse the position of affairs in this respect, for while the forces of Charles Albert would be daily increased by the arrival of the contingents of the other Italian states, those of Radetzky would be weakened by the desertion of the Italian regiments, a desertion that had commenced even before the Sardinians entered Lombardy. The cause of this defection, on the part of troops which on former occasions had behaved with such praiseworthy fidelity, it is difficult to decide upon; it is however usually attributed to the influence of the Priests in the confessional, who urged the soldiers to fight under the banner of the Church, and that of the great reformer Pius IX.

At Cremona two battalions of the regiment of the Arch-Duke Albrecht, and the third battalion of the Ceccopieri, made common cause with the insurgent citizens, made themselves masters of six pieces of cannon belonging to their Brigade, and allowed their officers to be arrested by the people. Perhaps out of respect to the wishes of the soldiers, these officers together with Major-General Schönhals the commander of the Brigade, were allowed to proceed to the Army; on their arriving however in the neighbourhood of Desenzano, they were again made prisoners, by a party of volunteers, and sent to Brescia. This city was already in the hands of the insurgents; part of the garrison having gone over to the people, were fired on by those who remained faithful, but they were eventually obliged to surrender. In Udine the third battalion of the regiment of Victor d'Este; in Treviso the third battalion of the regiment Zanini; in Bergamo and Sondrio, part of the regiment Geppert went over to the people. Single companies of these regiments also delivered the fortresses of Palmanova and Osopo, to the insurgents, in the former of which were 30 pieces of cannon, and 15,000 stand of arms. The insurrection spread to the shores of the lake of Garda, where the Steamboat was seized by the insurgents, and soon after it broke out with violence in the Italian Tyrol. The castle of Rocco d'Anfo fell into the hands of the people, and afforded the outbreak a good point of support on that side. The news of these and various other similar defections, which reached the Field-Marshal in his position on the Adda, were however of little importance, compared with that of the capitulation of Venice.

The possession of this city was of great importance as a point of support to the defence of the line of the Etsch, and also as affording

the most direct means of communication with Illyria and Southern Hungary. The various losses had already diminished the Austrian Army one fifth, and the desertion of the Italian troops was hourly on the increase. In Milan the loss of the Austrians amounted to 5 officers and 176 privates killed; 230 wounded; and from 150 to 180 taken prisoners. The garrisons of all the provincial cities had suffered more or less; in Brescia three companies of the regiment Hohenlohe had succeeded in forcing their way out of the town, and joining the Army, but their loss was considerable, the battalion of Szluiners from Bergamo, and the Uhlans from Cremona, had lost several men and many horses in the passage of the Chiese at Cerpenedolo; but still greater losses were to be feared from the scattered positions of the greater part of the forces. The three battalions from Venice, had been sent partly to Duino and partly to Triest, and these were consequently completely cut off from their brothers in arms. Several companies which were in Belluno, Treviso, etc. were in the same position, and a similar fate had befallen a battalion of Hungarians in Parma. In Verona the national guard had been established, but when they wished to occupy the Fortress, the Commandant Gerhardi dismissed the deputation with the short answer, that they could take it by storm it they were determined to possess it. Still it was highly necessary to take measures to overawe the ill disposed population of the city, which amounts to between 60 and 70,000 souls, as well as to protect the threatened fortress of Mantua. Field-Marshal D'Aspre, hastened therefore to abandon Padua in order to concentrate all his strength in Verona, and Radetzky despatched the Brigade of Wohlgemuth to Mantua, in order to be sure of that important point.

On the 23rd. of March, Radetzky continued his retreat to Crema, and from thence by short marches over Orcivino and Manerbio to Monte Chiari, on the other side of the Chiese. The continuation of bad weather, and the constant bivouacs in the mud of the roads, or the wet soil of the fields, had so destroyed the clothing of the soldiers, that the colour of their uniforms was no longer to be distinguished; while the sight of the wounded, and the miseries of the numerous fugitives that accompanied the army, formed a picture of so novel a character to the eyes of the present generation, that most persons who witnessed these scenes, fancied that the Austrian Army was altogether demoralized, and this opinion was consequently spread all over Europe by means of the newspapers. Old soldiers however who had seen actual warfare, and knew that the real efficiency of troops does not consist in the smartness of their uniforms, merely remarked that the Army had the appearance, that all Armies have in time of War.

In order not to divide his forces more than was necessary, Radetzky ordered the little fortress of Pizzighettone, to be evacuated, and on the 31st. the Army retired behind the Mincio, only a strong

rear guard remaining at Lonato. On the 2nd. of April the Field-Marshal took up his quarters at Verona, and on the next day he addressed a bulletin to his soldiers, in which he states that his retreat was dictated by considerations appertaining to the art of war, and not in consequence of his troops having been beaten by the insurgents. The national guard in Verona was now disarmed, and every means taken to put the troops into condition to again assume the offensive.

The Army of Piedmont had meanwhile passed the frontier in two colunns, one at Cremona, and the other at Brescia, and followed the Austrian army at a short distance, and on the 25th. of March, the King himself with his two sons, the Dukes of Savoy and Genoa, set out to place himself at the head of his forces. Thus in the beginning of April the most ardent wishes of "Young Italy" seemed to be realized, the tricoloured flag waved from the towers of all the cities in the peninsula, with the exception of Mantua and Verona; the "Union" party had the ascendancy in all the governments, the enthusiastic youth of Italy crowded to enrol themselves under the banner of freedom, and many were the oaths sworn to conquer or die, for the honour of the Fatherland. To carry arms for a few hours at a time, to exercise once or twice a week in the neighbourhood of their respective towns, in fact to play the amateur soldier, is however, a very different affair to really taking the field, and being exposed to all the fatigues, privations, and stern realities of a campaign.

To bring real soldiers together, or to form them, was now the first and most urgent duty of the governments of Italy; for this purpose two ways were open to them: —

If the spirit of independance really pervaded the people of Italy, including the peasantry, they might have followed the example of Prussia in 1813, have declared it to be the duty of every man to serve his country, and by means of a conscription have increased the strength of the regular armies to the utmost, and the volunteers instead of being formed into separate Corps, should have been distributed among the troops of the line, to awake as far as possible a general spirit of nationality.

If on the other hand the zeal for war existed only among the towns people, agents should have been sent to foreign countries, to Switzerland, France, and Germany, to engage practiced officers and soldiers, of which any number might have been found in those countries, and in a few weeks an effective and formidable army might thus have been formed.

A feeble attempt seems to have been made at both these plans. Laws were past declaring all persons liable to serve in the army, but they were never carried into effect, and offers were made for the assistance of foreigners by the provisional government of Milan, but they were of so vague and indistinct a character, that they produced no effect.

While the Italian governments let the time slip by, without making any great effort to prepare for the coming struggle, that of Austria exerted itself to the utmost to put Radetzky in a position to again assume the offensive. New reinforcements daily strengthend the line of the Mincio behind which Radetzky sternly awaited the attack of his enemies, until such time as the state of his army would again permit him to advance. On the 27th. of March, King Charles Albert took the command of his own army, and that of the various contingents sent by the other Italian states, also of the numerous bodies of volunteers who swarmed from every city of the peninsula, many of these youths wore a red cross upon the breast in imitation of the Crusaders of Peter the hermit, whom they not a little resembled at least in want of dicipline. Six thousand Sardinians under General Passalargua, entered Milan and were immediately followed by the King in person, between. whom and the provisional government, a Convention was concluded, by which the inhabitants of Lombardy reserved to themselves the right of finally determining their future form of goxernment, but in the mean time gratified that monarch with the title of governor of Lombardy and Venice. Charles Albert now took up his head quarters at Casteliano della Stiviare, Pieschiera was bombarded by the Italians and evacuated by the Austrians, but the swarms of volunteers who had penetrated into the Italian Tyrol were driven away by the inhabitants, and on the 22nd. of April a proclamation of the Austrian governor, declared that no more Italian insurgents were to be found in that province. It is perhaps necessary to observe that thoughout the campaign the Austrian proclamations were on the whole tolerably free from the absurd fictions which disgraced those of the Italians. The newspapers of Turin and Milan, were filled with official occounts of fabulous victories and deeds of prowess, to such an extent that they became langhable even to the Italians themselves. A good specimen of the official style of the statesmen of "Young Italy," is afforded by a circular of the provisional minister of War for Lombardy, Pompeo Litta. This paper which is dated the 8th. of April 1848, is addressed to the Merchants, Bankers, and Manufacturers, of Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, and consists of a series of bombastic threats and menaces, which it is difficult to believe could even have been gravely written by a minister of state.

A favorite theme of the Italian newspapers at this time, was the horrible cruelties alleged to have been committed by the Austrian troops; and although these accounts were grossly exaggerated, there can be no doubt that from the nature of his position, Radetzky found himself compelled to make use of sufficiently severe measures of repression, in order to prevent the insurrection extending to the provinces in his rear; and the deliberate burning of the towns of Sorio, Montabello, Castel Noeva, and Beorlaigna, would have been sufficient to have tarnished the laurels of Radetzky; were it not certain, that these

severities were provoked by the treacherous manner in which the war was carried on by the volunteers, and bands of undisciplined citizens and peasants, that swarmed around the Austrian army. As is usual in such cases however, these measures added to the bitterness and hate with which the Austrians were regarded, without producing the intended effect of intimidation. The Venetian provinces in the rear of Radetzky flew to arms, while the daily increasing forces of Charles Albert in front, showed that the attack could not long be delayed.

It was of the highest importance to the success of the campaign, that Radetzky should be driven from his present position before he could be joined by the forces of General Nugent, which were known to be hastening to his support. If this was impracticable, the position of the Austrians should have been rendered untenable by cutting off their communications either on the right or left, a force should have beeu interposed between Mantua and Verona in order to march into the heart of the Venetian provinces, and unite itself with the volunteers of Venice, and the Roman forces under General Durmado, which had already advanced as far as Rovigo. By this means, the two Austrian Generals would have been separated; and this plan was the more easy of accomplishment, as Vicenza, Citadella, and Previso, afforded excellent points of support for the operations of the Italians. Or, the Sardinians should have taken their way over Forly, and by this means reached the desired position; in either case, they would have had all the advantages to be derived from masses of armed peasantry in their favour, which if they were of little use as combatauts, could at least be made to mask the real movements of the Army.

Charles Albert's first movement was on Villa Franca, this he however abandoned after some inconsiderable engagements, in which the Piedmontese and a Corps of Swiss Sharp-shooters, displayed not less valour than the Austrians to which they were opposed. All the attempts of the Italians to advance upon Verona, were of a feeble and undecided character, indeed it would seem that Charles Albert had never formed a clear or decided idea of the plan of the campaign which he had now commenced. A more decided mind than that of the King of Sardinia, would soon have found a point on which the various Corps of Romans, Tuscans, Neapolitans, etc. which were every hour arriving to his assistance, could have been advantageously united, and impelled against the enemy. Instead of this, he seemed to be confused and confounded at the position in which he had placed himself, and not a little surprised, that the Austrians did not retire at once from their position on the advance of the Italians.

Many have been the conjectures, with regard to the reasons, that induced Charles Albert to remain inactive at the moment when activity was of the most importance, and when its exercise promised to be followed by the most triumphant success. Radetzky was at this moment complelely isolated, the enthusiasm of the Italians was at its

highest point, while the spirits of the Austrians soldiers were depressed and broken; everything urged him to activity, and yet he suffered the precious moments to be wasted in idle marches and counter marches which could not have the slightest influence on the success of the campaign. Some have supposed that as the King of Sardinia only brought his Army to the aid of the cause of Constitutional Monarchy, he was determined not to assist Venice, which had already declared itself a Republic. Others, that he was afraid that in case he should sustain a defeat, that the French Army of the Alps, which was already assembled on the frontier would march to his assistance, an act of friendship which he dreaded infinitely more than the hostility of the Austrians. There can be no doubt that Charles Albert hoped that the Austrian provinces would eventually be added to his dominions, and nothing could be more detrimental to his interests in this respect, than the interference of France; still we are inclined to think that his indecision may be accounted for on more simple grounds.

Charles Albert although a great admirer of the military Art, and a sufficiently good parade general, was by no means fitted either by nature or experience, to play the part of a great military leader; his first attempts at directing the movements of his Army showed his inefficiency in this respect, and the officers who surrounded him, appear to have been even less acquainted with practical warfare than himself. Fearful of committing a blunder at every step he took, he had recourse to the policy of most undecided persons; he waited for events, and did nothing whateyer.

That the Piedmontese army in the hands of a general of ability and enterprise, was capable of competing with any troops in Europe, was shown in the first earnest engagement, in which their energy and perseverance extorted the admiration of their enemies; although perhaps man for man, these young soldiers were inferior in personal strength to the Austrians. The *Crociati* or irregular soldiers of upper Italy, also showed on more than one occasion that they were by no means inclined to shun a combat of several hours duration, while the volunteer Corps of lower Italy, dispersed themselves with laughable rapidity, whenever the fighting assumed a serious character.

Meanwhile the consequence of Charles Albert's indecision soon became apparent, instead of taking the initiative while he had the means of doing so, he had permitted Nugent to form a junction with Radetzky, without making any serious attempt to prevent it, and had consequently allowed his enemy to wrest the direction of the campaign out of his hands. When however the Austrians began to show symtoms of making a forward movement, when Udine had already fallen into their hands, and it became evident that they intended to advance over Treviso and Vicenza, Charles Albert awoke although somewhat late, from the extraordinary lethargy which he had hitherto displayed.

The main body of the Piedmontese Army now threw itself before

Verona, in order to force the position between Pastrengo and Bussolengo. Here an engagement took place between about 18,000 Piedmontese, and two Brigades of Austrians, which was attended with considerable loss on both sides. The Austrians were compelled to abandon their position, and take up a new one on the left bank of the Etsch, the flanks of which rested upon Ponton and Pescantina. The line of the Austrians was however so strongly guarded that Charles Albert found it impossible to force it, and Roveredo, Ala, and Peri, the points of communication between the right and left banks of the Etsch, resisted all the attempts of the Piedmontese to force them.

Charles Albert now sought a passage over the Etsch at Clora, his object was to cut off the Corps of General Welden from the rest of the Army. His principal force was at Piorezzano and Pastrengo, and consisted of about 12,000 men. His centre was at Santra and St. Guistina, and his right wing rested upon Kenna Compagna, the last place being a position of great strength. Soon however the Piedmontese abandoned this position, the Austrians took possession of the hills between the Tasso, the Etsch, and Monte Baldo, of which Rivoli forms the central point, thus effectually protecting the communication with the Tyrol, while the forces in Velargue protected the Venetian provinces. Charles Albert's manoeuvre was thus completely defeated, notwithstanding his pompous announcements of a splendid victory. These events took place on the 1st., 2nd., and 3rd., of May. On the 5th. the Italians passed the bridge over the Tasso, and only halted in the evening in order to prepare for battle. On the 6th. Radetzky was attacked on his left wing near St. Lucia, by the whole force of the Piedmontese Army. He took St. Lucia in the early part of the day, but afterwards abandoned it, and withdrew to a new position, the honour of the victory was consequently claimed by the Italians.

This engagement which lasted from 9 in the morning until 5 in the evening, was well contested on both sides, and the loss on the side of the Austrians is said to have considerably exceeded that of the Italians, the former having also lost a great number of officers. Here the Swiss troops of the Pope fought on the side of the Italians, a circumstance that caused great indignation in Vienna, as well as at the head quarters of Radetzky. Notwithstanding that the Corps of volunteers, which formed the Crusade against Austria, had been formed under his eyes, he had hitherto held the most peaceable assurances towards the Austrian government, and consequently the presence of his troops in the field, was justly looked upon as an outrage against the law of nations.

The effect of this victory of the Italians, was merely to enable them to press the seige of Pieschiera more closely, the garrison of which consisting principally of Croats, continued to make the most heroic resistance, notwithstanding the increasing vigour of the attacks. The battle had little or no effect on the result of the campaign, and

Charles Albert who had fixed his head quarters at Somma Campagna again relapsed into inactivity.

No greater success attended the efforts of the Roman generals Durando and Ferrari, whose troops consisting for the most part of Crociati, operated on the right wing of the Piedmontese, and had entered the Venetian provinces, in order to oppose themselves to General Nugent. Although the forces of this general did not exceed 6000 men, the Italians found it impossible either to check his advance or to cover Venice. Nugent moved round Palma, which was defended by the energetic Jüttse, leaving a Corps of observation before the place, possessed himself of Udine, the inhabitants of which he conciliated by the mildness of his treatment; then advancing northwards, he by a bold movement surprised Belluno, and Feltre also fell into his hands without resistance. Durando finding himself thus completely baffled at all points, gave up all hopes of preventing the union of the two Austrian Armies, which accordingly took place over Valsugana, Caldieno, and Verona, and the Austrian force now formed a threatening half circle in front in Durango, who retired upon the left wing of the combined forces, in the direction of Castell Larazzo and Onigo. On the 9th. of May, Durango, whose forces amounted to about 7000 men, attempted to oppose the advancing Austrians, but he was driven from his position at Cornuda with considerable loss; he succeeded however in reaching Monte Belluno with his regular troops, while the Crociati of Ferrari, were completely routed and dispersed. As usual when unsuccessful, they now raised the cry of "Treason," declared they had been betrayed by the troops of the line, and demanded to be allowed to return to the Roman states.

The road to Treviso was now open to the Austrians. This city in which the Italian Corps had concentrated themselves, was assailed, and a sharp engagement took place under the walls of the town, which ofter some alternations of success, was eventually decided in favour of the Austrians.

On the 12th. of May, the bombardment of Treviso commenced, and although the citizens could scarely expect assistance from the demoralised troops of Italians in the neighbourhood, they nevertheless defended themselves with courage and success, and they even went so far as to threaten to shoot the daughter of General Nugent, who had fallen into their hands, unless the bombardment was discontinued. Nugent immediately resigned his command into the hands of the Prince of Thurn, who at once advanced his forces beyond the Brenta, compelled Treviso to surrender, and united himself still more closely with Radetzky.

Durando and Ferrari, now turned their eyes towards Venice whose position became daily more insecure, and they concentrated their remaining forces at Mestre, in order to cover it as far as possible. Hitherto Venice had been closely blockaded by an Austrian squadron,

but as at length famine began to make itself felt within the city, the government opened negotiations with Charles Albert, in virtue of which, the Sardinian Fleet sailed from Genoa, and after uniting itself with that of Naples, amounted to 6 Frigates and 4 smaller vessels, having on board 4000 troops, in addition to their regular crews. On the appearance of this force in the Adriatic, the Austrian squadron was quickly driven to take refuge under the guns of Pola and Triest; but at the moment the city obtained freedom on the side of the sea, its land communications were completely cut off by the advance of the Corps of Austrians, under the command of General Welden.

It is now time to glance at the civil relations of the various Italian states. The idea of an Italian confederation, seems to have been borrowed from that of Germany, and the Italian newspapers were never tired of pointing out the efforts at union on the part of the Germans, as a model for the imitation of the Italians. The Princes of Italy however sought in vain through the medium of their ambassadors to form a Diet or central Congress for this purpose; their petty jealousies of each other always preventing any hope of real unity. The people now seemed determined to take the matter into their own hands, but it remained extremely doubtful where they would look for a head for the new Empire.

Charles Albert was already suspected of having undertaken the war against Austria out of purely selfish motives, added to which his inactivity began to render him obnoxious to the charge of treachery, and not only Milan, but also Turin, began to demand loudly, that he should lead the Italians to a decided victory, before he could claim to be considered as the acknowledged standard bearer of Italy. The popularity which he had gained by declaring war against Austria was already ebbing fast, and were it not that his Army was looked upon as useful to the Italian cause, he would probably have been very soon compelled to fly the country.

The Grand-Duke of Tuscany, was universally looked upon as a mere nobody; and the Pope had at length lost his popularity, in consequence of his daring for the first time, to refuse the demands of the people. The Italians wished to see Pius IX, place himself at the head of the movement in Lombardy, and not alone legitimise the insurrection by the influence of his name as a temporal prince, but also to throw the weight of his religious influence into the scale, and proclaim a holywarfare against the "German Barbarians." Pio nono however, showed on this occasion, that although his goodness of heart had induced him in many cases to go much farther than he either wished or intended to do, that there were certain bounds which nothing would induce him to exceed. He turned with indignation, as the chief priest of a religion of Peace and Love, from the proposal that he should declare war against Austria. He

was now bent upon playing the spiritual part of his double character, and he continued to assure the Emperor of Austria of his fatherly affection, at the very time that his troops were engaged in hostilities against him, until at length the Austrian minister left Rome in disgust at the apparent duplicity of the holy father. This contradiction between the words and deeds of the Pope, was felt to be an absurdity even by himself, and he at length publicly declared that nothing should induce him to proclaim war against any power for the future. The consequence of this determination was, to give the Laity a decided advantage over the Clergy, in the states of the Church; which afterwards had the effect of placing Pius in a very awkward position, and he was driven to measures, which had the appearance of being arbitrary and capricious, in order to regain the power he had lost, and prevent the Chair of St. Peter from sinking to a mere emblem of power, both in its spiritual and temporal relations. The Papal ministers were changed continually, without any other result than rendering the affairs of the government still more involved and complicated, and at length the people became so embittered at his refusal to declare war against Austria, that both the Pope and Cardinals were prevented from leaving the City, or in other words were placed in a kind of honourable arrest. Under these circumstances it became evident that the Italians no longer looked on Pius IX as the leader of the nation.

Ferdinand of Naples had at this moment excited the hatred of the Italians to the highest pitch. New troubles had broken out in Sicily, and the royal troops continued at intervals to oppose themselves to the people with a pertinacity which showed that Ferdinand was determined not to yield to the unreasonable demands of the Sicilians. Messina was from time to time bombarded from the Castle, which was under the command of General Pronco, the Neapolitan navy captured the Sicilian vessels, and the Neapolitan forces were constantly engaged in a series of petty hostilities with the Sicilian volunteers. The Provisional Government of Sicily on the other hand, made their hate against Ferdinand apparent by a proposal for deposing him from the rank of sovereign, and this act was passed by the Sicilian Parliament on the 13th. of April. This act was to the effect, that Ferdinand Bourbon, had by his tyrannical conduct, forfeited the throne of Sicily both for himself and his dynasty; and that the Sicilians would proceed to chose an Italian prince as their sovereign, as soon as they had completed the formation of their political constitution. The King of Naples protested against this act of the Parliament in Palermo, but the agents of the Sicilian government were received by all the states of upper Italy, as well as by the French Government, the however attempt to relieve the financial dificulties of Sicily by a foreign loan, did not succeed.

In Naples itself, the royal troops were in continual motion in pursuit of bands of patriots or banditti, who kept the provinces, more

especially Calabria, in a constant state of excitement. The city of Naples continued tolerably quiet until the 15th. of May, when the National Guard tired of the continual double dealing of the government, who sought by every means in its power to check the progress of the revolution, and restore the old state of affairs, at length broke into open revolt. The arrangements for this outbreak were all carefully prepared before hand, the shops were closed from the early part of the day, and at noon the barricades had converted the central parts of the city into a fortress. The King had promised to dismiss the hated Chamber of Peers, and to throw no farther obstacles in the way of the National representation. Before however time had been afforded, to arrange the matter by means of negociation, a shot was fired from the barricade at the end of the street of Toledo. The Swiss guard, who were drawn up in front of the Palace, immediately received orders to storm the barricade, and at about 12 o'clock the conflict commenced. The Swiss who had no ideas of fraternising with the National Guard, or any others but of performing their military duties, carried one barricade after another, with the most praiseworthy coolness; but the most terrible loss of life on both sides, accompanied this victory. In many of the streets, the whole of the houses had to be stormed one after the other, and these houses were afterwards given up to be plundered by the Lazzaroni, who had declared on the side of the King, and who made themselves extremely useful in removing the barricades, after they had been stormed by the soldiery. The battle lasted ten hours, and ended in the complete victory of the Swiss, the loss on both sides amounted to no less than 1534 killed, and upwards of 1200 wounded, the Swiss lost 891 men, the remainder of the fallen, were on the side of the citizens.

To add to the embittered feelings, with which the Italians generally, looked upon the conduct of the King of Naples, he ordered the troops which had entered Lombardy under General Pepe, to be immediately recalled. He also summoned his fleet to return from the Adriatic. Pepe placed himself under the orders of the King of Sardinia, and refused to obey the commands of his sovereign, the consequence was that his soldiers deserted on every opportunity, and he was soon surrounded by merely the ruins of an Army.

Under these circumstances, the Republican party began to raise its head in Lombardy, and both in Milan and Modena, a large portion of the inhabitants were inclined to follow the example of Venice. In the former city, innumerable pamphlets were published, accusing Charles Albert of betraying the cause of the people, and representing him as equally destitute of faith as a statesman and of ability as a general. Whatever amount of truth there might have been in these accusations, it was evident that the only hope of Lombardy, lay in the Arms of that sovereign; and as the question of the future government of Lombardy was now brought forward by the Provisional Govern-

ment, the friends of Constitutional Monarchy succeeded in carrying a law by which Lombardy was joined to the dominions of Charles Albert. Parma, Modena, and Piacenza, also joined themselves to Sardinia, while Massa, Carrara, Lunignana, and Gafragna, were united to the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany.

Charles Albert was now nominally Sovereign of Upper Italy, for it could scarcely be expected that Venice would persist in her republican form of government, after the example set her by Milan and the rest of Lombardy. But unfortunately the Bear whose skin had caused so much discussion was not yet caught. Charles Albert now sought to break through the right wing of Radetzky's Army, and this was followed by a series of engagements along the whole front of the line. The Austrians bombarded Vicenza, and took Ladroe, and Cassaro by storm, and in order to secure his operations in the Venetian territory, and to prevent Charles Albert from surrounding Mantua, Radetzky detached 10,000 men in that direction. These troops attacked the Piedmontese at Gorto, Villafranca, and Bardolino without success, they stormed several entrenchments of the Italians, and captured two or three pieces of cannon, but were unable to drive them from their position before Mantua, which was evidently the object of Radetzky. He now moved forwards at the head of 25,000 men, over Legnago, Montagnana, and Este, driving before him the numerous Corps of volunteers who attempted to oppose his progress. Bassano had already been taken by General Welden, and this movement rendered the entrenchments which the Italians had thrown up from Mantua to the Lake of Garda, altogether useless, and the road to Vicenza was now open to the Austrians. The capture of Rivoli by the Piedmontese and the consequent interruption of the communications of the Austrians with the Tyrol, did not for a moment interfere with this movement on Vicenza.

Accordingly on the 9th. of June, the Austrian Army consisting of about 26,000 men, a numerous cavalry, and a sufficient train of artillery appeared before that city, Durando who had hastened to its assistance, placed himself with 14,000 men, in a strongly entrenched position before the town. On the 10th. of June after a sharp engagement the Italians were driven from their position and compelled to retire into the city. On the 11th. Durando capitulated on easy terms, and the Austrians entered Vicenza; the garrison which consisted of about 15,000 men, among which were the Swiss soldiers of the Pope, were to retire to behind the Po, and engage not to bear arms against Austria for three months. (This engagement was faithfully observed by the Pontiff.) The artillery and munitions of war belonging to the fortress to be given up to the victors. In this affair, the loss of the Italians amounted to 850 killed, besides a considerable number of wounded.

The loss of Vicenza, and the departure of 15,000 men, was a

terrible blow to the cause of Italy; the more so as Treviso was now completely isolated, and the loss both of that city and of Padua might be expected to immediately follow. Radetzky caused the communications with the last named city to be materially retarded by blowing up a Railway bridge near Pojana, and then turned his attention to Treviso, which surrendered after a bombardment of 12 hours duration. The garrison consisting of about 4000 men, received the same terms as that of Vicenza. The Austrians captured at this place 36 pieces of cannon, and as at Vicenza the National guard were disarmed and disbanded.

Padua surrendered without making any attempt at resistance to the leader of the second Corps d'Armee, and Mestre followed its example. The Citadel of Malghera still held out, but Palma, Osoppo, and Rovigo, capitulated on the 24th. of June. The smaller places were already in the hands of the Austrians. The whole of the Venetian territory with the exception of the capital, was now in the power of Radetzky. The Neapolitan General Pepe, had thrown himself with the remainder of his forces into Venice, where a strong party were desirous of surrendering to the Austrians, a report having been spread that the property of the Venetian nobles would be confiscated, in case of resistance. Manin and Tommateo succeeded with some difficulty in quieting the excitement, and at length resolved to declare themselves for Charles Albert, and abide the result of the war.

The position of the Austrian forces at this time was as follows. — The first Corps, with the Reserve, in Verona, under the command of Radetzky in person. The second Corps in Vicenza and the Val d'Arsa, under General D'Aspre. The third Corps in Rovedero and its neighbourhood, under the command of General Thurn. The entire strength of the Army, amounting to about 86,000 men.

The Italians stood before Verona and Mantua, their strength amounting to about 45,000 men, exclusive of about 15,000 in the valley of the Etsch. Their reserves in Montefiari, Brescia, Bozzolo, and Cremona, amounted to 50,000, and their Corps of operations to about the same number. Their total strength may therefore be reckoned at 160,000 men.

After the severe blows which the Italian arms had sustained, followed a long and expectant pause, during which nothing but a few skirmishes occurred between the rival Armies. The enthusiasm of the Italians had sunk with the same rapidity that it had risen, they began to doubt if they possessed the power to drive the "German barbarians" from the sacred soil of Italy, and they already began to think of making terms, and it was believed that Austria might be brought to give up Lombardy, provided she could retain Venice. Among the deeds of Arms at this period, the relief of the Citadel of Ferrara deserves to be mentioned, merely on account of the brave defence which its garrison had made for so long a time against the

overwhelming force of the Italians. Charles Albert seemed inclined at this time to avail himself of his superiority at sea, in order to bombard Triest. But the protest of the Consuls of the various European nations at that port, prevented his Admiral from doing more than showing his fleet from time to time off the harbour. The German Parliament at Frankfort also declared that they would look upon an attack on Triest, as a declaration of war against the confederation. The blockade nevertheless continued, but the provisional government of Milan, had already commenced negotiations with the Austrian government, and everything showed that Radetzky would soon be in a position to dictate a peace on his own terms.

After the first stupifying effect of the Austrian successes had subsided, a new burst of warlike enthusiasm filled the breasts of the Italian people. In Turin a new levy of 24,000 men was ordered, and by a decision of the chambers, 50 battalions of the National Guard were summoned to take the field; and people of all classes cheerfully sacrificed their personal interests on the altar of their country, in order to afford the means for a vigorous prosecution of the campaign. In Rome numerous bands of volunteers were organised, but the Pope remained deaf to all the demands of the governments of Milan, and Turin, that he should break the capitulation of Vicenza, and allow his troops to be employed against the Anstrians. The pretence for making these demands was, that Austria had already broken the terms of the treaty, by her threatened hostilities against the city of Venice.

Meanwhile, Radetzky was making preparations for carrying into effect the second part of his plan of operations for the subjugation of Lombardy; and these preparations led to the pause which we have already mentioned. Charles Albert was the first to commence active measures, and in obedience to a kind of traditionary idea, that the success of a campaign in Lombardy must depend mainly on the possession of Mantua, he determined to attempt making himself master of that fortress. For this purpose he threw himself between it and Verona, and thus cut of its communication with the Austrian Army. The line of communication with the Tyrol was to be defended by a Corps of volunteers and adventurers, who were advancing from Montevideo, under the Partizan Chief Garibaldi.

This was the last operation of Charles Albert; Radetzky now set his whole line in motion, in order to advance upon the Mincio, and attack the position of the Sardinians, which extended from Rivoli to the Po. On the 23rd. of July the advanced Corps of Charles Albert, was compelled after a severe engagement, to evacuate Rivoli and Somma Campagna. On the 24th. Radetzky succeeded in spite of the resistance of the enemy, in throwing a bridge over the Mincio at Borghetto, and crossed the river with three Brigades, while a fourth took Mozambano. Valeggio, on the left bank of the river, was also

occupied, and thus three points of transit across the river were secured. The Sardinians on the other hand, attacked Custozza with a force consisting of 40,000 of their best troops, and succeeded in gaining possession of the heights. Radetzky who trembled for the safety of his flanks, which rested upon Custozza and Valeggio, now caused Peschiera to be occupied by the third Corps, which was stationed at Castelnuova, and on the morning of the 25th. of July the second Corps threw itself between Custozza and Somma Compagna, while the four Brigades on the right lank of the Mincio retired upon the centre, covered Valeggio and the rear, and exposed to the scorching heat of an Italian sun, awaited the attack of Charles Albert.

This began at 10 o'clock in the morning, and continued without intermission until 7 in the evening. Custozza formed the centre of the Sardinian line, and was defended with great bravery and obstinacy; here occurred the hottest combat of this bloody day, and it was not until late in the evening, that the Austrian Brigades succeeded in carrying and retaining this important position. With the loss of this post the defeat of the Italian army was complete, and they retired in considerable confusion upon Goito, closely pursued by the Austrians. By this victory Radetzky had completely broken the centre of the position of the Italians. On the same day the second Corps under D'Aspre, were victorious at Volta, and the retreat of the Italian army became general. In vain they attempted to take up a new position at Goita, their entrenchments at that place were stormed by the impetuous Croats, and from that moment all resistance was at an end, and no farther attempt was made to oppose the advance of Radetzky.

Charles Albert took his way over Cremona, while his son the Duke of Genoa retired upon Brescia. The advance of the Austrians was so rapid that the Military chest of the King, containing two million Francs, his service of plate and several of his equipages fell into their hands. A suspension of hostilities which was proposed by the King, was refused by the Austrian commander; the Sardinians retired upon the Oglio and the Po, and afterwards continued their retreat over Cremona and Pizzighettone to Lodi. The flank of the Italian army crossed the Po at Piacenza, while Charles Albert remained with the main body of his forces at Pavia. The fort of Pizzighettone was blown up by the Italians during their retreat, whereby a fearful damage was occasioned in the town, and a considerable number of the citizens lost their lives. Peschiera which the Sardinians had hitherto retained, was now taken, and a splendid train of battering cannon which had been brought from Turin was captured by the Austrians, while the pursuit of the Italians was undertaken by the fourth Corps.

Radetzky who had advanced over Gazzalda to Valeggio, issued an earnest but mild proclamation to the Lombards, from the last named city; in which he called on them to lay down them arms, and to

avoid by a ready submission, the severities of military law. While however the provisional governments of Brescia and many other towns took to flight, while Cremona closed its gates against Charles Albert, and the inhabitants of the great plain of Lombardy, whose minds were calmed by the moderation of the Commander in Chief, hastened to submit to the Austrians; Milan notwithstanding the violent agitation into which it was thrown by the approach of the Imperial forces, prepared to defend itself to the last, and the citizens talked of burying themselves beneath the ruins of their houses, rather than submitting to the enemy. The English Ambassador Lord Abercromby appeared at the head quarters of Radetzky at Lodi, in order to attempt to put an end to further hostilities by means of negotiation. It was too late however, and under the present state of affairs Radetzky declined to treat, until the Sardinians had evacuated Lombardy.

Charles Albert with his two sons were now in Milan, and the Sardinian army took up a position in front of the city. The reverses he had sustained, and the consequent disappointment of his ambitious hopes, had affected the health of that Prince, and to add to his vexation he was surrounded in his residence by a furious crowd, who loudly declared their intention of compelling him to remain and share the fortunes of the city. His Son addressed the irritated populace from the Casi Greppi, promising to remain and defend the town with the last drop of his blood. While still speaking, a pistol shot was fired at him by some person in the crowd, and this circumstance determined the Royal family to fly with all possible speed to the shelter of the Piedmontese frontier. With some difficulty they contrived to escape from the city, the Sardinian troops retired without fighting before the advancing Austrians, the threatened resistance of the Milanese evaporated in empty boasts, and on the 6th. of August, at 10 o'clock in the morning, Radetzky at the head of 52,000 men, made his triumphal entry into Milan, and immediately undertook the Civil and Military government of the city. He had already by a proclamation dated the 1st. of August, announced the re-establishment of the Austrian power in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, had promised that several of the more oppressive imposts should be modified, had guaranteed the continuance of the various provincial administrations, and declared an amnesty for the private soldiers and under officers, who had deserted their colours. Milan which was placed under the government of General Schwartzenberg, was declared in a state of siege, and a contribution of three million Lires was levied on the inhabitants.

The mediation of England and France was now accepted by Austria, and while the negociations were carried on in the Palace Bitta in Milan, the other cities of Lombardy were successively reduced to obedience. On the 13th. of August Brescia surrendered to General D'Aspre, and the garrison which consisted principally of Milanese and

Pavian students; was like the national guard of Milan, disarmed. Pavia followed, and soon afterwards Como and Bergamo. In the field no enemy remained with the exception of the partizan Chief Garribaldi, who continued to disturb the neighbourhood of Varese, he was however declared an Outlaw by the King of Sardinia, and eventually compelled to take refuge in Switzerland. The Sardinian army in a wretched state of demoralization retired within its own frontiers, the soldiers accused their officers and even the King himself of cowardice and treachery, and in many places, more especially in Genoa, the people seemed strongly inclined to repudiate Charles Albert, and proclaim a republic.

Meanwhile the English and French Ambassadors, had succeeded in negociating a truce of forty-five days between the Austrians and Sardinians; Charles Albert seemed at this time sincerely desirous of Peace, and his proclamation of the 10th. of August, in which he sought to justify his conduct and that of his army, in the eyes of his subjects, was a most melancholy production, and breathed the very spirit of despondency. The Italians had assumed as a matter of course, that in the event of their being defeated by the Austrians, an armed interferance of France would follow; and they were not a little astonished to find, that notwithstanding the politeness of the French Ambassador, the Army of the Alps remained quietly in its cantonments, and that the Italian deputation in Paris effected nothing. The spirits of Charles Albert appeared to rise in proportion as the chance of French intervention diminished, and some of his later proclamations have again assumed a warlike tone. By the intervention of France and England, the Austrians were prevented from following the retreating Sardinians across the frontier, and from that time to the present, the truce has been renewed whenever it was about to expire, but no definite treaty of Peace has yet been concluded.

On the side of the Papal states however, the Austrians crossed the frontier, and this led to some skirmishes between them and the soldiers of the Pope. General Welden marched on to Bologna in spite of the protests of the Pontiff, but a convention having been concluded between the two governments at Rovigo, on the 16th. of August; Welden withdrew his forces from the patrimony of the Church, only retaining as heretofore possession of the Citadel of Ferrara, On the side of Tuscany, the Austrian occupied the line of the Po.

Venice which had declared itself for Charles Albert, still held out against the enemy. The Sardinian fleet had withdrawn to Ancona, and consequently the sea was now open to the Austrians; and according to the terms of the truce between Radetzky and the King of Sardinia, the latter agreed likewise to withdraw his land forces from the city. The fulfilment of this article was however evaded under various pretences by the Sardinians. Radetzky retaliated this breach of faith by seizing on 120 cannon belonging to the King, and

refusing to permit any Sardinian troops to leave the Venetian provinces. These, with the Neapolitan Corps of General Pepe and the National Guard, formed the entire garrison of the city, in which the greatest possible anarchy reigned. The wealthy inhabitants, the ex-officials, and the Gondoliers, formed a party favourable to the Austrians, which was known by the name of the "*Nicolatti*," in contradiction to the *Castellani* or Sardinian party. This last was however strengthened by the vast number of fugitives from Lombardy, and at the moment when everything was lost on the main land the "City of the Sea," appeared to ofter a last rallying point for Italian independence. On the 28th. of August, General Pepe in conjunction with the President of the Provisional Government addressed a most energetic proclamation to the people of Italy, urging them to hasten to the Assistance of Venice. Preparations for answering this appeal were made on all sides, the first panic occasioned by the Austrian successes had subsided, and their victories had if possible, increased the hate with which they were regarded. This new movement was however prevented by the renewal of the truce, and the precautions of Radetzky, who by hermetically sealing the passage to upper Italy, and threatening to take similar measures with regard to the Swiss Canton Tessin, prevented any assistance from arriving in Venice. Eventually the arrangement of the affair, was left to the diplomatic agents of England and France.

In Tuscany and the smaller states of Italy, the victory of the Austrians caused the utmost possible confusion and excitement. In Modena a serious affair took place between the National Guard and the Police soldiers, the people not being satisfied with the promises of the Duke, that he would grant them liberal institutions. Similar scenes took place in Parma, but both Duchies were speedily quieted by the Austrians, who according to treaty were empowered to take the same measures of repression, as if they had formed part of Lombardy.

In Tuscany the fury of the people against their Grand-Duke, knew no bounds. They accused him of deserting and betraying the Italian cause, in Livorno the citizens broke into open revolt, and the formation of a new ministry at Florence did not prevent the inhabitants of that capital from following the example. The republican Churazzi put himself at the head of this movement, and it was evident that an understanding existed between the democratic party in Tuscany and that in Genoa, in which city similar disturbances took place on the 1st. of September. In the Roman states the dissatisfaction showed itself in abusive proclamations against the Pope, the theme of which was his alleged stupidity, falsehood, and want of energy.

These attempts of the republican party were however of no avail, the formidable force of Austria overawed the other states of Italy, and although Sardinia resumed its warlike preparations, it does not appear likely that it will again have recourse to arms. The assertions of the

democratic party that if the Sovereigns of Italy had been united, the result of the campaign in Lombardy would have been different, is no doubt true; but luke-warmness towards the cause of Italian independance; and distrust of each other, and of their subjects; was apparent throughout the whole affair; and with the exception of Charles Albert whose ambition to become the sovereign of Lombardy was disappointed, the whole of the Italian sovereigns were no doubt rather pleased than mortified at the success of the Austrian arms.

Since the suppression of the revolt in Naples, that capital remained quiet, but the King continued shut up in his Palace, surrounded by the cannon of his Swiss mercenaries. Meanwhile the democratic party had flown to arms in Casenza, Castanzara, and Reggio; a Provisional Government was installed at Paola; and at Castelmenardo, the insurgents took the field under Mileto and Stocco. They demanded that the deputies of the chambers should be chosen according to the laws of the 3rd. and 5th. of April. That the parliament should not be assembled under the awe of a military force, and that all the concessions of the 15th. of May should be fulfilled to the letter. This insurrection was however suppressed without much difficulty. The insurgents were defeated and dispersed by the Royal forces at Casenza. That city and Catanzara were occupied, the Provisional Government took to flight, and the King instead of having recourse to severity, tried the power of Gold upon the insurgent leaders, this means met with decided success, and the counter-revolution was triumphant throughout the Kingdom of Naples.

The same success attended the arms of King Ferdinand in Sicily. The Duke of Savoy the son of the King of Sardinia, had been chosen as their King by the Sicilian parliament, but there seems to be little chance of his ever becoming the sovereign of that island. The protest of the King of Naples against that measure, was supported by an expedition of 20,000 men, Messina was attacked on the 6th. of September, and after a sanguinary contest of five days duration, and a bombardment of twenty hours from the Citadel, was captured by the Neapolitan troops. At the same time the whole of the coast as far as Milazza, and including the island of Lipari was reduced to subjection.

The capture of Messina, was almost as severe a blow to the revolutionary cause in Sicily, as that of Milan was to that of Lombardy. In vain the citizens of Palermo exerted themselves to the utmost, in vain Camps were formed at Milazzo, Taormina, Trapani, and Girgenti, the Sicilian leaders were compelled to sue for a cessation of hostilities, and in the mean time, the Royal forces gained ground day by day.

We have thus as far as our space allows, given a sketch of the revolution in Italy, up to the general cessation of hostilities. The first act of this great drama is completed; the great project of forming Italy into a powerful confederate state, has for the present failed;

and whether the attempt will be renewed is a question for the future. — It therefore only remains for us to describe the cities that have been the scenes of this great, but ineffectual political experiment.

NAPLES.

The ancient Parthenope, and capital of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, is the most populous city in Italy, and is situated on the beautiful bay of the same name. It contains 380,000, inhabitants including 60,000 Lazzaroni, and 2500 Advocates. The streets are for the most part tolerably broad and straight, and most of the houses are 5 or 6 stories in height. The roofs are for the most part flat, and being decorated with orange trees and flowers, afford a delightful promenade to the inhabitants. It contains 122 Churches, of which the Cathedral with its 110 pillars of African marble, and the splendid shrine containing the remains of St. Januarius, is the most remarkable. The Church of St. Genaro, is celebrated for its Catacombs, which are upwards of a mile in length, but have been partly destroyed by earthquakes. They contain many curious Urns, Sarcophagi, and Grecian inscriptions, Tombs of the early Bishops of Naples, bones of Saints, Martyrs, etc. etc. The Royal Palace is situated near the centre of the city, not far from the Sea, it is a stately building, and was commenced by Charles V, and completed in 1609, by Philipp III. The old palace erected by William the Norman, is now used as a court of Justice. The Bourbon Museum, contains a library of 80,000 volumes, and a most interesting collection of antiquities, principally from Pompeai and Herculaneum. The principal street is that of Toledo, which divides the city and terminates before the Palace, it was the chief scene of the last sanguinary struggle between the Swiss soldiers, and the national guard. The Piazza di Mercato is celebrated as having been the scene of the revolt of Massaniello. Naples is defended by 6 Castles, from the principal of which (St. Elmo) a most delightful view of the Bay and distant islands is to be obtained. In addition to the above named buildings, the city contains 11 Hospitals, 37 Poorhouses, 149 Cloisters and Monasteries, 130 Chapels, 2 Colleges of Jesuits, 7 Theatres, (of which that of St. Carlo is the largest) and several institutions for the education of the Blind, Dumb etc. The neighbourhood of the city contains many places of great natural and historical interest, among which the celebrated Mount Vesuvius (see engraving) is the most remarkable.

PALERMO.

The capital of the island of Sicily, is situated on the river Oceto, which here discharges itself into the bay which derives its name from the city. It stands in a delicious plain surrounded by an amphitheatre

of hills and is the seat of the Viceroy of the island, an Archbishop, and of a University which was founded in 1394, and which is visited annually by about 400 Students. It contains 60 Churches, 8 Abbeys, 71 Monasteries, an Academy and various other educational establishments, and about 180,000, inhabitants. The Palace is an ancient building, erected partly by the Saracens, and partly by the Normans. Palermo forms the centre of the trade and manufactures of Sicily, the harbour is excellent, and the Carthagenians from that circumstance made it the principal station for their fleet. Under the Romans it was an inconsiderable provincial town; but during the reign of the Vandals, Saracens, and Normans, it was usually the residence of the sovereign of the island. The Emperor Frederic II surrounded it with a strong wall, part of which still remains, and in the 16th. Century it was regulary fortified, and at present has 13 bastions, besides the two Castles which command the harbour. The Cathedral like the Palace is partly of Saracenic and partly of Norman architecture; it contains many remarkable tombs. In the Cloister of the Capuchins at some distance from the city, are some extraordinary Catacombs, in which the bodies of the dead are preserved in an upright position, standing in niches. Palermo is a place of considerable trade, and previous to the late disturbances, was possessed of some thriving manufactories, especially of Silk.

MESSINA.

The former capital of Sicily, is at present the second city in the island and the seat of an Archbishop. It is situated in a charming country at no great distance from its northern extremity, and has an excellent harbour upwards of four miles in circumference. It is defended by six Castles, and a strong Citadel that commands the port, and has four suburbs, a handsome Cathedral, florisbing Silk manufactories, and a lively trade. The inhabitants are estimated at 75,000. In the year 1783, the city suffered severely from an Earthquake, in which whole streets were reduced to ruins. On the 14th. of November 1823 it suffered if possible still more severely from an inundation, and during the late revolution it has been much damaged by the bombardment of the Citadel.

MILAN.

The capital of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, and seat of the Viceroy, is situated in a beautiful plain, on the river Olona. It is connected by a canal with Pavia, and by Railways with Monza and Treviglio. Its circumference is upwards of six miles, and the space formerly occupied by the walls are now laid out in beautiful promenades. The Magnificent Cathedral of St. Borromeo, is next to St. Peters

at Rome, the largest in Europe. It is 450 feet long, 270 feet broad, aud is decorated with no less than 4400 statues, the principal tower is 335 feet in height. In the church of St. Ambrosius the famous Iron Crown of Lombardy is still preserved. The Royal Library contains 120,000 volumes, and a collection of 12,000 coins and medals. The Hospital which is the largest in Italy contains accommodation for 3600 patients, aud the Theatre of La Scala is one of the finest in the world. The Ambrosian Library contains a fine collection of MSS. and 140,000 volumes. Milan had according to the last cencus 153,600 inhabitants, and contains numerous picture galleries, institutions for educational and charitable purposes, manufactures of Silk Goods, Glass, Cotton, Leather etc. etc. It is also a place of considerable commerce, the Merchants speculating largely in Silk and Rice.

VENICE.

Situated on an island on the eastern coast of Italy, contains about 120 thousand inhabitants. The city is divided in every direction by numerous canals so that according to some accounts it stands on 136 islands, and to others on 72, which are separated from each other by 134 canals, over which there are 306 bridges. This peculiarity renders Venice the single city of its kind in the world, it has only one street of any importance, the fronts of the buildings being towards the canals, the backs of the houses generally abutting upon narrow lanes; and the communication from one part of the city to another being principally by means of gondolas. These boats are generally about 30 feet long, by 4 in breath; in the centre in a cabin sufficiently large to contain two persons; an ancient law provides that every part of the gondola must be black, with the exception of the carpet; externally they are usually covered with coarse cloth, internally they are fitted up with silk cushions etc. For the noble style of its architecture few cities are to be compared to Venice, the principal buildings are situated on the grand canal, which traverses the city in the form of the letter S. Many of these palaces are however in a ruinous condition, they were mostly erected during the 15th. and 16th. centuries, the period of the greatest prosperity of Venice. The principal Square is the Place of St. Mark, on which stands the Cathedral and the Palace of the Government; the former is a noble Gothic structure, the interior is decorated with 500 pillars, and the tower is 331 feet high. On the arch over the principal entrance are the famous bronze horses of Grecian workmanship, which were removed to Paris by the French, but restored in 1814. On the Piazzetta are two columns of Grecian granite, one of which supports the winged lion of St. Mark, and the other a statue of St. Theodosius. The former palace of the Doges contains a library of 80,000 volumes, and 5000 manuscripts, and the Arsenal employs 800 workmen and 400 criminals.

Venice contains numerous churches and other public buildings that our space does not permit us to notice; an institution for the encouragement of literature and the fine Arts, an Academy of Painting, four schools of Music, a foundling Hospital, etc. etc. Venice has since 1828, been a free-port; the harbour is good, and the city contains manufactures of Soap, jewellery, Glass, Cotton, etc.

FLORENCE.

The capital of the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany, is situated in a delightful district on the river Arno, which divides the city into two parts, which are connected by four bridges. Florence is defended by two Citadels, it has 17 Market-places, and 172 Churches, several of which are among the finest in Italy; 89 Monasteries, some of which are now closed, and 72 Hospitals. The Palaces of the ancient families are distinguished less by their magnificence, than by their strength, and recal to the mind of the spectator the times when every house was required to be a fortress. The Cathedral is a master piece of the architecture of the middle ages, it was commenced in 1204, and completed in 1348. The church of St. Laurentius contains the Royal chapel, the interior of which is covered with jewels, and here is also the mausoleum of the reigning family. The Church of St. John the Baptist is where all the children born in Florence are baptised; and the Church of Santa Croce, containing the tombs of Michael Angelo, Machiavelli, and Dante, are also remarkable structures. The old fortified residence of the Dukes of Florence, has a tower 300 feet in height. In the Palace build by Cosmo I is the famous library of 150,000 volumes, and 12,000 autographs, and a magnificent collection of works of Art both ancient and modern, among which is the famous Medicean Venus. The Palace Pitti, the usual residence of the Grand-Duke, contains 900 apartments. The University was established in 1438. Florence is the seat of an Archbishop, and contains an Academy of Painting, three public libraries, a botanical garden, and various manufactures of Silk, Woollens, Porcelain, etc. etc.

THE CIVIL WAR IN SWITZERLAND.

Although the magnificent Alpine scenery of Switzerland. attracts yearly thousands of travellers to explore its vallies and climb its precipices; few of these visitors ever bestow a thought on the peculiar political organization of this nation of herdsmen, or the constantly increasing power and influence of the association of Republics, generally known as the Eidgenossenschaft, or Helvetic confederation.

Yet to the political inquirer, to the advocate of liberal principles, or to the student of history, the constitution of the Swiss republic, affords a subject for contemplation, far more interesting that its Lakes and Mountains, its Glaciers or its Precipices. Here alone in Europe is to be seen the spectacle of a perfectly free nation, of a people who have successively and completely emancipated themselves from the trammels of the middle ages, who have in succession relieved themselves from the power of the Crown, from the feudal tyranny of the Nobility, and lastly from the grasping ambition of the Priesthood. When the Swiss people succeeded in throwing off the fetters of the German Empire, they had recourse at once to a Republican form of government, therby avoiding the intermediate phase of Constitutional Monarchy, which in France has been ended by a bloody revolution, and which in Germany has led to all the horrors of Civil War. But although the people of Switzerland were the first to substitute the Sovereignty of the People for the Divine right of Kings, they remained for ages under subjection to the aristocracy; in most of the Cantons the powers of government were in the hands of a privileged class, but our limits do not permit us to enter into the various forms of republicanism that prevailed in the various states of the confederation; it is sufficient to state that while some of the Cantons were almost purely democratic, others were as completely under the influence of the aristocracy.

With the year **1803**, commenced the political regeneration of Switzerland; and step by step the influence of the privileged classes under whatever name they exercised their power, was reduced to a state of subserviency to the democratic party, and whoever has taken a comprehensive view of the progress of political freedom throughout Europe during the present century, will have perceived that the agitations in Switzerland have invariably preceded commotions in other countries; so much so indeed, that this country may be looked upon as the political barometer of continental Europe. In England, the agitations that pervaded the Helvetic confederation during the years **1844** and **1845**, were little understood, and consequently excited but a small amount of interest, but among the statesmen of the despotic

governments of Europe, in Austria, Prussia, and Italy it was well understood that the contest in Switzerland was a war of life and death between the principles of Freedom and Despotism, between religious Liberty and Priestcraft. To the exertions of the agents of these governments may be traced the ignorance that generally speaking existed throughout other countries with regard to the domestic quarrels of the Swiss, and it was their object to represent the liberal party as a set of senseless clamourers whose only object was change, without regarding whether such changes were either desirable or convenient.

Suddenly however in the year 1847, the disputes of the Swiss reached a height that drew upon them the attention of the whole of Europe, the more so as in this quarrel the Republic exhibited for the first time, the immense amount both of physical and moral force that it is capable of developing in case of need. It now became clear to every one who bestowed any attention on the subject, that the agitation that prevailed among these hardy and intelligent mountaineers was not produced by the idle or interested clamour of ambitious demagogues, but was founded on the sound convictions of an educated and thinking people, whose liberties were threatened by the machinations of a wily and selfish priesthood. Throughout the whole of the struggle the plain good sense of the Sovereign people of Switzerland, was exhibited in strong contrast to the indirect and crooked policy of the various Regal governments which interfered in the dispute, and there can be little doubt that this contrast produced its effect on the public mind of the surrounding nations, and induced them to form unfavourable comparasons between their own forms of government, and that existing in Switzerland.

This was more especially the case in France, and it is certain that the Civil war in Switzerland, was the flame that ignited the revolutionary mine in Paris, and consequently was the indirect cause of spreading the conflagation throughout Europe.

We have stated that our space does not permit us to enter into the complicated relations that existed betweeu the various states of the Swiss confederation, or the various forms of government that prevailed in the different Cantons', a short sketch of the more striking peculiarities prevailing in the Republic is however necessary, before the reader can understand the causes of the Civil War of 1847.

The first dawn of the regeneration of Switzerland, may be dated from the year 1798, although its effects did not become apparent until five or six years later. At that time Switzerland was a combination of Sovereign states in miniature, whose relations to each other were of the most various and complicated character, and the Sovereign rights claimed by several of the Cantons either separately, or in com-

bination with others, over districts the inhabitants of which they looked upon as their vassals, rendered these relations still more complicated, and difficult to be understood. The first germ of the Swiss Republic was formed in 1308, by the union of the Cantons of Schwyz (which has given its name to the whole confederation), Uri, and Unterwalden, which with the districts of Zug and Glarus. and the cities of Lucern, Zürich, and Bern, constitute the foundation on which the subsequent superstructure has been raised.

To these original Cantons, the cities of Freiburg, Solothurn, Basel, Schaffhausen, and the district of Appenzell, subsequently united themselves. Of the seven cities, Bern, Lucern, Freiburg and Solothurn, were Aristocracies in the strongest sense of the word, while Zürich, Basel and Schaffhausen, may be considered as representative Democracies, with a strong Aristocratic tendency. The other six Cantons Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus and Appenzell, were as they still are, Democracies.

To these thirteen Cantons, between the years 1513, and 1803, six other states united themselves, viz. St. Gallen, Aargau, Graubunden, Thurgau, Tessin and Waadtland, and in 1815, Wallis, Neufchatel and Geneva, were added to the Republic. As we have already stated, all these separate states stood in various different relations of alliance or confederation, both with each other as independant governments, and with the general body of the Republic. The "Underthanenländer" or dependant districts, stood in the same complicated relations to the Sovereign Cantons, as these did to each other. These consisted of the valley of Bern, now part of Tessin, but formerly belonging to Uri, Küssnach, Einsiedeln, Vollerau and Pfaffikon, with the Upper and Lower March. These districts with Alt-Schwyz and Girsau are now part of the Canton Schwyz. Of the seven cities, Bern possessed by far the greatest number of vassals or dependants, while the districts called "Vogteien" or Bailiwicks, were the property of either the confederate Cantons, or of some of the separate states. For example, the district of Thurgau was the property of the thirteen oldest Cantons, as was likewise the case with Sargans; while Rapperswyl under the Sovereignty of Bern, Zürich and Glarus, had a peculiar government of its own. The so called Italian Bailiwicks belonged as far as Blegerthal, Rivieres, and Belling were concerned, to the Cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden; while Lugano, Mandrisio, Lecarno, and the Val Mazzio belonged to the whole of the Cantons, with the exception of Appenzell.

This state of confusion in the relations of the different Cantons to each other, was the result of the gradual increase of the Republic, as state after state joined themselves to the original Nucleus formed by the Cantons of Schwyz Uri and Unterwalden. No one can however refrain from admiring the unconquerable spirit of liberty and National independance, which must have in all ages pervaded the breasts of the

Swiss people, and which in spite of the differences of language, religion, and modes of existence, has made and kept them an independant nation, until the moment when the more rapid spread of intelligence among the inhabitants of the cities and less mountainous districts of the country, enabled them to sweep away this Chaos of the middle ages, and replace it by a system better suited to the political notions of the present century.

The agitation that prevailed throughout Europe during the last years of the eighteenth century, had the effect of giving the first impetus to reform in the Swiss Cantons. On the 20th. of January 1798, the Republic of Basel published a proclamation, in which it declared the political rights of all citizens of the Canton to be equal, and the Patricians of Bern immediately followed the example, by resigning their peculiar perogatives and emancipating the inhabitants of the Italian Bailiwicks, who had risen in arms against their masters. These reforms were however rendered nugatory by the formation of the Helvetic Republic under French auspices, and upon the French model. The smaller Cantons which were opposed to the system of centralization which was the mainspring of the new state of affairs, were after a desperate resistance against the French forces, reduced to submission. The Cantons now became mere dependencies or the central government on Directory, and even the administration of Justice was united to the executive power. This new form of government was however by no means suited to a people so divided with regard to religion and language, and at the same time so attached to their local habits and prejudices as the Swiss, who however they may be attached to the ideas of Liberty and Independence as a nation, are not less jealous of the especial rights and priveleges of their respective Cantons.

To preserve these separate interests, three Constitutions were successively prepared, they were all formed on the principle proposed by Napoleon, that the respective Cantons should have the power of making and revising the laws affecting their separate interests, while the Directory should transact all affairs affecting the entire nation. The first of these Constitutions was rejected, the second was accepted, and remained during a few months in force, but was finally set aside in favour of the third. In this act the powers and competence of the separate Cantons, were accurately defined, and all other affairs were left to the discretion of the central government. The Chamber of Representatives, was chosen in the proportion of 1 Member for every 25,000 Souls. The Senate or upper Chamber was chosen by the lower Chamber, and these in their turn chose the members of the executive government. These consisted of a Landammann or President, two Sattholders or Vice-Presidents, and five Secretaries of State. After the lapse of five years however, it was found to be equally disliked by both the Centralists, and the Federalists, and the constantly increasing disputes of these parties, led to its final abandonment.

The period of Mediation, which lasted ten years followed, the Mediator was Napoleon and under his rule, Switzerland was occupied by a French army. The Act of Mediation was conceived in the same spirit as the Constitutions of 1801 and 1802, and forms the groundwork of the present Act of Union. The name of the Helvetic Republic was abandoned for that of the Helvetic Confederation, the independence of the separate Cantons was restored, and each retained its peculiar laws, administration, and form of government. The Cantons have no individual power of making War, each placing its contingent of troops at the disposal of the Central government; no separate treaties can be made between the different Cantons, and a Swiss in whatever state he may be born, is entitled to the rights of Citizenship in the whole of the Cantons. The supreme power is vested in the Diet, which can resolve itself into a Court for deciding differences that may arise between the various Cantons. The Landammann is the president of this Court, which is composed of a deputy from each of the States, but the deputies of Bern, Zürich, Waad, St. Gallen, Aargau, and Graubunden, which have more than a 100,000 inhabitants, have double votes. All citizens are equal before the Law, etc. etc. The Act of Mediation expired in 1813, and now began a struggle on the part of the Patricians to regain their former Perogatives; which was vigorously opposed by the democratic party, especially in the new Cantons.

On the 7th. of August 1815, the present Constitution of Switzerland was adopted; the system of Centralization which had in a great degree been retained in the Act of Mediation, was now abolished, and each of the Cantons were placed on terms of equality, without regard lo their respective wealth, power, or population. The first article of this new Act of Union is to the following effect: —

The 22 Sovereign Cantons of Switzerland unite themselves by the present Act for the maintenance of their Freedom, Independence, and Security, from all attacks of foreign Powers, and for securing the Peace and Order of the interior. They mutually guarantee to each other their respective Constitutions, as far as such are in accordance with the Act of Union. They also mutually guarantee to each other the integrity of their respective territories.

The Act of Union was founded on the principle of representation, and was contrived to oppose although in an indirect manner, the real and effective Sovereignty of the people. This was effected by means of an unequal representation of the inhabitants of the cities and rural districts, which as well as the method of indirect election was calculated to throw all the power into the hands of the Aristocratic party. The principal authorities became in effect Sovereigns, and nothing seemed to be left to the people but submission to the intrigues, and state policy of the re-actionary faction. The principles of Liberty were however too firmly rooted in the breasts of the Swiss People to

render it probable that they would quietly submit to this state of affairs. The agitation of the Democratic party increased day by day, and the French revolution of 1830, had the effect of bringing affairs to a Crisis. The Aristocratic party who took their stand on the ground of "Historical right," and whose strength lay almost entirely in the smaller and older Cantons, succeeded for the most part in obtaining a majority in the Diet, and consequently in retaining the reins of power in their hands. The inhabitants of these older Cantons were and are, in point of general information, and more especially with regard to political intelligence, very far behind the inhabitants of the new Cantons, and they looked back with regret to the "Good old Times" previous to 1798, and to the superior rights and priveleges which they at that time possessed over the other states; the peculiar interests of these Cantons were still in numerous instances in direct opposition to the general welfare, and it therefore followed as a matter of course that these Cantons became the stronghold of the Aristocratic party, the more so as they possessed far more power in proportion to their population and resources, than the others. For example, Bern like Uri, had only one voice in the decisions of the Diet, yet the contingent of troops furnished to the general Army by Bern, was 25 times greater than that of Uri, and its contribution of money was eighty-six times larger. Under such circumstances it often happened that a minority consisting of less than one third of the inhabitants of Switzerland obtained a majority in the Diet, and consequently the power of obstructing and baffling the measures of the liberal party, although they were supported by a considerable majority of the population. The inhabitants of the larger Cantons were therefore compelled either to submit without redress to the tyranny of the Aristocratic party or to take energetic measures for procuring a reform in the Constitution.

The majority of the Swiss nation was decidedly in favour of a purely Democratic Republic, a form of government better suited to the peculiar circumstances and spirit of the people than any other, and to effect this change in the Constitution was the object of all the efforts of the Radical party. As a counterpoise to this political excitement, the Aristocratic or Conservative party had recourse to a religious agitation, and the cry of "The Church is in danger," was found to be not less useful in a political point of view in Switzerland, than it has proved in other countries. An idea that Democratic institutions were necessarily connected with infidelity was industriously spread abroad, and assiduously encouraged by the Conservative party, and this movement appears to have been equally successful in both the Catholic and Protestant Cantons. In the former it tended to give fresh life to the half extinct power of the formidable and persevering disciples of Loyala, and in the latter it took the form of what was called "Pietism," a term which was applied to the principles of that class

of persons whose religions convictions or prejudices induced them to oppose the progress of political reform. In both cases the main hope of the conservative party rested on the Clergy; and in a dogged resistance to all the wishes of the democratic party, the Aristocrats of both Communions went hand in hand. Their efforts were especially successful in the Cantons of Lucern, Zug, Freiburg, Uri, and Schwyz, in which the mass of the people were both ignorant and bigoted, and consequently afforded the best materials for religious agitation. In having recourse to the desperate expedient of giving a simple political dispute, the character of a religious struggle, the conservative party had called into action elements that they neither expected nor desired. No sooner had this powerful lever been put into operation, than the Ultra-Catholic party, the champions of the gloomy bigotry of the dark ages, started into life, and gave the contest a new and more acrimonious character than had been calculated upon by either side. The Liberal party on the other hand, agitated by the speeches and writings of numerous foreign political refugees, pushed their principles to the opposite extremes of Communism or Socialism.

Fortunately the great mass of the Swiss people, were equally far from being infected by either of these extreme doctrines. The extreme Right or "Sonderbund" party may therefore be considered as the advocates of religious and political Despotism in a Republican form, and as the champions of the privileges of particular Cantons, in opposition to the general freedom of the whole nation. The "Eidgenossenschaft" party on the contrary, in spite of various minor differences of opinion, may be considered as the supporters of the general welfare of the Commonwealth, on the broad principles of civil and religious equality, and in opposition to the interests of various classes, both political and religious. These were the great parties who were struggling for victory; the Ultra-Radical faction being too small to take any independent course, may be considered to all intents and purposes as part of the liberal party.

The first outbreak between these parties, arose from the confiscation of the property of the Monasteries, in the Canton Aargau. The government of this state was in the hands of the liberal party and they succeeded in obtaining a decree from the Diet authorising them to seize on the property of the richly endowed Cloisters for Males, and to restore the comparatively poor Nunneries for Women, although by an article in the Act of Union, the property of the Clergy had been guaranteed. As might have been expected this caused a most tremendous excitement among the Catholic population, the Ultra-Catholic party declared this act to be a sacrilegious robbery, and an attempt to subvert their religion. The agitation increased, and at length the Counselor Leu of Ebersol, in the name of the people of Lucern, spoke the significant words, "We insist that the Jesuits shall be recalled for the defence of our faith." And it was also in-

sisted that the High-School of the city, in accordance with the intention of its founders, should be confided to their management.

The question of the recall of the Jesuits was not a new one; since the year **1774**, when the order was expelled from Switzerland, and they were consequently forced to abandon their seat at Lucern, they had still in the character of simple priests contrived to retain a considerable portion of their influence over the minds of the people, and the College or High School which they had founded, still continued in all essential respects, notwithstanding the exertions of more liberal teachers, to be conducted on the principles which they had originated. The agitation for their recall was commenced in **1805**, and resumed whenever circumstances seemed to afford a probability of success. Some times openly advocated, and at others, pushed forward by insidious means in Lucern, Solothurn, and Freiburg, in the latter of which cities their cause since **1819**, had acquired a considerable number of supporters. The liberal party by the encouragement of a so called "Rational" or in other words Freethinking method of education in the public schools, the establishment of institutions for the circulation of books of an ultra-liberal character, and various indiscreet measures of a similar tendency, which were calculated to alarm the more cautious persons of all religious denominations, but more especially the catholics, contributed not a little to the growing wish which existed in that communion, for the recall of the order of Jesus.

The first object of the emissaries of that order, was to obtain popularity among the lower classes, by urging them to take more interest in the government of the country. These intrigues, the purpose of which was to obtain a firm basis for the Ultra-Catholic party in the minds of the mass of the population, succeeded fully, and received the assistance of many influential men who were indifferent to the religious object of the movement, but who sought by every means in their power to effect the political emancipation of the people.

No sooner however had this party succeeded in obtaining power in the Canton of Lucern, than their real object became apparent ,and all the partisans of reaction marshalled themselves under the flag of the Jesuits. In vain the Diet exerted itself to still this constantly increasing agitation; with infinite tact and ingenuity the Catholic party put every lever in motion to effect their purpose, they called the influence of the popular leaders, and of the Bishops to their aid, and demanded that in the first winter months of **1844**, the Jesuits should be replaced in their former position as managers of High-School of Lucern. This accordingly took place, and they commenced at once their theological labours in the Seminary, having previously obtained a sort of half approbation for their educational program from the Bishop of the Diocese. Once established however, they proceeded to carry out their own ideas of education, without any regard to the

regulations of the Academy, and persisted in them in spite of the protests of the more enlightened catholic clergy and theologians. They remained deaf even to the repeated commands of the Bishops, maintained an obstinate silence, and pursued their own course. This silence was perhaps the wisest course they could pursue, for it would have exceeded the abilities of even Father Reh (a man of great learning, and varied information, who was the soul of the Order in Lucern), to have defended openly the insincere and equivocal conduct they pursued. On the other hand the personal behaviour and conduct of the Jesuits, were calculated to ensure popularity, in their sermons and addresses, they cautiously avoided all referance to their peculiar dogmas with regard to religious matters, their discourses were for the most part of a political character, and they handled their opponents with a severity of sarcasm, and a coarseness of invective, that could only find applause among the lowest classes of an ultra catholic population. Indeed, notwithstanding the reputation that the Jesuits have invariably maintained for an almost superhuman shrewdness and subtlety, their conduct in Lucern seems to have been marked by an unusual amount of what can only be described as political stupidity. This was shown in a blind and wilful ignorance of the ideas and wishes of the present generation, and in an obstinate persistance in the antiquated and narrow-minded theories of former ages. Throughout their whole career in Switzerland, notwithstanding the agitation, misery, and bloodshed, that was caused by their machinations, the Order of Jesus were never anything more than tools in the hands of the Aristocratic or reactionary party, and the completeness of their failure in the presumptious attempt to drag a nation back into the darkness of the middle ages, is calculated to give very different ideas of the power and resources of the order, from those disseminated in French romances, and even in historical and political writings, in which these fearful "Janissaries of the Church" have been represented as possessing abilities, energies, and powers, scarcely compatible with human intellect.

It is probable that the greater part of the power which the Jesuits possessed, consisted in the absurdly exaggerated ideas that have been formed, more especially on the Continent, with regard to their alleged secret combination and influence, and that they were only formidable because they were believed to be so. These ideas may have had some foundation in fact three Centuries ago, when the General of the Order is said to have been the most powerful person in Europe, but can scarcely be supposed to apply to the present time, by any one who takes a comprehensive view of the spirit of the age. Any attempt to revive the false and narrow-minded principles of by-gone centuries, in the present age of intellectual progress, must inevitably end in the same manner as the efforts of the Aristocratic party in Switzerland, nor would the priestly craft and cunning of twenty Orders of Jesuits

be sufficient to prevent their terminating in deserved discomforture and defeat.

It is the constant recurrence of these struggles between the ideas of the past, and those of the present time, between despotism and liberty, true religion and priestcraft, that gives a peculiar interest to the history of the nineteenth century. This is more particularly the case with regard to Switzerland, in which from the circumstance of its being a Republic, we are enabled to follow the clue to the motives of the actors with greater ease than in a Monarchy, where the complicated interests of the various ranks and classes of the community, render the springs of action comparatively obscure, and it is only by viewing the circumstances from various points, that we are enabled to obtain a clear idea of the real position of affairs.

In spite of all possible opposition from the liberal party the Jesuits had now established themselves in Lucern, and the Aristocratic party prepared with their assistance, to commence a vigorous attack on their political opponents. The liberals showed themselves no less eager for the contest; and the Canton of Aargau the strong-hold of that party, loudly demanded the expulsion of the order of Jesus from the Swiss territories The proposals that were laid before the Diet for this purpose were however rejected by that body, which amounted in fact to a declaration of the legality of their residence in Switzerland.

The numerous public meetings which took place in the more liberally disposed Cantons, and above all the exertions of the public press, had caused such an excitement in the minds of the Ultra-Liberal party, that they resolved in spite of the decision of the Diet, to expel the Jesuits by force of arms; and in consequence of this determination on the first of December 1844, and on the first of April 1845, bodies of armed volunteers raised in the Protestant Cantons, were put in motion against the Ultra-Catholic party. The all success of these expeditions shewed that the great body of the liberal party were not yet aware of the danger that threatened them, and were reluctant to have recourse to measures that might terminate in the most bitter of all contests, a religious war. The Ultra-Catholic party were consequently victorious, but they understood their real position too well to suppose that this storm was the last they would have to encounter, or that this victory would have the effect of securing their repose for any length of time; on the contrary they made every preparation not only for forwarding the objects of their own party, but also for resisting the future efforts of their opponents.

The first steps to the formation of the league between the Ultra-Catholic and Aristocratically inclined Cantons, which has since been known by the name of the "Sonderbund," are difficult to trace; but it would seem that the idea was developed during the Catholic conferences that took place in Kothen and Lucern, on the occasion of the

confiscation of the property of the monasteries in Aargau. By this league, the Cantons of Lucern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Freiburg, (to which Wallis afterwards joined itself), united themselves for the purposes of mutual protection, and the defence of the Catholic and Apostolic faith. It followed as a matter of course that the formation of this new confederation, led to considerable opposition, and this was no doubt founded on perfectly legal grounds, while the very existence of the Sonderbund, was an offence against both the spirit and letter of the Act of Union on which the general confederation of the Swiss Cantons was founded, and a decision of the Diet accordingly declared the new Catholic league to be forbidden by the sixth article of that Act.

The Manifesto published by the Sonderbund in reply to this declaration of the Diet, was dated the 7th. of February 1844, and was the first official declaration of its existence. This document was extremely moderate in its tone, and shows clearly that the Sonderbund at that time was not the formidable confederation that it afterwards became, and that it owed its power not less to the attacks and failures of the Radical party, than to the intrigues of the Jesuits. It maintained the right of the Catholic Cantons to combine for the protection of their religion, but expressed a firm expectation that the matter would be arranged to the satisfaction of the general Swiss confederation. After the attack on the Catholic Cantons by the volunteers, and the interference of the Diet with regard to the Jesuits, the language of the Sonderbund however entirely changed its character. The new confederation now took the character of an exclusive corporation, with a separate civil and military organization, from which the step to an independent state with separate interests and politics was not great. With perfect disregard to the interests of the Swiss nation, the great object of the Sonderbund, that of establishing a "Catholic Switzerland" was pushed forwards by every possible means in the Cantons of Freiburg and Lucern, in which the influence of the Jesuits was the most predominant. The language of the Sonderbund towards the Diet, now took a haughty, bitter, and contemptuous tone, that seemed as though it was intended to provoke that body to hostilities.

If as was eventually proved to be the case, the governments of the separatist Cantons had made an erroneous estimate of their power and resources, more especially with regard to the number of their adherents in the other governments; they at least pursued their plan boldly, and did not make any attempt at half measures. They determined that the states of the Sonderbund should not only be Catholic, but Catholic according to the true Jesuitical type, and they resolved to succeed to the fullest extent, or as they expressed it "To die like Heroes, beneath the ruins of their Altars." The Jesuits on their side appear likewise to have adopted "All or Nothing" for their motto, and they must have imagined that they had a good chance of success, or

they certainly would not so lightly have risked the loss of the positions they had already secured in Freiburg and Lucern. For although the reverend fathers were not quite such free agents as was generally supposed, there is no doubt they possessed sufficient power to have prevented, or at least retarded the commencement of hostilities if they had been inclined to do so. The train once set in motion however, it was no longer possible either to stop or to turn aside, a conflict became inevitable, and every possible preparation was made for the contest.

It would have been folly to have expected from these bigoted partizans who were determined to stake everything on the result of an appeal to arms, that they would ever unite with the moderate liberals in an honourable and enlightened attempt to restore peace and union in the Swiss republic. Their hopes on the contrary depended on the power which they possessed of fanaticising the minds of the people, and in undermining by every means that could be invented, the Unity of the various Protestant Cantons.

The preparations for the approaching contest, were conducted on the part of the Sonderbund, with considerable foresight and ingenuity, and the men who stood at the helm of the state, repaid richly by the assistance they now afforded to the Jesuits, the help which they had formerly received from that order. The free press, which in all countries may be considered as the palladium of civil and religious liberty, was now surrounded by restrictions and fetters, the right of the people to form associations for political purposes was suspended, and in its stead a truly Jesuitical system of espionage was established. It was necessary to obtain the confidence of the mass of the population, as affording the only basis on which the hope of victory could be founded, in the event of an appeal to arms, but this confidence in order to be useful must be blind. For this purpose, the imminent danger to which the Catholic religion was exposed by the machinations of the Liberals, formed the constant theme of the sermons of the Jesuits; the echoes of these sermons were repeated in every direction by the catholic press, while all reply was rendered impossible, by the establishment of a rigid censorship. The zeal of the more ignorant classes of the population was excited to fever heat, by continual pilgrimages, religious processions, and the distribution of relics, amulets, etc., and no means that priestcraft could invent, were neglected to turn this enthusiasm to the purposes of the Aristocratic party. In attacking the simple minded people of Switzerland, on the side of their affection for their priests, and their attachment to the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, the Sonderbund party had carefully selected the weakest point in their character; the religious excitement extended in a considerable degree, to the catholic part of the population in the Cantons not included in the Sonderbund, and thus gave the Ultra-Catholic faction the advantage of having friends in the enemies' camp, and it was necessary to

appeal strongly to the patriotic feelings of this part of the community, before they could be induced to take up arms against the Jesuitical hornets' nest.

The governments of the various Cantons of the Sonderbund now proceeded in the most Tyrannical and Inquisitorial manner to crush the last remains of the liberal opposition. The tribunals for punishing the persons who had taken part in the affair of the volunteers, were declared permanent. The arrest of suspected persons continued, and the severity of the sentences pronounced by the governments more especially that of Lucern, seemed to indicate the intention of totally ruining the property of their political opponents, as well as the health of those who were sentenced to imprisonment. Many of the supporters of the catholic party, were indignant at the cruelty of these measures, but any public expression of these opinions were highly dangerous, and resistance to them impossible. A considerable armed force, consisting of the most fanatical part of the population under the command of foreign officers, being already at the disposal of the governments.

These foreign officers were employed in organising the extensive military levies of the Sonderbund, and the expence of these warlike preparations began to be already felt as a heavy burden upon the country. The responsibility of calling this burden into existence, as well as the constantly declining public credit, and the decrease in the value of property, together with the effusion of blood that subsequently occurred, and the enormous expences of the war, rests on the shoulders of Constantine Siegwart, a man who had at this time succeeded in placing himself at the head of public affairs in Lucern, and who concealed a vast amount of personal ambition, under the mask of Ultra-Catholicism, a cause which in the inmost recesses of his heart, he condemned and despised. He may be considered as the representative of a class of persons, whose names will be loaded with curses and maledictions throughout Switzerland, even in the Cantons of the Sonderbund, and perhaps more there than elsewhere. While Leu the sincere Martyr in his gloomy cause, will even be held in grateful remembrance by the Swiss Catholics.

This man who was the immediate cause of the recall of the Jesuits to Lucern, must be admitted to be a man both of honesty and ability, and with his singular mixture of talents and weaknesses formed no bad specimen of the population of the more ancient Cantons. It is asserted that this popular leader, although gifted with a strong natural understanding, with great energy and much uncultivated ability, was led to devote himself to the cause of the Jesuits in consequence of a pretended prophecy, in virtue of which he looked upon himself as an especial instrument in the hand of God, whose name was destined to be immortalised in consequence of the service he was ordained to render to the Catholic Church. He exerted himself with a blind but mistaken sincerity to inspire the people of the Catholic Cantons, with the same

enthusiasm that filled his own breast, confident in the justice and in the final success of the cause he had espoused, he looked with a smile of contempt on all the efforts of the adverse party. He saw with unshakable coolness the increasing agitation and complication in the public affairs of the country, and the daily augmenting misery of the people, as evils that were not to be avoided, inasmuch as the prophecy had fortold that such a state of things was to be expected, as the forerunner of the triumph of the Church.

The death of Father Leu has been variously narrated, according to the different political or religious bias of the various narrators. According to the accounts of the protestant party, despair of the success of his cause induced him to lay violent hands upon himself; while the catholics assert with greater probability, that his death is to attributed to the act of an assassin. However this may be, it is certain that the fate of this sincere but mistaken man, is involved in considerable mystery.

The death of Leu, which was universally believed by the Catholic party, to have been perpetrated by their political opponents, caused the fury of the different factions to rise to a still greater extent, and Constantine Siegwart, and his associates, now threw aside the tone of moderation which they had hitherto held towards their rivals. The loss of so influential a leader on the part of the catholics, naturally encouraged the hopes of the Liberals, while on the other hand it gave an appearance of truth and probability, to the exaggerated statements of the Ultra-Catholics, with regard to the unscrupulous malignity of the Radicals, who were represented to have formed themselves into a secret society, the object of which was the destruction of all the heads of the Sonderbund party, and the mass of the people were more than ever convinced, that the great object of the Liberal party was the destruction of the Catholic faith. From this time forth, the original political point of dispute was completely lost sight of, in the more violent religious excitement, and the contest assumed all the rancour which invariably attends religious warfare. Not even the leaders of the Ultra-Catholic party were however weak enough to suppose that the people could be long hoodwinked in this manner; and it therefore became the more necessary to make use of them while it was possible to do so.

The people were persuaded that the only alternative left them was to secure the triumph of the Sonderbund by force of arms, or to submit to the Diet, which was represented as being in the highest degree hostile to their religious independence. The Aristocratical party however, wished neither the one nor the other, and least of all an appeal to force; notwithstanding that the Jesuits proclaimed from the Altars, that they would be the first to lead their flocks against the enemies of their faith, and every possible means were taken to excite the warlike spirit

of the population, and to make a display of military force, that might have the effect of overaweing their opponents.

For this purpose 25,000 stand of Arms, and thirty five pieces of Cannon, were purchased in foreign countries; and funds from some unknown sources flowed with such abundance into the military chest, that even after the end of the struggle it still contained upwards of 300,000 Swiss francs. A council of war composed of members from each of the seven Cantons, was formed; Generals were appointed; and the number of foreign officers increased. Large quantities of warlike stores were provided, a levy *en masse* of the peasantry organized, on the more exposed points of the frontier, colossal entrenchments were erected, and the government of Lucern declared openly, that these preparations were intended to resist any attempts to carry into effect the decisions of the Diet, with regard to the expulsion of the Order of Jesus, and the revision of the general Swiss constitution. The Cantons not included in the Sonderbund, had hitherto made no warlike preparations, they still believed that the dispute would be amicably settled, either by the intervention of the Pope, or that the general common-sense of the country-would be sufficient to suppress this band of ambitious Priests, and selfish Aristocrats.

The great Council of St. Gallen, who were supported by the voices of the great body of Catholics in Graubünden, caused the state of affairs in Switzerland, which were evidently tending to a civil war, to be laid before the father of the Church. Previous to this step however, Pius IX had addressed a letter to his accredited Legate Marioti, in which he stated that he had observed the tendency of the growing discord in Switzerland, and adds — "We have in our humility, addressed the warmest prayers to the Lord, that he may calm with his Spirit of Peace and Wisdom, the agitation in the minds of the people; preventing them from plunging into civil war, and staining their native soil with the blood of their brethren. We have prayed for all those who unite themselves with us in Spirit and in Truth in calling on his name, and not less for those also, whom we wish to see united with us in the bonds of perfect affection, and whom we on our side regard with sincere love. And so far as our voice can be heard in this tumult of excitement, so far we will that you, Monsignor, will cause it to be heard, even to the remotest parts of Switzerland."

It would have been infinitely better if Pius IX, instead of this somewhat bombastic and utterly useless letter, had sent instructions to his spiritual "Janissaries," to refrain from their miserable machinations. He would then have had the merit of preventing the effusion of blood that followed in consequence, and would have been entitled to the thanks of every friend of humanity. No one knew better than the Holy Father, that the furious complaints of the oppression of the Catholic Church, which resounded from St. Gallen, Graubünden, Glarus, and other places, were wholly and utterly untrue. Notwithstanding

this, he permitted the Jesuits to take their own course, and his silence implied at least a passive approbation of their conduct, and his Legate Marioti laboured with as much zeal as any Jesuit in Switzerland, to bring about the bloody catastrophy of this melancholy drama.

The Sonderbund, for whose defence the inhabitants of the seven newly united Cantons were thus called to arms, was by no means universally popular; it had been formed by the intrigues of the Aristocracy, combined with a party of foreign Priests, and was bitterly opposed by a considerable proportion of the native Clergy. The people had never given their highly necessary sanction to its formation, and it was certainly a most extraordinary state of affairs, when the governments of the seven Cantons succeeded in inducing the people to take up arms, in defence of an institution, which had never legally or officially received the public approbation; and this circumstance alone shows the extent to which the re-actionary party had succeeded.

The league which had been originally formed under the pretence of protecting the religious rights of the people, had now become an aristocratic conspiracy against the liberties of the nation, which were sacrificed to the ambition of a party of ambitious laymen, combined, with the greedyand power-seeking diciples of Loyala. The mass of the people remained however completely blind to the machinations of the Aristocratic party, the religious agitation had the effect of making them gloomy and discontented, and this disposition made them more ready tools in the hands of the Jesuits. Countless numbers of consecrated Amulets, Medals, etc. were distributed among the ignorant and fanaticised peasantry, which they were taught to believe possessed the power of making them invulnerable to the bullets and weapons of their enemies; and the superstitious belief in the power of these so called St. Benedict's Pence, made these ill disciplined and variously armed troops of peasants, more ready for the combat, than the excellent and efficient Corps of Riflemen which had also been organized by the Sonderbund.

The number of troops of various kinds, and of different degrees of efficiency raised by the seven cantons, amounted to upwards of 26,000 men, who were for the most part under the guidance of foreign officers of knowledge and experience. Ulrich Von Salis, and Taglio, were Generals in Chief, and together with Maillardoz, the Commandant of Freiburg, and the Chiefs of Division Money and Albier, showed themselves to be good soldiers; but Abyburg, Rittimann, Güldlin and others, showed no great ability, nor did the troops they commanded display any very great devotion to the cause in which they were engaged. Although the army of the Sonderbund possessed excellent artillery, and the Corps of Riflemen formed an excellent school, by means of which the zealous but undisciplined mass of peasants which flocked to the standard of the Jesuits, might be soon brought to a reasonable state of discipline and efficiency, and although there was no want of

money for the purpose of setting the army so formed in motion, the most enthusiastic of the party could not conceal from themselves, that in the event of actual hostilities, the seven small Cantons forming the Sonderbund, could have little chance of success in opposition to the other fifteen Cantons, unless they could succeed in exciting division in the camp of the enemy, or in obtaining in reality the assistance from Austria, which the Jesuits so loudly and unceasingly promised to the people.

There was however little hope of procuring assistance from any foreign power. The Pope had indeed refused to raise his voice against the Sonderbund, but the system of despotism which it sought to establish, stood in too great contradiction to the liberal steps he was taking elsewhere, to afford any hope that the great Papal reformer, would afford any active assistance, even if he had been in a condition to do so. In France the order of Jesus was at its last gasp, and England had given the opposite party the most earnest assurances of its sympathy. In Bavaria and Sardinia, the cabinets which had been composed of the partizans of absolutism, had been compelled to give way to more liberal statesmen. Austria therefore constituted the only hope of the Sonderbund, and Constantine Siegwart left no means unemployed, to induce that power to attempt an intervention in its favour. Once assured of the protection of Austria, the Sonderbund would have then separated itself from the rest of Switzerland, and the Aristocracy in alliance with, and under the sanction of, an absolute catholic monarch, might have carried their love of power to an extent which they could never hope to attain, as long as they continued in confederacy with the Democratic, and Protestant Cantons.

While the Aristocratic party were thus seeking for foreign aid, the storm at length arose at home. The other Cantons arose in arms, determined at all hazards to prevent the partition of their country, and to preserve the integrity of the Swiss Confederation. The agitation occasioned by the proceedings of the Sonderbund, had produced the most alarming effects on the commerce, manufactures, and general welfare of the country, the fear of civil war, was producing almost as much mischief as its actual occurrence, and the people of Switzerland at length resolved to put an end to the new league, by force of Arms. In taking this step, they had both moral and legal right upon their side; there could be no doubt that the formation of the Sonderbund was in direct opposition to the seventh article of the Act of Union, which expressly forbids all confederations between the separate Cantons to the prejudice of the general interests. Added to which the military preparations of the Sonderbund, and the continual intrigues and agitation of the Jesuits, were evidently opposed to the peace and welfare of the general community. By their preparations for war, it was certain that the Sonderbund had determined that the sword should decide the quarrel, and it was therefore evident that it must disposed

by force, if Switzerland was to preserve her national integrity and bond of union.

The Diet were supported by the general voice of the nation, when in obedience to the instructions of the Great Council, they adopted more energetic measures with regard to the Sonderbund. Through the elections in May 1847 the Liberal party had obtained a majority in the Diet, the Session was opened on the 5th. of July, and on the 19th. and 20th. of the same month, the great question of Peace or War, was brought before the tribunal of the people. The Canton of Lucern delivered a protest with regard to the insufficiency of the laws concerning the formation of bodies of volunteers, declared however that so far from entertaining any fear of a repetition of such attacks, that the Sonderbund was prepared to resist any attempt on the part of the majority of the Diet, to interfere in the internal government of the seven Cantons. It demanded that the property of the Monasteries, confiscated in Aargau should be restored, and that a guarantee should be given for the security of the Jesuits residing in the territories of the Sonderbund. It added that no hope of peace could be entertained except upon these conditions, and that the seven Cantons were prepared to defend themselves in case of attack. Various representatives from the Sonderbund sought to shew that the new league was purely of a defensive character, and therefore by no means opposed to the provisions of the Act of Union. They also accused the Diet of encroaching on the rights of the independant governments of the separate Cantons, in favour of an illegal system of centralization. They protested against any interferance in the internal affairs of the states forming the Sonderbund, and pointed out the danger that must accrue to the whole Swiss confederation, in the event of an attempt to do so by force of arms.

The representative of Thurgau however, in a speech replete with sound and conclusive reasoning, demolished at a blow the web of sophistry in which the advocates of the Sonderbund had sought to conceal the real facts of the case, he quoted numerous precedents to show that the majority of the Diet had a clear right to interfere in any arrangements of the separate Cantons, that affected the interests of the whole. He denounced the new league as an illegal combination, contrary alike to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and called on the assembly to bear in mind the words of the Act of Union of 1332, between the Cantons now included in the Sonderbund, which declare that no separate Canton shall enter into any treaty with another State, either in or out of Switzerland, without the consent of the other confederate Cantons; and he demanded that the Sonderbund should be dissolved, if necessary by military force.

It was farther urged by the representatives of the Protestant Cantons, that it was directly the states that by the formation of a separate convention among themselves, had set the provisions of the Act of Union

at defiance, that had opposed every attempt on the part of the liberal party to procure a revision of that Act, and had denounced all such attempts, as having a tendency to produce anarchy and confusion into the affairs of the Republic.

The majority of the Diet, consisting of twelve whole, and two half votes from the representatives of Zürich, Bern, Glarus, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Aargau, Tessin, Thurgau, Geneva, Waadt, Graubündten, Appenzell, and Baselland, adopted the following resolutions, proposed by the representative of Bern:

1. That the Diet declares the Sonderbund to be dissolved, as irreconcilable with the Act of Union.

2. That the Diet insists upon the above resolution being respected by the Cantons which it concerns; and pledges itself to take if necessary, measures to enforce such respect.

The Democratic party which formed the great bulk of the Swiss nation, received this declaration on the part of the Diet, which was passed on the 20th. of July 1847, with the most lively feelings of satisfaction. The representatives of a free people had at length shaken off their apathy, and stood prepared to vindicate the principles of the national constitution. In so doing however, they were careful to restrain themselves so strictly within the pale of legal right, that the attack which they had reason to believe would follow their adoption of the above resolutions, should exhibit to the eyes of the world the ignorance or malignity of their opponents.

The decision of the Diet had the effect of inflaming the spirits of the people to the utmost against the Sonderbund, public meetings were held in every part of the country, and the political unions, began a system of the most violent and reckless agitation. The Swiss authorities however by the firmness of their measures, succeeded in confining this new storm within the bounds of moderation, they succeeded in impressing on the minds of the people the necessity of their leaving the management of the affair to the legal and constituted authorities of the Republic, in order to give no reasonable pretence for the interference of a foreign power. The proceedings of the Diet were not however confined to words, they caused a large quantity of warlike stores, which were sent from Lombardy for the use of the Sonderbund to be seized and detained until farther notice, and took measures for preventing all similar supplies from passing the frontier. Such officers of the Republic, as had entered the service of the Sonderbund, were struck from the Army list; and these measures which were loudly complained of by the opposite party, appear to have been strictly in conformity with legal right.

The measures taken with regard to the order of Jesus however, although perhaps easy to be defended on the ground of necessity, were of at least doubtful legality. By a decision of the Diet, dated the 3rd. of September, the residence of the Jesuits in any part of the Swiss

territories, was declared to be a question affecting the interests of the entire confederation; and the various governments of the Sonderbund, were ordered to take measures for the immediate expulsion of the Order from their respective Cantons, and forbidden to again suffer them to return. This decision which passed the Diet by a considerable majority, was founded on the first. and eighth, articles of the Act of Union, but the legal competence of the Diet to issue such orders, does not appear to have been very clearly proved. In a national point of view however, the opinion of the majority of the representatives of the people, must be considered as the best means of deciding the doubtful meaning of the Act of Union, and to afford sufficient authority to the executive, whose business was certainly not to compare and analyze the various bearings, of the apparently contradictory clauses of that act. Nevertheless the assertion of the Sonderbund party, that the Diet by this decision, exceeded their legal powers, would seem to be entitled to some degree of respect.

The Sonderbund protested vehemently against this proceeding of the Diet, as a violent infraction of their Sovereign rights as independent states, and redoubled their warlike demonstrations. The Diet did not condescend to discuss the matter, but adjourned their sittings to the 18th. of October; and this internal, was spent by both parties in active preparations for the coming struggle. The assembly of the council of instruction previous to the next session of the Diet, formed amidst the most violent excitement of the whole Swiss nation, the immediate prelude to the appeal to arms. The influence of the Jesuits in Lucern, was shown, by the decision of the great council, which rejected by a large majority the proposal that the Canton should withdraw itself from the Sonderbund. 74 voices voted for the rejection of the proposal, and only 7 members were found bold enough to protest against the legality of the Sonderbund, and the conduct of the government, in joining themselves to an illegal confederation.

The government of the more democratic Cantons of the Sonderbund, showed themselves less ready to take upon themselves the responsibility of plunging the country into civil war, their conduct was more passive than active, and they contended themselves with leaving the affair in the hands of the blind and misled populace, who were as enthusiastic for the cause of the Sonderbund as the aristocracy of Lucern, and who made every preparation for rising *en masse*, at the first attempt at coertion that should be attempted by the supporters of the Diet.

The population of the Cantons not included in the Sonderbund were for the most part convinced of the necessity of putting that combination down by force of arms, and though some difference of opinion was exhibited in the legislative chambers of the different Cantons with regard to the stringency of the measures to be employed, the representatives of five sixths of the people supported that measure, and this

decision was hastened by the threatening armaments of the Sonderbund, which seemed inclined to adopt aggressive measures.

When the Diet again assembled, a last attempt to induce the governments of the seven Cantons to listen to reason, was made by that assembly. Two representatives of the Eidgenossenschaft were despatched to the Sonderbund, to speak the last words of peace to the respective governments, and to circulate a Proclamation addressed by the Diet to the people of the seven Cantons. The attempt was however a complete failure, the ambassadors of the Diet were refused a hearing by the officials of the Sonderbund, who only granted them an audience for the purpose of recommending their immediate departure; and in Lucern, where they attempted to distribute the proclamations, the disseminating of which was the principal object of their mission; they were arrested and thrown into prison, and subjected to criminal proceedings, on a charge exciting sedition against the authorities; and the proclamation, the last hope of the Diet to prevent bloodshed, consequently remained unknown to the people to whom it was addressed.

The authorities of the Canton of Zug however, the peculiar position of which rendered it unadvisable for its inhabitants to break with the Diet, although all their sympathies were with the Sonderbund, accepted the proclamation, but did everything in their power to prevent its publication. Indeed in every state of the Sonderbund, the ambassadors of the Diet were treated in the most ignominious manner, and this ignominy, fell back upon the heads of those, who by means of articles in the public journals, admitted, and even boasted of having been the authors of this treatment.

In the proclamation of the Diet, which there is little doubt would have produced considerable effect upon the population of the Sonderbund, had it not been for the precautions of the authorities; inasmuch as it bore the stamp of a feeling of justice and brotherly feeling on the part of the Eidgenossenschaft towards their fellow citizens, which must in some degree have awakened similar feelings in the breasts of the other party; — the Diet declared —

That it was far from the wish or intention of the authorities of the Republic, to interfere with, or to restrict the religious rights or political liberties of the inhabitants of the Cantons forming the Sonderbund; and that the Diet had no wish to encroach on the Sovereign rights of the separate States, or to form a central government; but that on the contrary all the Cantons should be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges. That the Sonderbund was therefore unnecessary for the purpose which it professed to serve; and for any other purposes, it could only be dangerous to the general interests of the Republic.

The tone of this proclamation was in the highest degree moderate and dignified, the language courteous and firm, and in all respects the

document was precisely such as the representatives of a free people, could with propriety address to their erring and misguided brethren.

The Dictator of the Sonderbund Siegwart, and his spiritual and temporal satellites, saw however too clearly that any return of the people from the paths of error into which they had been systematically led, into those of reason and humanity, would be the signal of the downfall of the aristocratic party, and they therefore preferred the doubtful chances of an appeal to arms; and answered the proclamation of the Diet, by more threatening demonstrations of their military force.

It now became evident to the opposite party that no time was to be lost. They immediately raised an army of 50,000 men, and pushed forward their preparations for war, with energy and rapidity. Colonel Dufour of Geneva, the oldest staff officer of the Swiss army, a veteran who had served under Napoleon, was appointed Commander in chief, and this time-honoured soldier was greeted by the troops with an enthusiasm, which his subsequent conduct both as a General, a Patriot and a Man, proved him to be fully entitled to. While both parties were thus earnestly preparing to appeal to the sword, Zug whose interests lay in the preservation of peace, made a feeble attempt at negotiation, which however led to no results. A conference between the ambassadors of the different Cantons had no better effect, the debate being a mere repetition on both sides of the arguments previously used in the Diet. The proposal of the representative of Basel, that the Sonderbund should be dissolved, and the Jesuit question referred to the final arbitration of the Pope, was objected to by those of Thurgau and Zurich, on the ground that the Pope was a foreign power whose interests were opposed to those of the protestant Cantons, and consequently could not be permitted to interfere in the domestic quarrels of the Swiss. Lucern insisted that the question of the Aargau cloisters, should be united with that of the Jesuits, but protested against any other of the Cantons, bringing their separate affairs under the notice of the holy father. The representatives of the Sonderbund also insisted on the Eidgenossen disarming their forces, without their giving any pledge on their side to follow the example. Under these circumstances the conference was dissolved without coming to any conclusion, the majority declared the proposals of the Canton of Zug to be rejected, but that they were ready to listen to any more reasonable proposals on the part of the Sonderbund. The representative of Lucern now brought the negotiations to a close; he arose, and in the name of the entire Sonderbund, declared that he left the Diet as a body who were opposed to the interests of his constituents, and his example was followed by the other deputies of the seven Cantons.

In a manifesto addressed to the whole of the Swiss nation, the Sonderbund repeated the reasons which had induced them to form a separate confederation; stigmatised the governments of the Eidgenossenschaft Cantons. as a band of revolutionists, who compelled the citizens

of their respective States to an unjust warfare; and called upon them to set their governments aside, and unite themselves with the people of the seven Cantons who were in arms for their just rights.

The answer to this manifesto was contained in the decision of the Diet, of the 4th. of November; one of the most important acts in the whole history of Switzerland. Its contents were as follows: —

Whereas by the decision of the 20th. of July, the Diet of the confederate Cantons of Switzerland, declared the separate confederation of the Cantons of Lucern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Wallis, to be incompatible with the Act of Union, and consequently to be dissolved; and whereas the governments of the said Cantons were declared to be answerable for the said decision being respected, and in the event of such respect being refused, the Diet reserved to itself the right of taking such other measures as might be necessary:

Whereas on the 22nd. of July the governments of the seven Cantons forming the Sonderbund, declared that they refused to recognise the abovenamed decision of the Diet:

Whereas the abovenamed seven Cantons, both before and since the 20th. of July, have made unusual military preparations, have erected fortifications, and procured large quantities of Arms and ammunition from foreign countries, with the avowed intention of resisting the carrying into effect, the above named decision of the Diet:

Whereas the said Cantons have refused obedience to the decision of the Diet of the 11th. of August, which earnestly requested them to desist from all undertakings calculated to disturb the peace of the country; and have continued to erect fortifications, and to levy troops, whereby they have acted in defiance of the last named decision of the Diet:

Whereas the proclamations of the Diet have been forbidden by the Governments of the said Cantons, and the representatives of the Diet have been refused admission to the authorities, and in the Canton of Lucern, have even been treated as criminals:

Whereas since the proposals for mediation on the part of the seven Cantons, have been refused; all peaceable attempts to induce them to fulfil their duties to the other states of the confederation have been without avail:

"Whereas the representatives of the above named seven Cantons, have on the 29th. of October withdrawn themselves from the Diet, and by this act, in combination with various declarations, and the continuation of their military preparations, the said Cantons have placed themselves in a state of hostility towards the confederate Cantons of Switzerland:"

"Whereas it is the duty of the Diet, to enforce in the name of the Confederation, a compliance with the legal decisions of the representatives of the people, and to employ all the means in their power

for the inward and outward security of the Eidgenossenschaft; which is threatened by the present state of affairs:"

In compliance therefore with articles I, VI, and VIII, of the Act of Union, it is decreed as follows —

1. The decision of the Diet of the 20th. of July, of the present year, with regard to the dissolution of the league, between the Cantons of Lucern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Wallis, is to be carried into effect by military force.

2. The Commander in Chief of the forces of the Swiss Confederation, is charged with carrying this decision into effect.

3. The Diet reserves to itself the power of adopting such other measures as may be necessary.

4. The Commander in Chief of the troops of the Confederation, the Council of War, and the respective governments of the several Cantons, are instantly to be informed of this decision.

By a proclamation addressed to the Swiss nation generally, but more especially to the Army, as also by an "Address to the people of Switzerland," the Diet placed the cause of quarrel, fairly and truthfully before the World, and the humane and brotherly sentiments that pervade both these documents, do equal credit both to the heads and hearts of the body from which they emanated. "You will not forget," said the proclamation to the military, "You will not forget that those who oppose you, are the erring and misguided sons of our common Country, whom you are destined to recall to their duties. Your Flag is that of the whole Swiss confederation, it is the Flag of our nationality, displayed in the cause of freedom, order, and security; and to give lasting peace to the whole two and twenty Cantons, is the cause that has summoned you to arms." The "Address," was an appeal to the patriotism, and sense of right, of the Swiss population, a defence of the course pursued by the Diet, and a declaration of the causes that rendered it necessary to suppress the Sonderbund by force.

A still greater effect was produced on the minds of the people by the address of General Dufour, the Commander-in-chief of the Swiss army. Like the proclamations of the Diet, it is remarkable for its tone of moderation and humanity. Its contents are as follow: —

"The highest Authorities of Switzerland, have unfolded the national banner, around which all true citizens are expected to assemble. — Soldiers! you must return from this contest not alone victorious, but also without reproach; I place under your especial protection, the Children, the old Men, and the Servants of the Church. Whoever offers violence to an unarmed person, disgraces himself, and dishonours the Flag under which he serves. Prisoners and Wounded are the more deserving of your compassion, as many of your opponents have ere now, served in the same ranks as yourselves. — Conduct yourselves in such a manner, that when you return to your homes you can do so with the proud consciousness that the service you have

rendered your country, has been unstained by any acts of cruelty, or unnecessary violence."

By these addresses, the people of the Cantons not belonging to the Sonderbund, were made fully acquainted with the cause of quarrel, and the mist of uncertainty that still involved the minds of many persons, effectually removed. They were now convinced that in supporting the cause of the Legal authorities, they were at the same time supporting that of their Country, and this conviction inspired the Eidgenossen Troops with a spirit, that produced the best possible results during the succeeding hostilities.

On the side of the Sonderbund no means of inflaming the spirits of the people were neglected. The Jesuits thundered from the pulpits the fiercest denunciations against the band of "Heretics and Radicals" who threatened to invade the "Sheepfold of the Lord." They represented the object of the Diet to be not alone the destruction of the "Ancient Liberties," of the seven Cantons, but also the suppression of the Catholic religion; and drew a frightful picture of the desecration of the altars, and the outrages upon the persons of the inhabitants, that must be the inevitable consequence of the success of their arms. The consequence of these exertions were shown in the fiery zeal with which the inhabitants of many districts rose in arms, but this zeal was always shown in exact proportion to the ignorance and fanaticism of the people. All the exertions of the governments of the Sonderbund had been unable to conceal from the greater part of the inhabitants, that the Eidgenossenshaft had no intention of interfering with the religion of their fellow citizens; and this conviction had the effect of producing a luke warmness in the cause, that augered ill for its ultimate success. The Jesuits however again showed the immense power which they had obtained over the minds of the masses. By the effect of their addresses from the altars, by the influence they had obtained in the families of the peasantry, by the excitement which they produced by means of pilgrimages and other religious rites, they succeeded in filling the ranks of the army of the Sonderbund, and in raising the spirits of the soldiers thus obtained, to the highest degree of excitement, by the ceremoniés of consecrating their colours, in which they were made to swear that they would conquer or die in the canse of the Church and also by the distribution of a new batch of relics and amulets, in which pieces of the shirt of Father Leu of Obersol, played a conspicuous part.

On the occasion of a review of the forces of the Sonderbund, the Jesuits declared that they would in person lead the soldiers of the faith to victory. That they would ever be found where the danger was most imminent, and that they longed for the moment, when with the crucifix in their hands, they should lead the triumphant legions of the Church over the carcasses of their fallen foes Father Reh in a pompous discourse assured his hearers that the mere sight of their

consecrated banners would be sufficient to strike a terror into the hearts of their heretical enemies, that would make them fly like deer before the hunters. The confidence of success which the reverend fathers displayed in public, found however no echo in their own breasts, Father Reh himself is said to have peevishly observed to a confidant, within a few hours after the address above mentioned, that the forces of the Sonderbund were, "A pack of Asses, that one had only to look at once, to see that they were good for nothing." And indeed, the judgment of the reverend father was so far correct, that these troops were miserably deficient in point of dicipline, although genenerally speaking well armed; and in consequence of this opinion, which was doubtlessly shared by his assoeiates, the leaders of the Sonderbund, began to put other wheels in motion to secure their ends. They saw clearly enough, that unless some new elements could be involved in the strife, the affair was likely to assume a highly unfavourable aspect for their cause. These elements were believed to exist in the catholic population of the adverse Cantons, and it was resolved to attempt an armed propaganda, for the purpose of revolutionizing the more catholic districts of the territory of the Eidgenossenshaft. On the same day therefore, that the Diet in Bern decreed the employment of military force against the Sonderbund, a body of the troops of that party, crossed the frontier in order to carry this plan into effect.

To oppose the warlike preparations of the Sonderbund, the Diet had succeeded in an astonishingly short space of time, in bringing together an Army, which for numbers, efficiency, and dicipline, excited the astonisment of Europe, and even of the Swiss themselves. The Artillery was especially imposing, and consisted of no less than two hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, for the most part in excellent condition, and served by fifty-three Companies of Artillerymen, to which were added six Companies of Sappers and Miners. The *Elite* of the Infantry consisted of forty-five Companies of Riflemen, the Infantry of the line amounted to 102 Battalions, and the Cavalry to 27 Squadrons, in all upwards of 94,000 Combatants; and to these 7500 men were afterwards added, making the entire strength of the Army amount to upwards of 101,000 men.

To oppose this formidable force, the Sonderbund could not bring more than 56,000 men into the field, the greater part of which were not undeserving the flattering description of Father Reh; a body of Riflemen called the "Corps of Revenge," was however composed of good and efficient Soldiers; and the sixty-seven pieces of Cannon, thirty-six of which belonged to Lucern, and the remainder to Freiburg, were supplied with skilful Artillerymen. As the territory of the Sonderbund does not present any difficulties to an invading Army which could in any great degree compensate for the deficiency of their forces, it would have been an act of madness on their parts to have

provoked hostilities, had they not hoped for assistance from other quarters.

The governments reckoned upon the rising of the Catholics of St. Gallen, Aargan etc., against their rulers as certain, and they looked upon the intervention of some friendly foreign power as scarcely less so. They trusted that by these means, the forces of their enemies would be divided, their councils distracted, and that in the end the governments of the different Cantons would quarrel among themselves. However weak these hopes may have been, those that inspired the common people were still more absurd. Their spiritual instructors had taught them to expect an especial interference of the Deity in behalf of their arms. Their enemies were to be struck blind the moment they entered the Holy land of the Sonderbund, the spirit of Father Leu was to appear at the head of the Army and turn aside the bullets of the enemy, and various other miracles of the same character were gravely promised to the deluded multitude. When however the moment for action arrived, these hopes both of mortal and immortal aid, proved alike fallacious; and the consequences of having provoked an enemy immeasurably superior in force to themselves, stood before them in all its terrible reality.

As might have been expected where the forces arrayed against each other were so unequal, the conflict was not of long duration, and the whole contest was attended with so little loss of life, that it was scarcely looked upon as real warfare, and in many of the Continental journals the Diet was held up to ridicule for having set a "World in Arms" against a contemptible handfull of adversaries; and indeed it was scarcely possible to avoid smiling at the grandiloquent accounts of some of the so called "Battles," in which the Eidgenossen forces, after a "long contest," during which they were exposed to a "heavy fire of grape shot" carried the enemies position, with the loss of perhaps two killed, and three wounded. The number of victims that fell in the revolutionary contests in Vienna, Berlin, and Frankford, show bütt too clearly how different are the results, when the combatants are really in earnest; the conflict in the last named city, which lasted but a few hours, having cost fifty-seven lives, the precise number that fell in the whole course of the civil war in Switzerland.

When we consider however that this conflict arose out of the ambitious schemes of a selfish Aristocrat like the President of the Sonderbund, Siegwart, and a party of greedy, progress hating Priests, we cannot help being of opinion that even the fifty-seven lives were far too many to be sacrificed in such a quarrel. The exhibition of so imposing a military force on the part of the Diet showed the Wisdom and Humanity of that body, and the conduct of General Dufour whose operations were always conducted in a manner to cost as little life

as possible either on his own side, or on that of the enemy, does equal honour to his head and heart.

The Army of the Eidgenossen was divided into six Corps, under the command of Colonels Rilliet, Burckhardt, Von Donats, Zeigler, Gunir, and Luvini. Before however we enter upon the details of the principal operations, it is necessary to relate the result of the excursion of the troops of the Sonderbund into Aargau and Tessin.

A piece of negligence on the part of Colonel Luvini, who had not thought it necessary to secure the pass of St. Gothard, enabled the troops of the Sonderbund to enter Tessin and make themselves masters of the passes, which they occupied with a battalion of infantry, and several pieces of cannon. Here the first hostilities took place, two officers of the Eidgenossen army, who had advanced at the head of a small party of Riflemen for the purpose of reconnoitreing, were killed. The heights remained in the possession of the Sonderbunders, and the men of Uri and Wallis entered Livinersthal. The movement of the sixth Corps of the Eidgenossen Army against the position of the St. Gothard, which was supported by the movements of the troops in Glarus and Graubinden, failed in consequence of the setting in of the Winter, and the people of Tessin were unable or unwilling to protect themselves. The pass of St. Gothard remained in the hands of the Sonderbunders, who had been strongly reinforced, and when they descended into the valley under the command of Colonel Müller, the the soldiers of Tessin although fully equal to their enemies in point of number, took to flight at the first shot, and the Sonderbunders succeeded in the object of the movement, which was to keep open their communications with Wallis and Piedmont.

Meanwhile General Dufour having succeeded in bringing the Swiss army into a proper state of organization, proceeded to blockade the frontiers of the Sonderbund States. The Sonderbunders on the other hand, in order to render the advance of the Swiss troops as difficult as possible, proceeded to destroy the bridges, roads, and canals, in the most reckless manner. The success of the first operations on the part of the Sonderbund seemed to promise the most brilliant success, and the enthusiasm of the army was raised to the utmost by the news that at the farthest point of Aargau, a battalion of Lucerners had succeeded in surprising one of the outposts of the Eidgenossen army, and making four officers and forty privates prisoners. The next movements were on a grander scale, the Sonderbunders to the number of 12,000 men, in three divisions, under the command of Colonels Von Salis, and Eiggen, risked an attack on the position of the fourth division of the Swiss army; which if the assailants had displayed a little more courage, might have had for the moment considerable effect.

This action took place on the 12th. of November. Colonel Von Salis marched with his division and two companies of artillery,

over Sins and Nerisch, and attacked the bridge of boats which the Eidgenossen had constructed to form a communication between Zurich and Aargau. The bridge was defended by three companies of Infantry of the line, and a party of Riflemen and Pontooneers, to whose help a battery of cannon soon afterwards arrived. Under the protection of this battery, the Pontooneers succeeded in removing the bridge, and as it was impossible to pass the river without it, the Sonderbunders were compelled to retire with some loss. On the side of the Eidgenossen, twenty-seven persons were placed *Hors de Combat.* The failure of this well conceived attack on the part of the Lucerners, is to be attributed to the indecision displayed by the troops, which as is not unfrequently the case with inexperienced soldiers, could not be brought with sufficient rapidity to the attack.

The Commandant of the second division Elggen, performed even less than that of the first. Two of his companies refused obedience to his orders — another admirable quality of burgher-soldiers — and set out on their return instead of advancing. Thus weakened, and in a considerable state of demoralization, the remaining three and a half battalions, crossed the frontier, and entered the territory of Aargau. Their object was to cross the mountain called the Candenburg to Muri, and then descend the valley to Butwyl, in order to cut off two parties of the forces of Aargau, which occupied somewhat isolated positions. Landmeier and Fischer, the leaders of these parties, made however unexpected resistance, their troops soon rallied from the sürprise into which they had been thrown by the unexpected attack, and they succeeded in repulsing their assailants. Captain Fischer was however killed, and the loss in wounded, on the side of the Lucerners was considerable. These failures depressed the spirits of the soldiers of the Sonderbund in a most extraordinary manner, they had been led to believe that the people of this district, would receive them as deliverers, and on discovering their mistake, they declared that nothing should again induce them to cross the frontier.

The deeds of the third Corps were still more inconsiderable. They were destined to agitate the Kulmerthal, and to advance if possible in the direction of Aargau, over Mengingen and Rynag; the first of these places was occupied by a few companies of Eidgenossen troops, which the Sonderbunders did not dare to attack, although they were provided with artillery, which the other party wanted. They contented themselves with throwing a few bombs into the village, and then returned home to find that the two other Corps had done little more than themselves.

These inconsiderable efforts of the Sonderbund, could of course have no effect on the plans of the Eidgenossen General, whose first blow was directed against Freiburg. Although this city was rather isolated, the Jesuits who looked upon it as their head quarters, had collected a considerable force in its neighbourhood, and the sur-

rounding country if vigorously defended, presented numerous obstacles, both natural and artificial, to the advance of a military force. Here the first important struggle might be expected, and the force employed was consequently a large one; the two first Divisions of the Eidgenossen Army, together with the Bernese reserve being destined for this service.

On the 10th. of November, the Swiss forces 24,000 strong, with 12 complete batteries of Artillery, crossed the frontier of the Canton at Staffio and Chatel St. Denis, and advanced in the best possible order to the gates of Freiburg, having overcome with ease the various obstructions which had been placed in the way by the enemy.

According to the statement of Colonel Von Amillar, Freiburg was in a condition to have made a most determined and energetic resistance. A line of small forts and redoubts must first be taken, before any hostilities could be commenced against the town itself, which in the hands of a skilful commander and a determined garrison, might have defied for a considerable time the efforts of a hostile force. No sooner however did the various commanders of the troops of the Sonderbund, find that Freiburg was surrounded, than they appear to have lost courage; no one seeming to care to take upon himself, the responsibility of active measures. Each appearing to expect from the other, an example of the heroic deeds, of which so much had been said; the commander of Freiburg declining to defend the city, unless the troops of Wallis and Lucern, could succeed in cutting off the assailing forces from the rest of the Eidgenossen army. Yet this Commanders forces amounted to at least 12,000 men, among which were five thousand regular troops, with 31 pieces of cannon, many of which were of heavy calibre. The Government who had placed all its powers in his hands, were of course compelled to abide by his decisions, but the Council of State were inclined to defend the city to the last. In the first moments of alarm which followed the summons to surrender, the Commandant had demanded time for consideration, General Dufour had consequently granted a truce, until the morning of the 14 th. of November, and as the object of the Council was only to gain time, they did not permit themselves to be alarmed, when in consequence of some misunderstanding, the Commander Rilliet, with his division of Whaatlanders and Genevese, stormed two of the forts of the outward line of defence, and compelled the soldiers who occupied them, to take to flight.

The feeble resistance made on this occasion, showed what might be expected in the case of a general assault, and the Council after a stormy discussion, which lasted almost without intermission during four and twenty hours, broke up without coming to any determination. The most reasonable wished to appoint a commission to treat for peace, but this could not be brought to bear, no one would undertake the business; and at length the few members who had not abandoned

their posts, appointed two properly qualified persons to commence negotiations, and gave them full powers to treat. From this moment the government had ceased to exist, its members had vanished, and these two Delegates had become to all intents and purposes the governors of the Canton Freiburg.

Under these circumstances any resistance to the Eidgenossen troops was out of the question. The Commandant Maillardoj disgusted with the conduct of the government, indignantly threw up his commission, and at the moment when the troops of General Dufour were about to advance to the assault, the two Delegates arrived at his head quarters, and the city was surrendered on the following terms: —

1. The Government of Freiburg undertakes formally to withdraw itself from the so called Sonderbund.

2. The Eidgenossen troops, will in the course of the day, take possession of the city of Freiburg.

3. The city will provide the necessary quarters for the troops, as also the means of subsistance, according to the regulations of the Swiss service; and the government of Freiburg engages immediately to disband its own forces.

4. The weapons of these troops shall be deposited in the arsenal, and an inventory of them drawn up, for the information of the Swiss authorities.

5. The Eidgenossen forces will take possession of the city gates, and afford the constituted authorities, every necessary assistance for the maintenance of the public peace.

6. Should any difficulties arise, in consequence of this state of military occupation, they shall be referred to the decision of the Diet.

In consequence of this arrangement, on the afternoon of Sunday the 14th. of November, the Eidgenossen troops entered the besieged city, the inhabitants of which, now obtained for the first time a clear idea of the colossal power to which they had so madly hoped to bid defiance; the defiling of the troops having occupied more than two hours. The soldiers of the Sonderbund, like the soldiers of all nations, had held themselves ready to fight for the cause in which they were engaged; bnt they could by no means understand the turn affairs had taken, when they saw themselves thus conquered without a blow. They accused the government of selling and betraying them, and scarcely knew whether to vent their rage upon its members, or those of the order of Jesus. The wildest confusion prevailed among their ranks, and this led to some excesses, fortunately not of a very serious character.

The Eidgenossen troops entered the city in the midst of this anarchy, they allowed the soldiers of the Sonderbund time to leave the city, and troop after troop took their departure; in the open country however they gave vent to their rage in various atrocities and cruelties on the

defenceless inhabitants. In many instances single soldiers, or parties of two or three, belonging to the Eidgenossen troops, who had the misfortune to fall in with bodies of these disbanded soldiers, were cruelly murdered. Nor is it to be much wondered at, when we consider to what an extent these men had been excited and fanaticised by both their Spiritual and Temporal superiors, who afterwards basely deserted them in the hour of combat. Had they been convinced of their weakness by the results of an action in the field, they would probably have submitted to the chances of war with a good grace; but as it was, they returned to their homes with the bitter consciousness that they could have effected much, had it not been for the imbecility or cowardice of their leaders. This reflection if it cannot excuse the excesses of which they were guilty, must at least be allowed to have some weight in their palliation.

According to the accounts of the friends of the Sonderbund party, the conquest of Freiburg and its occupation by the Eidgenossen forces, was attended by all imaginable species of horrors; and Pius the IX is said to have wept at the desecration of the Churches, and other holy things, which took place on that occasion. These stories seem to have but little foundation in truth; although it is probable enough that as in all similar cases, many excesses were committed by the soldiers unknown to their officers. And even should it be proved that some protestant soldiers carried their zeal against popery to the extent of outrage, it by no means follows that the expedition of the Eidgenossen against Freiburg, was a crusade against the Catholic Church. It would indeed seem that these reports are so far correct, that the might of the commanders of the Eidgenossen troops was insufficient to instantly restore order, but it is evident that the accounts of the alleged cruelties, which appeared at the time, in the French newspapers, were mere fictions; and although the conduct of the soldiers was not altogether spotless, that the balance is greatly in their favour, when compared with the acts of the disbanded Sonderbunders.

On the entry of the Eidgenossen into Freiburg, the political prisoners were set at liberty, they appear to have been generally speaking, very badly treated; and their pale faces and emaciated forms, tended in no small degree to increase the bitterness against the Sonderbund party, and that this excitement was not poured out upon the heads of the true originators of all these calamities, the members of the government of Freiburg, was only oweing to their perfidious flight; and that in many instances this vengeance fell on the heads of the dupes, instead of the betrayers can surprise no one, who considers how little the mass of mankind are amenable to reason, in moments of great excitement.

Out of this chaos of affairs arose something altogether new, namely, a Government composed of the party which had hitherto been in a minority in Freiburg. The opposition as might have been expected,

after the cowardly conduct of the former government, seized on the reins of power, and the liberal and radical elements, became the immediate and legitimate heirs of the bigoted and aristocratic champions of the Sonderbund. — "Our principles" declared the members of the new government, "are those of moderation and justice, the only foundations of a true Democracy (?) respect for the religious feelings which filled the breasts of our forefathers (?), and for the creed to which we belong."

The first sign of life given by the new government, was the following decree: —

"The provisional government of the Canton Freiburg, considering that the entrance of the said Canton, into the antinational confederation of the Sonderbund, was principally the work of the Jesuits and their adherents, and in furtherence of the decree of the Diet, of the 8th. of September 1847, which declared the residence of the Jesuits in Switzerland to be incompatible with the peace and order of the country, and invited the Canton Freiburg to exclude them from its territory: and in consequence of the power given to us by the decision of the people, of the 15th. uf November, — we declare: that the Jesuits and their affiliated corporations, the Ligorianers, Marianers, Brothers of Christian knowledge, Sisters of St. Joseph, Sisters of St. Vincent, and Sisters of the Holy Heart; are for ever banished from the territory of the Canton Freiburg. They are to leave the country within twenty-four hours, and their property is confiscated by the state, and will be applied to purposes of public instruction."

This decree was objected to by many persons, on the ground that by issuing it, the provisional government had exceeded their legal powers. This however can scarcely be the case, it is evident that as a provisional government, they were invested with extraordinary powers, for the purpose of restoring order; such a decree must have been passed sooner or later; and in the present state of affairs it would have been too much to have demanded, that the great Council of the Canton should be called together.

General Dufour had little time to bestow upon the pacification of Freiburg, it was sufficient that he left the strongest orders to his troops, to protect the lives and property of the citizens; and detachments of troops were sent into the surrounding country to apprehend or drive away the swarms of disbanded soldiers, who plundered the inhabitants, and committed numerous robberies on the highways. In general the voice of public opinion in Freiburg, was favourable to the Eidgenossen, and they were disgusted at the conduct of the Jesuits, and the members of the late government; who had so basely deserted them in the moment of danger. The armed peasantry were especially furious, and had any of these persons fallen into their hands, there is little doubt they would have been murdered by the very men they had called into the field for their protection.

Freiburg was occupied by a garrison of 8000 Eidgenossen soldiers, while the main body of the Army marched upon Lucern. General Dufour established his head quarters at Arran, and the troops advanced against Lucern according to the following arrangement.

The sixth Division under the command of Luvini, with a part of the fifth under Gunir, and the reserve Brigade of Keller, were to occupy the March. The Division of Gunir was to advance upon Lucern from the east, in order to support the fourth Division under Ziegler, in its march over Gislikon. The right wing of Ziegler's Division was to march upon the same point; where if anywhere, an earnest resistance was to be expected. The Division of the centre, under Donats and Burckhardt, approached the city from the north-east, while the brave Ochsenbein with his reserve of Bernese, advanced from the South. That Lucern must under these circumstances be taken, could never be doubted for a moment, but the capital of the Sonderbund had not neglected to take every possible precaution in order to render its defence at least more creditable than that of Freiburg, and the arrangements for that purpose were made with considerable skill.

The commandant of Zug, had caused the Albis road, to be rendered impassible, and the government sought to stimulate him to more active measures, by reinforcing him with several battalions of fresh troops. The idea of victory seems however to have been already abandoned by the Generals of the Sonderbund, who merely displayed their force, in order to obtain peace on more favourable terms.

Everything had been done to render the naturally weak position of Lucern, as strong as possible, all the roads by which an army could approach the place, had been rendered impassible by means of trenches, mines and pallisades. On the most accessible sides, immense field works had been constructed, and strongly occupied, for the most part by armed peasants. The Entlibuch was however occupied by regular troops well provided with cannon, and strengthened by detachments of excellent riflemen; this being considered the most important point. In the city itself and its immediate neighbourhood was concentrated the principal force of the Sonderbund.

The spirit that animated these troops differed according to the various districts in which they had been raised, there is little doubt however that they would all have fought, provided they had had leaders on whom they could depend. If Siegwart and Müller, had been as conversant with military affairs as they were with the tortuous paths of political intrigue, they would have been able at least to have made a respectable defence, and to have given the contest a character worthy of being considered a civil war. According to the opinion of many military men, the plan of attack adopted by Dufour was so faulty, that a repulse on any one point, it mattered not which, would have been fatal to his whole scheme. In fact the whole affair, looked upon in a purely military point of view, was little better than a farce.

Dufour is a General of Peace, and no great Captain; he was been loaded with praises because he was successful, which after all was no great merit, considering the overwhelming amount of his forces. But it is certain that if the troops of the Sonderbund had been commanded by a man of ability, who at the same time possessed the confidence of his soldiers, the feeble tactics of Dufour would have been baffled, and he would have been compelled to relinquish the attack on Lucern with loss and disgrace. The civil war in Switzerland was a realization of warfare as it appears in the dreams of a honest citizen by his fire side, who feels inclined to play the hero in spite of his comfortable home, and half-dozen children.

We have no wish to rob General Dufour of his laurels such as they are, it is evident that his abilities were fully equal to the occasion that called for their display, and we have already done justice to the humanity and moderation he displayed throughout the affair. The conduct of the leaders of the Sonderbund was calculated to produce the most serious national calamities to Switzerland; but from the moment that arms were appealed to, the affair on a large scale bears no little resemblance to an officer pouncing on a criminal, or a bailiff on a debtor, who has all the wish, but not the courage, to make a desperate resistance.

Even the inhabitants of the isolated Cantons of Schwyz and Uri could now see in spite of the mists of ignorance and prejudice, that they had provoked an enemy against which they had no means of resistance; they however did not even when surrounded by the Eidgenossen army, give up all confidence in Siegwart, he had promised them a foreign interference, and to this last hope they clung with all the desperation of drowning men.

Zug was the second victim of the exertions of the Eidgenossen army, which although it had not yet fought, had had considerable passive difficulties to overcome, and had advanced but slowly to the position of attack. It must be admitted indeed, that a winter campaign in such a country as Switzerland, even without fighting, must necessarily be attended with great fatigue and hardship to the troops. On the approach of the Eidgenossen, the government declared that they would make use of their reserved right to conclude a peace separate from, and independent of the rest of the Sonderbund. They accordingly capitulated on the same terms as Freiburg, and in the debate on the subject in the Municipal council, only one fourth of the members spoke in favour of the Sonderbund, but it is only fair to presume that among the bulk of the people the majority was in its favour.

However this may have been, the citizens of Zug received the Eidgenossen rather as deliverers than conquerors. Swiss flags were displayed from the houses, while the armed peasantry who had been summoned to defend the city, withdrew with gloomy countenances and loudly expressed discontent; and had they been allowed time, they

would doubtlessly as in Freiburg, have vented their rage in acts of violence. The taking of Zug was so far of advantage to the Eidgenossen, that Lucern had now to defend a large extent of frontier, with a comparatively small force, and in a moral point of view it was of immense importance, it gave occasion for raising the cry of "Treason" and served as an excuse for many persons to abandon the falling cause.

The Jesuits now saw the structure which they had raised with such enormous trouble and expense nodding to its fall, Siegwart however, the president of the Sonderbund, seemed determined to stand or fall as a Dictator, and remained wilfully blind to his coming downfall. The fears of the Jesuits made them more sharp sighted, and the director of the order, father Roch, who visited the troops daily in order to keep up their spirits for the contest, took the precaution of always wearing under the habit of his order, a full suit of fashionable clothing, so that he had only to cast his outward skin, in order to appear in the character of a harmless layman. This circumstance shows pretty clearly how much dependance was to be placed on the promises of the holy fathers, to themselves lead the troops to victory, or perish in defence of their faith. They had urged others to a contest in which it was evident they had no inclination to appear personally, and it little mattered to them if the Cat burnt her paws in trying to obtain the Chestnuts; their only sorrow was, that the Chestnuts were not to be had.

The capture of Freiburg and Zug threw the plans of the government of the Sonderbund, whose object was principally to gain time, in hopes of a foreign intervention, into considerable confusion. Mistrust and disunion, broke out among the troops from the different Cantons, those from Schwyz in particular declared that rather than be betrayed in the manner that the troops in Freiburg had been, they would retire to their own homes and defend their own hearths and houses against the enemy.

Lucern was in the mean time closely surrounded. The second and third Divisions entered the Canton of Lucern, and made themselves masters of one position after another, without the Sonderbunders making any serious attempt to resist their progress. The valley of the Reuss was completely occupied by the fourth Division, while the fifth marched directly upon Lucern. The Bernese reserve advanced in the district of the Entlibuch; and thus pressed on all sides, it was evident the contest could not long be delayed. It began accordingly on the 23rd of November.

Colonel Salis had assembled his forces on the Reuss, and the Rothenberge (Red Mountains), which form a chain of heights between the Juger lake and that of Küssnacht. In the centre the mountains are several thousand feet high, but on the north descend gently towards Buonas and Hanau, the higher region being thickly overgrown with Fir trees. The roads from Chani and Hüneburg unite in the neighbourhood of

Hanau, and about half a mile from the town the road from Marı and Dietwyl crosses the Gislikon, and continues as a main road between the Reuss and the Rothenberge, over Roth, Dievikon, and Ebikon, though a level country to Lucern. The forces of Lucern were stationed on both banks of the Reuss, well provided with artillery and riflemen, while the mountain itself was occupied by a strong body of regular troops and armed peasantry. The road from the east, leading from Buonas, was defended by a corps the flower of which consisted of two battalions of the line and a detachment of riflemen, and amounted to several thousand men.

The object of the troops of the Sonderbund was evident, the attack of the Eidgenossen on both sides of the Rothenberg must be repulsed at any price, and possession kept of the road leading to Lucern. This object which was not difficult in itself, was rendered at the critical moment almost impossible, by the extraordinary conduct of Colonel Abyberg and the troops of the Canton Schwyz that were under his command. The road from Buonas notwithstanding the compact mass of Eidgenossen troops which were advancing in that direction was almost undefended, and Colonel Abyberg even in the absence of orders to that effect, should have abandoned less important positions in order to have concentrated his forces on this spot. Instead of this, he thought proper to withdraw from the field and march with the greater part of his troops on Asth, in order to defend the western entrance to the Canton Schwyz, by reoccupying the Goldauer pass at the foot of the Rossberg. This was a great mistake, Schwyz at any rate at this moment, ought to have been defended on the Reuss, and not at the Goldauer pass, which for the present was in no danger of being attacked. The Eidgenossen troops as might have been expected, soon took advantage of this mistake and occupied without the loss of a single man, a position which they ought to have been made to purchase dearly.

The left wing of the fifth division, composed of the Brigades of Ritter and Isler, had orders to march round the east side of the Rothenburg and take possession of the roads leading from Küssnacht and Meggen, and advance on Lucern from the east. Both Brigades consequently united, and early on the 23rd. of November advanced from Cham to Buonas.

The first meeting of the adverse forces, was between the Brigade of Ritter which consisted of four battalions of infantry from Thurgau St. Gallen and Glarus, two batteries of artillery, and two companies of riflemen; and a strong detachment of Schwyzer infantry, forming the centre of the position of the Sonderbunders. These troops were posted in a remarkably strong position, in which they awaited with loud outcries the attack of the Eidgenossen. They had not long to wait; no sooner did Ritter's division come in sight of the enemy, than the riflemen were detached to assail the flanks of the position, which

were covered by a wood, the main body of the division was formed into columns of attack, the Glarners were ordered to carry the trench which defended the left wing of the enemy, the soldiers of St. Gallen attacked the position in the centre, and the Thurgauers threw themselves on the right wing.

The troops from St. Gallen could only advance with difficulty, in consequence of their path lying between two immense rocks which only permitted them to pass in single files, added to which the way was obstructed by a trench. These obstacles overcome, they formed into line under the fire of the enemy, and advanced to the attack. The batteries supported this movement by a well sustained flanking fire, yet the Sonderbunders were not readily driven from their position; the detachment of Glarners were repulsed with loss, thrown into confusion, and were unable to assist their comrades to carry the position of the enemy, until the Sonderbunders finding themselves out flanked both on the right and left, and in danger of having their retreat cut off; were in the act of abandoning it. They were compelled to retire in two separate columns, one of which was cut off by the Eidgenossen.

The other column continued its retreat, closely followed by Colonel Isler, in the direction of the Meierskappel; and that officer after pushing the enemy from various positions in which they attempted to make a stand; advanced as far as Adligenschweyl, of which he took possession, and bivouaced in order of battle, in the presence of the enemy.

Meanwhile Colonel Ritter restored the communication with the second division, which had been interrupted during the battle and pursuit of the enemy, and detached a battalion to Adligenschweyl to demand of Colonel Isler a supply artillery, for the combined attack which was to take place the next morning upon Küssnacht. The first division bivouaced upon the Kiemenberge.

This position was not obtained without an engagement with the retiring Schwyzers. The foot of the mountain on which a party of Schwyzers had posted themselves was fortified, but they made no attempt to avail themselves of this advantage. They quietly suffered the Eidgenossen to pass the trenches; and then greeted them with a salvo from some heavy pieces of cannon, which however produced no very serious effects. Again the Eidgenossen must form their column of attack under the enemy's fire, but they did not commence the attack until three of their own pieces of artillery had come up and silenced the fire of the enemy. The remainder of the retreat of the Sonderbunders was performed slowly and without molestation. The brigades of Ritter and Isler had performed all that was necessary, the key of Lucern on this side was in their possession; and before the necessary combinations could be made for the attack on Küssnacht on the following morning, the news of the fall of Lucern had reached Colonel Ritter, and rendered any farther hostilities unnecessary.

The confusion and agitation, which the approach of the Eidgenossen troops occasioned in Lucern, is scarcely to be described. The members of the government which had so long lorded over the believing herd, and had plunged the country into a civil war, looked upon themselves as already deposed. The Council of state, the Council of war, and the host of field preachers who had been their ready tools in imposing on the people, now thought of nothing but flight. They dared not to remain and answer for their conduct before the tribunal of their country; but hastened before their overpowered troops could reach the city, to put the finishing stroke to their long course of selfish and dishonourable intrigues. This cabal of Aristocrats and Jesuits, who had for years plundered the citizens; who by their systematic persecutions of those who had taken part in the unfortunate affairs of the volunteers, had plunged hundreds of families into ruin; who had expended the revenues of the state in the most profligate manner for their private advantage, while the citizens sighed in vain for reforms in almost every branch of the administration; who had laid enormous burdens on the people, for the purpose of preparing for a civil war, in which had they been successful the interests of the time-honoured Swiss confederation, must have been sacrificed to those of a comparatively small class of persons; — this selfish clique, now abandoned their dupes to settle the matter with the victorious Eidgenossen, as they best could.

On the 23rd. of November, the Municipal council of Lucern addressed an urgent and respectful petition to the Council of State, intreating them to take measures for protecting the city from the horrors of war. The reply of that body may be said to have had no meaning whatever; it was to the effect, that they trusted that the measures they had taken in conjunction with the Council of war, would have the effect of preserving the city from such horrors, or at least to ameliorate them, etc. etc. and as a comment on this reply appeared a proclamation informing the people that the Government had in point of fact dissolved itself; and that the majority of its members had already taken to flight.

On the same evening the Council of War of the Sonderbund, and the Council of State of Lucern, took their departure from the city; having previously empowered the commander of the forces Colonel von Salis, to negociate a suspension of hostilities with the Eidgenossen troops, in order to spare Lucern the horrors of a siege. But von Salis thought proper under these circumstances, to follow the example of his employers, and together with his Staff, to withdraw from the responsibilities of the office which he held.

Shortly before six o'clock, the Steam-boat which had been prepared for the flight of the authorities was announced to be ready, and Siegwart having previously caused the Money, official documents, and Seals, of the Government to be carried on board, embarked under

the protection of a party of Gens d'armes. The Jesuits who were already on board, had been escorted thither by a singular body-guard, viz. the Nuns from Eschenbach and Mariahilf; and as a security against any outbreak of the people, they were placed during the embarkation, in a conspicuous place on the fore-deck of the vessel.

From on board the Steam-boat, Siegwart issued a proclamation to the people in the name of the Council of State; the tone of this document is a very singular one considering from whom it emanated, and might rather be supposed to be the production of a despotic monarch, who professed to hold his office by "divine right," than that of the president of a republic. It was to the following effect. —

"Dear and faithful Fellow Citizens! The unfortunate turn which affairs have taken in consequence of the present hostilities, compels us, as the Canton of Lucern no longer affords us a safe residence, to retire into the Canton Uri; in order that we may not be compelled by the enemy, to resign the powers that have been entrusted to us. In the mean time we have given instructions to the Commander of the forces, to take such measures as may be necessary for the security of the persons and property of the citizens. We have also empowered him in case the city of Lucern can no longer be defended against the overwhelming force advancing against it, to spare all unnecessary effusion of blood, and without encroaching on the powers of the Government, to enter into negociations with the enemy. In consequence of the responsibility which rests upon us, we have taken measures to secure the Money and official insignia of the State; and we take this opportunity of reminding you, that although we have been compelled to retire before superior force, we are not the less your rightful Governors. Our power to act in your behalf is alas at present small; but with God's help the time will come, when we shall be enabled to return to our proper stations. We trust that the Commander in chief will succeed through negociation in protecting you from farther injury: in the mean time we place ourselves with resignation in the hands of God, who although it is his will to prove us heavily, will not altogether forsake us. Let us by patient acquiescence in his decrees, show ourselves worthy of his future mercies. Given under our hands and seals, and forwarded for publication to the Commander in Chief, on the 23rd. of November 1847.

C. Siegwart, Stattholder. G. Müller.
In the name of the Council of State.
B. Meier, Secretary."

General von Salis however refused to have any thing more to do with the affair, and regretted as an honourable soldier that he had ever entered their service. Siegwart and Meier, did not remain long in Uri, but laden with the public money which they had abstracted, continued their flight to Piedmont. Warrants for their apprehension

were afterwards issued, on the charges of embezzlement and high treason.

"Sic transit gloria mundi!"

Meanwhile the citizens thus abandoned on all sides, were compelled to take some measures with regard to the Eidgenossen forces that surrounded Lucern. General Dufour had declared that his troops could not and should not bivouac before the Town, and his firmness compelled the citizens who supplied the place that should have been filled by the government, to a speedy decision. He demanded that the city should be unconditionally surrendered, but assured the inhabitants that in opening their gates to the Eidgenossen troops, they admitted not enemies but brothers. He insisted that the Swiss flag should be hoisted on the highest tower of the city, as a signal of submission; and the Municipal council who formed a kind of provisional government, had no other course open to them than to comply. They therefore announced to the General, whose head-quarters were at Sins, that the gates of the city were open, that the soldiery and militia, had laid down their arms, and pointed out the flags waving from the church towers as a proof of their assertion.

Early in the morning of the 24th. such of the troops of Lucern as were within the city, delivered up their arms, and were disbanded. Part of the soldiers received these orders with shouts of joy, but with the majority the events of the last few days were still too fresh in their remembrance, to permit them to indulge in any other feelings then those of mortification and disappointment.

At midday the Eidgenossen forces, consisting of the divisions of Ziegler, Gunir, and Donats, and amounting to about 26,000 men, entered the city. From most of the houses which the troops past, waved the red flag, with the Eidgenossen cross, and in the surrounding villages in which the remainder of the troops, amounting to about 15,000 men were quartered, the inhabitants planted trees of liberty.

In the city, the Eidgenossen were received by the multitude with every sign of rejoicing; and the troops generally speaking behaved themselves with kindness and humanity, so much so that the General in his communication to the Diet, pledged himself for their good behaviour. Notwithstanding this however, the utmost exertions of the officers were unable to prevent the bitter feelings of the Eidgenossen soldiers towards the authors of this civil war, from manifesting itself in various excesses. The houses of Siegwart, Etyger, and several other members of the late government were entirely demolished, the Jesuit's College, and the public office, in which the processes against the volunteers were conducted, were also much injured. As a matter of course, here as in Freiburg, the political prisoners were set at liberty by the victors; but it is to be regretted that their zeal did not stop here, but that several malefactors who were justly imprisoned for their crimes, were also turned loose upon the public.

The next care of the citizens was to form a government, in order to put an end to the state of anarchy and confusion, which had reigned in the city since the flight of Siegwart and his associates. For this purpose a public meeting was held in the open space before the theatre. The municipal council with Moser and Troxler, and the Schuldheis or chief magistrate Kopp at their head, formed themselves into a provisional government, and were acknowledged as such by the assembled people. Their first act was to issue the three following decrees: —

1. All persons belonging to the order of Jesus, or any of its affiliated societies, are ordered to quit the Canton within three days.

2. That in the event of their refusal to leave the Canton, they shall be arrested and prosecuted as disturbers of the public peace.

3. A general amnesty for political offences.

No sooner was the city cleared of the Sonderbunders from the other Cantons, who now sought to regain their homes with all possible speed, and General Dufour saw himself in quiet possession of Lucern and its environs, than a considerable number of the Eidgenossen forces were disbanded, and allowed to return to their homes. A measure which was received with great joy by the soldiers, the majority of whom had wives and children, and had abandoned their business, to take up arms in the cause of their country. Enough were however retained, to ensure the speedy reduction of the other Cantons of the Sonderbund.

The fourth division under Colonel Ziegler, had succeeded at break of day, in effecting a junction with the right wing of the fifth division under Gunir, by throwing two bridges over the Reuss. These were at Oberrüti and Seus, and the first of these had to be constructed under the fire of the enemy. The second brigade crossed the first bridge, and the brigade of Egloff entered by the second, into the territory of the Canton Zug. The storming of the enemy's position on the Rothenburg was undertaken by the brigade of Egloff, which was supported so effectually by the fire of a twelve pounder battery, that the Sonderbunders were speedily driven from their position; and the Eidgenossen in spite of the fire of the enemy's artillery posted on the Reuss, and by Hanau, advanced upon Gislikon.

This was the crown of the position of the Sonderbunders; their strongly entrenched batteries commanded both banks of the Reuss, the lower batteries also commanded the road from Hanau, and in the trenches that skirted the mountain, were posted the riflemen of Underwalden. On the summit of the mountain were posted the militia or armed peasantry, and the approaches to these works were protected by colossal barricades formed of masses of stone, and the trunks of trees.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, and the heavy fire kept up by the Sonderbunders; the Eidgenossen continued to advance, and the former

for some time made a show of defending the position to the last. A chance shot among the thousands which took no effect, having dismounted one of the cannon of the Solothurn batteries, and killed some of the people who were serving it, the Solothurners in a fit of fury, advanced with their remaining three pieces of cannon, and threw themselves between the advancing battalions of the Eidgenossen. This caused considerable confusion for the moment in the ranks of the latter, but a cannon shot having killed several of the draught-horses, and a party of infantry advancing with the bayonet, the Solothurners took to flight and the guns fell into the hands of the Eidgenossen. At the same moment the Sonderbund infantry were seized with a panic, and abandoned their strong position; and the battalion of Fasi, who had at this moment crossed the river on the left, cleared the whole of the lower part of the mountain of the troops of the Sonderbund.

Upon the summit of the mountain, the militia and a few regular battalions, found in the chapel of St. Michael, a point from whence they continued to resistance until evening, when they evacuated the position without making any farther attempt to preserve military order. Thus ended what was pompously called "the battle of Gislikon," which as the whole of the combatants were really brought under fire, resembled in everything but the loss of life, a battle in miniature.

How many were killed and wounded in this engagement has never been ascertained, but there is no doubt that the loss was ridiculously small, considering the profuse expenditure of powder and ball. The riflemen shewed that it is possible for men to be good hunters and marksmen, and still extremely inefficient soldiers; their balls like those of most inexperienced troops being invariably directed too high; and after the combat the Eidgenossen could show many broken bayonets and injured shacos, but very few killed or wounded. The inexperience of the artillery, rendered their fire almost entirely harmless, and they appeared to be anxious to make up for their bad marksmanship, by firing a great number of shots. Added to this, the country was extremely unfavourable for the use of cannon, and by some want of management the infantry were so placed, as not to allow the artillery room enough to choose the most favourable positions. Nevertheless the effect of a few chance shots appear to have been sufficient to cause a panic among the troops of the Sonderbund, and in one instance, where a twelve pounder passed through a battalion, killing or wounding ten or twelve persons, the whole of the remainder instantly took to flight.

The Eidgenossen general did not permit his troops to pursue the flying enemy, the victorious brigade contented themselves with following the confused mass of the enemy at a distance, over Retz; and on arriving within about four miles of Lucern, the troops bivouaced.

The third division in the meantime, which advanced from Hitzkirch and Münster, was struggling with the various obstacles which had

been thrown in their way, rather than against any active resistance on the part of the enemy, until it arrived at the Reuss; which it crossed by the bridge at Gislikon. The second advanced in two columns to Rensswyl, and took possession on the 24th. of November, of the plateau of Littau; and were preparing to attack Lucern, when they were informed of its surrender.

The troops of Bern which were on the extreme right of the Eidgenossen army, formed a Corps de Reserve under the orders of Colonel Ochsenbein; they crossed the frontier at Escholzmatt, and were compelled to form several bridges, remove numerous barricades, and overcome various obstacles of the same description; and it was only with great exertions that they succeeded in reaching Schüppsein on the 22nd. of November. Here the first Corps was engaged with a division of Sonderbunders, who were supported by artillery, and had taken up a strong position, from which they could not be driven until the following morning. The Sonderbunders lost 14 men in this affair, a result that is perhaps to be attributed to the bitter feelings of the Bernese with regard to the prosecution of the volunteers. From Entlibuch the Bernese advanced over the Bramezz and Malters, to Herw, in the immediate neighbourhood of Lucern.

Here General Dufour after the completion of his first operations, took his farther measures for reducing the city, in which the most terrible confusion prevailed; while the liveliest joy reigned in the camp of the Eidgenossen, which was if possible increased by the proclamation of the Commander in chief.

"The whole combined manoeuvre for surrounding Lucern, and forcing the pass of Gislikon," said the address of the General, "was completely successful; and demonstrated alike the intelligence and tact of the leaders, and the courage and hardihood of the troops; both of which are necessary to the successful execution of such combined movements. Also the artillery have proved the high degree of efficiency they have attained."

The mischiefs attending the violent change from an aristocratic form of government, to one founded on the principles of the most ultra radicalism, made themselves sufficiently apparent in Lucern. The party so long oppressed and persecuted by the late government, had now become the masters, and many of their leaders became members of the new government. As might have been expected, they did not confine themselves to the liberal but moderate system of democracy which the Eidgenossen had taken up arms to defend, they wished to introduce into practice some of the wild theories of the Socialists, and to make use of the victory of the Eidgenossen, for purposes not less opposed to the principles of rational liberty, than the schemes of the Jesuits. If the General had promised protection to the churches and monasteries, the radicals would on their first accession to power, have abolished catholicism altogether; had it not in spite of the abuses of the

Jesuits, been too firmly grounded in the minds of the bulk of the community.

The accusations which the radical party after such a long compulsory silence, now poured out against the order of Jesus, were exaggerated to such a degree as to become truly laughable. Their intrigues had indeed involved Switzerland in all the mischiefs of a civil war, but they neither are nor were, the incarnate devils they were represented to be by the opposite party.

During the plundering of the houses of the Jesuits in Freiburg and Lucern, various papers belonging to the order had come to light, and these formed the foundation for a series of romances, all tending to prove that the order possessed a degree of superhuman power, intelligence, and wickedness, worthy of the arch-fiend himself. In sober truth however, the few papers discovered on these occasions, were merely curious from their throwing some light on the interior economy of the order. For instance — it appears that the Jesuits have a peculiar system of geography, in which the world is mapped out into provinces, missions, etc. according to the power which the order have obtained in the various countries. Thus, Switzerland in this system, is not considered as a country, but forms part of the province of "Germania Superior." Bavaria on the contrary does not belong to Germany, but forms a province of itself, under the name of "Vindelicia." In the province of Germania Superior, the Jesuit establishments consisted of the College at Freiburg, the Convent at Brieg (in the Canton Wallis), the College at Sitten, the College and Convent at Staffio, the College at Schwyz, the Mission at Anhalt-Köthen, and the Mission at Dresden. The government of the province since 1842, consisted of Father Rethenflue as Pater Provinzial, assisted by a Socius or vice-president. The latter, with the Rector of the College of Freiburg, the Rector of Convent of Freiburg, and another Rector chosen by the Pater Provinzial formed the council of the province. The government maintained Missionaries or Ambassadors, at Antwerp, Insbruck, Lyons, Ay, Naples, Rome, and Forli. Piedmont which formed a province of itself, under the name of "Taurinum," had also its Ambassador; which was also the case with the vice-province of Missouri in America, and its dependant Missions of Maryland and Guatemala. The Pater Provincial of Germania Superior, appointed Ambassadors to those of the provinces of Belgium, Lyons, Piedmont, and Spain; and this province contained 277 members of the order, of whom 101, were Priests, 109 Schoolmasters, and the remaining 69, officiating brothers or coadjutors. The number of lay brothers could not by the rules of the order exceed in number those of the Clergy, and they consequently were also 277 in number, and consisted for the most part of government officials, physicians, and the more respectable class of citizens.

The system of the Jesuits was now completely overthrown both in their ancient stronghold of Freiburg, in the luke-warm Canton of

Zug, and the fanaticised Lucern, but the victory was still incomplete until the remaining Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Wallis were reduced to submission.

Unterwalden was the first to submit to the will of the Diet. Six battalions of infantry from Lucern occupied the Canton without resistance, and the position of Uri consequently became extremely critical. The March was forced, and the Eidgenossen troops advanced to Küssnacht and Meggen. The March capitulated on the 26th. of November, and Schwyz followed the example, both receiving the same terms as Zug and Underwalden. Uri which in its first negotiations with General Dufour, had taken such a high tone that its ambassadors were dismissed without an answer, surrendered on the same day. This Canton was compelled to make restitution for the plunder and damage occasioned by the excursions into the Canton Tessin, and to furnish two steam-boats, for transporting the Eidgenossen forces from Lucern. A sufficient force was now sent to reduce the Canton Wallis, and some expectation was entertained, that the pass of St. Moritz, and indeed the whole valley of Wallis, which is nearly seventy miles long, would be defended; as it affords numerous positions in which a small force might successfully compete with a large one. The inhabitants were however so exhausted by the burdens, and dispirited by the events of the war, that they gave up all thoughts of resistance. They laid down their arms on the same terms as Zug, merely stipulating that in consequence of the poverty of the country, the occupying forces should not exceed 8000 men.

In all the Cantons of the Sonderbund, provisional governments were formed in the place of the expelled rulers, and in most cases their radical zeal was carried to such an extent, that the Diet was compelled to interfere as a mediator. Their first occupation was to meet the financial difficulties into which all the Cantons had been plunged by the consequences of the war, and to meet the heavy contributions demanded by the Diet. Some idea of the cost of the war may be formed from the following items, the pay of 56,000 Eidgenossen soldiers, at 11 Batzen per diem, amounted up to the 10th. of November, to 984,000 francs. That of 90,000 men, up to the 3rd. of December to 2,177,000 francs. The farther occupation of the Sonderbund Cantons, cost 1,848,000 francs.

By a decision of the Diet, these expenses were to be paid by the conquered Cantons, who were afterwards if they chose to seek repayment from the persons had taken part in the war. One Million francs were to be paid before the 30th. of December, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of four Millions, before the Cantons were evacuated by the Eidgenossen troops. And in addition they were to pay for the damages occasioned by the plundering and devastation of their soldiers in their expeditions into the Eidgenossen territories. According to this scale, the separate Cantons were to pay as follows. — Uri

78,300 francs, Underwalden 59,200, Oberwalden 71,700, Schwyz 235,900, Zug 133,200, Wallis 666,800, Freiburg 1,387,400, and Lucern 2,167,500 francs. So that according to the numbers of the population of the respective Cantons, each Uriner would have to pay $5^4/_5$ frcs. a Lucerner $17^2/_5$ frcs. an Underwaldener $5^4/_5$ frcs. a Schwyzer the same; a Freiburger $17^2/_5$ frcs. and Walliser $8^4/^5$ francs.

These sums only included the direct and current expenses of the war, and did not comprehend the various indirect charges ever attendant on a state of warfare; and of which no accurate estimate can be made.

The unfortunate clause in the decision of the Diet, which allowed the governments of the seven Cantons, to proceed against the persons who had taken part in the war for the expenses it had occasioned; led to new disputes and heart burnings among the inhabitants. Denunciations were encouraged by the new governments against all persons who had supported the Sonderbund, in order to compel them to pay heavy fines, and had not the Diet at length interfered in the matter; these proceedings would have descended to every peasant who had taken up arms in the cause.

By these vexatious prosecutions many persons of property were altogether ruined, in the Canton Wallis these contributions were levied with such severity upon all property belonging to charitable and religious corporations, that it amounted to little less than a formal confiscation of their possessions; and as if to make these proceedings still more odious, no special commission was appointed; which by a fair and impartial examination of the cases brought before it would have given the proceedings at least the appearance of justice; but the provisional governments took upon themselves to levy fines upon whatever persons they thought fit, and these persons appear to have been selected rather with regard to their means of payment, than their criminality.

These proceedings, viz. those of making private individuals, responsible for the financial deficiencies occasioned by the acts of the party to which they belonged, seem to be among the most singular that ever were originated by any set of men calling themselves a legislative body. The pretence for these proceedings were, that the governments of the seven Cantons had never referred the Sonderbund question to the general assembly of the people; and that consequently they had retained the responsibility of their acts on their own shoulders, and those of their supporters. That the majority of the population of the seven Cantons were in favour of the Sonderbund, was shown in a hundred instances; whether they understood the question, and were aware of the tendency of the new league is another affair. The liberal party which sought by this pretence to throw the burden upon the shoulders of the members of the late governments and their supporters, proclaimed by this means its own want of courage, as had it had a majority, or even a large minority on its side, and had protested in

an energetic manner against the acts of the Sonderbund, that body would never have dared to carry matters to the extremes which it proceeded to.

It would be much easier to prove that the acts of the provisional governments themselves were illegal, for example — that of Lucern; which had never thought it necessary to communicate formally to the great Council, the fact of the Canton having ceased to belong to the Sonderbund.

New misunderstandings arose from the decision of the Diet, that Neuenburg like Appenzell, should be punished for having refused to fulfil its duties to the confederation.

The conservative, we might almost use the paradoxical expression, of the monarchal party in Neuenburg, had protested from the first, against the forcible suppression of the Sonderbund by the Eidgenossen Cantons, and had refused to take any part in the contest. The sympathies of this party were entirely with the Sonderbund, and they left no means untried to involve the King of Prussia as protector of Neuenburg, in the contest in which this refusal had involved them with the Swiss Diet.

Neuenburg had declared itself neutral in the conflict between the Sonderbund and Eidgenossenshaft, and had thereby declared not alone its independent cantonnal sovereignty, but its political and moral conviction with regard to the cause of quarrel. Frederic William of Prussia, who has since with perfect tact resigned his power as protector, did not on this occasion see his way sufficiently clear, to hold himself altogether neutral in the affair. He declared that he considered that Neuenburg had the right to remain neutral, inasmuch as the Act of Union declared that a majority of three fourths of the Diet was necessary to legalise a declaration of war; while the hostilities against the Sonderbund were only sanctioned by twelve whole, and two half votes.

The Diet now saw itself compelled for perhaps the twentieth time during this contest, to enter into explanations with a foreign power, respecting the domestic affairs of Switzerland. They pointed out to the King, that the proceedings against the Sonderbund were of a very differrent character from a declaration of war against a foreign state; to which indeed a majority of three fourths was necessary, but must be considered as belonging solely to the internal affairs of the confederation, for which a simple majority had ever been held to be sufficient. They also declared that they could not admit the right of the King of Prussia, as Prince of Neuenburg, to interfere in the arrangements of the Diet with regard to the internal affairs of the Swiss Cantons, and even went so far as to threaten to exclude the Canton Neuenburg from the confederation.

The Diet next decided by a majority of thirteen against two, that the Canton Neuenburg should pay the sum of 300,000 Swiss francs

as a compensation to the rest of the confederation, for the non-fulfilment of its federal duties, and that this sum should be paid before the 20th. of December, or good security given for its future payment. This sum was destined to form a fund for the relief of the wounded, and the maintenance of the widows and orphans, of such of the Eidgenossen soldiers as had fallen during the contest.

A considerable portion of both the English and Continental press, which had during the whole of the contest poured out its abuse upon the Diet, failed not to represent this proceeding as an impudent and tyrannical robbery. It would however be difficult to point out what other course was open to the Diet, in order to punish the Canton Neuenburg for its contumacy. It could never be tolerated that one of the Cantons should refuse its contingent, and thus add both to the personal and pecuniary burdens of the others with impunity. Added to which, such conduct was calculated to raise the hopes of the Sonderbund party, and render its resistance more determined and obstinate.

The moderation and firmness with which the Diet asserted its rights on this occasion, produced such an inspiriting effect on the liberal party of the Canton Neuenburg, that the conservative party which had behaved with such insolence towards their Eidgenossen brethren and with such humility toward the King of Prussia, could no longer maintain their ground. The Eidgenossen view of the question became every day more popular; and at length the government decided unanimously to submit to the decision of the Diet, and pay the contribution demanded of them, without waiting for the result of the negociations with Prussia.

The small Canton of Appenzell which had also refused its contingent, was ordered to pay 150,000 Swiss francs; but in consideration of the poverty of its inhabitants, the contribution was afterwards reduced to 15,000 francs.

The other foreign powers which interfered in the matter, did not gather more diplomatic laurels than Prussia. An especially miserable part was played on this occasion by France, or rather by its government under M. Guizot. There can be no doubt that the Sonderbund received considerable secret support from France, although what was the object of the French government in affording it, remains a mystery upon which subsequent circumstances have hitherto thrown no light. It is however singular enough, that while Louis Philippe and M. Guizot, were busily employed in suppressing by very means in their power, the independent efficiency of the Church in their own country; and persecuted the Bishop of Affra on account of his declaration that "The Church required freedom and not protection," they should have assisted the order of Jesus which dared not raise its head in France, to obtain absolute power in a considerable part of the Swiss territories.

To the shame of Louis Philippe, the greater part of the cannon captured at Lucern by the Eidgenossen bore the French arms, and it is not improbable that the money found in the military chest of the Sonderbund, came from the same source. If so, it must be admitted to be one of the most shameless acts on record, to increase the already immense deficiency of the French revenue, for the purpose of stirring up civil war in another country.

In the notes that passed between the Swiss government and that of France, the former had decidedly the best of the argument, and showed with almost insulting clearness, the absurdity and malignity displayed in the position taken by the latter. The French ambassador indeed seemed inclined even after the destruction of the Sonderbund and the flight of Siegwart, to still support the cause of the Jesuits. An untenable position, from which he reaped a full harvest of deserved ridicule.

Austria adopted in her notes to the Swiss government, an almost mysterious language; from which little more could be gathered, than that the government was by no means convinced that the Sonderbund was the cause of the agitation which prevailed in Switzerland etc. etc.

In England, although the ministerial press devoted some articles to the subject, which were by no means remarkable for displaying a very profound knowledge of the real state of affairs, the contest excited but little attention. The principal organ of the government declared early enough to show its almost proverbial foresight, that an intervention could answer no good purpose; and this at the very time that the *Journal des Debats* proclaimed that an intervention on the part of France and England was decided on.

The result of the interference of the foreign powers was to embarrass and render more difficult the proceedings of the Diet, without producing any effect on the final result; and they at length withdrew without glory, from an affair in which they had interfered without cause. Soon afterwards both France and Austria, who had complained so bitterly of the agitation in Switzerland, as having a tendency to disturb the peace of Europe, had such violent political convulsions to engage their attention at home, that they have had little time or inclination to interfere in the affairs of their neighbours.

We now approach the close of the history of this singular quarrel, as far as its results have transpired up to the present day.

The new governments of the seven Cantons, soon submitted to the milder views of the Diet, and laboured in common with that body, to heal as soon as possible the wounds which civil war had inflicted on the common-wealth. Through the impetus which the moderate democratic party received from its victory over the Sonderbund, it was enabled to commence in earnest the reform of the federal constitution. The great bulk of the population were convinced by the late events that the Act of Union was no longer sufficient for the political wants

of the present generation, and that it must give way to a new fundamental statute, more in accordance with the ideas of the present time.

The people of Switzerland have shown in the peaceful agitations which have taken place for this purpose since the fall of the Sonderbund, that they understand their own affairs better than many of the diplomatists who have written on the subject, and who have gone near to assert that any improvement of the constitution on which the political structure of the Swiss confederation rests, is impossible.

The people of Switzerland are well aware of the difficulty that must necessarily exist in forming a constitution, which while it gives sufficient power to the central government, yet leaves the inhabitants of the separate Cantons the enjoyment of religious liberty, and their peculiar views with regard to civil government. It will probubly take many years to solve this great political experiment. In the meantime it is a good omen, that during the storms which in the course of the eventful year **1848**, agitated almost every country in Europe, the inhabitants of Switzerland pursued peacefully, legally, and quietly, the object of their just ambition.

Having thus endeavoured to place before our readers an account of the causes, progress, and termination, of the quarrel between the confederated Helvetian republics, we proceed to describe the scenes we have selected in illustration of our narrative.

BASEL.

The capital of the Canton, is situated on the left bank of the Rhine, which is here crossed by the only stone bridge that occurs in its course, and which is upwards of **600** feet in length. Basel is an extremely picturesque city and is surrounded by ancient walls with their accompanying towers, bastions, and ditches. It has six suburbs including Little Basel on the opposite side of the Rhine, and twelve churches, of which the Cathedral is the most remarkable; it contains the tomb of Erasmus and some curious paintings by Holbein. In a side building was held the celebrated council, from **1431** to **1448**. The University was founded in **1459**, it contains a library, botanical garden, observatory, etc. The Town-hall is a curious building, being built on pillars over a brook called the Berseck, it contains some remarkable paintings by Holbein etc. Here is also a stately palace formerly belonging to the Margraves of Baden-Durlach. In the building known as Burkhard's house, was concluded on the 5th. of April, **1795**, the peace between Prussia, and on the 22nd. of July, that between Spain, and the French republic. Here are also two curious buildings, one formerly the property of the knights of St. John, and the other of the

Tuetonic order. Basel also contains an excellent seminary for missionaries, a missionary society, a very active bible society, and a variety of other institutions of a moral and religious character; also an institute for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, etc. etc. The manufactures of the town are considerable, in wool, leather, and especially paper. The traffic is lively, and the yearly fair is visited by numerous merchants. The date of the foundation of Basel is lost in oblivion; in 407 it was destroyed by the Vandals, and 43 years later by the Huns. In 748 it became a bishopric, and continued so until 1529, when the reformed religion was established. Until the commencement of the present century the singular custom prevailed in Basel of keeping all the clocks an hour faster within the city than they were in the surrounding country. The origin of this custom is unknown. The inhabitants of Basel amounted according to the last census to upwards of 22,000.

GENEVA.

A fortified city at the effluence of the Rhone from the lake of Geneva, which here also receives the Arve, the city is thus divided into three parts, which are united by bridges. Of the four suburbs which it formerly possessed two have ceased to exist, and the other two, (St. Gervais and St. Foux) were united to the city in 1534. The houses which are mostly in the French style, and four or five stories high, are of stone. The best houses are in the upper town, or *Cité*, where the wholesale merchants reside. Before the houses in the lower town are arcades, in which the greater part of the retail business is carried on. Here reside the numerous watchmakers and jewelers, for whose productions Geneva is so justly celebrated. The watchmakers alone amount to upwards of 3000, besides those employed in various closely allied branches. Geneva exports yearly upwards of 70,000 watches, of which one half are of gold. This and other manufactures, as well as the considerable home and transitorial traffic, renders Geneva by far the richest city in Switzerland, and it is said its citizens invest yearly 120,000 French francs in foreign securities, railway shares, etc. etc. Among the most remarkable buildings are the Dome-church or cathedral of St. Peter, with its chapel of St. Maccabeus, in which the German and Italian congregations hold their meetings; and the Town-hall. Here is also a University founded in 1558, which is visited on the average by about 200 students; with several other learned establishments; a bible society; missionary society etc.; a public library containing 50,000 volumes; a botanical garden; a museum containing five cabinets of natural history, an observatory; herbarium, etc. Geneva was originally a city of the Allobragers, and was taken by the Burgundians in the 5th. century, at which time it was already a bishopric. It afterwards came under the dominion of the Franks, and in the 9th.

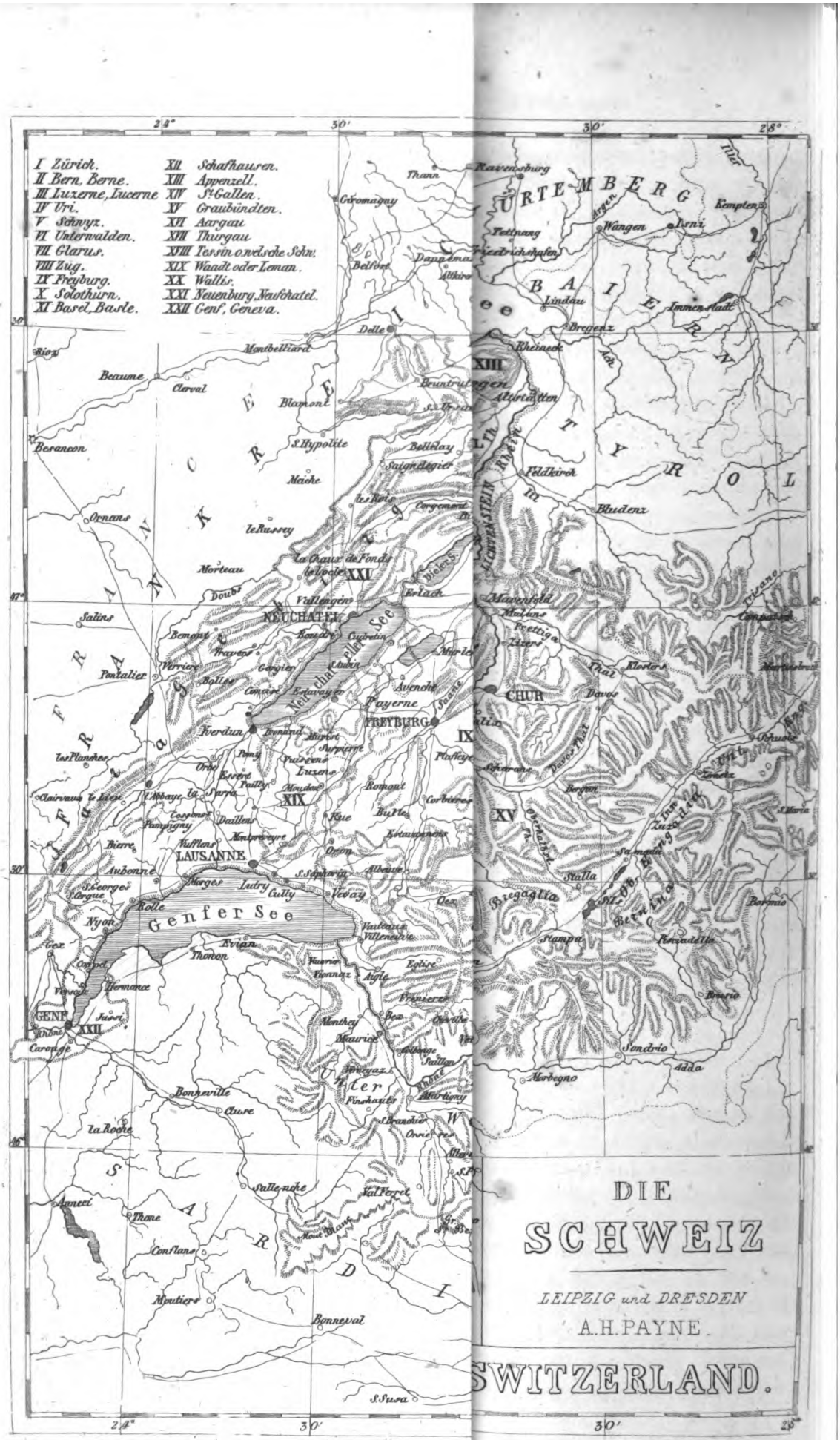
century it formed part of the last Burgundian kingdom, under which the Counts of Geneva became hereditary; hence arose a long dispute with the German Emperor as lord paramount of Burgundy, in which the princes of Savoy interfered. In the 15th. century the first alliance was concluded with the confederate Swiss Cantons, which was afterwards drawn closer, especially after the establishment of the reformed religion. The population of Geneva exceeds 30,000 souls, and the territory belonging to the city, contains about 8,000 more. St. Carouge on the Arve which may be looked upon as a suburb of Geneva, to which it is united by two bridges, contains about 4,000 inhabitants; it is in the territories of the king of Sardinia.

FREIBURG.

The capital of the Canton, is situated on the river Saane, over which at the height of 174 feet, is constucted a suspension bridge 925 feet long. It is the seat of the catholic Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, is surrounded by a wall and towers, and contains six churches, including the cathedral, which has the highest tower in Switzerland, (it is 365 feet high) and the church of the Jesuits. The college founded in 1818, was until the late civil war under the management of the Jesuits, and was well attended by students from almost every country in Europe. Freiburg contains several other educational establishments, an arsenal, a mint, and a Town-hall. The city stands partly on a high rock and partly in the valley beneath, so that the roofs of the houses in the street of Court chemin, are on a level with the pavement of the Rue de la grande Fontaine. In the upper town the language is French, and in the lower town German. The city was founded in 1179, by Berchtold IV, Duke of Zähringen, and Regent of Lesser Burgundy. It contains at present about 9000 inhabitants.

LUCERN.

Lucern or Luzern, the capital of the Canton of the same name, and the seat of government of the late Sonderbund, is situated on the river Reuss, by which it is divided into two unequal parts, which are united by four bridges, the oldest of which, erected in 1303, is covered, and decorated with paintings from Helvetian history. Another, which is also covered, is 1380 feet long, and is adorned with paintings of biblical subjects. Lucern is the seat of the Papal Nuncio for all Switzerland, and has ten gates, two suburbs, and five churches; of the latter the most remarkable is that formerly belonging to the Jesuits. The church of St. Leodegarii and Mauritii, contains an organ with 5000 pipes, which is the largest in Switzerland. Here are also four monasteries, that of the Carmelites contains a chapel dedicated to St. Mary, which is much visited by pilgrims. Lucern contains a


I Zürich.
II Bern, Berne.
III Luzerne, Lucerne
IV Uri.
V Schwyz.
VI Unterwalden.
VII Glarus.
VIII Zug.
IX Freyburg.
X Solothurn.
XI Basel, Basle.
XII Schafhausen.
XIII Appenzell.
XIV St Gallen.
XV Graubündten.
XVI Aargau
XVII Thurgau
XVIII Tessin o. welsche Schw.
XIX Waadt oder Lemán.
XX Wallis.
XXI Neuenburg, Neufchatel.
XXII Genf, Geneva.
24°
30'
28°
FRANCE
SCHWEIZ
SAVOIE
ITALIA
WURTEMBERG
BAIERN
TYROL
Genfer See
Lac de Neufchatel
Lago Maggiore
NEUCHATEL
FREYBURG
LAUSANNE
CHUR
GENF
Rhein
Inn
Adda
DIE
SCHWEIZ
LEIPZIG und DRESDEN
A.H.PAYNE.
SWITZERLAND.

College, (formerly belonging to the Jesuits) a Lyceum, a Polytechnic school, two public libraries, and several other educational establishments: florishing manufactories of silk, paper, etc. and 7,200 inhabitants. On a height in the neighbourhood, is a colossal dying Lion hewn in the solid rock, as a monument of the Swiss guards who fell in defence of Louis XVI, in Paris, on the 10th. of August, 1792.

BERN.

Is situated on the river Aar, which surrounds the city on three sides, forming a peninsula. A stream of water is conducted through most of the streets of the town, which is employed in cleansing the city, and affords an excellent supply in cases of fire. On either side of this stream, the streets are sufficiently wide to allow vehicles to pass each other with convenience. The houses are for the most part massively build, and three stories high, and have arcades in front, under which the foot passengers are sheltered from the rain and snow. The most remarkable building in the city after the Arsenal, the Townhall, and the granary, is the former convent of the Dominicans, part of which is used as a hospital, part as a prison, and the upper part as a music-hall. Here is a monastery of Carmelites erected in 1682, with a hall for the academic lectures; a Münster or Cathedral in the gothic style of architecture; a University founded in 1834, numerous establishments for education, a botanical garden, theatre, observatory, etc. etc. The district in which the city stands, formerly bore the name of Oechtland, and formed part of Lesser Burgundy: the city was founded in 1191, by Berchtold V, the last Duke of Zähringen. In 1353, Bern became a member of the Swiss confederation, and in 1528, the reformed religion was adopted as that of the state. The population amounts to about 72,000, of which 1000 are catholics, and 150 Jews.

SCHWYZ.

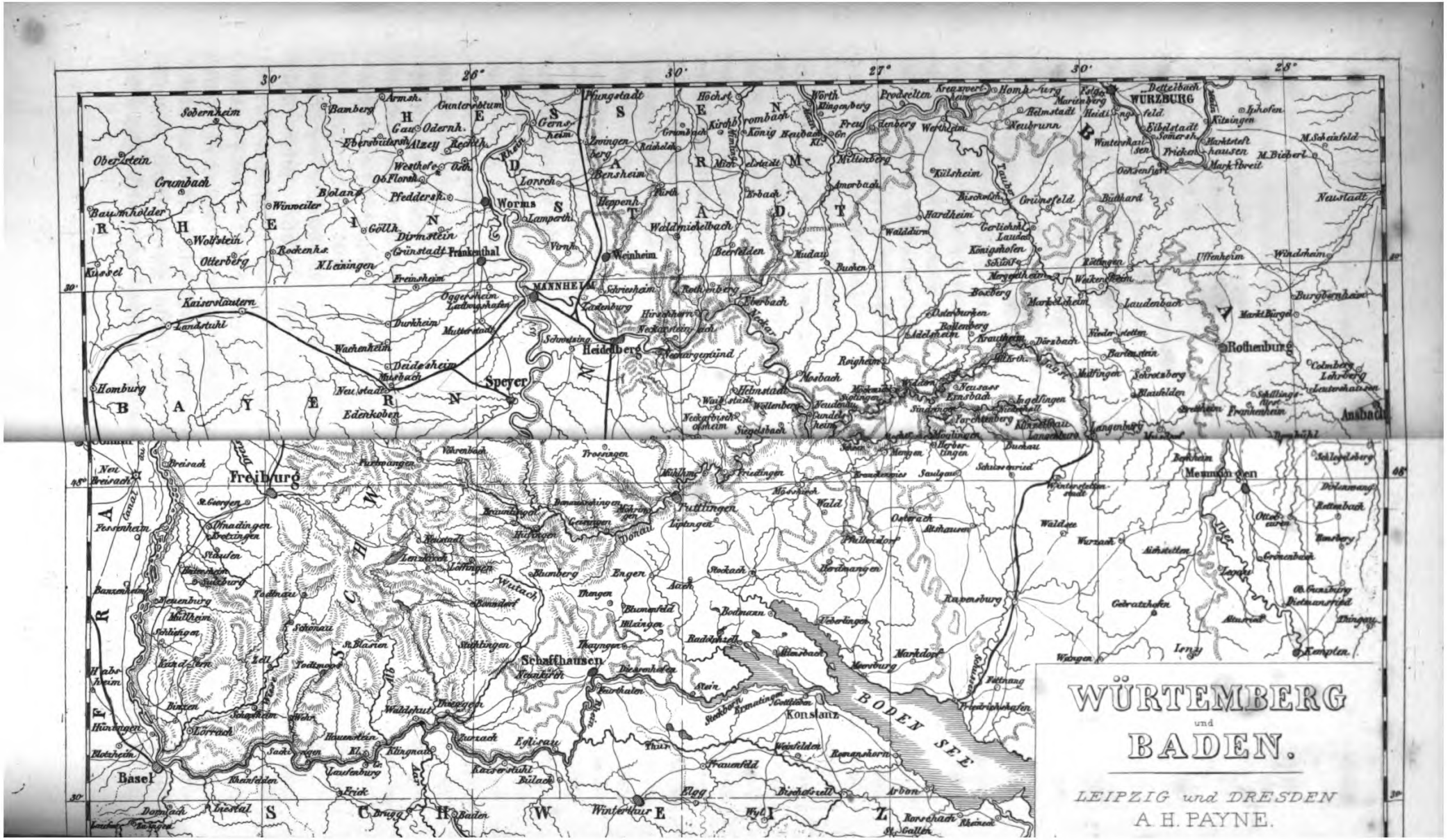
Schwyz or Schweiz, although the capital of the Canton, is an inconsiderable market-town containing about 5000 inhabitants. It possesses a convent of nuns, a monastery of Capuchins, a handsome townhall, and a theatre. This Canton has given its name to the whole territory belonging to the Helvetic confederation, it is however one of the smallest Cantons, containing about 40,000 inhabitants, which are with rare exceptions catholics.

THE REPUBLICAN OUTBREAK IN BADEN.

For several years previous to the Parisian revolution of February 1848, a continually increasing desire for the extension of their political rights, had been exhibited by the people of Germany; and this feeling was especially predominant in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and the various smaller states lying in the neighbourhood of the French frontier. The promise made to his people by the king of Prussia in 1813, to reward their noble exertions in the war of liberation, by a constitution; remained up to 1847 unfulfilled, and the Landtag or Parliament which was assembled in that year at Berlin, was only so far satisfactory to the people, as it indicated that a movement was at length made in a direction which might ultimately lead to constitutional freedom; although in itself a mere nullity when considered as a measure of practical reform.

The hope inspired by this measure was indeed a feeble one; the dislike to innovation or change of any description evinced by all despotic governments, afforded little ground for expectation that the Landtag of Berlin would be able to effect any great political concessions, at least during the present generation. The delay of thirty-four years between the promise of a constitution and the first steps toward the fulfilment of that promise, augered ill for any rapidity of movement on the part of the government, at all likely to satisfy the impatience of the people: and to this was added the certainty that the intractable policy of Austria, so long as it continued to be governed by Metternich or any of his school of statesmen, would ever be a stumbling block to the advance of liberal principles in the other states of Germany. Meanwhile in spite of the rigid censorship on the public press, and the prohibition of public meetings of a political character, the liberal party increased daily in strength and boldness, and politicians looked forward with anxiety to the moment when the long expected rupture between the governments and people of Germany should take place; and which in the opinion of many well informed persons, was likely to lead to a convulsion not less violent than that which agitated France during the closing years of the last century.

This great political problem was destined to a more speedy solution than had been either imagined or expected. The sudden overthrow of the Orleans dynasty in France, called the revolutionary elements of Germany at once into full activity; the throne of every prince from the Rhine to the Baltic was beset with eager petitioners, who urged their claims to political freedom in a manner it would have been madness to have refused. The princes of Germany yielded if not with good will, at least with good grace, to a storm which they


WÜRTEMBERG
und
BADEN.
LEIPZIG und DRESDEN
A. H. PAYNE.
BODEN SEE
Konstanz
Schaffhausen
Basel
Freiburg
Speyer
Heidelberg
MANNHEIM
Worms
WURZBURG
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Memmingen
Ravensburg
Lindau
Winterthur
Frauenfeld
Constanz
Donau
Rhein
Neckar
Main
Tauber
Jagst
Kocher
Enz
Nagold
Murg
Kinzig
Wutach
Aare
Reuss
Limmat
Thur
Töss
Glatt
Sitter
Argen
Schussen
Leutkirch
Isny
Wangen
Tettnang
Friedrichshafen
Markdorf
Meersburg
Überlingen
Radolfzell
Stockach
Engen
Singen
Thayngen
Schaffhausen
Neuhausen
Stein
Eglisau
Zurzach
Waldshut
Thiengen
Lörrach
Basel
Rheinfelden
Säckingen
Laufenburg
Klingnau
Kaiserstuhl
Brugg
Baden
Zürich
Winterthur
Frauenfeld
Weinfelden
Bischofszell
Arbon
Rorschach
St. Gallen
Rheineck
Wyl
Elgg
Bülach
Erick
Lenzburg
Aarau
Olten
Zofingen
Sursee
Luzern
Sempach
Willisau
Langenthal
Huttwil
Sumiswald
Burgdorf
Thun
Interlaken
Brienz
Meiringen
Sarnen
Stans
Altdorf
Schwyz
Einsiedeln
Rapperswyl
Uznach
Wesen
Glarus
Ragatz
Chur
Davos
Coire
Ilanz
Disentis
Andermatt
Altorf
Bellinzona
Lugano
Locarno
Como
Chiavenna
Splügen
Bormio
Tirano
Sondrio
Morbegno
Lecco
Bergamo
Brescia
Verona
Mantua
Milan
Pavia
Novara
Vercelli
Ivrea
Aosta
Turin
Susa
Pinerolo
Saluzzo
Cuneo
Mondovi
Ceva
Savona
Genoa
Nice
Antibes
Grasse
Draguignan
Toulon
Marseilles
Aix
Arles
Tarascon
Avignon
Orange
Carpentras
Vaison
Montelimar
Valence
Romans
Grenoble
Briançon
Gap
Digne
Sisteron
Forcalquier
Apt
Cavaillon
Pont du Gard
Nismes
Uzès
Alais
Le Vigan
Lodève
Montpellier
Cette
Agde
Beziers
Narbonne
Carcassonne
Castelnaudary
Toulouse
Montauban
Moissac
Agen
Tonneins
Marmande
La Réole
Bazas
Langon
Bordeaux
Libourne
Blaye
Pauillac
Lesparre
Soulac
Royan
Rochefort
La Rochelle
Marans
Niort
Fontenay
Luçon
Les Sables
Challans
Machecoul
Paimbœuf
Nantes
Clisson
Montaigu
Ancenis
Chateaubriant
Redon
Vannes
Auray
Lorient
Quimperlé
Pont l'Abbé
Quimper
Douarnenez
Brest
Morlaix
Lannion
Guingamp
Paimpol
Tréguier
Lézardrieux
Perros
Lannion
Roscoff
Landerneau
Carhaix
Châteaulin
Pont Croix
Audierne
Pont Labbé
Concarneau
Quimperlé
Hennebont
Port Louis
Belle Isle
Quiberon
Carnac
Auray
Vannes
Ploermel
Josselin
Pontivy
Rohan
Loudéac
Guingamp
Lamballe
Dinan
Dol
Cancale
St. Malo
Dinard
St. Servan
Dinan
Combourg
Fougères
Vitré
Laval
Mayenne
Craon
Segré
Angers
Saumur
Chinon
Loudun
Thouars
Parthenay
Bressuire
Niort
Melle
Civray
Ruffec
Confolens
Angoulême
Cognac
Jarnac
Barbezieux
Blaye
Libourne
Bergerac
Sarlat
Périgueux
Nontron
Excideuil
Brive
Tulle
Ussel
Uzerche
Limoges
Bellac
Le Dorat
Montmorillon
Le Blanc
Argenton
Châteauroux
Issoudun
Vierzon
Bourges
Sancerre
Cosne
Nevers
Clamecy
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Versailles
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Provins
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Chatillon
Montbard
Semur
Avallon
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Auxerre
Tonnerre
Flavigny
Dijon
Beaune
Chalon
Autun
Arnay le Duc
Saulieu
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Chalon
Autun
Arnay le Duc
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Provins
Coulommiers
Meaux
Paris

had no means of resisting; freedom of the press, the right of public discussion, the extension of the franchise, and the arming of the citizens; concessions which under other circumstances it would have taken a century to have obtained from the reluctant hands of power, were granted in an instant; the king of Prussia decorated with the national colours, put himself at the head of the regenerated fatherland, the emperor of Austria granted a constitution to his subjects, and Metternich so long the evil genius of Germany, sought for safety in flight.

The great majority of the German people were content with the concessions they had thus obtained, which they now only wished to see consolidated and reduced to practice. For this purpose they wished to see their country once more united into a grand whole. and no longer split into a number of separate states, whose interests were too often opposed to each other; and that for all purposes of a political and national character, there should be in the words of the Arch-Duke John of Austria, "No Prussia and no Austria! a single great Germany, firm as its mountains!"

A large party however, as is usual in all similar cases of political excitement, were not content to stop within the bounds of moderation. An abject imitation of the French induced many persons to wish for a Republic, although perhaps scarcely two in a hundred of these would-be democrats, agreed as to the exact form of government which they wished to see established. The great expense of the numerous German courts formed a plausible subject, on which numerous demagogues, who were called into existence by the excitement of the time, unceasingly harangued the people; the cheapness of such a government as that of the united States of America, was contrasted with that of the thirty-five German governments, which was represented as the sole cause of all the poverty which existed in the land, and with regard to which the most absurd falsehoods and exaggerations were circulated.

It is probable that the wishes of the great majority of this party were bounded by the desire to form a system of government founded on universal suffrage with an elective president at is head; but a large section which distinguished itself from the more moderate part of the faction by the name of "Red Republicans," were the advocates of socialist principles, and as far as the inflated speeches of their leaders could be understood, seem to have insisted that the equality of political rights, should also extend to personal property; or in other words that the property of the rich should be confiscated for the benefit of the poor. The leaders of this section of the German Republicans stood in avowed correspondence with the more violent of the political clubs in Paris, and their principles were identical with those of the French party which afterwards received so decided an overthrow in that city, from the hands of General Cavaignac.

The leaders of this faction consisted for the most part of young enthusiastic dreamers, who fancied they saw in the Parisian revolution of 1848, and the German agitations that followed, the first dawn of a political millineum, in which the wildest fancies of political theorists were to be realised. The most active of these were Frederic Hecker, a young man of property, member of the German provisional parliament, and of the second chamber of that of Baden. G. Struve, who was afterwards proclaimed president of the German Republic. And the poet Herwegh, whose literary talents have procured him a deserved reputation both on the continent and in England.

Already in the month of March, and more especially after the decided defeat which the Republican party sustained in the National Assembly at Frankfort, the partizans of the so-called Red Republic were unceasing in their endeavours to excite the inhabitants of the Grand-Duchy of Baden to rebellion. Falsehoods of the coarsest and most improbable character were daily circulated, promises of assistance from France on the one side, and threats of the most atrocious character on the other were employed to excite the minds of the people; in short no means however contemptable were left unemployed to prepare the population for the contemplated outbreak. Hecker sat at this time in the parliament of Baden, and was consequently guilty of an act of treason both against the constitution and the Grand-Duke, to both of which he had sworn fidelity. The march of bodies of troops from Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse, which were intended to protect the Rhenish frontier of Germany from the threatened inroads of armed bands of propagandists from France, was made the pretence for the first movement. These soldiers were held up to public detestation as the mercenary tools of re-action, which were intended to crush the new born liberties of Germany. Tumultuous assemblies took place in various parts of Baden, and the government, which had throughout the agitation shewn the greatest possible forbearance, fearing that the entry of these troops might lead to the effusion of blood, caused them to suspend their march until this new agitation should have subsided. The inhabitants of Constance, Donaueschingen, and Stockach, assembled in arms in order to resist the entry of the Bavarians and Würtembergers, and at the urgent representations of the Grand-Duke of Baden, these troops halted on the frontier, and made no attempt to force a passage.

This act of the government of Baden led to the most unfortunate results. By this means Hecker who had at length openly unfurled the standard of rebellion, gained time to collect a body of six or seven hundred vagabonds in the neighbourhood of these towns, and to openly proclaim the Republic in Stockach and Donaueschingen. His first deed of arms was to seize the person of the Würtemberger Major Fischer, who had entered the last named town to prepare quarters for his troops, and to cause him to be guarded day and

night by two armed men. From this place he issued numerous proclamations calling on the people to join his standard, and by means of his agents and assistants, among whom Struve, Willich, Siegel, and a bankrupt publican named Weisshaar, were the most active, to procure recruits and supplies. With regard to the first they met with but little success, the greater part of their levies having been obtained by throwing open the jails of the towns and villages which they entered; but they succeeded in obtaining considerable sums of money from the more wealthy farmers and millers, by threats of destroying their property by fire in case of refusal.

At length on the 15th. of April, the inhabitants of Donaueschingen and Stockach were relieved from their unwelcome guests. The government at last despairing of putting down the agitation by peaceable means, had authorised the Würtemberg forces to enter these towns if necessary by force of arms. As the advanced guard of these forces, consisting of a battalion of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and two light pieces of cannon, under the command of General von Müller, and accompanied by Herr von Stengel an official of the government of Baden, appeared before Donaueschingen, they were met by Struve who protested against the advance of the troops, and declared that they should only enter the town over the bodies of its defenders. The General replied with military brevity that it was indifferent to him, that he was authorised to act both by his own government and that of Baden, and should perform his duty.

Struve consequently retired, and the Würtembergers advanced. Although the insurgents had thrown up some entrenchments, and were provided with two small pieces of cannon, they took to flight without firing a shot; the greater part flying by various routes to Stühlingen, while Hecker and Struve entering a carriage repaired to Constance, with such speed that a party of cavalry which were sent in pursuit, were unable to overtake them. The troops were received as deliverers by the citizens, which was also the case at Stockach which was occupied at the same time by another party. At Stühlingen the great body of the insurgents again assembled in order to await the arrival of large bodies of workmen from the banks of the Rhine who were expected to join them, and then if possible to take their way over Bondorf and the Höllenthal to Freiburg, where they expected considerable reinforcements. To prevent this, General von Müller dispatched General von Baumbach over Neustadt to Lenzkirchen, while other troops took their way to the same place over Bondorf and Löffingen. Here the troops employed themselves in apprehending or dispersing the various detached bands of insurgents which infested the district, and which in no instance ventured to offer opposition, and consequently the Würtembergers and Bavarians although weak in numbers advanced as far as Tettnang by various fatiguing marches through wretched mountain roads without having an opportunity of using their arms; but no sooner

had the troops passed, than the bands of insurgents again made their appearance, plundered the public conveyances, and spread terror and alarm among the peaceable inhabitants. On the 17th. of April, the manufactory of arms at St. Blasien was completely plundered, and the house of a clergyman in the neighbourhood, robbed and the inmates shamefully ill-treated. In Constance the farce of proclaiming the Republic was repeated, and the former deputy Peter who had been sent by the government to uphold order in the city, sufferred himself to be appointed Stattholder, an office which he held only a few hours; as on the following day a party of Hessian troops entered the town, upon which the new Stattholder and his supporters took refuge in Switzerland. A similar farce was performed at Offenburg, where also the government of the republican authorities only endured one day.

The first meeting between the troops and the insurgents which was attended with loss of life, took place on the 20th. of April, near Kandern. Hecker who with a body of from 1200 to 1400 men and two small pieces of cannon, had been performing various marches and counter marches in the mountains, at length fell in with a body of troops consisting of one battalion of Hessians and two battalions of Badenese infantry, two squadrons of dragoons and four pieces of cannon, under the command of General von Gagern. The civil official who accompanied the troops, summoned the insurgents to evacuate the town and disperse themselves; upon which they left the town, and took up a strong position on the side of a ravine, which could only be approached by a bridge, the road on each side of which they occupied by parties of sharp-shooters. The insurgents consisted of a motley crowd of Frenchmen, Swiss, workmen from Alsace, and peasantry from the neighbourhood, for the most part clothed in rags and in many instances without shoes. General von Gagern who perceived the impossibility of this rabble making any stand against regular troops, and wishing to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, invited Hecker to a conference. After some delay, that chieftain made his appearance; in point of costume he would have made no bad representative of Karl Moor, in Schiller's drama of the robbers; he was dressed in a blue blouse, a white slouched hat with a long hanging feather, and boots reaching to the middle of the thigh. In a belt round the waist he carried two pistols and a dagger, and he was armed in addition with a sword and rifle. In reply to the demand of General von Gagern, that the insurgents should lay down their arms and disperse themselves he returned a decided refusal, and after a vain attempt to induce him to listen to reason, von Gagern took leave of him with the words, "Then weapons must decide it," turned, and mounted his horse in order to return to his troops, scarcely however had he gained the saddle, when both himself and horse were stretched mortally wounded on the ground by a volley of musketry from the insurgents; his servant who had accompanied him to the conference was also killed. The act

of firing on a messenger of peace while returning from his mission, is according to the usages of all civilized nations an act of assassination of the basest kind, and the republican papers of Germany were consequently at considerable pains to explain away the circumstance, by asserting that the military fired first. The whole of both the officers and civilians who were present however deny this statement, and indeed it is absurd to suppose that the military would fire while their officers were in front.

Enraged at the murder of their leader, the soldiers now advanced with ardour to the attack; the rebels notwithstanding the strength of their position, made but a feeble resistance, the scythe-men who formed a considerable part of Hecker's force and from whom so much was expected, took to flight at the first volley, and throwing away their weapons took refuge in a neighbouring wood, and within half an hour from the death of von Gagern the insurgents were completely routed. On the part of the military, the loss in addition to von Gagern and his servant, amounted to only 5 killed, and 15 wounded. On the side of the insurgents there were 15 killed, and about 30 wounded; 15 prisoners and a flag were also captured by the soldiers. The military pursued the flying rebels for a considerable distance, and dispersed another body of about 500. which under the command of Struve were hastening to the assistance of Hecker. The next day the soldiers remained at Eimeldingen and Haltingen in order to recover from their fatigues, while Hecker fled to Basel in order to raise fresh volunteers to make a new attack as soon as circumstances would permit. The greater part of his adherents also took refuge in Switzerland, others lurked about the country, and many returned to their homes. About 50 of these fugitives were captured by a party of Würtemberg cavalry near the Swiss frontier, but the officer in command contented himself with depriving them of their arms and setting them at liberty.

The party of insurgents under the command of Struve, which had dispersed themselves on the approach of the military, fled across the frontier into Switzerland. Struve himself however was arres'ed by the authorities of the town of Sackingen, and committed to prison. They however refused to deliver him into the custody of a party of Würtemberg cavalry who demanded him, and the consequence was, that the military had no sooner retired, than a mob assembled and compelled the authorities to set him at liberty, under threats of firing the town in case of refusal.

On obtaining his liberty Struve joined a party of insurgents which had been collected by Siegel in the neighbourhood of Zell, Atzenbach, and Warmbach, and on the 23rd. of April, this party which amounted to between five and six thousand men, many of which had however been pressed into the service, set out on their march to Freiburg, in which city a republican riot had broken out on the previous day. On

arriving at a place called Sternenwalde, between Guntersthal and Freiburg, the advanced guard of the insurgents fell in with a body of Hessian and Badenese troops which stood prepared to oppose their farther progress. Struve and two other leaders having advanced in order to speak with Major Speck the commander of these forces, that officer ordered him to retire with his rabble, or they would be fired on, and immediately ordered his troops to advance. This affair was a mere repetion of that at Kandern, the sharp-shooters kept up a smart fire as long as the troops remained at a distance, but did little damage as they almost invariably fired too high, and on the nearer approach of the soldiers retired into the woods and dispersed. The scythe-men threw away their weapons and took to flight at the first volley, and those who had been pressed into the service of the rebels, took advantage of the first moment of confusion to return to their homes. The celerity with which the insurgents made off may be judged of from the fact, that their loss as far as it could be ascertained, amounted to only one man killed and four wounded.

Siegel with such of his people as could be collected, fell back the same evening upon Horben, and in the course of the night a considerable number deserted the Republican standard and returned to their homes. On the morning of the 24th. a messenger arrived from Freiburg urging Siegel to march to the assistance of the insurgents in that city which was already surrounded by troops. This circumstance offered little encouragement to the republicans, who were already disheartened by their defeat of the previous day, to again advance in that direction. Siegel determined notwithstanding these disheartening circumstances to attempt to reach Freiburg, few of his followers however shared his enthusiasm, and on mustering them only about 400 could be induced to follow him. With this feeble party he set out on his hopeless expedition, while the remainder dispersed themselves, retired to their homes or fled across the frontier into Switzerland.

Meanwhile on the 22nd. of April, a public meeting was held at Freiburg, which was attended by a large number of armed peasants and workmen, many of whom had taken part in the previous disturbances under Hecker. These people who amounted to about 2500 men, under the guidance of a student named Langsdorf took possession of the city, and being joined by the lower classes of the inhabitants, compelled the small detachment of Hessians who were in the town to evacuate it. This done they erected barricades at all the gates of the town, and sent messengers to Siegel and Weisshaar to hasten with their bands to their assistance. We have already seen that the former of these bands had been compelled to make a retrograde movement, while that of Weishaar had been dispersed on the 20th. without fighting, by a party of Würtemberg cavalry; the railway train from Knibis which was filled with armed men hastening to Freiburg, was stopped by the troops.

Early on the morning of the 24th. of April, a battalion of the second infantry regiment of Nassau, the second Hessian infantry regiment, two squadrons of cavalry, and six pieces of cannon arrived before the town in the district of St. George. Other reinforcements having arrived from other quarters, the entire military force amounted to seven battalions of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and eight pieces of cannon, consisting of 6300 infantry, 450 cavalry, and about 160 artillery-men.

At 9, in the morning, the troops took up their positions, and the half-hour allowed by the commander for the withdrawal of the republican volunteers having expired, at half past 9, the attack commenced. During the preceding night the barricades at the Suabian gate, the gate of St. Martin, the gate of the Jesuits, and the Preachers gate, had been each provided with a cannon, the best marksmen were stationed in the houses near the barricades, and the rest were placed behind and upon them. The attack was directed against the four gates above mentioned; a battalion of Badenese, and another from Nassau, with two pieces of cannon, commenced the attack on the Preachers gate, sending at the same time a detachment against the Zähringer gate. Several soldiers of this detachment having been wounded by a cannon shot, it was for a moment thrown into great confusion; but having at length succeeded in gaining possession of a garden, they advanced slowly by the side of the road, and succeeded in driving away the enemy who did not expect an attack in this direction.

Meanwhile the main body at the Preacher's gate had been hotly engaged; in the first place an inn called the peacock, and several houses in its vicinity had to be cleared of the enemy. Then the artillery was brought forward supported by the Nassau sharp-shooters to attack the barricade, which they did so effectually, that its fire was soon silenced; upon which the guns were withdrawn, and the infantry advanced in close column to the attack. The republicans took advantage of the cessation of the fire of the artillery, to alter the position of their cannon, and discharged it with such effect on the advancing column that it cost the Badenese 9, killed and wounded, and the Nassauer's 3, among which was an officer. The soldiers hesitated for a moment, but urged by their officers again moved forward, supported on each side by flanking parties. The enemy did not however await the attack but after the discharge of the cannon retired in the wildest confusion, and the barricade was consequently carried without farther loss.

At the gate of the Jesuits against which a battalion of Badenese advanced with two pieces of cannon, a similar scene occurred. But here the well-directed fire of the artillery was sufficient to put the enemy to flight, so that the infantry took possession of the ruined barricade with but trifling loss. This was also the case at the Breisacher gate; two pieces of Hessian artillery were placed on the Dreisam bridge, from which they opened so smart a fire on the gate and the adjoining

buildings, that the enemy was soon compelled to abandon them. The cannon which the republicans had placed at this point was rendered useless by a shot from the Hessian artillery, and the infantry, flanked by their sharp-shooters, entered the town on this side without loss. A half company also crossed the foot-bridge which crosses the Dreisam on this side and entered the town without opposition; the other half of this company was sent into the suburb on the side of Höllenthal, followed by a company of the second Hessian battalion, which was followed by two other companies as a rear-guard; and these troops met with not the least resistance, but captured several prisoners and some arms. A company of Hessians had however to engage in a skirmish in the village of Wiehren, having been fired at from the wood in its neigbourhood, and also from some of the houses. On the approach of the troops the insurgents retired into the wood, from which they kept up a heavy but altogether ineffective fire. One company of Hessians, and the whole of the cavalry remained as a rear-guard, the nature of the combat not permittlng the use of the latter arm. A squadron which was intented to pursue the republicans when driven out of the town, did not for some unexplained reason attempt to do so; but a squadron of Badenese pursued them for some distance, and brought in a few prisoners.

The conduct of the troops, for young and inexperienced soldiers, was brave and steady; and it was gratifying to see that all, whether Badenese, Hessians, or Nassauers, only rivaled each other in the performance of their duty and behaved to each other both during and after the combat as sons of the same fatherland. The insurgents on the contrary, nowhere made a determined stand, and when driven from thier barricades, behind which they fought with comparative impunity, made no attempt to renew the conflict in the streets; and when they had left the town, sought for safety in precipitate and disorderly flight. They mostly escaped on the side of the castle-hill, (Schlossberg) which seems to have been purposely left open by the military.

At 12 o'clock, the whole of the city was in possession of the military who were received with the most heartfelt joy by the greater part of the inhabitants, who during two days had been compelled to furnish quarters and provisions to their unwelcome visitors. The behaviour of the soldiers in the conquered city was generally speaking highly praiseworthy, although it is not to be denied that excesses were committed by individuals. The same justice must be done to the insurgents, who also as a general rule behaved well towards the citizens. The loss of the military amounted to 14 killed, and 32 wounded, that of the republicans has never been exactly ascertained, but there is little doubt that it was considerably greater.

The following account of this affair is from an eye-witness, who had an opportunity of seeing the combat at the most important points: —

The possession of the Preachers-gate was obstinately contested, and the cannon which the insurgents had placed at this point was managed by a deserter. Abont 11 o'clock, a battalion advanced from the toll-house, against the gate, with fixed bayonets and here and there a soldier was seen to stagger and fall. At the head of the column rode a staff-officer who constantly turned round to encourage the soldiers, and at his side was a little drummer, beating the *pas de charge.* About 20 paces before the gate the soldiers halted for a moment, and then made a sudden rush forward, tore down the barricade and in the midst of a confused struggle with the insurgents who at this point did not exceed two hundred in number, rushed with loud shouts of victory into the city. The battle in the street of the Jesuits was the most terrible, on this side there is no gate, and the efforts of the republicans were limited to the defence of the barricade and the adjoining street. They had taken possession of a house in this street which afforded them a very favourable position, and this they defended with great obstinacy. When the house was taken, a young man continued to resist until at length the soldiers who seemed unwilling to kill him, threw him down and bound him hand and foot. These republican volunteers were a strange, banditti-like set of fellows, with wild and gloomy countenances, their clothes frequently in rags, and their arms of the most various and incongruous description. With all this there was a kind of wild heroism about their bearing that excited a degree of respect, and this was shown in an extraordinary manner when a party of not more than 40 forced their way into the Town-hall, and carried off the cannon for the purpose of arming the barricades, under the eyes of the trembling burgher guard, who made no attempt at resistance.

While these scenes were occurring in Freiburg, Siegel with his handful of followers were advancing with all possible speed to the assistance of the besieged republicans. On arriving within a short distance of the city, he was met by a messenger who had been sent to urge him to hasten forward, and who informed him that the Suabian gate was the only one that remained in possession of the republicans. On his arriving at the bridge over the Dreisam, he was met by a sharp fire of musketry, the gate having in the mean time been taken by the military. Siegel now threw his people into the houses at the side of the road, and endeavoured to make a stand until he could ascertain how affairs stood. Not many minutes afterwards, the colours of Baden hoisted on the tower of the cathedral showed that the city was taken. On this his few remaining followers immediately took to flight, the majority succeeded in gaining the woods, some concealed themselves in cellars and outhouses, and some were taken by the cavalry which were sent in pursuit. Freiburg was now garrisoned by 6000 men, on the same day a body of Bavarians entered Constance, and all hopes of success on the part of the republicans were at an end.

The broken and dispirited insurgents now sought to regain their homes or the frontier of Switzerland, in small parties and by by-paths; the main roads through the black-forest being occupied by the Würtembergers, the greater part of them who came from the neighbourhood of Constance and Stockach, and who were endeavouring to make their way home across the mountain called the Feldberg, left their arms behind in Todtnau, where they were taken possession of by the military. Several trifling skirmishes took place between small parties of these fugitives and the soldiers who pursued them, which led in some instances to loss of life. The prisoners made on these occasions were however merely deprived of their arms and dismissed to their homes.

After the dispersion of the band of Hecker at Kandern, many of the fugitives fled across the Rhine into the French territory, where Herwegh had collected a band of about 700 men, of whom however only 250 had fire-arms. On the 27th. of April, this band entered Baden, marched through the valley of Münster, and crossed the heights of the black forest in a southerly direction. Near Dosenback in the district of Säckingen, they fell in with a detachment of the second regiment of Würtemberg infantry. This was for a moment completely surrounded by the insurgents, but after a few minutes firing, the republicans notwithstanding their greatly superior numbers took to flight and sought for safety by dispersing themselves in the adjacent woods. Herwegh showed no inclination for deeds of heroism on this occasion, being one of the first who left the field; his wife on the other hand showed great courage, and repeatedly cheered the insurgents forward.

Another detachment of Würtembergers who were stationed at Wallbach, a village at no great distance, on hearing the firing hastened to the spot, and succeeded in capturing no less than 350 of the fugitives, who were sent to the new prison at Bruchsal, but after a short detention were dismissed with passports to their respective homes. These people consisted of natives of almost every German state, and for the most part of workmen who had been expelled from Paris, there were also some French and Italians among them.

This was the last attempt at this time to disturb the country, but many of the persons who had taken part in this movement continued to hover about the Rhenish frontier of Germany both in France and Switzerland. Hecker who is supposed to have furnished the greater part of the funds for this foolish attempt, emigrated to America, but Herwegh and Struve continued to reside in France, where there is little doubt they continued in active correspondence with the ultra-revolutionary clubs of Paris. During the summer of 1848 no farther attempt was made to disturb the peace in Baden, but the excitement of the people was constantly kept up by means of emissaries, who inflamed the minds of the people by speeches in the various political clubs and associations for the advancement of the liberal cause.

That the successive outbreaks which occurred in the cities of Paris, Frankfort, Berlin, and Vienna, as in various other parts of France and Germany during the autumn of 1848, were the result of an understanding between the heads of the various political clubs in those cities, and not the effect of local excitement, no one can doubt who has paid any attention to the time and manner in which these outbreaks took place. It was however scarcely to be expected that after the lamentable failure of the republican movement in Baden in April, that another effort would be made in the same year to establish a German Republic in the half savage districts of the black forest; although the pertinacity with which the numerous fugitives continued to lurk about the frontier might induce an observer to suppose that some mischief was intended.

All doubts upon the subject were put an end to on the evening of the 21st. of September, when Struve at the head of a body of about 800 men well armed, crossed the Swiss frontier and entered the territory of Baden, where he proceeded to take possession of the frontier town of Lörrach. The first act of the republicans was to throw open the doors of the prison, and to secure the persons of the authorities; and the next to take possession of the money in the municipal chest, as also of that belonging to the custom-house. Struve then proceeded to the town-hall, from the windows of which he held a discourse to the assembled people, in which he assured them of the success of this second attempt to establish a republican form of government, urged them to join his standard, and asserted that in every town in Germany a similar movement was to take place on the same day. He urged the people to respect private property, presented to them "General Löwenfels" as the commander of the army, and ended with demanding, "A cheer for Germany."

The next proceeding was to take possession of the printing office of a citizen named Gutch, in the name of the Provisional Government, and the workmen were employed to produce with all possible speed the first number of the Gazette of the Republican Government. The first (and last) number of this "Official organ," contained the four following proclamations, all of which deserve to be immortalised: —

I. Proclamation to the German People! The struggle of the German people with its oppressors has begun. Even in the streets of Frankfort, the seat of the powerless central government, and of the talkative constitutional assembly, the people have been fired upon with grape shot. Only the sword can now deliver the German people. If the reaction is victorious in Frankfort, Germany will under the pretence of law, be more fearfully plundered and oppressed, than can possibly occur in the event of the most bloody war. To arms People of Germany! Only the Republic can lead us to the goal which we hope to reach. Long live the Republic! In the name of the Provisional Government: Struve.

II. Injunctions to all Magistrates (Bürgermeister) German Republic! Prosperity, Civilization, Freedom, for all! Head-quarters Lörrach, September 21st. 1848. All magistrates are made personally answerable for the fulfilment of the following orders. 1. That so long as the Republican army remains in their respective districts, the bells shall be kept sounding during the day, and alarm fires burning on the adjacent hills during the night. 2. They have to take care that no persons belonging to the royalist party escape from their respective districts, but rather that they should be apprehended and their property sequestrated. 3. They are to compel the immediate appearance of all persons capable of bearing arms at the principal place in their respective districts, and to provide them with the necessary arms, ammunition, clothing, and food. 4. They are to provide quarter-billets, in order that the republican troops can at all times be quickly and properly provided with quarters. 5. Above all they are answerable for enforcing obediance to all decrees that shall from this day forth be issued by the provisional government. In the name of the Provisional Government: G. Struve. Carl Blind, Secretary.

III. German Republic! Prosperity, Civilization, Freedom, for all! In the name of the German people, the provisional government decrees as follows: Art. 1. All feudal burdens upon the land, as also all feudal personal services, Tythes, Socage, Ground-rent, or whatever other name they may bear, are without compensation abolished; and all debts incurred for the commutation of such services or imposts are annulled. Art. 2. All imports payable to the State, the Church, or the Nobility, will from this day forth cease; a progressive income tax, which will not affect the poorer classes, will henceforth take the place of these taxes. On the frontiers of Germany only, the present duties will continue to be levied. All property in the land on the part of the State, the Church, and persons fighting on the side of the Princes, are provisionally confiscated to the use of the public, subject to a future reckoning to the inhabitants of the district within the bounds of which such lands may lie. Art. 4. In order to secure these general benefits, a general rising of the people is ordered. All men capable of bearing arms from 18 to 50 years of age, are summoned to arms for the delivery of the threatened fatherland. Art. 5. From this time martial law is proclaimed, until the moment when the German people shall have obtained its freedom. In the name of the Provisional Government: Gustav Struve. Carl Blind, Secretary. Head-quarters, Lörrach, September 21st. 1848.

IV. This proclamation was merely a repeal of the act of the Government of Baden, for increasing the duties on exports and imports.

On the same evening a detachment of the "republican army" marched to Schliengen, took possession of the railway-station, detained the train, and pulled up the rails for a considerable distance

in order to prevent the passage of troops. On the morning of the 22nd. the news of this outbreak reached Freiburg and threw the citizens into the greatest consternation, as the numbers of the insurgents were greatly exaggerated. During the night between the 21st. and 22nd. the bells and drums in Lörrach and its neighbourhood were incessantly sounding the alarm, and mounted messengers hastened to the different villages with orders to the Bürgermeisters to call out all persons between 18 and 50, and send them to the head quarters at Lörrach.

On the 22nd. the republicans divided their forces into several parties, and visited the principal towns in the neighbourhood, as Schopfheim, Kandern, Todtnau, Schönau, seized on the authorities and citizens whom they suspected to be opposed to their designs, compelled many persons to accompany them, seized on the public money, and commenced a perfect reign of terror. The 23rd. was passed in the same manner. On the 24th. at 11 in the Morning, Struve accompanied by about 3000 men, of whom half were well armed, and who carried a red flag, entered the city of Staufen. Before the procession rode three men who cried incessantly, "Long live the Republic!" before the town-hall they alighted, and entered the building, but no one replied to their outcries. They then sent to the church, and caused the bells to be rung to announce the arrival of the new Stattholder.

Immediately afterwards came the procession itself, first a number of drums, and a deplorable band of music, then the standard-bearer with the red flag, then three officers on horsback with red scarfs and armbands, followed by about 800 excellently appointed riflemen with long beards and dark weather-beaten countenances, mostly Italians. After these several red flags, then the main body of the army, consisting of about 2000 able bodied men, of about half were furnished with new muskets and bayonets. In the midst of these came a coach with four horses which had been taken the day before from the Bürgermeister Blankenhorn, in which sat the lady president of the new republic — Madame Struve. The carriage was open, and allowed the public to see a drawn sword with a golden hilt, which was suspended behind her, and a pair of pistols half concealed in a side pocket. By her side sat her attendant, a handsome girl from Lörrach, who seemed to be filled with not less republican ardour than her mistress. Madame Struve wore a dress of black satin, a straw bonnet with white ribbons and a long white veil. In her white-gloved hand, she held a golden *lorgnette* through which she looked from time to time at the people and houses that surrounted her. The carriage stopped before the town-hall, while the republican troops formed an espalier on each side of the street.

Now came Struve, and after him a mixed rabble which partly from good-will, and partly from compulsion, had joined the expedition.

They carried numerous drums and red flags, and were commanded by officers wearing red scarfs. These people who formed at least half of the procession, marched without any attempt at military order; but were for the most part provided with fire-arms of various descriptions. Notwithstanding the noisy music and the tawdry flags, the death-like silence with which the exhibition was received by the people, gave the whole affair an air of melancholy, which was calculated to excite compassion rather than any other feeling. Struve was received at the town-hall by two or three of the citizens, who accompanied him into the interior, while some women offered his wife grapes and other refreshments. Soon however all eyes were directed again towards Struve, who now appeared at a window with a drawn sword in his hand in order to address the assembled crowd. His speech consisted of the usual abuse of the established authorities, and extravagant promises of benefits to be conferred, which constitutes the stock in trade of mob orators in every country in the world. It ended with these words — "Yes my friends, from this time forth there will be no more taxes, no more imposts — poverty and misery will be unknown under the new government. Place then the same confidence in us, that we place in you, and join yourselves with heart and soul to the army destined for the deliverance of our native land." The speech of the self-appointed dictator failed however to awake a spark of enthusiasm in his hearers, and no one joined in the somewhat cold applause with which his armed followers greeted him at its conclusion.

The register of baptisms was now brought from the church, and all persons from 18 to 50 years of age, were summoned to join the procession, and the funds in the town chest were taken possession of in the name of the republic. The quartering of the patriot army war of course not forgotten, and each householder had to provide food and lodging, for from three to eight men. To the credit of the republicans it must be observed that they invariably in this place behaved with civility and moderation towards the inhabitants. A citizen of Staufen in a letter to a German newspaper, observes — "Five young men from 18 to 20 years of age, from a small hamlet in the neighbourhood, entered the house and saluted us in a friendly manner, but with a very melancholy air. They went to each member of the family and with a true-hearted "Grüsz Gott" shook them by the hand. I could scarcely refrain from tears at the story of these poor fellows, who informed us that they were no volunteers, but had been compelled to join the expedition under threats of being instantly shot in case of refusal, on in the event of their attempting to escape. After remaining about an hour they departed with heavy hearts. I advised them on the first appearance of the military, to throw away their arms, and go over to them; and I afterwards learned from the soldiers who were quartered in my house that they had done so, and had been permitted to return to their homes."

In the meantime, preparations were made by the republicans for defending the town in case of attack, barricades were erected, and the bridge over the Neumagen rendered impassible.

While these occurrences were taking place in Staufen, Generals von Gayling and Hoffmann with the battalions of Ludwig and Walz, four pieces of cannon under the command of Captain Lichtenauer, and the Squadron of Captain von Freydorff, had marched on Krozingen, where they were informed that the republicans under Struve, were at Heitersheim.

On the approach of the troops to Heitersheim the detachment of volunteers in that place, retired on Wettelbrunn and Staufen. About a mile from the latter place some shots were fired at the troops from the castle of Heitersheim, and General Hoffmann ordered a company of infantry to advance towards it, on which the volunteers abandoned it and fled in the direction of Salzburg. General Hoffmann now proceeded with the principal column towards Wettelbrunn, from whence he directed the troops to advance in two columns on Staufen, where as we have already seen, the enemy had established his head quarters.

The first of these columns, consisting of the battalion Ludwig, the light company of the first regiment, two howitzers, and a squadron of dragoons, were led by General Hoffmann over Grünern towards Staufen; while the second column consisting of the battalion Walz, with the two sixpounders, under the command of General von Gayling marched over Kirchhofen to the same place, so as to advance on the town from opposite sides. The company of Laroche formed the communication between these columns, and during the attack joined itself to that of General von Gayling.

The whole of the houses and gardens in the outskirts of Staufen, were occupied by the sharp-shooters of the republicans, who opened their fire the moment the troops appeared. The light companies of the military continued nevertheless to advance, but as all the entrances to the town were barricaded, General Hoffmann ordered a few shells to be directed against them; as these seemed to produce but little effect, he ordered a storming party consisting of two companies of the Ducal body-guard to advance. These carried the first barricade, waded through the Neumagen, the bridge over which was impassible, and pressed forward into the high-street of the town, where they were received by a heavy fire not only from the houses on both sides of the street, but also from the town-hall, which faces the bridge. The combat lasted nearly half an hour, two other barricades having to be stormed, which was effected as soon as the battalion Ludwig had come to the assistance of the first party.

On the other side of the town, General von Gayling had sent the riflemen forward on either side of the road; those on the right, under

the command of Captain Laroche, and those on the left under Captain Hoffmann. These soldiers endeavoured to establish themselves in the houses and gardens of the outskirts of the town, which were however defended by the republicans. General von Gayling consequently directed the cannon to be used against the houses occupied by the enemy, and then advanced with his column against the entrance to the town, at the same moment that the column of General Hoffmann was engaged in front of the town-hall. Here a barricade was stormed and removed, and the troops then advanced to the bridge, to which point, General Hoffmann had already brought forward his two howitzers.

In the town itself, the last named officer had taken the barricade that prevented ingress to the market place, and had compelled the insurgents to retire from the town-hall, which was partly occupied by the troops. Detachments of the battalion Walz were sent forward in the direction of the church, the hospital, and the side of the town towards the wood; while the main body of General Hoffmann's column pressed forward towards the entrance of the town on the side of the Staufenberg, in order to drive the insurgents in that direction.

Meanwhile a body of republicans were observed advancing from the side of the Münsterthal, to the assistance of their comrades in the town. General von Gayling therefore ordered a company of the body-guard, with the two howitzers, to advance in that direction; and a few shells induced the insurgents to withdraw, without coming to close quarters.

In the centre of the town the fighting still continued, the insurgents still firing upon the troops from the houses, whereby two harmless citizens lost their lives, and one of the houses was destroyed by fire. The engagement commenced at one o'clock in the afternoon, and at three o'clock, the town was completely in the possession of the military, whose loss only amounted to 1 killed, and 8 wounded.

Of the insurgents 11 were found dead in the streets, 60 were taken prisoners, and 8 horses, and a tolerably supplied miiitary chest fell into the hands of the soldiers. The papers of Struve which were said to be of an important character, were also left behind in the hurry of his departure. The behaviour of the troops all of whom were under fire for the first time, was worthy of the highest praise.

After the engagement, and partly during its continuance, the insurgents dispersed themselves in small parties over the surrounding country. One of these parties entered the town of Sulzburg, and extorted 1500 Florins from the inhabitants by threats of firing the town, and retired quietly with their booty. In the night between the 24th. and 25th. fugitives arrived in Lörrach, bringing the disastrous news of their defeat to the provisional government in that town; upon which its members immediately took to flight, and the authorities who had been imprisoned, were set at liberty.

The provisional government had been by no means idle during its short existence. While the scenes above described were being enacted in Staufen and its vicinity, the republican executive in Lörrach had used every means in their power to raise men and money for the service of the new government. On saturday the 22nd. of September messengers arrived in Badenweil and its neighbourhood, calling on the Bürgermeisters to assemble all the male population from 11 to 40 years of age and to send them to the head quarters at Müllheim. As these orders were not attended to, parties of armed men made their appearance, whose frightful threats against persons and property caused great terror among the peaceable inhabitants. It was thought however that the so called provisional government would have been content with the young men, who alarmed by the threats of their emissaries, left their parents and homes with bleeding hearts, and repaired on the same evening to Müllheim; but at day-break on sunday, new bands of insurgents appeared in the different villages, in order seek for those who had not obeyed the order, and to execute martial law upon those who still refused obedience. From all sides was heard the frightful peal of the tocsin, and men women and children, wandered about in terror and irresolution in the streets. Amidst the tears and lamentations of their wives children and parents, these wretched conscripts, some with, and others without weapons, were at length dragged from their homes to the head-quarters at Müllheim, and from thence to Staufen. A dead silence reigned in the streets of Badenweiler and the entire valley, at midday the thunder of cannon was heard in the direction of Staufen, and soon afterwards hundreds of the pressed men were seen hastening with curses on the originators of this treasonable undertaking, towards their homes. The defeat of the insurgents at Staufen induced the people to believe the affair at an end, and those who had hid themselves to avoid serving, now returned joyfully to their houses. They were deceived however, there was still worse to come. On monday with the first dawn of day, the sound of drums and alarm-bells, again roused the inhabitants. The insurgents under the guidance of a man named Willish formerly an officer in the Prussian service, had again assembled at Oberweiler, and had sent out parties in every direction to assemble the fugitives, and to raise fresh levies by threats of fire and sword. A part of the inhabitants of Badenweiler refused to submit to this tyranny, and declared that nothing should induce them to take part in this desperate and criminal proceeding; that they would repel force by force, and if necessary treat the insurgents to the smell of gunpowder. Roused to fury by this unexpected resistance, the whole troop of insurgents remaining in Oberweiler, amounting to upwards of 400 men, set out for Badenweiler and poured from all sides suddenly into the town. Resistance to such a body of armed men was impossible, and the inhabitants were now ill-used in a scandalous manner. The Parish priest with his son-in-

law the Vicar, and several of the most respectable citizens were made prisoners and confined in the town-hall. The furniture in the house of the Bürgermeister was entirely broken to pieces, and his money and valuables stolen, because he refused to produce his son to serve with the republicans. This troop of banditti then went to the Roman bath, took by force the three sons of the proprietor and threated to set fire to the houses of all those who did not produce their sons. Night now approached, and the fears of the citizens increased every moment, as the insurgents showed no signs of departing, and their numerous watch-posts prevented them from sending for assistance. At length a rumour that the military were approaching induced them to return to Oberweiler; but late at night a detachment returned and quartered themselves on the inhabitants.

The next morning they caused it be publicly proclaimed in the streets, that if the required number of recruits were not ready to march in two hours, they would set fire to the town. Shortly afterwards the main body about 200 strong, entered the town and divided themselves into two parties, one of which stationed itself opposite the Roman bath, and the other opposite the parsonage. Nothing now remained to be done, but to procure help from the neighbouring villages, and messengers had already been despatched for that purpose, when certain intelligence arrived that the military were at no great distance; upon which the insurgents withdrew from the town, and dispersed themselves in the woods. The troops were received with heartfelt joy by the citizens, who looked upon them as their deliverers from the worst species of tyranny, that of an armed mob.

The system of terror which the insurgents introduced into the district of the Kandersthal was also truly frightful. The greatest possible repose and quiet reigned throughout this part of the country, no one had the most distant idea of a new outbreak, and vague rumours to that effect which were circulated from time to time, were laughed at as idle fables, and forgotten. On the evening of the 24st. of September an emissary of the republicans appeared at the fair of Lörrach and spread the news of an approaching movement among the peasants who were returning to their homes, among which were many who had taken part in the previous disturbances under Hecker. Nobody however seriously believed the story, until in the night between the 24th. and 25th. mounted messengers from Lörrach brought the order to the various villages to call out the first and second reserves on the following day, and prepare them for immediate service. The most scandalous falsehoods were propagated by these persons, such as that the palace in Karlsruhe had been burnt, and the Grand-Duke driven away; that the Republic had been proclaimed throughout Germany; that the King of Würtemberg was killed, and the Kings of Bavaria and Saxony taken prisoners, etc. etc. The people seemed paralysed, the agents of the

republicans threatened, and wherever they could collect together a handful of vagabonds no one dared to offer the least resistance. Many of the villages placed their contingent of men at the disposal of the new government without resistance, as though it had been a regulary legalised authority, others endeavoured to evade the demand, but few ventured to resist. Many of the conscripts pretended illness, others had no arms; but neither of these excuses availed, the armed bands pulled the sick out of their beds, and the unarmed were driven, often with their hands tyed behind them, to the appointed head-quarters. The terrible scenes of distress that this system occasioned are indescribable, four or five sons were often taken from one house, amidst the tears and lamentations of the broken hearted parents. When the recruits were gone a deathlike stillness reigned in the valley; Sunday came, the persons who were left met together, many proposed to assemble the people, march on Lörrach, and overthrow the provisional government; but there were no leaders, no union, and above all no courage. Every hour brought some new report, the most generally believed of which was, that Hecker had again made his appearance at the head of a large force in the neighbourhood of Strasburg. On the following morning the first fugitives from the affair at Staufen arrived in the valley, and filled the population with fear and anxiety for the fate of their sons and relatives. The people now began to bestir themselves in earnest, and their is little doubt that if the provisional government had continued another day in Lörrach, it would have been overthrown by the spontaneous movement of the people.

On friday the 22nd. of September, orders arrived to the various Bürgermeisters in St. Blasien to call out all persons between the ages 18 and 40, to cause the alarm bells to be rung and fires kindled on the heights, under threats of military execution in case of refusal. These orders were signed by a man named Prast, the son of an innkeeper at Eichen in the Canton Aargau, who held the rank of Colonel in the insurgent army. The people of St. Blasien however paid no attention to his orders, and returned his threats; upon which he took his departure and did not return.

On the morning of monday the 25th. of September, the treasury of the flying provisional government which contained 8,200 florins, was taken by the military at Todtnau, where also Struve and his wife had arrived on the previous evening. Before day-break on the 25th. they continued their flight to St. Blasien and from thence over Schönau to Hausen. Before reaching this place they were met by a party of conscripts from Schopfheim on their way to the republican head-quarters at Schönau. Although Struve and his wife were disguised as peasants, they were recognised by the conscripts, who after some consultation resolved to return to Hausen, and arrest the fugitives. As these however were in a carriage they gained considerably on their pursuers, and when these last arrived at Hausen, Struve and his wife

had changed their dress and set out on foot towards Wehr. In the inn at the last named place their pursuers came up with them, took them prisoners, and conveyed them to Schliengen, from whence a messenger was sent with the news of the circumstance to the head-quarters of the military at Müllheim, which had been taken on the same morning without resistance. While awaiting the escort which was to convey the prisoners to Müllheim, they were confined in the town-house. Struve appeared terribly dispirited, and sat apparently lost in thought; on being asked if he wished any refreshments, he replied "I will take a glass of water." His wife on the other hand, showed much more spirit, and met her fate with courage and even cheerfulness. The people who surrounded the house indulged in violent threats and reproaches against the prisoners, but made no attempt to offer them any personal injury. On the arrival of the military they were placed in an omnibus, and conveyed under a strong escort of cavalry and infantry to Müllheim. Here the escort had great difficulty to protect the prisoners from the fury of the people, who would certainly have torn them in pieces, but for the threatening sabres and muskets of the soldiery. This exhibition of popular rage appeared to affect Struve deeply, he sat pale and trembling in the carriage, with his wife leaning on his breast; while the people demanded loudly, that he should be made to descend from the carriage and walk through the streets like an ordinary malefactor; but this demand was of course not complied with.

Martial law was now declared by the government, in the provinces of the upper and middle Rhine, and in part of the district called the Seekreise.

On the 30th. of September, a court martial was assembled in the town-hall of Müllheim, for the trial of Struve. The hall was divided into two parts one for the court, and the other for spectators, which latter were tolerably numerous, but consisted for the most part of military men. As soon as the court was assembled, Gustavus Struve was brought into the hall, in which a few days before he had himself exercised the power over life and death, as dictator of the provisional government. He was guarded by a party of Hessian soldiers, and on being placed at the end of the table at which the members of the court were seated, the chains with which he had been secured, were removed, and the proceedings began. Struve's countenance was pale, and his dress showed considerable negligence, but his demeanour was firm and composed, and his spirits seemed neither depressed nor exhilirated.

The president Von Bodmin informed the prisoner in few words, of the nature of the tribunal before which he was arraigned; and directed the actuary to read over the laws under which the proceedings about to take place were instituted. The actuary read from the go-

vernment gazette, the law of the 23rd. of September, by which all the districts from Lörrach to Achern were placed under martial law. Also a law concerning court martials published on the 24th. of the same month; and another published on the 25th. by which Müllheim was declared under martial law.

Struve listened with attention, looking steadily before him during the reading. At its close the president invited him to give the court a statement as to his position and mode of life. In reply, he gave a short biographical sketch of himself, and ended with the declaration that he was a republican, and that he —

At this moment he remarked that Captain Diemar, one of the members of the court, whispered something to his neighbour; upon which he stopped and did not finish the sentence. He closed with the remark that the existence of 38 States, and 35 Princes in Germany, was a great misfortune for the country; when he was stopped by the president, who begged him not to say anything which might lead to new accusations against him, but to confine himself to the present charges, viz. those of leading an armed band into Germany for the purpose of overthowing the government of the country, of assuming the powers of the government, of resisting in arms the legal military forces, of plundering the public treasury, and of extorting money from the inhabitants by threats of burning their property.

Struve replied, that these circumstances were notorious, and that he did not deny them; that to deny a fact was contrary to his character; but added, that the charge of entering the territory of Baden with a numerous armed force was unfounded, as his followers in the first instance, were neither numerous nor armed.

On being asked what he had done during his flight, and since his arrest, towards suppressing the insurrection; he replied, that from the moment of his being seized by a party of fanaticised peasants. — At the word fanaticised, he seemed to think he observed signs of dissatisfaction on the countenances of his judges, which he appeared to watch with great anxiety; he declared therefore that in using the word "fanaticised" he had no wish to offend any one; but that if the people who arrested him were not fanaticised, they were at least greatly excited. Since his arrest he had been completely shut up from the world, and had had no opportunity of doing anything towards either suppressing or encouraging the revolt.

Struve now directed the attention of the court to the wording of the law of the 26th. of September, and insisted that it could not be made to act retrospectively, and that as he had been arrested on the day previous, and could not have committed any offence since that time, that consequently the court-martial had no power to decide upon his case.

The court declared that they would take this point into consideration, and retired to the council chamber.

During this sitting which lasted scarcely half an hour, Struve spoke with clearness and self-possession. His voice which had a harsh and disagreeable tone when strained to address the multitude, had on this occasion rather a pleasing effect. His manner was however not calculated to make a powerful impression on his hearers, still less to induce the belief that he was one of those great geniuses who are capable of influencing the fate of nations.

The consultation of the court lasted a considerable time, during which Struve sat in a chair with an air of assumed indifference, but his eye wandered instantly to any point in which the slightest noise occurred. The spectators conducted themselves with calmness and propriety, but looks and gestures of indignation against the prisoner were sometimes visible.

At length about 11 o'clock, the members of the court re-entered the hall. A dead silence prevailed, and all countenances showed the anxiety that prevailed to hear the decision. Struve stood up and came forward to the table.

In a few words, the president declared that the court had decided to deliver the prisoner over for trial to the ordinary civil tribunals.

The proceedings of the court were then reduced to writing. The chains were again put upon the prisoner, who was removed under a strong escort to prison; and the populace loudly expressed their dissatisfaction that he was not to be at once sacrificed to the feelings of popular indignation. After a detention of some weeks Madame Struve was set of liberty, but the trial of her husband has hitherto been delayed from various causes, the most important of which probably is, the unwillingness of the government to increase by any means however slight, the political excitement which up to the present time still prevails in Germany.

The defeat of the insurgents at Staufen completely destroyed the last hopes of the ultra republican party in South Germany, and the capture of Struve has hitherto prevented the repetition of any similar attempts to disturb the peace of the country. For some days after the last event, broken bands of the republicans roamed about the country, extorting money, food, and quarters, from remote villages, but they were speedily driven across the frontier, or apprehended and lodged in prison.

The feverish excitement caused throughout Germany by the French revolution, is rapidly giving way to the love of order which forms so prominent a feature in the German character; and the crazy expeditions of Hecker and Struve have not been altogether useless, as tending to place these self-styled friends of liberty in their true character, and

as affording a lesson which will not be readily forgotten in the districts which were subjected to the short lived tyranny of the so called provisional government.

FREIBURG.

Freiburg the capital of the district or province of the Oberrhein, and the seat of the Catholic Archbishop of the diocess; is situated on the river Dreisam and at no great distance from the mountain called the Rosskopf, one of the highest points in the black forest, and which rises to the height of 3000 feet. It contains an University founded in 1457, which is visited yearly by from 450 to 500 students, and to which belongs a library of 100,000 volumes, a cabinet of natural history, a botanical garden etc. etc. Here is also a Catholic theological seminary, a gymnasium, a military hospital, orphan-house etc. etc. Freiburg contains also a palace belonging to the Archbishop, and another belonging to the Grand-Duke of Baden, but its most celebrated building is the cathedral which is considered to rival in beauty that of Strasburg. It was commenced in the middle of the 12th. century, and occupied 160 years in building. The steeple is 365 feet high, and the interior contains a vast number of curious and ancient monuments. Besides the cathedral, Freiburg contains two other catholic churches and the protestant church of St. Louis, formerly belonging to the Cistercian cloister. This city was founded 1118 by the Duke of Zähringen Berthold III, and was formerly strongly fortified; it endured several sieges during the thirty years' war; and was taken by the French repeatedly in the wars of Louis XIV. It contains according to the last census 14,600 inhabitants.

LÖRRACH.

Is an inconsiderable town with about 2400 inhabitants, it contains some manufactories and a grammar school, and is situated on the river Weisen, which gives its name to the valley called the Weisenthal, the principal scene of the expedition of Struve above described.

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INDEX.

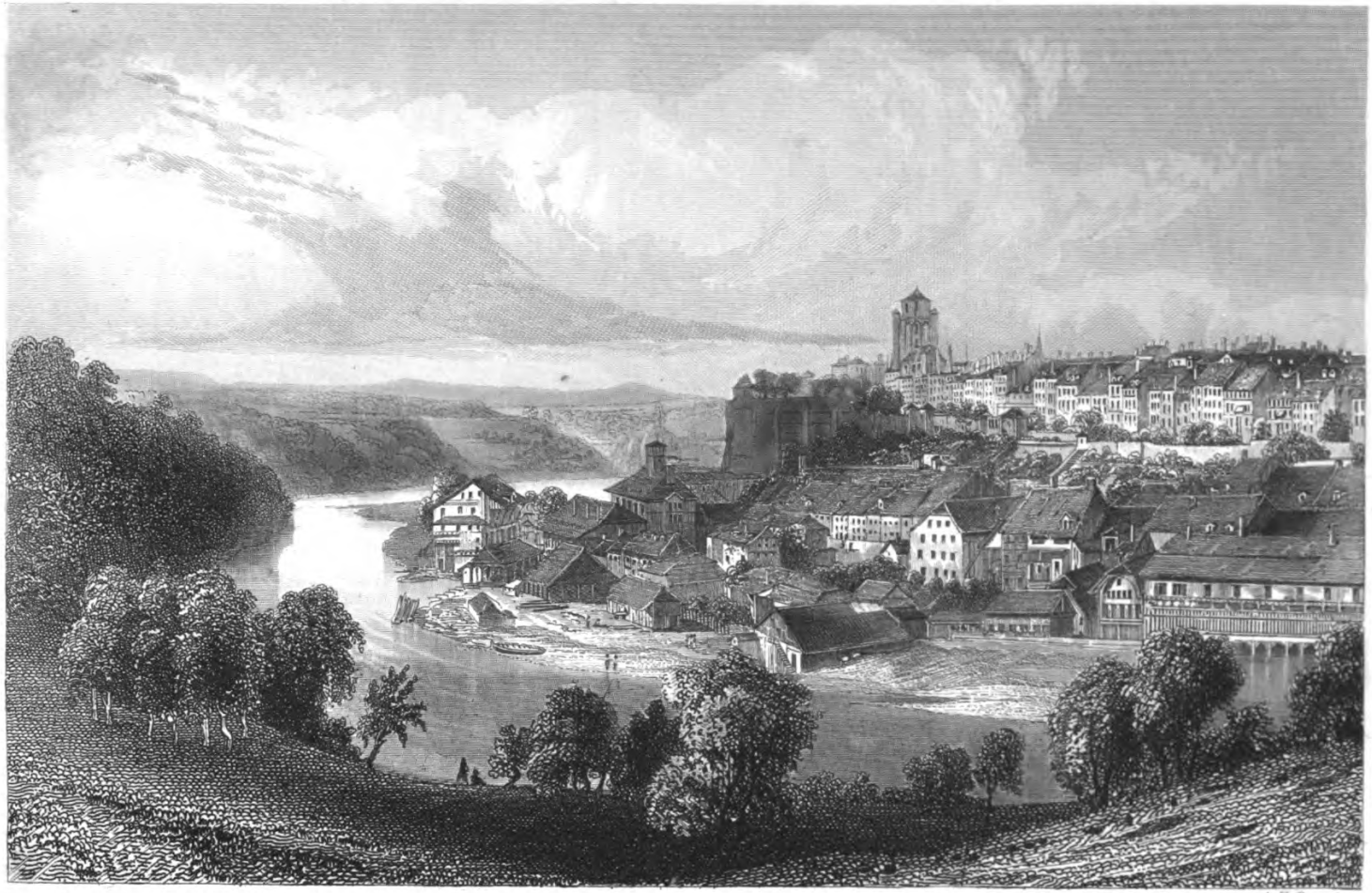
	Page
Baden, the Republican Outbreak in	166
Hungary, the Revolution in	35
Italy, the Revolution in	54
Prague, the Insurrection in	27
Schleswig-Holstein	5
Switzerland, the Civil War in	112

List of the Engravings.

Basel	162
Bern	165
Copenhagen	8
Florence	111
Freiburg	164
Freiburg (in Baden)	189
Geneva	163
Hadersleben (Title)	26
Hermanstadt	108
Kiel	26
Lörrach	189
Lucern	164
Messina	109
Milan	109
Naples	108
Palermo	109
Pesth	54
Peterwardein	53
Prague	28
Schleswig	26
Schwyz	165
Semlin	47
Sound (The)	14
Venice	110
Villa Reale (Naples)	101

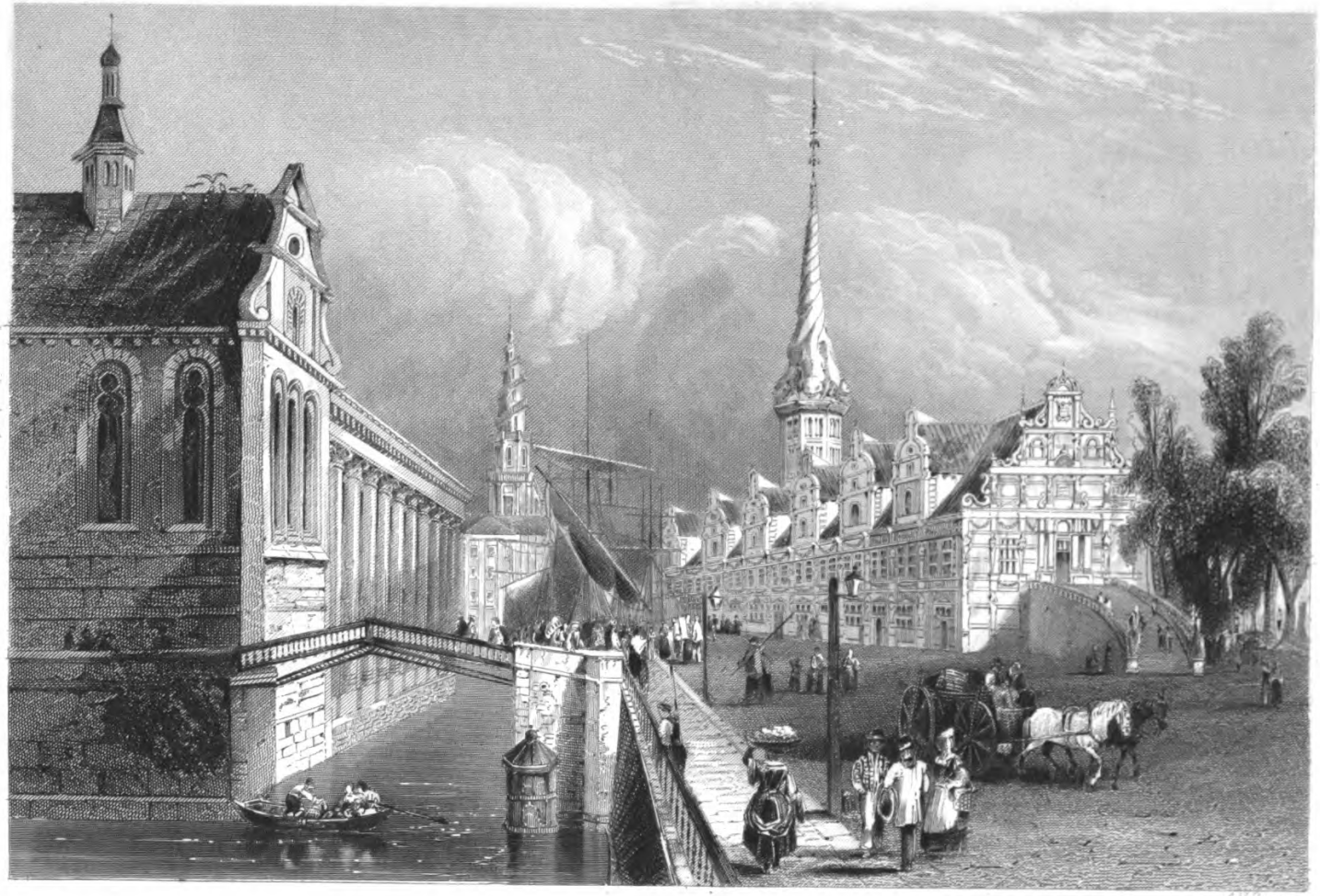
A.B. Pyne sc

Basel

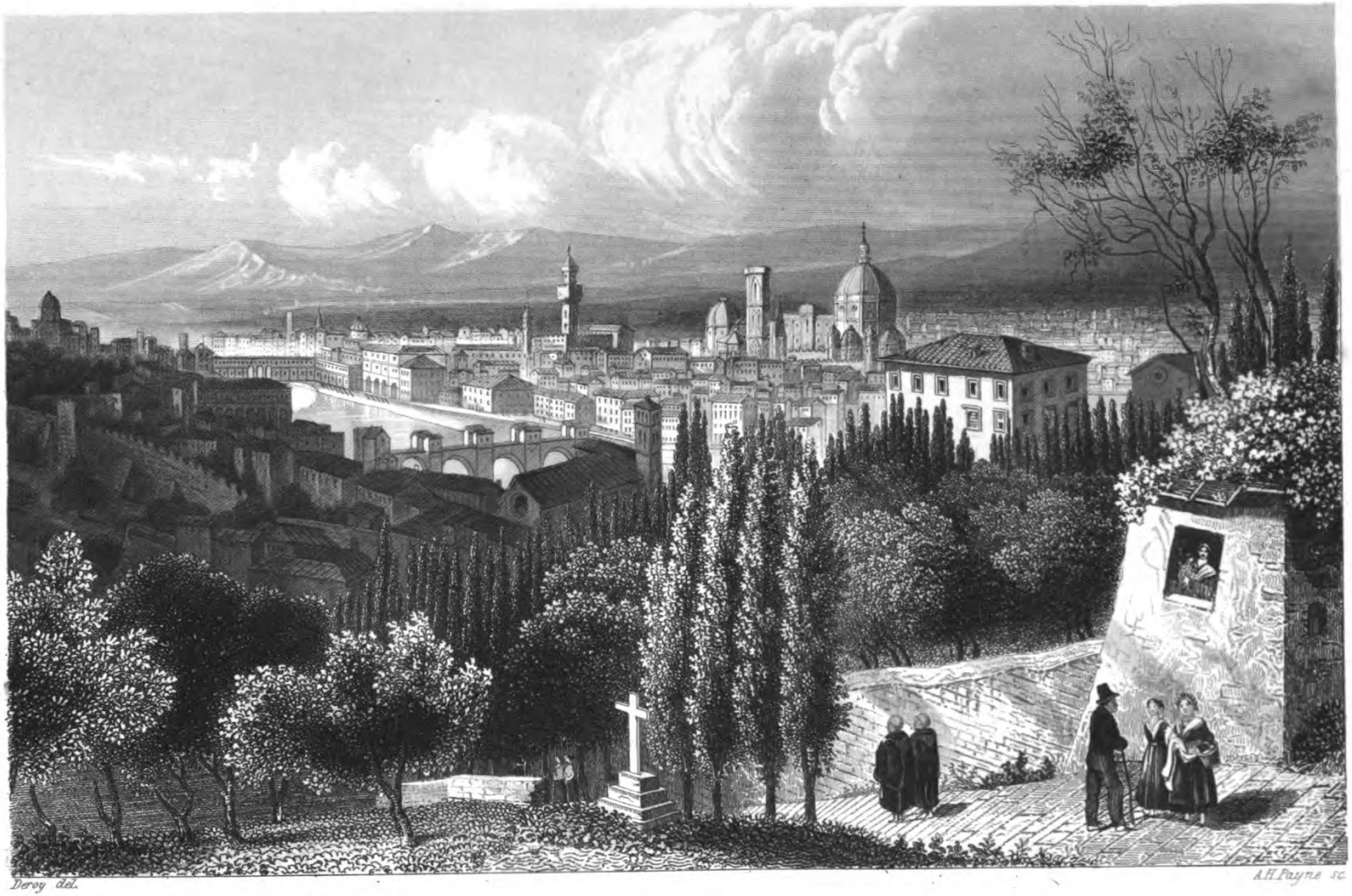


A. H. Payne sc.

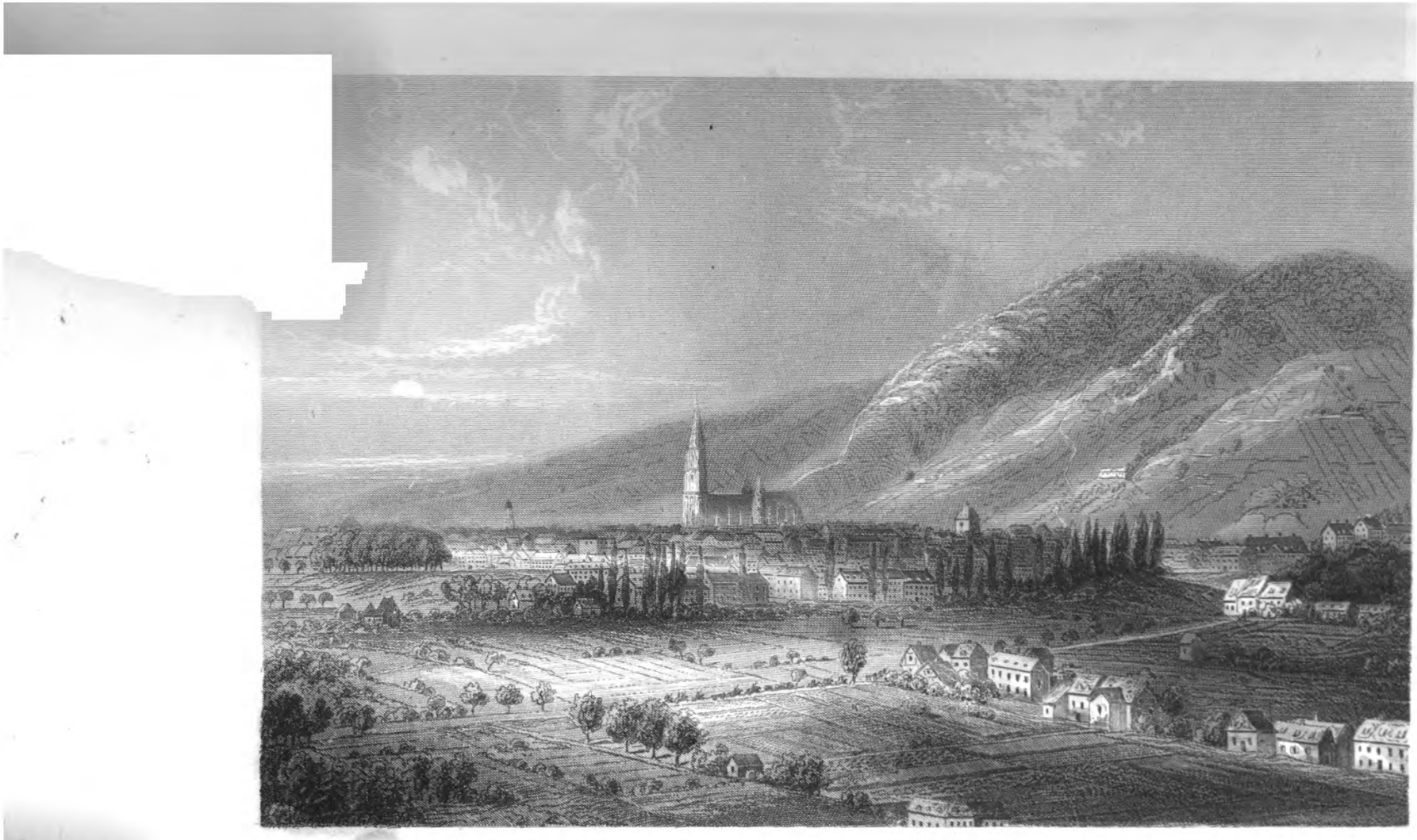
Bern



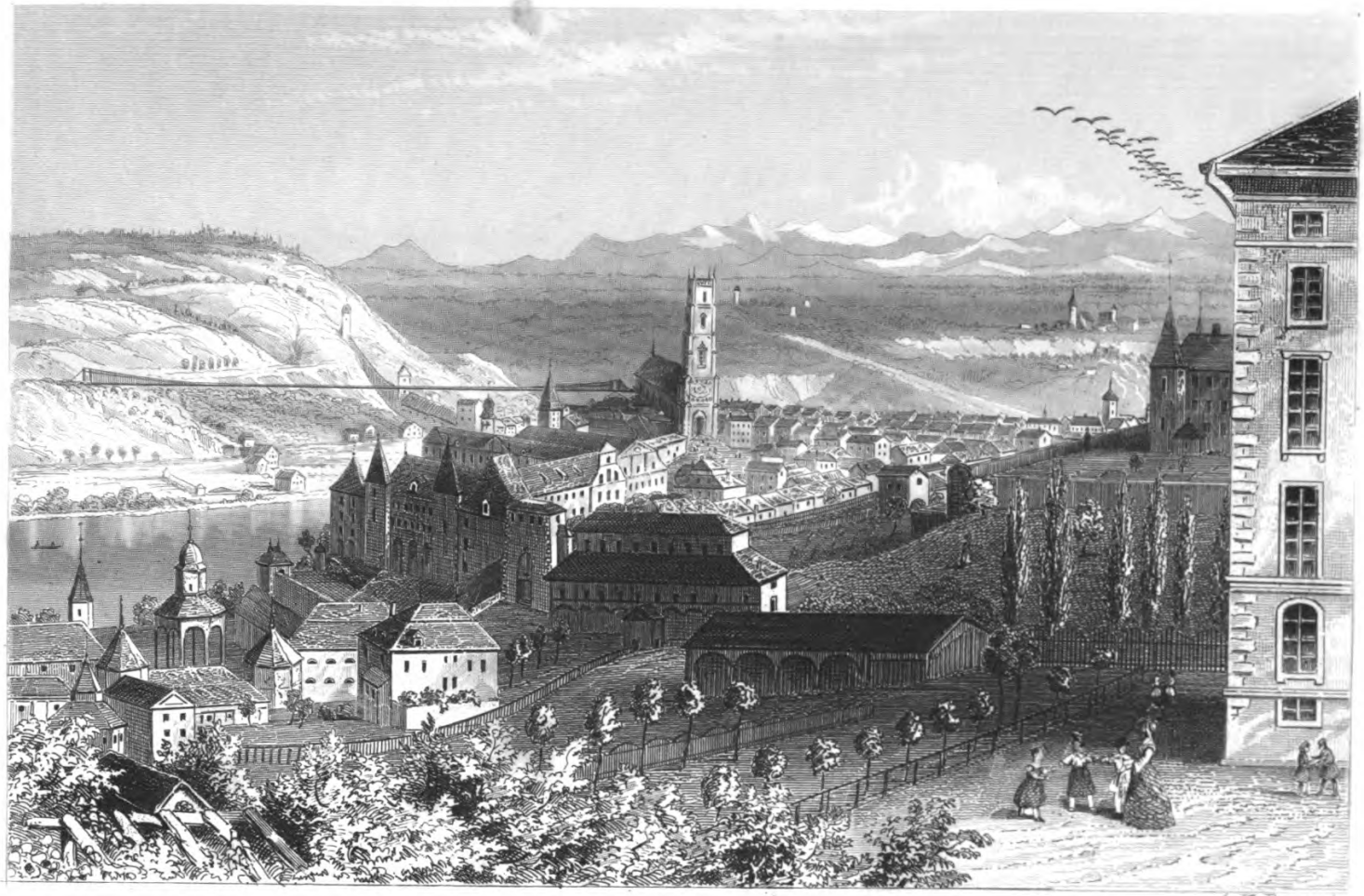
Copenhagen



Florenz



Freiburg



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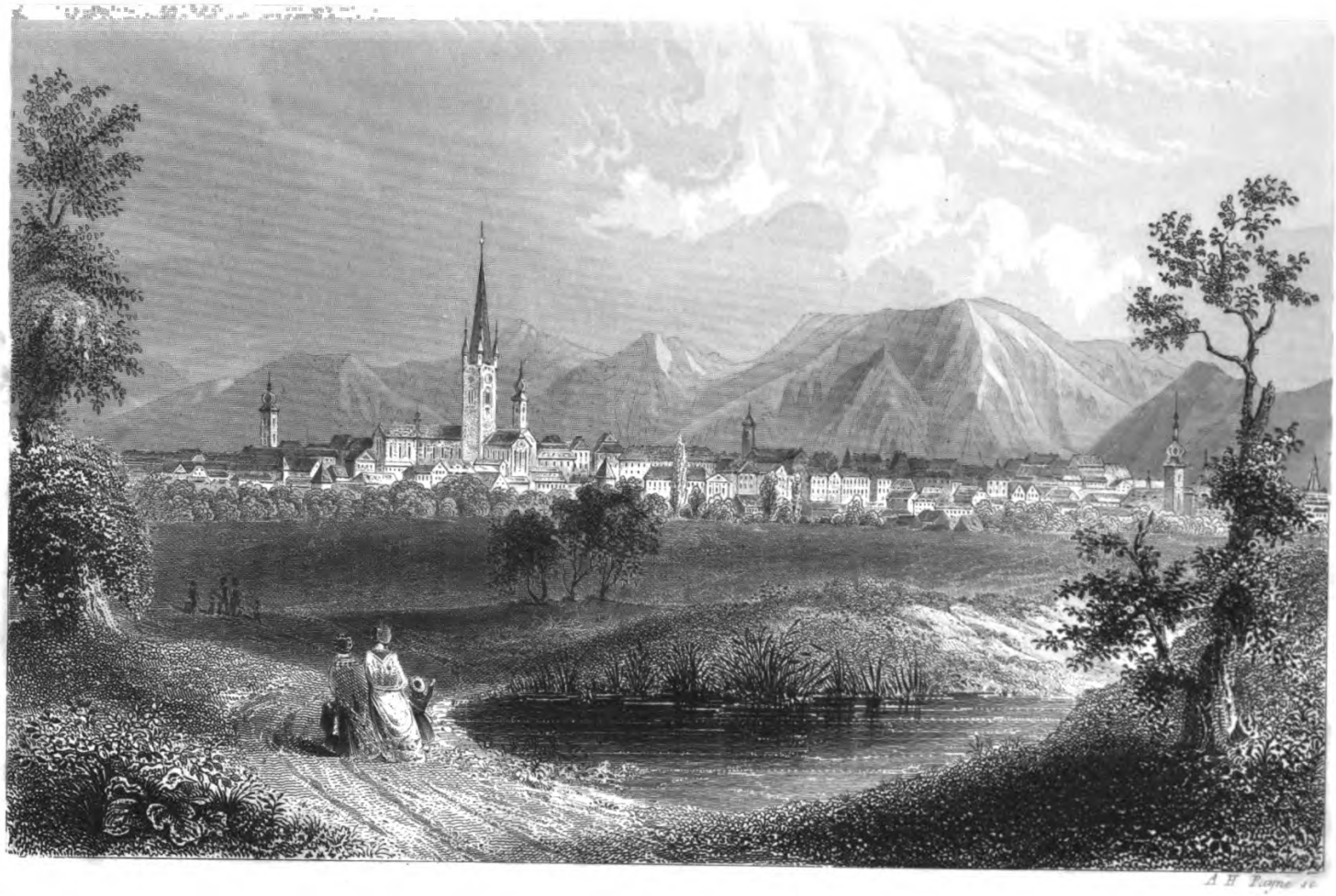

Hermannstadt

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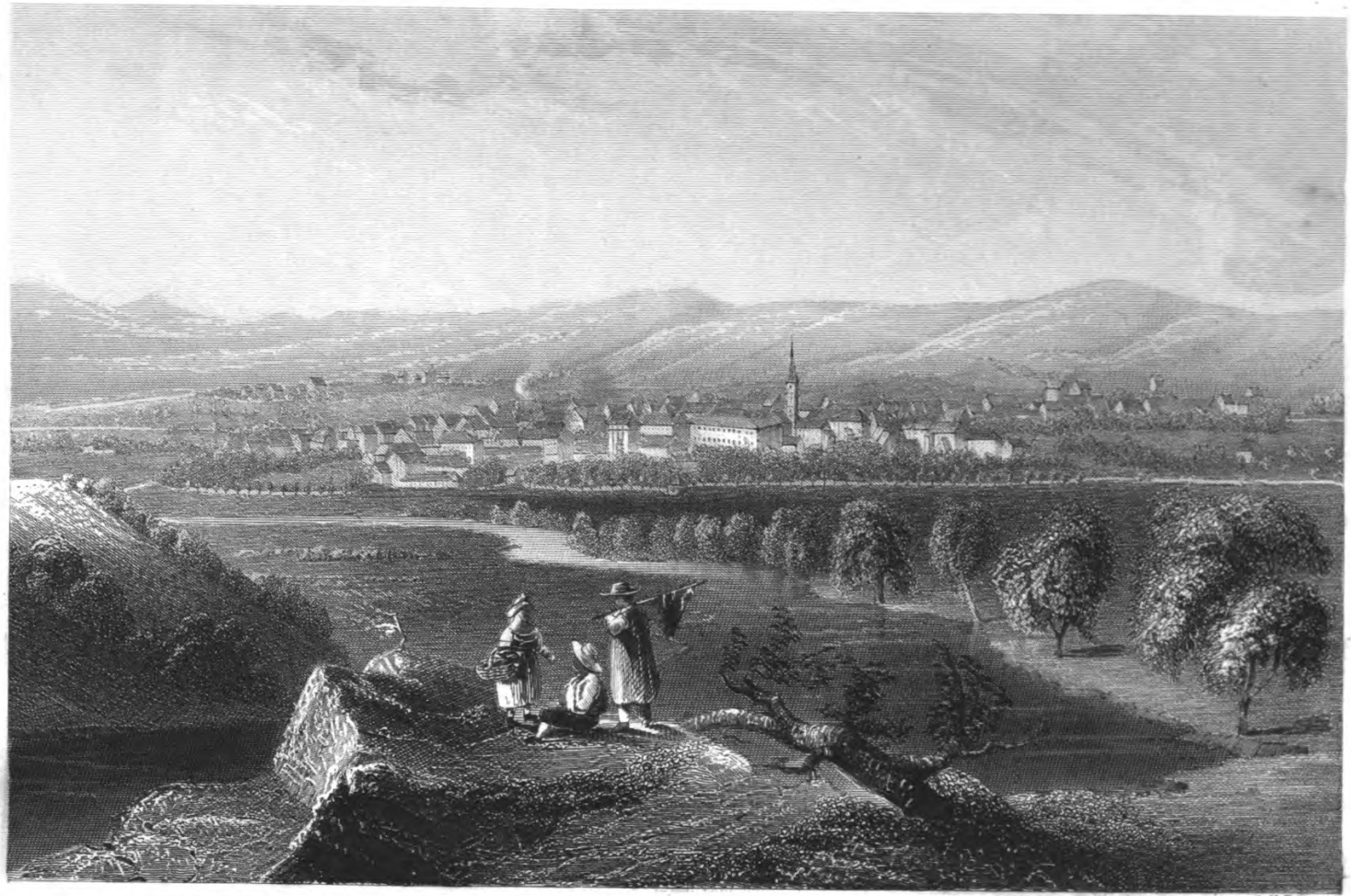
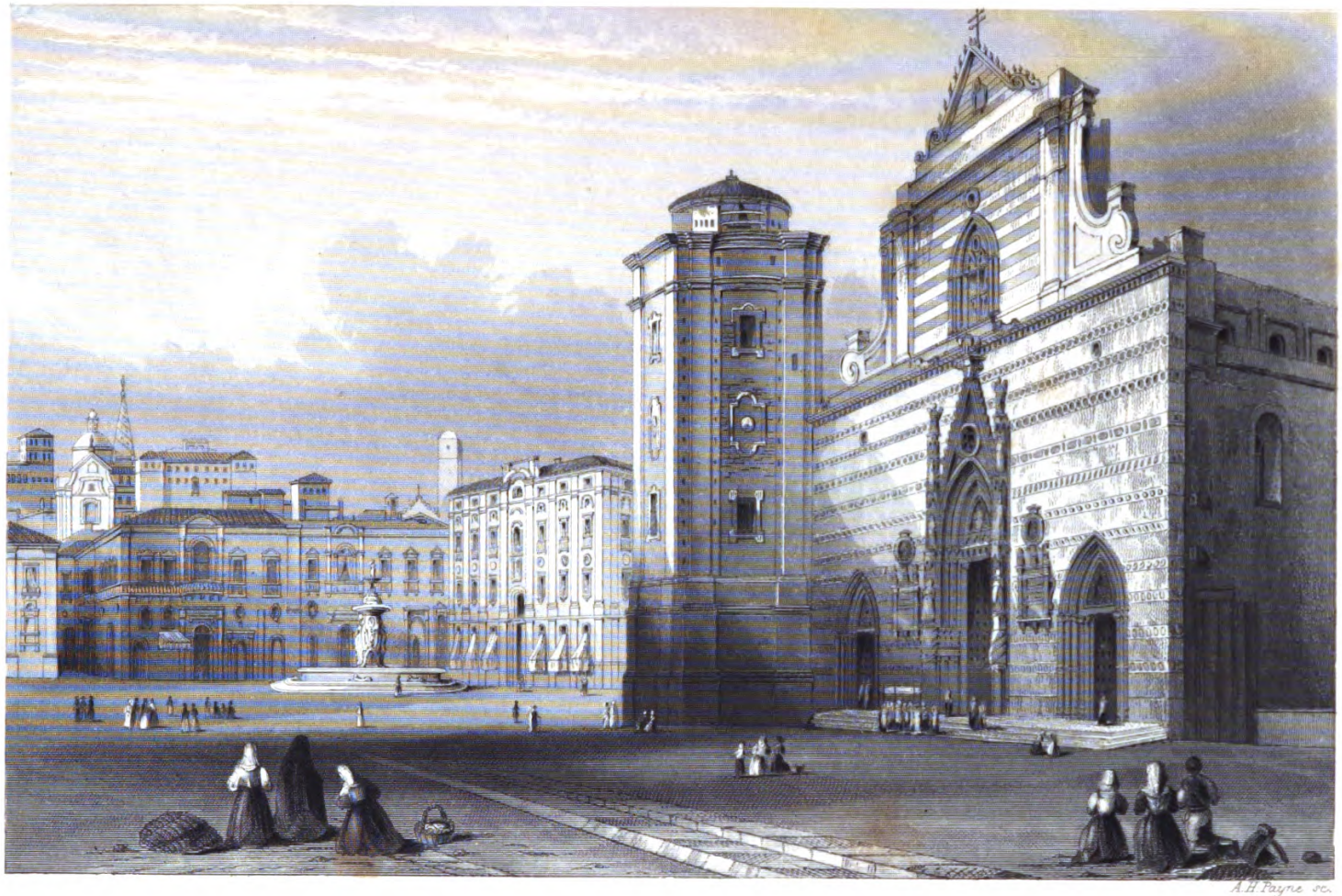


Lörrach.

A. E. Payne sc

Luzern



Messina.

A.H.Payne sc.

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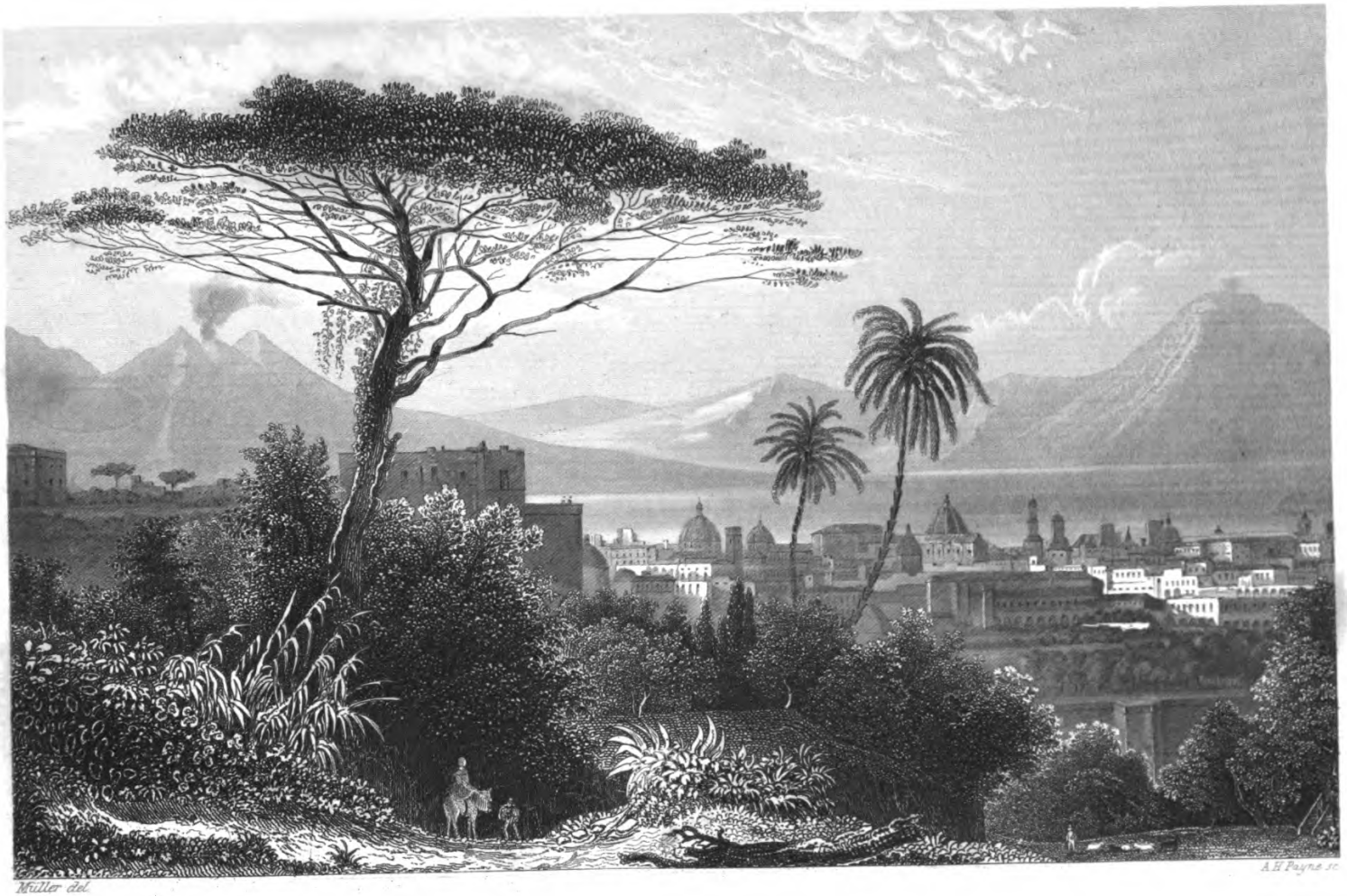
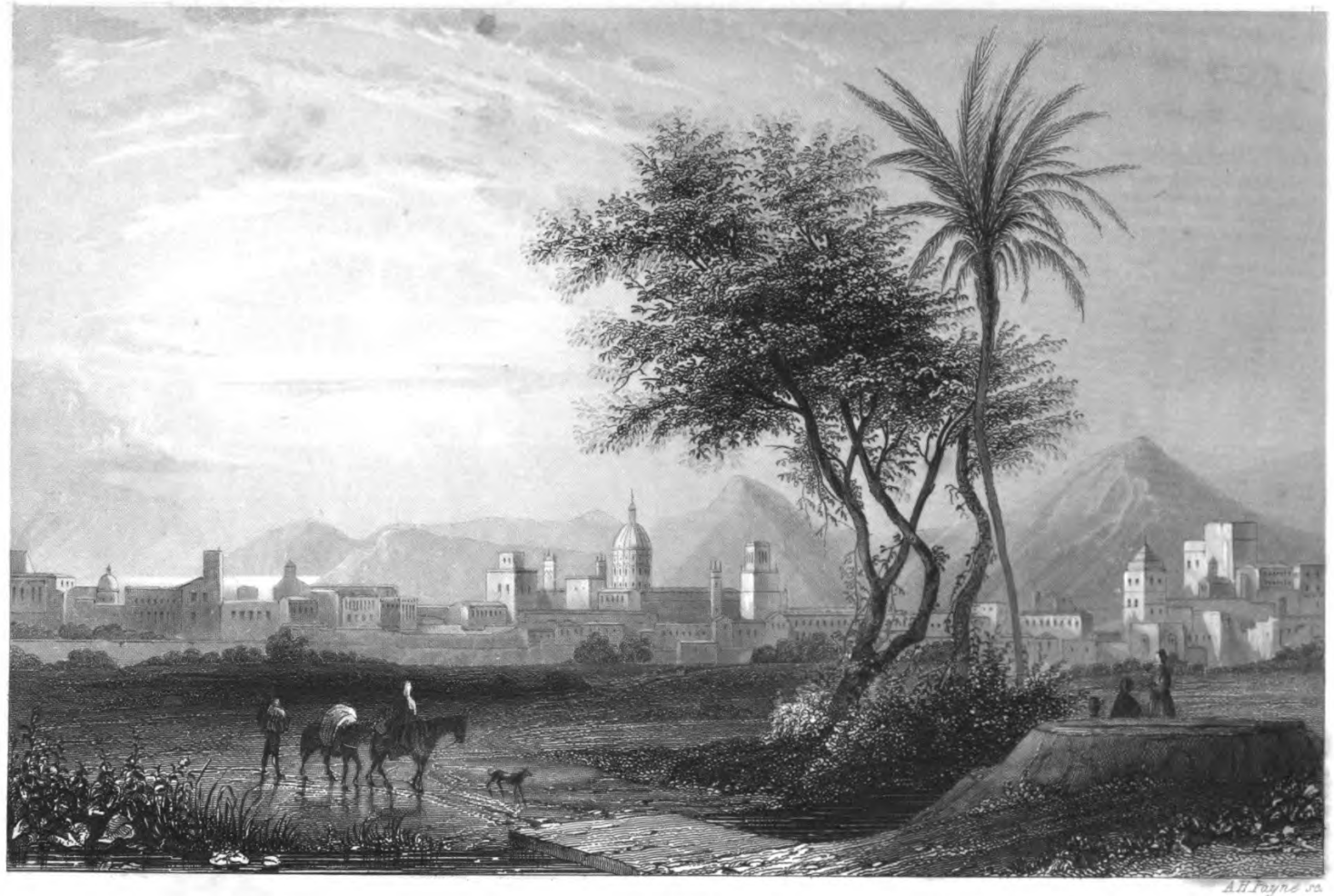
MILAN. MAILAND.

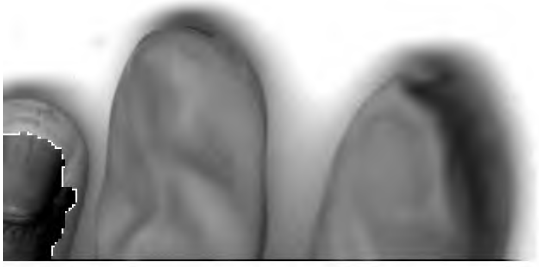


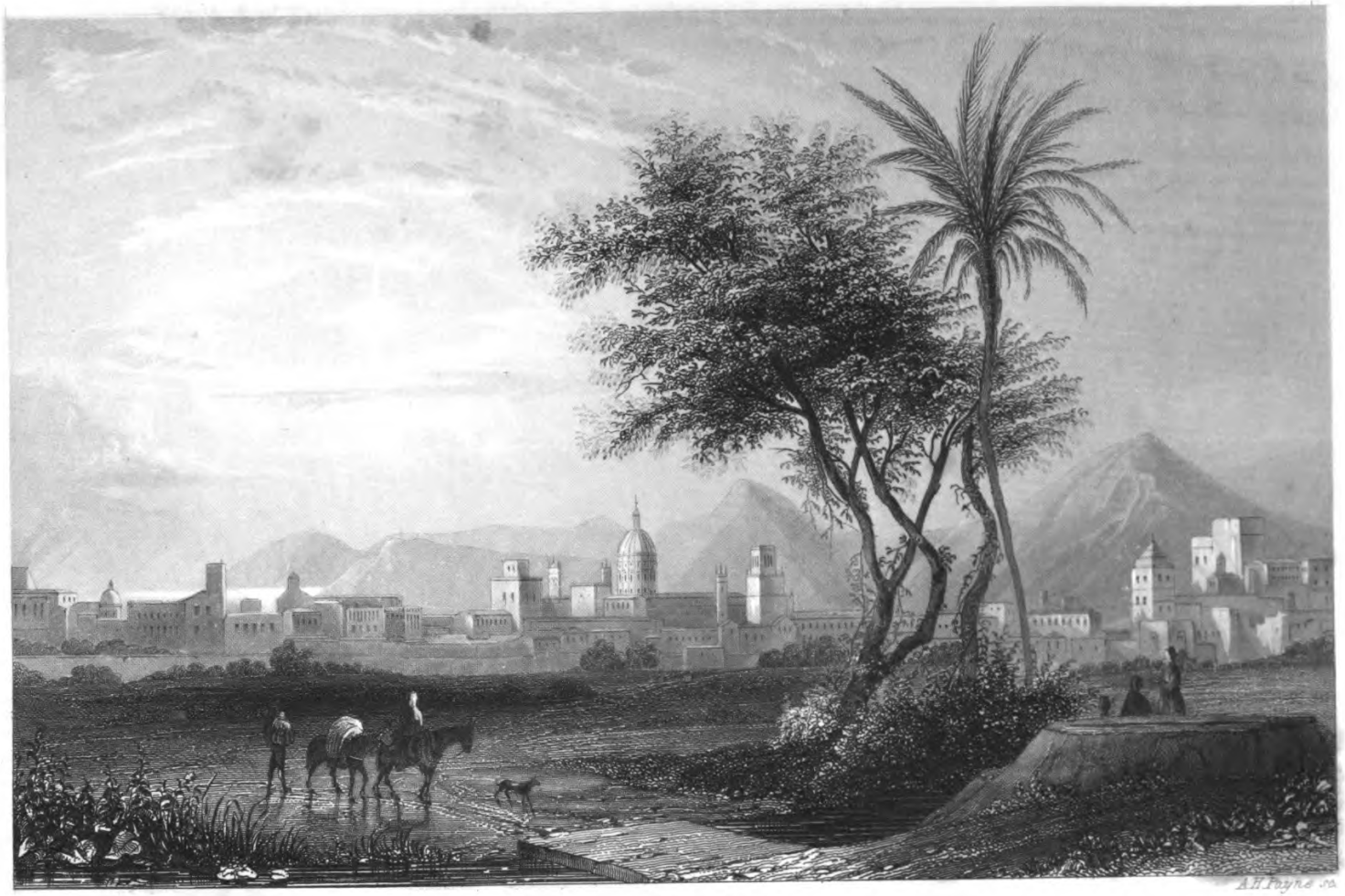
Müller del. A.H. Payne sc.

Naples with Mount Vesuvius. Neapel und der Vesuv.

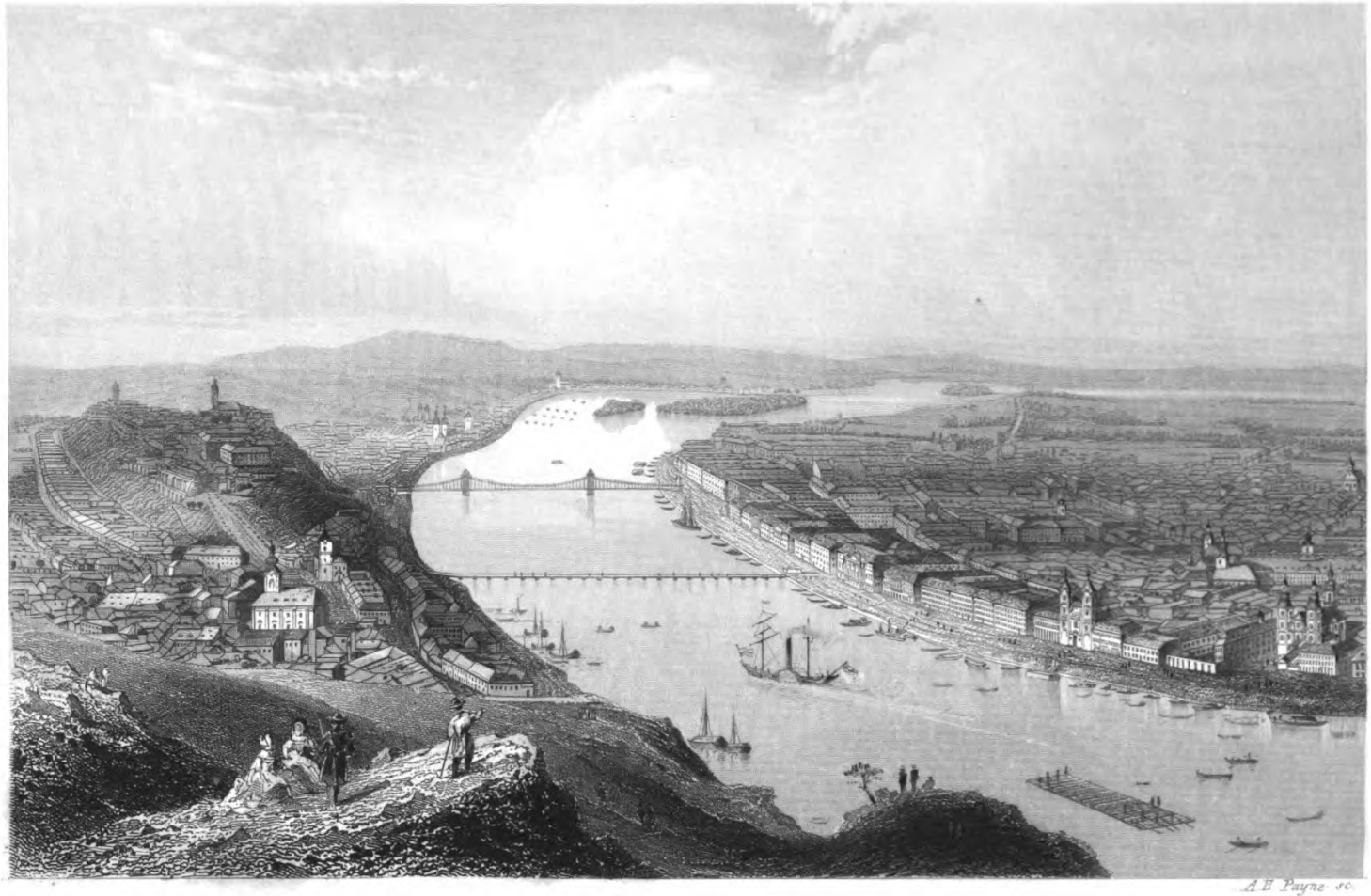


Palermo.





Palermo.

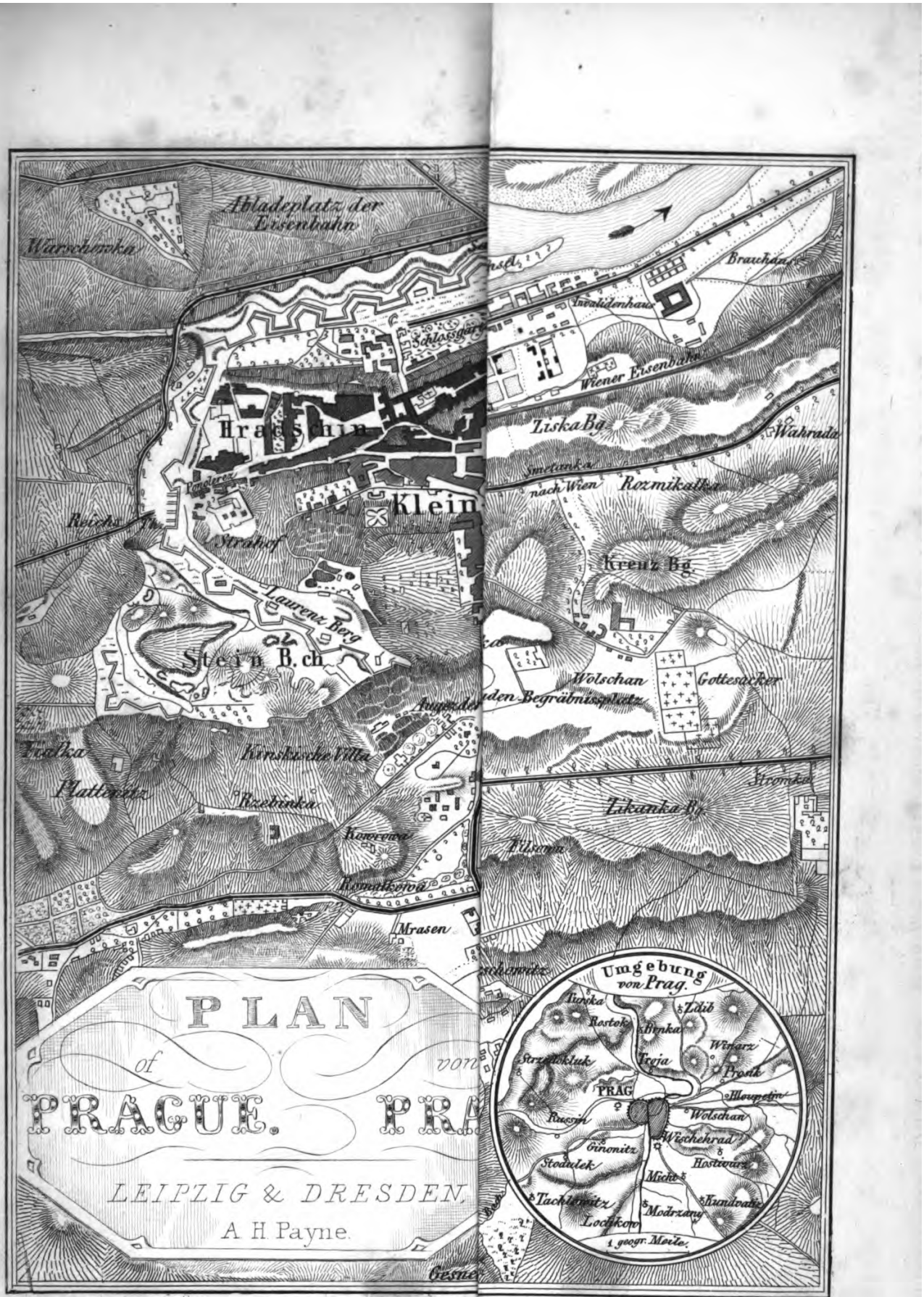


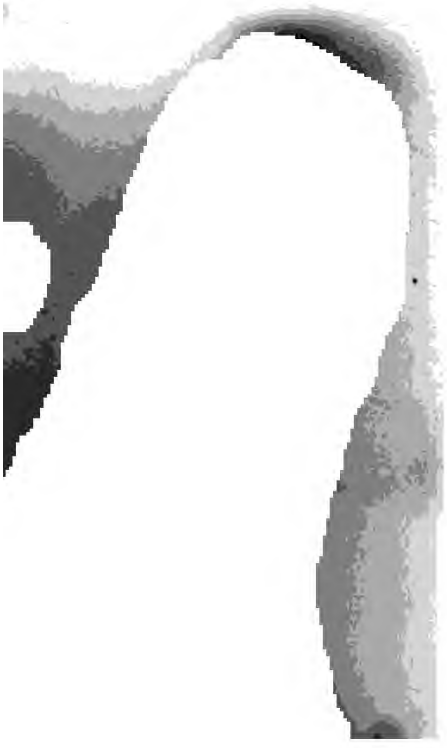
Pesth.

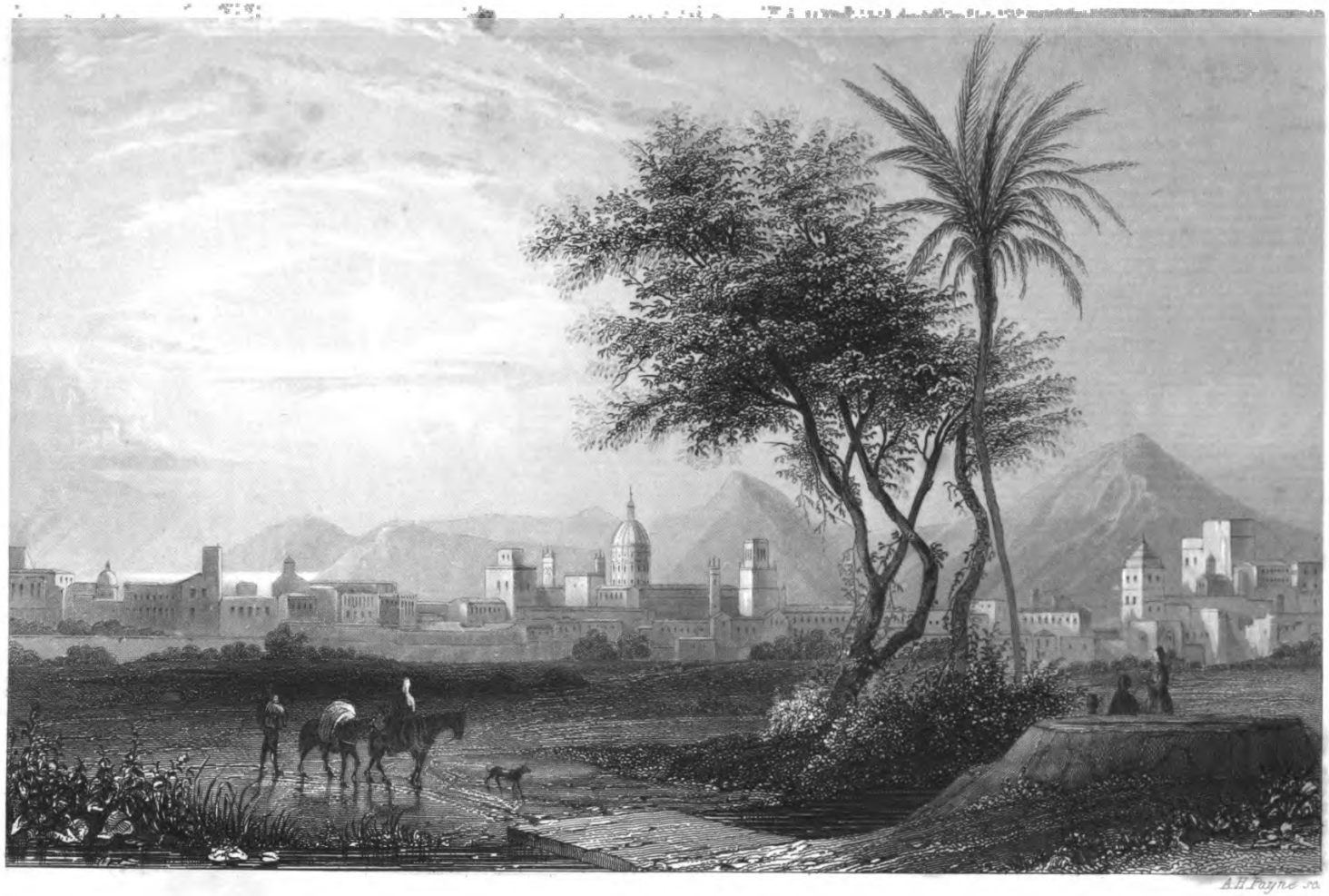
Petropavlovsk

A. H. Payne del et sc

Prague *Prag*


Abladeplatz der Eisenbahn
Warschawska
Hradschin
Schlossgarten
Loretto
Reichs Thor
Strahof
Klein
Laurenz Berg
Stein B.ch
Augustiner
Tuchka
Platteritz
Rzebinka
Kinskysche Villa
Romanserova
Mrasen
Brauhaus
Invalidenhaus
Wiener Eisenbahn
Ziska Bg
Wahrada
Smichowka
nach Wien
Rozmikalka
Kreuz Bg
Wolschan
Gottesacker
den Begräbnissplatz
Stromka
Zukanka Bg
Umgebung von Prag.
Tunka
Zdib
Rostok
Benka
Winarz
Strzelitzkluk
Troja
Pronk
PRAG
Hlawpetin
Russin
Wolschan
Wischehrad
Ginonitz
Hostiwarz
Stodulek
Micka
Tachlowitz
Modrzany
Kundratitz
Lochkow
1 geogr. Meile.
PLAN
of
PRAGUE.
LEIPZIG & DRESDEN.
A H Payne.





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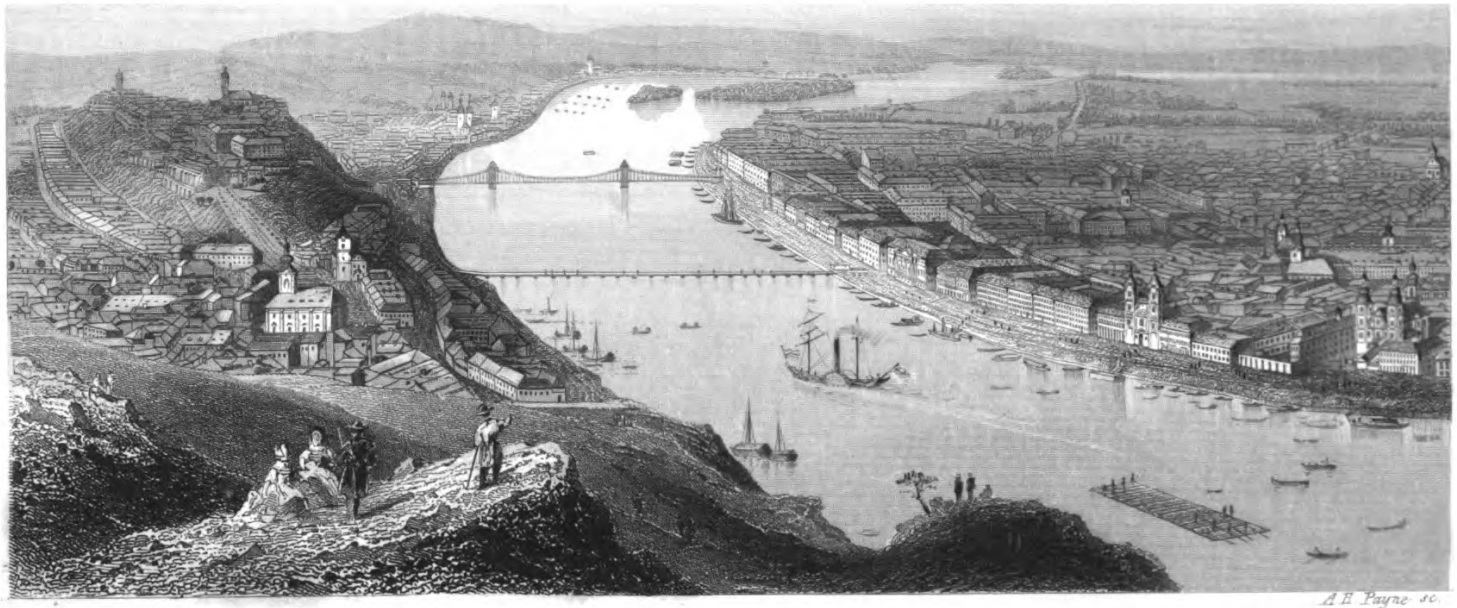
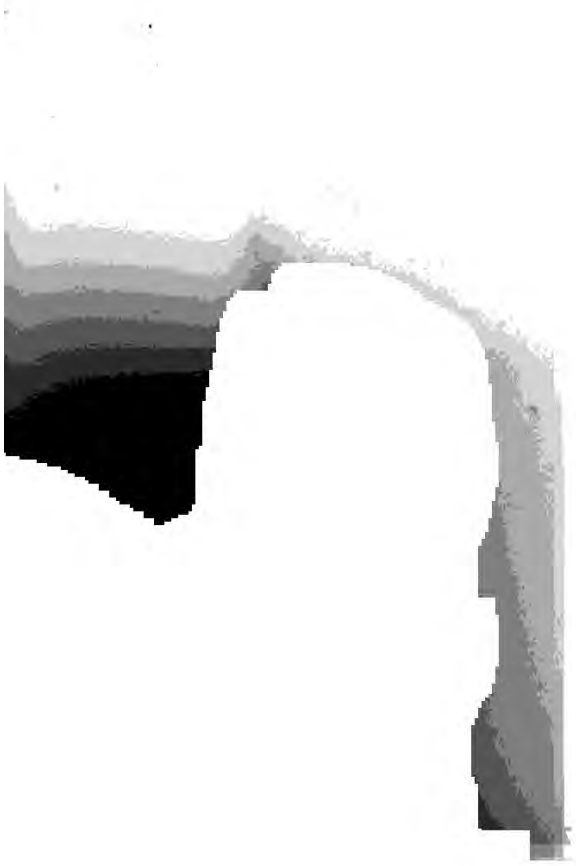


Pesth.

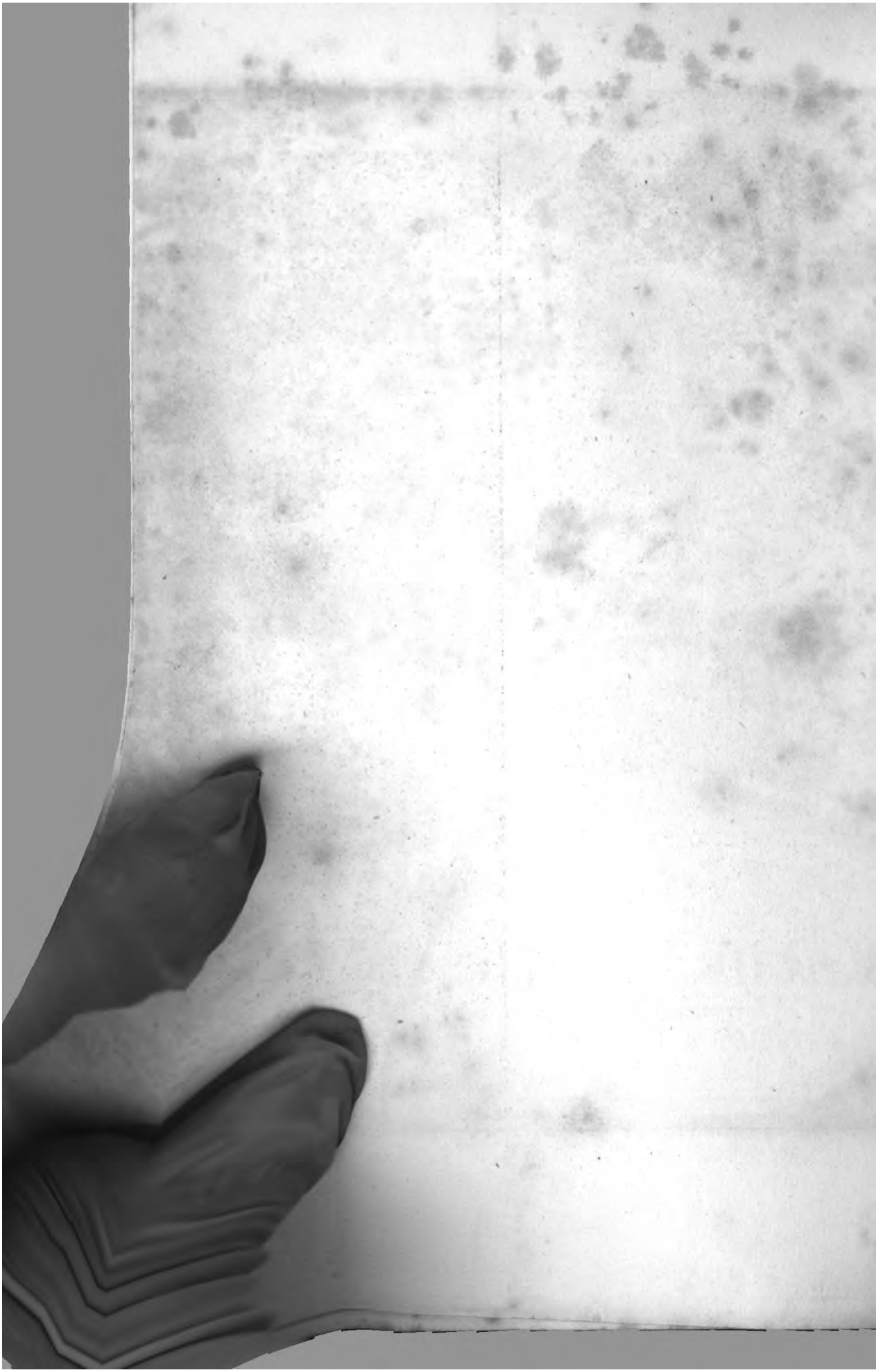


Panama

A. H. Payne del et sc.

Prague *Prag*

Abladenplatz der Eisenbahn
Warrchenka
Hradschin
Klein
Strahof
Laurenz Berg
Stern B.ch
Kinskische Villa
Rzetinka
Kanonova
Mrasen
Brauhaus
Invalidenhaus
Wiener Eisenbahn
Ziska Bg.
Wahrada
nach Wien
Rozmikaltza
Kreuz Bg.
Wolschan
Gottesacker
Begräbnissplatz
Zikanka Bg.
Streomka
Umgebung von Prag.
Tynka
Zdib
Rostok
Brenka
Wisarz
Troja
Prosek
PRAG
Illoupetin
Wolschan
Wischehrad
Ginonitz
Stodulek
Hostiwarz
Michle
Tachlowitz
Modrzany
Hundvatze
Lochkow
1 geogr. Meile.
PLAN
of
PRAGUE.
LEIPZIG & DRESDEN.
A H Payne



A H Payne sc

Schleswig.

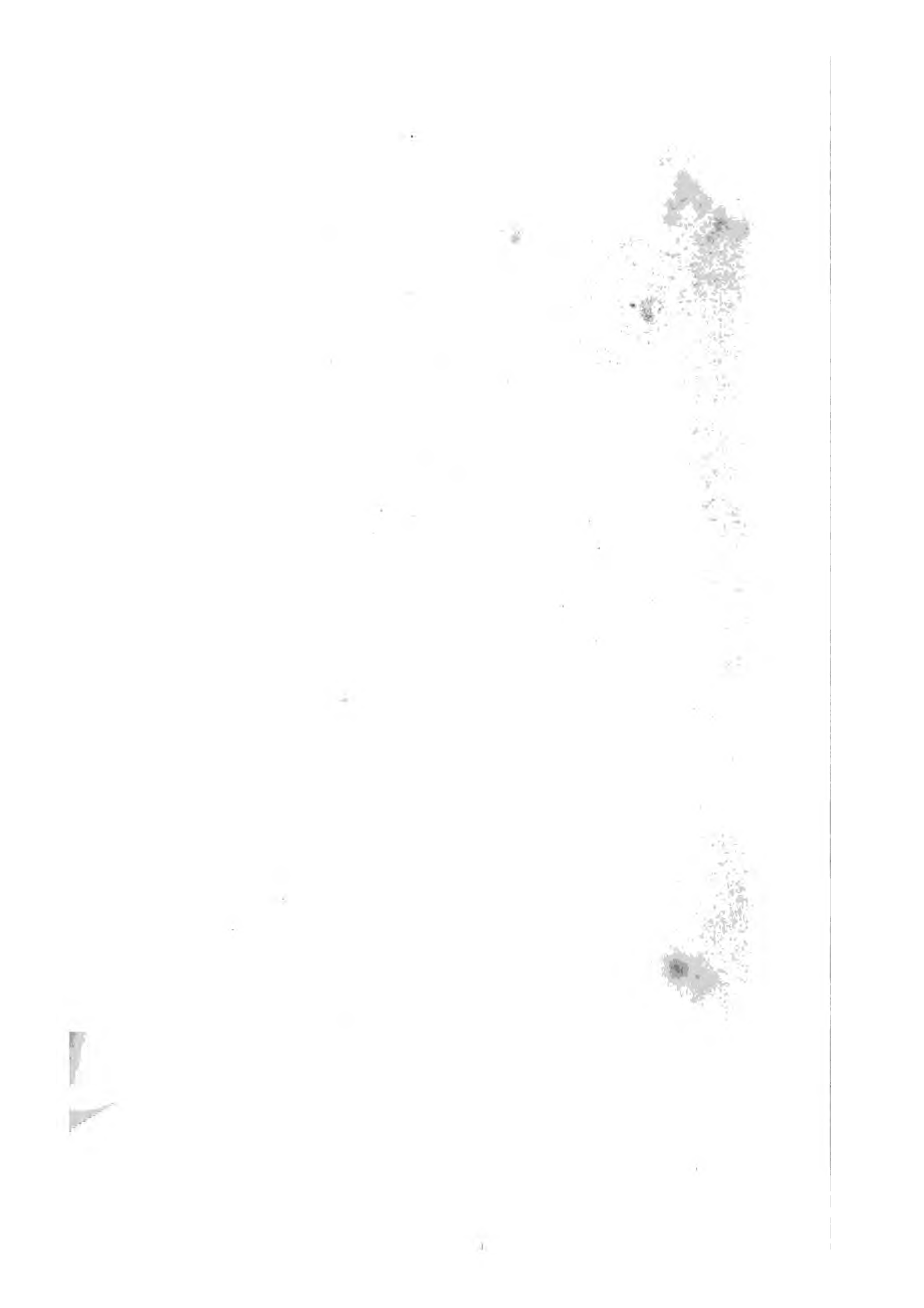
A. H. Payne sc.

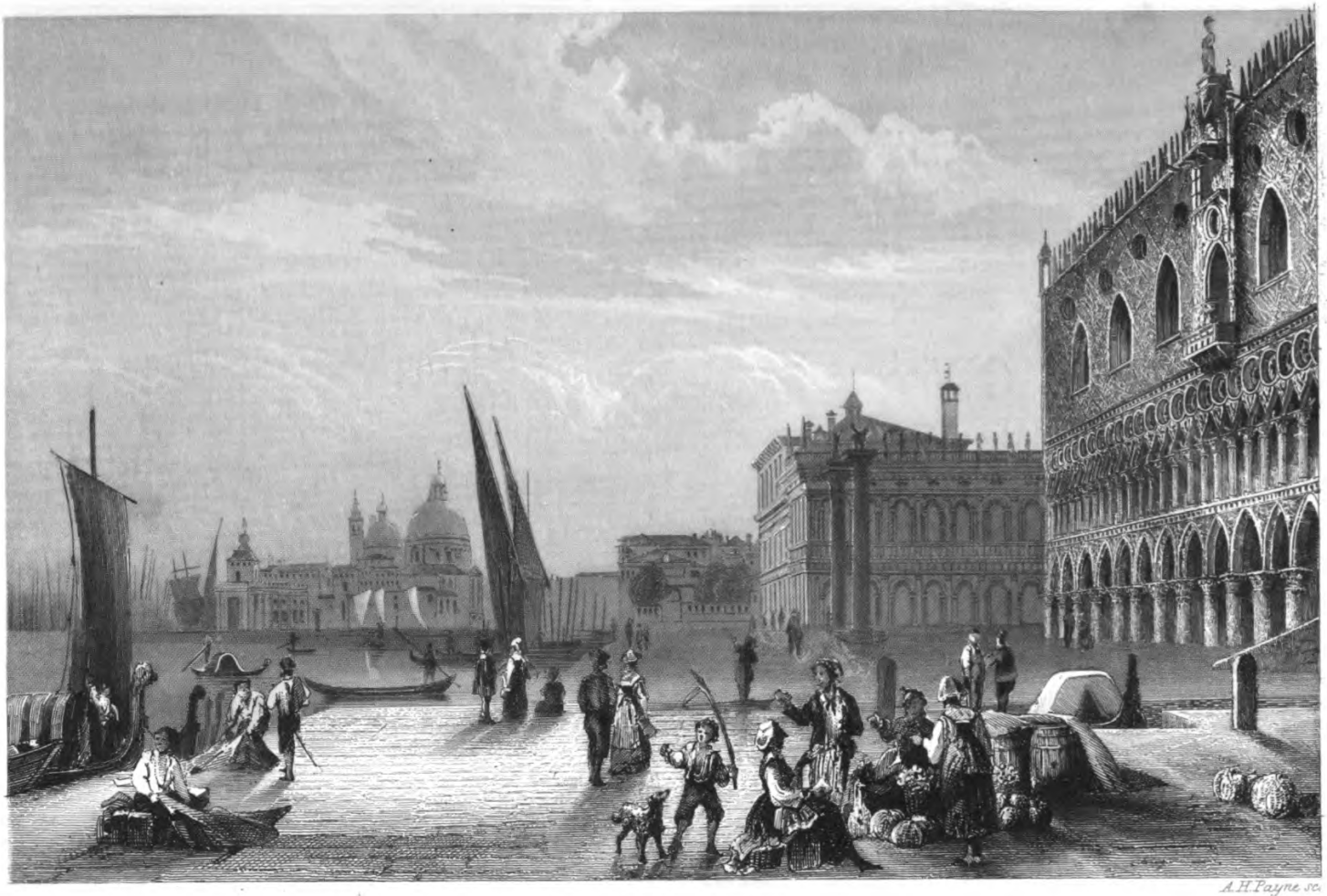
Schwitz

Semlin.

A. H. Payne sc

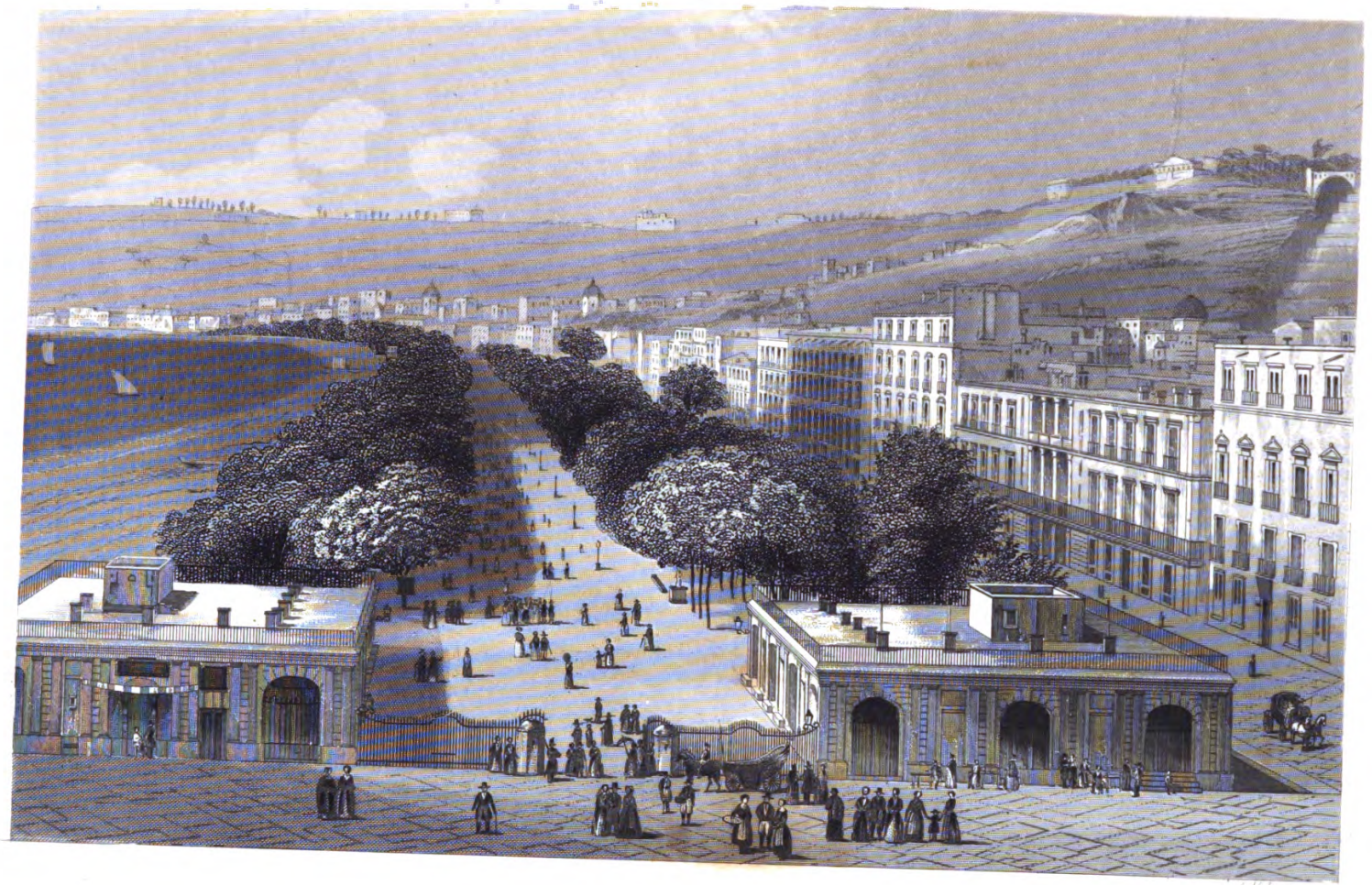
The Sound





A.H.Payne sc.

Venice. *Venedig.*



Naples. Villa Reale. Neapel.