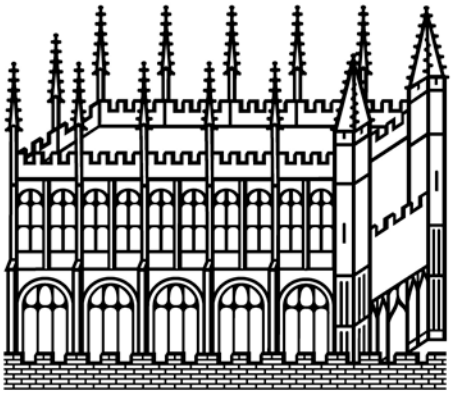

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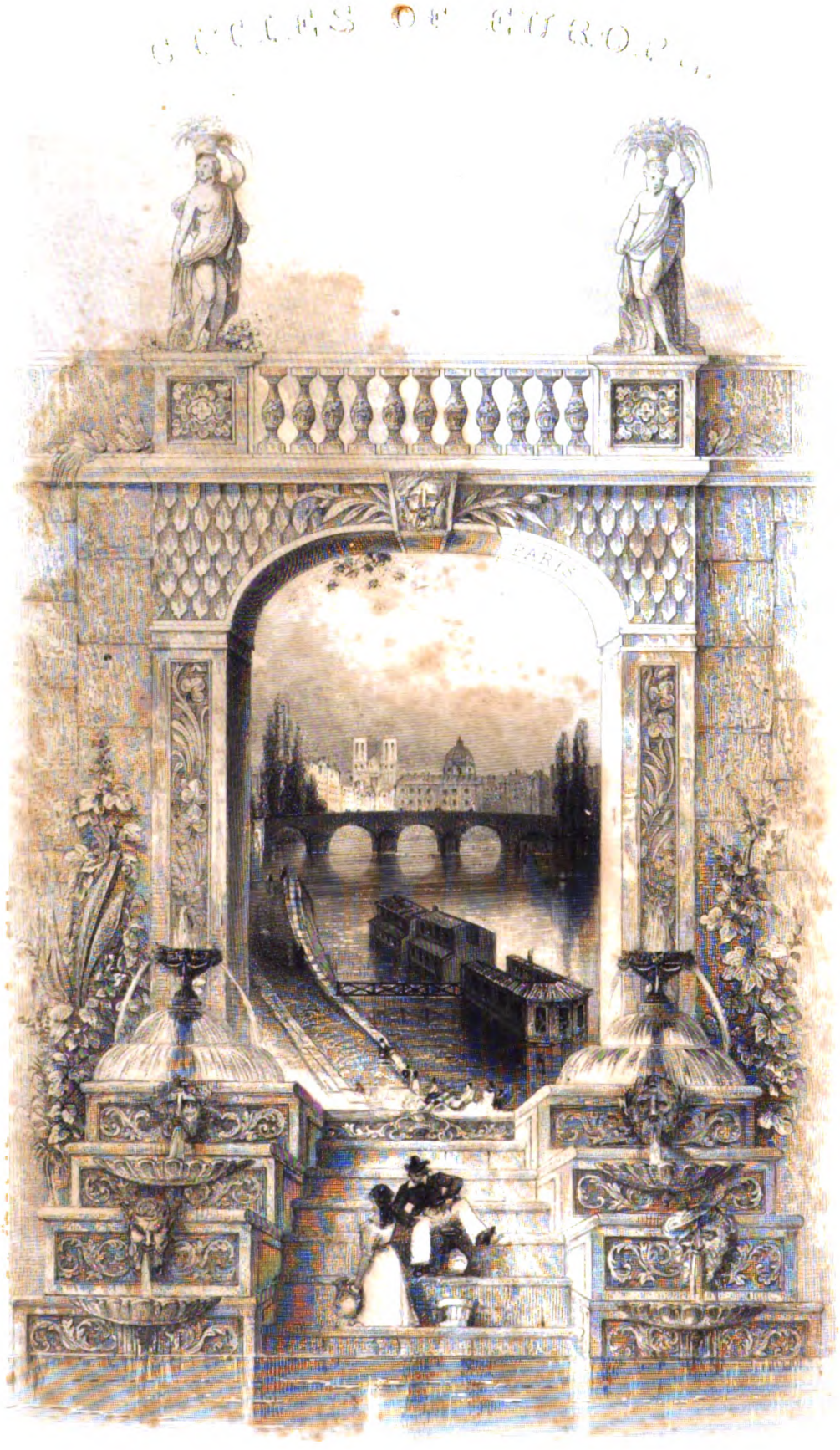
A. H. Payne del & sc.

Vienna. *Wien?*


SCENES OF EUROPE
PARIS

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VIENNA.

Among the numerous political revolutions, insurrections and outbreaks, which distinguished the year **1848**, none excited more interest and astonishment in the public mind, than those which occurred in the capital of the Austrian empire. A new revolution in France had been predicted by numerous politicians, and a general feeling prevailed that the dynasty of Orleans would expire with its founder; consequently the only surprise which that event excited, was that occasioned by the fact, that Louis Philippe who had so frequently succeeded in curbing the turbulent population of Paris, should have failed so completely in doing so, on the last occasion. The discontent of the people of Prussia, was a matter of notoriety, and it was consequently by no means wonderful that they should have followed the impulse afforded by the French. In Italy the fires of the revolutionary volcano had been smouldering for years, and its outbreak was a circumstance for which most minds were in some degree prepared. But that the carefully constructed edifice of despotism, which Prince Metternich had laboured through so many years to render impregnable to the assaults of liberalism, should suddenly fall upon the head of its founder, and that the pleasure-loving Viennese, should be seized with the prevailing revolutionary epidemic, was an event which took most persons by surprise.

Although no capital in Europe has been more frequently subjected to the fortune of war than Vienna, the siege which it endured during the year **1848**, from the troops of its legal sovereign, will be looked upon by future historians as neither the least remarkable nor the least interesting; either from the singularity of the circumstances by which it was attended, or the importance of the interests depending on the result. It would indeed almost seem as if the great question of European civilization, was destined to be decided on the banks of the Danube. This river which during so many centuries formed the boundary between the civilization of the Roman empire, and the barbarism of the Gothic tribes, witnessed in after ages the decision of the great question whether Europe was to be ruled by the disciples of Christ or those of Mahommed. To the heroic defence of the garrison and citizens of Vienna, during the famous siege of **1529**, Europe is indebted for its deliverance from the barbarians; but for this circumstance the Turkish Sultan Soleyman, would in all human probability

have fulfilled his threat of feeding his horse from the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome; and Western Europe might have been to this day subjected to the yoke of the Musselmans. Had Vienna fallen on this occasion, Italy would have been overrun by the Turkish hordes; the Christian princes exhausted by dissentions among themselves, could have offered little effectual opposition to the formidable power of the Infidels, the population of Italy and Germany, and perhaps even of France and England might at the present time have been Mahommedans; and the Churches of Europe have shared the fate of those of Asia. Nor is this danger a remote one; two centuries have not elapsed since the courage of the Viennese, and the prompt aid of Sobiesky, rescued the nations of the west from a new Turkish eruption, which might have been scarcely less formidable in its effects than the former; and at the present day, as it was a thousand years ago, the Danube may be looked upon as the boundary between the civilized and uncivilized nations of Europe.

Scarcely less important to the interests of civilization and social order, was the contest of which Vienna was the theatre during the past year. On the result of this unnatural conflict depended the question as to whether the Austrian empire was to continue to exist as a whole, or to resolve into the original and heterogeneous elements of which it is composed; whether the Austrian people were to acquire the political liberty they desire, by legal and constitutional means; or whether the country was to become the scene of a frantic and suicidical war between the Germanic and Sclavonic races. Nor were the interests of Austria alone in danger, the success of the democratic party in Vienna would have been the signal for new outbreaks throughout Germany and Italy, which must certainly have led to the interferance of foreign powers, and in all probability to a general European war.

The early history of Vienna is the history of the German empire, and if we except Rome and Constantinople, no capital in the world is richer in historical interest than that of Austria. To enter at length into the various important events of which it has been the scene, would however far exceed the limits of the present work; and we therefore confine ourselves to a rapid glance at its former history, in order to spare as much space as possible for recent occurrences.

Without entering into the half fabulous history of remote ages, it is certain that under the name of Vindobona, it was a place of considerable importance in the time of the Romans, and was the usual station of the tenth legion, and of the Favian cohort. Here expired the imperial philosopher Marcus Aurelius; here Caracalla resided during a period of his reign; and here in the time of Theodosius was the residence of the prefect of the flotilla on the Danube. The Roman empire now hastened to its fall; and the degenerate sons of the masters of the world, yielded to the incessant assaults of the ever advancing barbarians. The fortunes of Vindobona sunk with those of the empire,

and the savage bands of Attila destroyed the last remains of the Roman city. Soon however a colony of Goths settled among the ruins, and here in A. D. 454, St. Severus established himself and introduced Christianity among the inhabitants; he died in 482, and in 488, the eruption of a new horde of barbarians again reduced the city to a heap of Ruins; and for some years the whole district remained a desert, which only again became populated in the reign of Charlemagne. At this time the church of St. Rupert was erected, the inhabitants gradually increased, and in 812, a second church was built and dedicated to St. Mary. Still the town continued mean and inconsiderable, even after Charlemagne had erected a third church, which event took place in 813. Soon afterwards the Huns overran the country, and these warlike savages, carried terror and destruction into the very heart of Germany. At length came the day of retribution. On the tenth of August 955, the Emperor Otto defeated the Huns with prodigious slaughter at the battle of the Lech near Augsburg; they were driven from the neighbourhood of Vienna, and in 983, Leopold of Babenburg was created Margrave of the province. The residence of the Margraves was in the fortress of Melk which had been taken from the Huns or Magyars, and in 1110, Leopold the Holy, erected a castle on the Kahlenberg, and a hunting seat on the spot now occupied by the palace of Prince Esterhazy. Henry Jasomirgott must however be considered as the re-founder of Vienna. He erected a palace on the place which is still called from that circumstance the Hof, commenced the splendid Cathedral of St. Stephen, and founded the Scottish Abbey. Under him Vienna first assumed the appearance of a city, and under the succeeding dukes of the family of Babenburg, it increased rapidly in size and population. Ottokar of Bohemia added considerably to the buildings, but it was under the house of Hapsburg, that Vienna first assumed the importance of a capital. Frederic Barbarossa raised it to the dignity of a free Imperial city, and from this period its wealth and magnificence increased from year to year. In 1365 Rudolph IV. founded the high school, and at this period the city was inhabited by many noble and wealthy families, while a lively commerce afforded the means of subsistence to a numerous and industrious population.

In these turbulent times, when the vassals of the Emperor were almost incessantly in arms either against their sovereign or against each other, the career of Vienna was by no means one of unvarying peace and prosperity. Under Albert, the son of Rudolph of Hapsburg, the citizens complained bitterly of the exactions to which they were subjected, while the nobility jealous of the influence of the Suabian favorite Walseer, fomented the discontent by every means in their power. The Viennese broke at length into open insurrection, while the Prince took refuge in the castle on the Kahlenberg, caused his soldiers to blockade the city, and by famine compelled the mutineers to solicit the forgiveness of their master. The Abbot of the

Scottish Convent acted as mediator, but the enraged prince tore to pieces the charter of the citizens; which he however afterwards renewed. In the unfortunate quarrel between Ernest and Leopold in **1408**, the Viennese fought against each other with all the fury that could be inspired by party hatred; and the venerable Bürgermeister Conrad Vorlauf, and many other magistrates, sealed their devotion to the cause of their legitimate Prince with their blood. These bloody commotions were at length allayed, and Vienna enjoyed a season of repose until the days of Frederic IV. Under the long and unfortunate reign of this Prince, Vienna suffered severely; divisions again broke out among the citizens, the quarrels of Frederic concerning the guardianship of Ladislaus Posthumous, the feuds arising from that quarrel and the exactions which the unpaid mercenaries of the Prince levied in the country around Vienna, contributed to inflame the quarrel, until the citizens at length besieged Frederic in his Palace. From this position he was relieved by the King of Bohemia George Podiebrad, but the consequences of these quarrels continued for some years afterwards, to agitate the capital. In **1469**, the Pope at the request of Frederic bestowed on Vienna the title of a City of the first rank (Civitas) and raised the Collegiate church of St. Stephen to the rank of a Cathedral, and the seat of a Bishop. King Podiebrad of Bohemia died in the year **1471**, and was succeeded by Wladislaw the King of Poland, whose title was recognised by Frederic. This led to a quarrel between the Emperor and the King of Hungary, to whom Frederic had previously given secret assurances of support. On the 22nd. of August, in this year, the Hungarians appeared before Vienna, which had to endure a close siege, but defended itself successfully until the conclusion of the peace of Kronenburg. But as Frederic was unable to pay the stipulated sums to the Hungarians, the war was renewed, and soon the army of the Hungarians appeared again before the city. The siege commenced on the fourth of December **1484**, and on the twenty-fifth of January in the following year the city was closely blockaded on every side. From this time the siege lasted nearly six months, and the unhappy citizens suffered the last extremes of famine, to which were soon added the frightful ravages of disease. The city was reduced to the last extremities, while Frederic unable to afford assistance, resided alternately at Linz, Gratz, and Innsbruck. At length hopeless of relief, the inhabitants resolved to submit, and the city was accordingly surrendered on the first of June, **1485**. Amidst the terrors of an earthquake which shook the city severely, the victorious monarch made his triumphal entry into the capital of the holy Roman empire, and in the course of the same month the citizens took the oath of fidelity to their new master. Soon Neustadt was the only strong place that was not in his possession; in August **1487**, this also fell, and Matthias was now the undisturbed master of Lower Austria. He maintained the possessions he had won until his death, which occurred

suddenly at Vienna in the year 1490, and with him expired the dominion of the Hungarians in Austria. On the news of his death, Maximilian the son of Frederic, entered Austria at the head of a considerable body of troops, and shortly afterwards appeared before Vienna. In vain Zapolya endeavoured to persuade the Viennese to take up arms against the son of their legitimate sovereign; all hearts were drawn towards Maximilian, the Hungarians retired from the city, and Vienna was free. Frederic himself never saw it again; he retired to the castle of Linz, where he devoted himself to the study of Alchemy and Astrology, and expired in 1493.

The prosperity of Vienna which had been shaken to its foundations during this stormy period, revived rapidly under the government of Maximilian. The suburbs which form so large a portion of modern Vienna began first to arise during this reign, and the time now approached when Vienna was to become the established capital of the Empire as well as of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which Ferdinand the first, had added to the imperial possessions. Here in 1515, took place the double marriage between the grand-children of Maximilian, Ferdinand and Maria, and Louis and Anna, the children of Wladislaw, King of Hungary and Bohemia. The Emperor and the King met together on this occasion, and Vienna displayed all its wealth and splendour in honour of this auspicious event. The ceremony was performed on the sixteenth of July, and the festivities continued till the ninth of August. In 1529, the Turkish army under the command of Sultan Soleyman in person, appeared before the walls of Vienna, and Europe looked with breathless anxiety on a contest on which the fate of Italy, and perhaps of Christendom depended. With heroic devotion the citizens flew to arms, and the youthful hero the Elector Philip of Salms, threw himself into the city, to act as Commandant. The armed burghers were under the orders of the hereditary Chamberlain of Carinthia, William Griessenegger, and the entire garrison consisted of 21,700 men, including 2,200 cavalry; while the host of the Musselmans, amounted to 300,000 warriors. The siege commenced on the twenty-sixth of September; and the magnificent tent of the Sultan, which resembled in extent a small town, was pitched near Simmering. Continual assaults, and the efforts of the Turkish miners, kept the inhabitants in a frightful state of anxiety, but the courage of the garrison was unshakable. On the fourteenth of October, the Turks attempted for the last time to storm the Carinthian gate; the attack was repulsed, but the brave commandant, the Elector of Salms, was killed in the moment of victory, by a stone which struck him on the temple. On the following day Soleyman raised the siege, and Christendom was delivered. 20,000 Turks found their death in the trenches; and as many perished by disease, occasioned by the damp autumnal weather. The garrison lost 2,290 men, including 700 citizens. This siege proved the im-

portance of Vienna as a fortress, and its fortifications were now repaired and strengthened with every possible care. In the reigns of Ferdinand the first, and Maximilian the second, the reformation extended itself to Austria, and a considerable number of the nobility attached themselves to the new sect. The land continued nevertheless to enjoy peace and tranquillity, until the unfortunate aberration of intellect of Rudolph the second, plunged the country into all the horrors of civil war; and Vienna had to endure its full share of the attendant miseries. In Hungary the severities of the imperial commanders Belgiojoso and Basta, inflamed instead of repressing the discontent; Botskay the Prince of Transilvania, flew to arms and led his victorious troops to the gates of the capital. The heidukes, ravaged the country around Vienna with fire and sword, until at length the imperial princes signed an act, by which they declared Rudolph to be incapable of governing, and Matthias was appointed regent. Rudolph died in 1612, and Matthias succeeded to the imperial dignity. Under this Prince commenced (1618) the celebrated thirty-years' war. He died in 1619, and under the most inauspicious circumstances, Ferdinand the second ascended the throne. Matthias died on the twentieth of March, and on the fifth of June the Bohemians under Count Thurn stood before Vienna. He took up his head-quarters at Margarethen, and erected batteries at St. Ulric, from which he thundered his cannon shot against the palace of the Emperor. The greatest confusion and strife prevailed within the city; the protestant nobility forced their way into the presence of Ferdinand, who was kneeling before a crucifix, overwhelmed him with the most unreasonable demands, and even ventured to lay hands upon his person. At this moment was heard the march of the Cuirassier regiment Dampierre, commanded by the young hero St. Hilaire, and Ferdinand was delivered from their power. Thurn soon afterwards raised the siege, and within two months Ferdinand received the imperial crown at Frankfort-on-the-Main; and to this day the above named cuirassier regiment, possesses the privilege on entering Vienna, of sounding its drums before the palace of the Emperor. In the course of the thirty-years' war, the Swedes under Torstenson, advanced to the walls of the city, (1645) but were deterred by the firm attitude of the garrison, from attacking it. In 1679, the plague broke out in Vienna with a degree of violence which has seldom been exceeded, and from January to November, carried off upwards of 122,000 persons. The pillar of the Trinity, still to be seen in the street called the Graben, was erected by the Emperor Leopold the first, in consequence of a vow made during the time of this terrible visitation. In 1683, the Turks appeared for the second time before Vienna, and the combat was more bloody, and the danger to the city more imminent than on the first occasion. The Emperor, the Court, and more than 60,000 of the inhabitants fled on the first and second of July, and on the nineteenth the city was completely surrounded. The regular troops

within the city amounted to 13,866 men, and the armed citizens, students, etc. to 8,004, together 21,870 men, under the command of Count Rudiger of Stahremberg. The assailants under the Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha, amounted to 216,000 combatants; and on their approach Count Stahremberg caused the whole of the suburbs of the city to be burnt, in order that they might afford no shelter to the enemy, and all the villages in the great plain around Vienna, were destroyed by the Turks. The siege lasted eight weeks, and the city was on the point of surrendering, when the welcome sight of advancing aid, was seen from the tower of the Cathedral. The Grand Vizier now arranged his troops in order of battle, and while a part of his forces assailed the walls of the city, the remainder opposed themselves to the combined German and Polish army under Sobiesky and the Duke of Lorrain. The result of the engagement was, that the Turks were completely routed with immense slaughter, and Vienna was saved at the moment when all hope seemed to be lost.

Vienna recovered with astonishing rapidity from this severe blow to its prosperity. Soon the suburbs sprung with increased beauty and magnificence from their ashes, and the city again assumed the appearance of a splendid and wealthy capital. In 1698 Vienna saw the great Czar, Peter the first of Russia within its walls, and his arrival was celebrated with great festivities. Under the Emperor Charles the sixth, the city was wonderfully improved and embellished; but in the war of succession which arose after his death, the combined French and Bavarians, threatened the city with a new siege. But the brave Hungarians who had arisen *en masse* in defence of their Queen, the great Maria Theresa, speedily rescued Vienna from this danger. Since this time, under the government of Maria Theresa, Joseph, Leopold the second, and Francis the First, the imperial city has made continual advances in size, population, beauty, and riches.

During the wars of the French revolution, Vienna was again destined to see an enemy before her gates. In 1707 she was only saved from a French occupation by the rapidly concluded peace of Campo Formio. On the thirteenth of November 1805, the French took possession of the city, which they held to the peace of Pressburg, which was signed on the twenty-sixth of the December following; but Vienna was not completely evacuated until the thirteenth of January 1806. Besides the cost of the support of the French garrison, the city was also compelled to pay no less a sum than thirty-two Millions of Florins. In 1809 the victorious army of Napoleon again approached Vienna, and on this occasion an attempt was made to defend it. During the night between the eleventh and twelfth of May, the city was heavily bombarded by the French, and on the following morning it capitulated. On the fourteenth of October, peace was concluded between France and Austria, and on the twentieth of November the French withdrew from the city. On the twelfth of July, the enemy had expressed ten

Millions of Florins from the burghers, and on the twenty-first of the same month, they extorted two Millions more. On their retreat they blew up a part of the fortifications, which has never since been effectually restored.

The day of retribution however at length arrived, the mighty Conqueror was at last crushed by the efforts of united Europe, and on the fourteenth of June **1814**, after accompanying the allied armies to Paris, Francis returned in triumph to his capital. He was soon followed by almost all the princes and statesmen of Europe, who hastened to attend the celebrated congress of Vienna, during which the city was the scene of a continued series of the most brilliant festivities. In **1832** the Cholera appeared in Vienna, but did not assume so malignant a character as in Paris and many other cities. In its thrice repeated visits it however carried off upwards of **10,000** persons.

From this time until the year **1848**, Vienna has been the scene of no event of historical importance. The peace which has prevailed throughout Europe enabled the citizens to recover from the severe inflictions which they endured during the war, and the Austrian capital yielded to that of no country in Europe in the advancement in the arts of peace, which forms so peculiar a characteristic of the present century. It is true that the rigid censorship under which the press of Austria laboured, effectually prevented the spread of political intelligence throughout the empire; the population of which were and still are, inferior in this respect to that of any other civilized people in the world. It was probably however owing to this and various similar precautions on the part of the Austrian government, that the political agitations which followed the French revolution of **1830**, did not extend to that empire, and the success of the system of Metternich in completely stultifying the progress of liberalism, caused Vienna to be considered by the rest of Europe, as the head-quarters of legitimacy and despotism.

Late events have proved, that in Austria as elsewhere, any attempt to fetter the progress of the human mind, must eventually recoil upon the heads of those making the experiment. During the eighteen years which elapsed between the second and third revolutions in France, liberal opinions had made enormous strides throughout northern and central Germany, and had even found their way in spite of all the precautions of the numerous police, into the capital of Austria. Still, up to the period of the Parisian revolution of February, nothing had occurred to indicate that any attempt to overturn the state of affairs which had existed so long, was to be expected in Vienna; and notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed in every European country, the news of a liberal movement in the Austrian capital excited little less surprise than if it had occurred in St. Petersburg or Constantinople.

The news of the occurrences in Paris, in February 1848, produced in Vienna, as in every other capital in Europe, an immense sensation in the minds of all classes of the population, but up to Monday the 13th. of March, not the slightest appearance of an approaching disturbance was apparent. On this day the Stände or Parliament of Lower Austria was to commence its sittings, and various addresses had been prepared by the more respectable class of citizens, for presentation both to the legislative assembly and to the Emperor. Early in the morning numerous groups began to assemble in the neighbourhood of the Landhaus where the meetings of the Stände were held, as also in the various thoroughfares and open places of the city. These groups which increased rapidly as the day advanced, employed themselves in discussing the various political news of the day. Soon the neighbourhood of the Landhaus, the street called the Graben, and the Ballhausplatz in which is situated the palace of Prince Metternich, was filled with an immense crowd, who appeared to be in earnest expectation of some great event, with the exact nature of which no one appeared to be acquainted. At length the crowd began to rush towards the Landhouse and it became known that the students of the University were about to present an address to the Stände. The court-yard of the building was instantly filled by a dense mass of people, who gave vent to their excitement in loud outcries, and in the midst of this confusion a Doctor Fischof was raised upon the shoulders of the by-standers to address the multitude. He commenced by urging them to preserve order, and to respect the rights of property, and then proceeded to read a list of the demands which he said the people of Austria were prepared to insist on being immediately conceded by the government. These consisted of Universal suffrage; Freedom of the Press; Open Courts of Law; the Union of Austria with the German Confederation, the equality of persons of all religious persuasions; and the responsibility of the Ministers. All these points, were received with tremendous applause by the people, and even by many official personages who waved their hads and handkerchiefs from the windows. This applause was mixed with cries of "Long live the Emperor," and outcries in favour of various other members of the imperial family. A sentry-box was now thrown down so as to form a kind of rostrum, from which various orators addressed the people, they consisted for the most part of students of Law and Medicine, and their addresses were to the same purpose as that of the first speaker. It was resolved to embody these demands in a petition to the Stände, and a deputation was chosen to present it, and to wait one hour for an answer. In the meantime another orator addressed the people; his discourse was energetic and impressive and produced an immense effect on the assembly. He was followed by another who read an address by the Hungarian agitator Kossuth, which had shortly before been delivered to the legislative assembly of Hungary,

and like all the speeches of that orator was couched in nervous and spirit-stirring language; it pointed out the various ways in which the policy pursued by the government during so many years, was prejudicial to the people, and denounced *one* man as the author of all the calamities which afflicted the empire. While this address was being read, a petition to the Emperor from the Stände, was brought out of the Landhaus, as the answer of that assembly to the deputation. The petition merely contained a proposal for a reform in the administration of the finances, or at least that was all that was read to the people; as it was almost immediately torn to pieces.

A young man named Bohm now ascended the rostrum, and addressed the people with a considerably greater amount of boldness and openness, than had been ventured on by the previous speakers. He declared that the first business of the people must be to expel the Jesuits who surrounded the person of the sovereign, and to drive away the minister to whose councils the whole of the evils that afflicted the land were to be attributed. The people demanded loudly that the name of this minister should be mentioned. The speaker complied; and a perfect storm of hissing and groaning, mixed with cries of, "Down with Metternich," was the result. Count Colloredo now appeared on the balcony of the Landhaus, and addressed the multitude; entreating them to preserve the peace, assuring them of the lively sympathy of the Stände, and declaring that their wishes should immediately be laid before the Emperor, and supported by the utmost efforts of that body. His speech ended with these words, "You shall have an answer to-day, but the most powerful advocacy of your wishes, is that which it is in your own power to supply."

A deputation was now sent to the Emperor, composed of an equal number of citizens and members of the Stände, in order to make known to him the wishes of his people. Before the deputation departed however, a voice from one of the windows of the Landhouse announced that Dr. Bohm, had been arrested, and was detained in one of the upper apartments. The crowd now rushed into the building, forced open all doors that happened to be closed, set Bohm at liberty, and brought him in triumph into the court yard. At this moment a pane of glass in one of the windows was broken, probably by accident, and this gave the signal for demolishing all the windows in the building. The deputation took its departure; and in the meantime the mob continued the work of destruction, breaking to pieces every article of furniture on which they could lay their hands. The military were now ordered out, but they took no active measures to disperse the crowd, remaining quietly on the Minoriten place, and in the Herren street. The fury of the mob having exhausted itself on the furniture; the speech-making in the court yard of the Landhaus was resumed, and a deputation was sent to the magistrates, to intreat that a National guard might be formed fcr the protection of property; and an

answer to the effect that this should immediately take place, was returned.

While this scene was taking place in the Landhaus, the military had made various attempts to disperse the crowds which had assembled in other parts of the city; and as an increasing propensity to mischief was observed on the part of the populace, orders were at length given to fire, both in the Herren street and on the Minoriten place. The Arch-Duke Albert who commanded the military is said to have given the order. The troops fired three times, but the number of persons injured was not great owing to the greater part of the soldiers firing purposely in the air; wherby the greater part of the balls took effect on the upper part of the houses, many striking the ceilings of the apartments. The court yard of the Landhaus, was now cleared by the military, and the people driven to desperation by the firing, rushed to the arsenal, where the arms of the Municipal guard were deposited, forced open of the doors, and carried of a considerable number of weapons. Here a regiment of Cuirassiers charged the people, and put a stop to the farther plundering of arms, but the number of killed and wounded were few, owing to the soldiers useing for the most part the flat sides of their swords.

Meanwhile the insurrection had extended itself to every part of the city, the public buildings were attacked and plundered, and all the furniture they contained destroyed. The custom-house on the Maria hilfer line, was set on fire and reduced to a heap of ruins, as well as the town gate, and the office of the police. The villa of Prince Metternich and the manufactories of several unpopular persons were completely ruined, without any very energetic attempts on the part of the troops to suppress these excesses; indeed in many instances they refused to obey the commands of their officers to fire on the people, and the city and suburbs were consequently before evening completely in the hands of the insurgents. An attempt of the crowd to force their way into the palace of the emperor was however repulsed by the soldiers, who without firing drove back the insurgents with their bayonets. The Municipal guard now began to assemble, and the appearance of these burgher-soldiers was hailed with loud applause by the multitudes. As evening came on, the houses were illuminated as if for a festival, while the continual rushing to and fro of the excited people, their fierce shouts, the incessant ringing of alarm bells, the irregular clatter of fire arms on the side of the insurgents, the heavy rolling sound of the volleys from the military, the occasional discharge of cannon, and the blaze of the burning buildings, formed a conglomoration of sights and sounds which would defy all attempts at description. About nine o'clock in the evening, it became generally known that Metternich had resigned his office, and fled from the city; and that the Emperor had granted the demands of his subjects. Shortly afterwards a proclamation appeared stating, that weapons should be

distributed to the students and citizens, to whom instead of the military, the safety and security of the city should be entrusted; and that the farther demands of the people should be referred to a commission to be appointed by the Emperor, one half of which was to consist of members of the Stände, and the other of citizens of Vienna. The tumult was now allayed as suddenly as it arose, the crowds pressed towards the municipal arsenal to receive weapons, and afterwards paraded exultingly through the streets. All persons were now compelled to exhibit lights in their windows, such as remained unilluminated being broken by the mob, which was also the case with those of such public offices as had hitherto escaped.

On the following morning immense crowds again assembled, principably in the neighbourhood of the Burg, or palace of the Emperor; here a large number of the Municipal guard were stationed, in order to preserve the means of ingress and egress to the various deputations to the sovereign which continued to arrive, and also for the general preservation of order. About half past four in the afternoon a proclamation authorising the formation of a National guard was distributed, which excited loud applause, followed by louder cries in favour of a free press. Soon it became known that this was also granted, and the judicial reading club, the members of which had taken a leading part in the agitation, displayed an immense flag with the inscription "Pressfreiheit" and marched with a band of music in triumph through the streets. This concession excited the most frantic demonstrations of joy, and the statue of the Emperor Joseph II. in the Joseph place was crowned with a garland and decorated with the flag. At six in the evening appeared the printed proclamation of the abolition of the censorship and the immediate issue of a law for the regulation of the press. This occasioned much disappointment and loud murmurs from the people, who believed that any legal interference with the matter would be only a continuation of the censorship under another name. Several members of the Stände however addressed the crowd, assuring them that the paper signed by the Emperor contained the words "freedom of the press," and that the rest might safely be left to the Stände and the National guard. The eloquence of these orators, and the descent of a heavy shower of rain, induced the people to disperse themselves, and no farther demonstrations took place on this day.

On the 15th. of March, the excitement still continued. Early in the morning the crowds again assembled in the streets, at first only the lower classes, but afterwards the middle and upper classes joined in the agitation. First appeared a proclamation from Prince Windischgrätz threatening the interference of the military in case of any disturbance of the peace, and shortly afterwards another from the Emperor, stating that the United Stände or Parliament of the Empire, should be summoned to meet on the third of July at the latest. The first of these proclamations was looked upon as an insult to the sovereign

people, and the last excited little less disapprobation as being insufficient to satisfy the impatience of the excited multitude. Fortunately the public attention was occupied at this moment by the arrival of a party of soldiers bringing in a number of prisoners from the country, who had availed themselves of the excitement of the two previous days, to commit various outrages against persons and property in the villages around Vienna. These soldiers were received with great applause by the crowd. About twelve o'clock the Arch-Duke Stephen arrived from Presburg and rode directly to the palace. He was accompanied by the celebrated Kossuth, and numerous Hungarian Magnates; and was received with every demonstration of joy by the Viennese. The first productions of the free press were now sold in the streets; they consisted for the most of songs, and the speeches of the most popular orators, exhorting the people to union and perseverance until they should have obtained the whole of their demands. About half past four in evening, the report was spread that the Emperor had granted a constitution, and shortly afterwards it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet through the streets of the city. The joy and exultation now knew no bounds, strangers were seen embracing each other with frantic enthusiasm, amidst the most deafening shouts of "Es lebe hoch der Kaiser Ferdinand! Hoch die Constitution! Hoch die Nationalgarde!" The Imperial manifesto was now given out to the expectant crowd at the government printing office, and some singular scenes were the result of the universal desire to obtain a copy of this important document. When any person was so fortunate as to get one in the scramble, he was immediately lifted upon the shoulders of some person in the crowd and continued reading the manifesto until every person within hearing was satisfied. The city was again illuminated with far greater splendour than on the preceding nights; the armed students and workmen formed an immense torchlight procession, in front of which was carried a large picture of the Emperor entwined with garlands. As the apparently endless train wound through the streets, the enthusiasm reached its heigth, flowers and ribbons were showered from the windows on the passing national guards, handkerchiefs waved, music pealed, the people shouted until they were hoarse, and the festal scene formed a lively contrast to the horrors of the first night of the revolution.

The following day was devoted to a continuation of the public rejoicings. In the morning a procession of all the Hungarians in Vienna took place, with Kossuth at their head; he was received with every demonstration of public respect, and positively loaded with garlands and bouquets by the fair Viennese. A procession of Italians followed, and wherever a party of the new national guard appeared these exhibitions of enthusiasm were repeated; and when at twelve o'clock in the day the Emperor rode through the city in an open carriage, accompanied by the Arch-duke Francis, it rose to a height

which almost resembled madness. The horses were eagerly torn from the carriage. and a violent struggle took place between the persons who were ambitious of the honour of filling their places. Flowers were thrown in such profusion that the carriage was completely filled. and the idolized monarch seemed in some danger of being suffocated by the tokens of homage which were heaped upon him. No one who witnessed this display of loyal enthusiasm could have conceived it possible that the Prince thus loaded with the marks of popular favour, would be compelled to fly from his capital to avoid the violence of the very people who were now drawing his carriage; and still less that he would be compelled to recover possession of it by force of arms.

On the 18th. of March, the popular enthusiasm was if possible increased, as it became known that the Emperor was engaged in the formation of a new and responsible ministry; although the persons of whom it was to consist was a mere matter of conjecture. On this day the Emperor again appeared in public, and was again received with the same marks of popular devotion, and his carriage was drawn through the streets by the students of the University. amidst the thundering acclamations of the populace, and the deafening shouts of "Es lebe unser constitutioneller Kaiser!"

The confidence felt by the people in the upright intentions of their Sovereign was at this moment unbounded, and in consequence of this confidence, the reign of legal and social order was rapidly re-established in Vienna, and this is to be attributed in a great degree to the exertions of the newly-formed Academic legion and National guard. The public now became exclusively occupied with the important question of who were to form the new ministry, and many persons began seriously to doubt if among the whole of the progress-hating and corrupt mass of officials in the Austrian empire, sufficient honest and able men were to be found, to form a ministry capable of carrying out the great idea of a general reform in every department of the state; without which, the only result of the revolution would be the changing of one set of tyrants for another.

These doubts soon proved to be unfortunately but too well founded. The choice of the new ministry although perhaps the best that could be made under the circumstances, was far from being a good one; inasmuch as it consisted entirely of officials who had held office under Metternich, and who might consequently be supposed to be admirers of the old state of affairs. Count Kolowrat the former minister of the interior, a man who had spent his life in the mere official routine of a public office, without ever having been entrusted with any affair of importance, became president of the council. Ficquelmont formerly Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and believed to be an admirer of the Russian form of government, undertook the office of minister for foreign affairs. The minister of Justice, Count Taaffe, was known to be an

enemy of the political interests of the middle classes, and indeed to all the ideas of the present time. Rubeck the new minister of finance, was in so bad a state of health as to be unable to take any active part in the government; and the only popular and active member of the new cabinet was Count Pillersdorf, the minister of the interior,

A ministry composed of such persons, was little calculated to answer the expectations of even the more moderate liberals, still less the extravagant demands and almost childish impatience of the ultra democratic party, which increased daily in numbers and violence. The advocates of the old state of affairs still retained a large portion of their influence within the palace, the members of the privy-council still remained unchanged, Prince Windischgrätz retained his post as governor of Vienna, and Jarcke that of commandant of the Municipal guard; the Arch-dukes Louis and Albert, who were reputed to be opposed to all popular concessions were still the favoured councillors of the Emperor, and it was believed that these Princes were not alone the chosen champions of the re-actionary party; but that they were intriguing to obtain Russian help for the purpose of strangling in their birth the new born liberties of Austria.

The ministry, which could not, or would not understand the necessity of union and decision, in the extremely critical position in which Austria was at this moment placed, showed in every action feebleness and vaccillation. The revolutionary storm in Hungary broke out with increased violence, while single ministers refused to carry the measures into effect which had been agreed upon and promised by the assembled cabinet; and it was only the personal influence of the Palatin Arch-duke Stephen, which induced the Hungarian ministers in Presburg to retain their places, and to trust to his assurances that he had the power of obtaining from the Emperor, the fulfilment of the various promises of concessions and rights, which had been made to the Hungarian people. Assurances which he succeeded in redeeming to the letter.

As far as the domestic affairs of Austria were concerned, it must be admitted that the measures of the cabinet were well calculated to produce confidence in the minds of the liberal party. A general amnesty to all political offenders was proclaimed, the income and expenditure of the state was made public, and the Universities were freed from the trammels with which all institutions for public instruction had hitherto been fettered. The provisional law for the regulation of the public press which was promulgated on the 31st. of March, was however in the opinion of the liberal party, more than sufficient to counterbalance these concessions; and it is certain that this law was well calculated to alarm those who justly looked upon a free press as the palladium of political and religious liberty. By the provisions of this law, the printers and publishers of newspapers, were required to deposit large sums as caution money. Any alleged offences against

the law were to be tried not by Jurors, but by Judges appointed by the government; and attacks upon members of the Imperial family, were to be punished with much greater severity than those upon ordinary individuals. These, and other not less objectionable clauses in the new law, caused such demonstrations of bitterness and exasperation in the public mind, that there is little doubt it would have led to an immediate outbreak, had not the minister of the interior, in answer to the addresses from the University and the principal authors and booksellers resident in Vienna, promised to withdraw the law with a view to its effectual alteration and revision.

The demonstrations against the ministry increased in violence from this time, and Kolowrat consequently withdrew himself from the presidency of the council, which was now undertaken by Count Ficquelmont. The Chancellor Inzaghi and the Arch-dukes Louis and Albert also resigned their places, and Prince Windischgrätz was removed from his post of Governor of Vienna, and appointed to the command of the army in Moravia and Silesia. The privy council was abolished; Baron von Kransz was appointed minister of finance in the place of Rubeck who was sent on a mission to Russia; and Lieutenant-Field-marshal Zanini undertook the office of minister of war.

On the 2nd. of April, amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the students of the University and an immense crowd of all classes of the inhabitants of Vienna, the tri-coloured flag of Germany was waved from a window of the palace by the Emperor in person, as the signal that Austria had united itself to the German Confederation; and from this time these colours continued to be hoisted on the towers of the palace, the University, and the cathedral of Vienna. On the 4th. of April, deputations from the Austrian Stände, and from the members of the University, betook themselves to Frankfort, and on the 15th. of the same month, the election of the Austrian members of the German Parliament, took place in the various provinces.

It is not to be supposed that amidst all these changes, the population of Vienna were unanimous in their opinions as to the extent of the alterations it was desirable to introduce into the ancient form of government. On the one hand stood the partisans of the old state of affairs, who while they could not deny that many abuses existed that required reform, were suspicious of any thing which had its origin in a popular commotion, and would have been content to see quiet restored at any price. On the other hand were the disciples of the ultra democratic party, who in order to thoroughly reform the social fabric, would have commenced by razing it to its foundations; and to this party unfortunately belonged the all-influential Academic legion, backed by the whole of the lower classes of the capital. There doubtlessly existed, more especially amongst the middle classes, a considerable party which would have been content with the concessions already made by the Emperor, or at least to have sought for any farther

reforms which might have been necessary, by legal and constitutional means. But as is usual in times of excitement, the voice of moderation was drowned by the clamours of faction, and the man who ventured to raise his voice in favour of rational liberty, was denounced as a reactionist and supporter of despotism.

The impatience exhibited by the people for the possession of their political rights, demanded that the ministry should place the plan of the new constitution before the public with the least possible delay; it was however impossible to move with sufficient rapidity for the democratic party. The agitation began with new fury; the embittered feeling concerning the law of the Press again renewed itself; and the radical party, which increased with astonishing rapidity in numbers and boldness, urged the populace to acts of violence by every means in their power. The easiest victims to begin with were the Clergy, and against them and especially against the order of Liguorians (another name for Jesuits), the popular fury was in the first instance directed. An infuriated mob stormed and plundered their Monastery, while the reverend fathers themselves were placed on wagons, and paraded through the streets amidst a storm of shouts, groans, and hisses, to the city gates; where they were dismissed with a caution not to again appear within the walls. The turn next came upon the Dominicans, the venerable Scottish abbey belonging to whom, was also stormed and plundered. The multitude then repaired to the residence of Count Taafe the minister of Justice, whom they saluted with a prolonged howling, a compliment which it was usual during the revolutionary agitations in Germany, to bestow on all unpopular characters; and which was known by the name of "Katzenmusik" (Cat's music). They then proceeded to the Cloister of the Mechitarists in the suburb of St. Ulric, the printing office attached to which they entirely destroyed. These priests were in bad repute with a portion of the working population, in consequence of their possessing a large printing establishment, which they commenced in the year 1810, under the auspices of the Arch-duchess Beatrice d'Este, for printing the Oriental languages; but which they gradually extended until they monopolized the greater part of the printing business in Vienna.

Through these and similar demonstrations, Count Taafe was induced to resign his place in the ministry, and his office was undertaken by Baron von Somaruga, who had hitherto filled the post of minister of education. The radical party were not satisfied with this, and Dr. Schütte a foreigner, well known as a supporter of the party of the Social republic, proposed in the club called the "Friends of the People," to get up a monster petition to the Emperor, to be supported by an enormous procession composed of the poorer classes. As the object of this movement was undoubtedly a new outbreak, the more respectable citizens took alarm, and the National guard in a petition to the ministers requested that means might be to taken prevent the proposed

procession. Thus supported, the ministry ventured on a decided measure, they caused Dr. Schütte the originator of this dangerous measure, to be arrested and conveyed across the frontier as an alien; and no farther steps were taken in the matter.

On the 25th. of April, the new Austrian Constitution was proclaimed, and this circumstance gave a momentary popularity to the ministry. Early in the morning the National guard and the Academic legion assembled on the Glacis, where a field-mass was celebrated. At 9. o'clock, the garrison of Vienna left their barracks and were received with the most enthusiastic cheers by the multitude. At the close of the parade, the troops together with the National guard entered the city by the Scottish gate, and defiled before the Emperor on the Francis place. In the evening an enormous torchlight procession was arranged by the various clubs; the bust of the Emperor entwined with garlands, and overshadowed with German and Austrian flags, was carried in triumph through the city, and serenades were sung before the palace of the Emperor, and the houses of the ministers. The satisfaction of the people and the popularity of the executive, were alike short-lived; on closer examination the new Constitution was found to be by no means equal to the extravagant expectations of the democratic party, who indeed would seem to be incapable of being satisfied with any thing; and within twenty-four hours after the display of popular enthusiasm above described, the Constitution was denounced in the Aula of the students, and the various political clubs, as a trick of the reactionists, and an attempt to strangle the liberties of the people.

The dissatisfaction increased from hour to hour, and from day to day, and on the 3rd. of May it found expression through the usual medium of "Katzenmusik." The first person honoured with this mark of attention was the Archbishop of Vienna, who had ventured to propose to the government that some compensation should be given to the Liguorians for the confiscation of their property. Here the mob did not confine themselves to howling, but demolished the whole of the windows, climbed the balcony, tore down the German colours which the prelate more out of fear than love had displayed in front of the building, and destroyed at their pleasure the furniture of the palace, without however offerring any personal violence to the Archbishop. On the same day a singular scene occurred at the University, a person known to be an agent of the secret police having been recognised in the Aula or assembly room of the students, was immediately seized and exhibited from the balcony of the building, with a large placard inscribed with the words "Police Spy," upon his breast; he was afterwards placed in a cart, and paraded through the streets, as a gentle hint to the ministry, that the days of the agency of the secret police were departed.

At eight o'clock in the evening, a crowd among which were many National guards and well-dressed persons, paraded the streets; howling

and hooting in front of the houses of the ministers, and all other persons, who were suspected of not being sufficiently ardent in the popular cause. At the same time a deputation of students repaired to the residence of Count Ficquelmont, with the request or rather command, that he would retire from office within twenty-four hours. As they did not find him at home, they repaired to the office of the department to which he belonged, and from thence to the Palace of his daughter the Princess Clasy, here he did not dare to deny himself, or to refuse obedience to the wishes of his unwelcome visitors; and he was even compelled to promise that on leaving office, he would not remove a single sheet of paper, with the exception of his private journal.

This extraordinary proceeding by which the students of the University openly usurped the perogative of the Sovereign, and exhibited themselves to the people as the principal power in Vienna, was little calculated to produce confidence in any other minds than those of the unthinking multitude. Over these indeed the students exercised a sway which is perhaps one of the most curious circumstances connected with the revolution in Vienna. The fetters in which the public press of Austria had been held during the government of Metternich, had kept the whole of the lower, and a large portion of the middle classes of society, in a state of political ignorance, which for its grossness was scarcely exceeded by that of any nation in the world. It was therefore not surprising that these classes, in the suddenly altered circumstances in which they found themselves, should seek for instruction and advice, from the only accessible persons who were superior in intelligence to themselves; and the consequence was that the Aula of the University became a kind of Bureau in which deputations from citizens, peasants, and workmen, daily sought advice concerning the course they ought to pursue, in order to obtain redress for the various grievances under which they laboured. The influence thus obtained by the student's club, was increased by the weak and vacillating conduct of the ministry, who permitted themselves to be frightened into changing or withdrawing their measures at the dictation of a self-elected Junta of inexperienced youths, many of whom had scarcely passed the period of boyhood.

In filling up the place left vacant by the forced retirement of Ficquelmont, the ministry adopted a course which was calculated to alarm the citizens of Vienna, and indeed the whole of the German inhabitants of the Austrian empire. They summoned for this purpose from Prague the well known Francis Palacky, a man who had shortly before declared that Austria if it continued to exist, must exist as a Sclavonic empire, the majority of its inhabitants being undoubtedly of Sclavonic origin and language. This raised a new storm, the Viennese fancied they saw in this measure an attempt to restore the old state of affairs by means of the half barbarous Sclavonic population

of the frontier provinces, and an universal outcry was the consequence. Palacky saw clearly enough that it would be impossible for him to retain office, and therefore wisely declined accepting it; but the ministry had to suffer all the obloquy of having sought his support.

On the 7th. of May, the electoral law was published, the principal points of which were as follow:

The Austrian Parliament was to consist of two chambers. The first chamber or senate, was to consist of 200 members; of which 150 were to be chosen by the proprietors of landed property, from among their own number; and the remainder to consist of members of the Imperial family and of persons appointed by the Emperor for the term of their lives. The second chamber was to consist of 383 members, being in the proportion of one member for every 50,000 souls. All males who had attained the age of 24 years who were not domestic servants, and who did not labour for daily or weekly wages, were to be entitled to a vote; provided they had resided six months in the district for which the election was to take place. The amount of payment to the members was to be decided after the assembly of the chambers, but in the meantime the travelling expences of the members were to be paid by the government.

Against this law the central committee of the National guard protested most vehemently, they insisted that the people and not the landed proprietors should elect the members of the Senate, but that on this occasion they would not object to the Emperor nominating his portion of the Senators. The Ministers replied that the National guard had no right to assume political functions, and issued an order of the day dissolving the central committee. These refused to obey the order, declared their sittings permanent, and that the liberties of Austria were in peril. Under these circumstances the ministry determined on taking a decided step. Under the pretence that they suspected an attempt would be made to destroy the statue of the Emperor Francis, a work of art which was known to be little to the taste of the Viennese, they displayed an imposing force of troops and artillery upon the Glacis, and caused the general march to be beaten. The real object of this proceeding being to overawe the students and National guard, by showing them the force of the garrison which had been considerably reinforced during the few previous days.

This measure was unfortunately calculated to produce the very circumstance it was intented to prevent; on the following day (May 15th.) the students held a meeting in the Aula of the university, in which this act of the ministry was declared to be little short of treason to the sovereign people. The new constitution and the electoral law were declared to be mere plans to suppress the liberties of Austria, and above all the summoning the unpopular Polacky, was declared to be a proof that the ministry were inclined to the Sclavonic party. One orator after another ascended the tribune, and the violence of their

speeches inflamed the impatient youths to the highest possible pitch, and it was resolved that a petition should be presented to the Emperor by the whole of the Academic legion in arms. As soon as this became known the general march was beaten, and almost the whole of the National guard joined themselves to the procession, together with the greater part of the Municipal guard; it was also increased by a party of Tyrolese riflemen, and a body of workmen with shovels and pick-axes as barricade makers. Altogether not less than 40,000 men were under arms, and these were supported by at least 80,000 workmen, many of whom were armed with pikes, or with axes, scythes, and other similar implements. On the other hand little dependance could be placed by the government on the military. The artillery-men were known to be disaffected, and the grenadiers openly shared their cartridges with the National guards, while the six cannon and two howitzers which the students had received from the municipal arsenal, were manned by soldiers who had joined the Academic legion for that purpose.

About six o'clock in the evening, the academic legion and the "barricade makers," with loaded cannon and small arms, bands of military music, and an immense flag inscribed "Only one Chamber, Union with Germany," marched from the Aula towards the Emperor's palace. On their way all Austrian flags which were displayed from the houses were torn down and replaced by the German tri-colour. On arriving at the palace they were joined by the National guard etc. and a dense mass of armed men completely filled every space in the neighbourhood of the building; this done, a deputation delivered the petition to the Emperor. It contained the following demands:

1. The recall of the order of the day of the 13th. of May, dissolving the central committee of the National guard. 2. The recall of the edict concerning the electoral law, and the issue of a new one, in which the Parliament should only consist of one chamber. 3. That the military should be removed from the city, and that the gates and military posts should be entrusted to equal numbers of the National guard and soldiery. 4. That a satisfactory explanation should be given of the proceedings of the ministry on the night between the 14th. and 15th. of May.

The discussion of these points between the deputation and the ministry lasted upwards of four hours, during which the armed crowds surrounding the palace gave way to the most violent expressions of impatience. In vain the ministry demanded that they should be allowed a few hours to consider of these demands, an immediate answer was insisted on; and at length at 10 o'clock the information that the people had commenced building barricades, induced the ministry to comply with their wishes. Emboldened by this success the deputation proceeded to make new demands, they insisted that the constitution granted by the Emperor, should be changed for one which should be deter-

mined on by the parliament, and that the number of members to be sent by the people to the new Parliament should not depend on the numbers of the population. As both the Emperor and his ministers found themselves completely in the power of an armed mob, they had no course open to them but to comply, and these new demands were consequently also granted. The news of these concessions were received with loud acclamations by the multitude, unbounded applause was heaped upon the Academic legion, and the city was once more illuminated.

On the 16th. of May, a proclamation from the Emperor confirmed the concessions which had been extorted during the preceeding night, but on the 17th, the ministry declared that under these circumstances they were unable to carry on the government, and resigned their portfolios into the hands of the sovereign. This declaration produced considerable alarm, more especially among the more wealthy classes, and the central committee of the National guard sent an address to the ministry begging them to retain their situations, and this was supported by the personal wishes of the Emperor.

The position of affairs in Vienna was indeed at this time sufficiently alarming; the powers which should ever be wielded by the ministers of the sovereign, had been usurped by the hot brained youths of the University, who backed by the ignorant and excitable populace dictated their own terms to the so-called government, and it was of course extremely doubtful how long this illegal and self constituted power would succeed in restraining their supporters from an attack on the property of their more wealthy fellow citizens. The court party took advantage of these circumstances to alarm the mind of the Emperor, they represented to him that his person was no longer safe in his capital, and persuaded him that if he left Vienna he might insist on the dissolution of the Academic legion, and the acceptance of the Constitution in its original form, as the price of his return; and by this means they hoped to recover the ground they had lost by the last popular demonstration.

On the morning of the 18th. the rumours which had been in circulation during the previous evening, with regard to the flight of the Emperor, were confirmed by a notice from the ministry (which continued to hold office until their successors should be appointed), stating that the Emperor and his consort, accompanied by the Arch-duke Francis and his wife and three sons, had left Vienna and taken the road to Innsbruck. The notice farther stated, that the ministry were unacquainted with the reasons which had induced the Emperor to take this step, but that they had despatched a messenger to him, who it was hoped would be able to induce him to return, or at least to state the motives upon which had acted.

An indescribable feeling of confusion and dismay spread itself through the city on the receipt of this intelligence. The citizens of Vienna who had suffered severely in pecuniary matters by the revolution, now

fancied that the city was about to cease to be the residence of the court, and that this was the first step towards its total ruin; while even the most ardent supporters of the new state of affairs could not conceal from themselves that this was a moment pregnant with the most fearful consequences both to Vienna and the whole of the Austrian empire. The whole of the students and National guards were immediately assembled in arms for the protection of persons and property, but the lower classes shewed no inclination to commit any excesses. Crowds of workmen armed with shovels and pick-axes indeed assembled in the suburbs, but their only idea seemed to be to assist the students, whom they seemed to think in danger. This moderation on the part of the populace, is no doubt in a great degree to be attributed to the care taken by the government since the outbreak in March, to afford employment to the working classes, in order that the general stagnation of business should affect them as little as possible.

The event expected, and perhaps hoped for by the supporters of the old state of things, viz. the proclamation of a republic, did not take place; the students and National guards placed themselves under the orders of Count Auersperg the commandant of the garrison, and patroled in company with the troops the streets of the city, in order to suppress any attempt which might be made to excite a disturbance. The population of Vienna had no republican sympathies, and the National guard had some difficulty in rescuing some persons who had raised the cry of "Es lebe die Republic", from the indignation of the populace. The wish of all classes of the community was for the immediate return of the Emperor, whose presence in the capital was found to be necessary to the working out the reforms which were required in every department of the state.

By the energetic conduct of the students and National guard, the reign of order which had been partially disturbed during the first panic occasioned by the flight of the Emperor was restored, and the fear of a republican movement retired into the background. The ministry resolved in the absence of the sovereign to seize on the reins of government which seemed in danger of being altogether usurped by the student's club, and they consequently appointed Count Montecuculi to the office of Commissioner or Regent of the Empire. On the 18th. of May, a proclamation appeared signed with his name, which prohibited more than six persons from assembling together in the streets between the hours of 9 in the evening and 5. in the morning, called upon all householders to keep their servants and families within their houses, and threatened all persons not obeying the order, with legal punishment. At the same time a committee of public security was appointed, which commenced its labours by issuing a proclamation cautioning the public against the machinations of foreign emissaries, to whom the government thought proper to attribute all the agitation which had taken place since the 13th. of March. This self

created spectre of a foreign propaganda seems to have been a legacy which the new ministry had inherited from that of Metternich, under which any manifestation of discontent, or desire for reform, was always attributed to the influence of strangers. A law for restraining the licentiousness of the press was also published, which had the rare merit of being tolerably satisfactory to the liberal party.

A far more rational cause of anxiety than the fear of foreign emissaries had made itself apparent immediately after the occurrences in March, and now rose to an height which threatened the most serious consequences. This was the increasing distress of the bank, which was now completely besieged by claimants, while the public mistrust was so great that it became impossible to obtain change for the notes which form so large a portion of the Austrian currency. This rendered the inhabitants of Vienna still more impatient for the return of the Emperor, who had been received at Innsbruck with the greatest enthusiasm; and a giant petition was sent to that city, to induce him to return to his capital.

The wishes of the supporters of old state of affairs who had hoped that the flight of the Emperor would have been followed by scenes of anarchy which have rendered it necessary to reduce the capital by force, were for the present frustrated by the firmness of the National guard and the Academic legion; but increasing financial difficulties, and the total stagnation of trade, induced a large party, including almost the whole of the upper and middling classes, to wish for a speedy return of quiet, even if this blessing should be purchased by the sacrifice of part of what they considered to be the just claims of the people. A petition numerously signed was consequently sent by this class of persons to the Emperor, stating their perfect satisfaction with the concessions of the 15th. of May, and declaring the Aula of the students to be the head-quarters of the disaffected. Supported by this demonstration of the citizens of Vienna, Count Lomballes the companion and adviser of the Imperial family, advised the citizens of Linz to throw themselves into the arms of the Tschechs, rather than into those of the government at Vienna; and Count Lhorinsky declared in Salzburg, that the capital was in the hands of an ungovernable faction which had repaid the Emperor's gift of a free Constitution, with the blackest ingratitude, and that the Sovereign had been compelled to leave his capital to avoid the violent proceedings of a band of agitators, whose reckless conduct threatened to lead to the most boundless anarchy and confusion.

This last declaration the ministry thought of sufficient importance to reply to, they declared it to be the opinion of a private individual and not of the Emperor himself, who as a constitutional monarch, could only communicate with his subjects through the medium of his ministers. Pillersdorf also in reply to a deputation from the students, spoke of their conduct and that of the National guard in terms of the

highest praise. The students who had offerred to retire *en masse* from Vienna, received numerous addresses entreating them to remain, and it is even said that the ministry added a request to the same effect. This retreat of the Academic legion which was probably never seriously contemplated, served to draw still closer the bonds of union between it and the National guard, and even those who would gladly have seen the measure realised, were either ashamed or afraid to take any steps in its favour, the services of the students during the first days of the revolution having rendered them the idols of the populace. Meanwhile the Emperor in reply to the pressing requests of the ministry that he would return to Vienna, issued on the 21st. of May the following proclamation:

"Manifesto to my People! The occurrences which took place in Vienna on the 15th. of May, impressed me with the sorrowful conviction that an anarchal faction, supported by the Academic legion and a part of the Municipal and National guards, who have been led away from their usual loyalty by strangers, had determined to rob me of the freedom of action, necessary to suppress the usurpations which have taken place in certain provinces of my empire; and also to overawe the well disposed inhabitants of my capital. There remained to me no other choice but to put an end to this state of affairs by force, by the aid of the faithful garrison, or to withdraw for the moment into one of the provinces which still remained true to me. The choice could not be a doubtful one. I decided for the peaceful and bloodless alternative, and repaired to the ever true Mountain land, where I should also be nearer to the army, which was so bravely fighting for their native country. It is far from my thoughts to recall the gift which I made to my people in the days of March, or to set bounds to the natural consequences of that gift. On the contrary I shall always be ready to listen to the reasonable wishes of my people, when expressed in a legal manner; and to attend to both their national and provincial interests. Such measures must however be such as are calculated for the general good, they must be debated on in the Parliament, and then brought to me for my sanction, and not taken by force by a single province. I make this declaration to alleviate the anxiety which my sudden departure from Vienna has occasioned in the minds of my subjects, whom I at the same time remind of the fatherly love with which I have at all times received such of my erring children as have returned to their duty. Innsbruck the 20th. of May 1848. Ferdinand."

In now became evident to the ministry that the only stumbling block to a reconciliation between the the Sovereign and the citizens of the capital must be removed at all risks, and accordingly on the 25th. the course of instruction at the University was declared to be ended for the year, and Count Colloredo the commander of the Academic legion himself demanded that they should disband themselves. This however by no means suited the views of the ultra liberal party,

addresses were got up begging the students to remain during the vacation, and subscriptions to which the poorest workmen contributed, were commenced to maintain such of them as were unable to support themselves.

Under these circumstances the legion refused to dissolve itself, and the ministry urged by numerous addresses from the provinces, complaining of the insolence of these youths who had dared to extort concessions from their sovereign by force of arms, without consulting the wishes of the majority of the population of the empire, resolved on more decided measures. On the 26th. of May, the inhabitants of Vienna were surprised by a proclamation signed by Count Montecuculi, dissolving the Academic legion, and incorporating its members with the National guard and calling on all such as did not choose to submit to this arrangement, to give up their arms within twenty-four hours. In order to enforce this order Count Colloredo had occupied the principal points of the city with large bodies of troops, which were provided with cannon, and the University was surrounded at some distance by a cordon of soldiers; but in consequence of their doubtful fidelity these last were afterwards withdrawn.

The city which since the 15th. of May had enjoyed an interval of repose, now became the scene of the most violent agitation; not alone the students, but their most active supporters the working classes, showed the most embittered feelings, which found vent in the most frightful threats against Montecuculi. About 10 in the morning the University was surrounded by a dense crowd composed of workmen, burghers, and National guards, the shops were closed, and in the quarter inhabited by the students the most fearful agitation was apparent. At the Rothenthurm-thor the people first came into collision with the military, a citizen who attempted to force his way through the guard which occupied the gate was shot by a soldier, and this circumstance was the signal for an universal outbreak. The cry of "Barricades! Barricades!" was heard on all sides, and as if by magic scores of these defences arose in the neighbourhood of the University and in all the streets leading in the direction of that building. The universal industry displayed in their construction was wonderful, men women and children were engaged in transporting materials, and every carriage that appeared in the streets was seized for the purpose of forming the foundations. The pavement was torn up and partly employed in the formation of the barricades, and partly carried to the roofs of the neighbouring houses to be used in defending them. Flags of every kind, among which the German tri-colour was the most common, were displayed as signals of defiance, and the whole of the student's quarter exhibited a series of temporary fortresses, ready at any moment to resist the attack of the military. The workmen who resided in the suburbs, now succeeded in overpowering the soldiers at several of the gates, and in joining their powerful aid to the in-

surgents within the walls. In front of the University itself a large board was displayed, with an inscription headed "What we demand?". These demands were as follows: The military were to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The concessions of the 15th. of May were to be guaranteed by the ministry. The Emperor was to return to Vienna within eight days, and until this occurred the barricades were to remain. The Parliament should hold its sittings in Vienna, and the military should be sworn to support the constitution. At 12 o'clock the ministry terrified at these energetic proceedings in the part of the people, and suspicious of the fidelity of the soldiers, issued the following public notice:

"The ministry in compliance with the wishes of the people, and the desires of the Academic legion, and in order to avoid greater dangers, have determined not to insist upon the dissolution and union of the legion with the National guard; and they expect that the Academic legion will on their part offer such security for the public tranquillity as may render the return of the Emperor possible. Vienna May the 26th. 1848. (Signed) Pillersdorf. Sommaruga. Krauss. Latour. Baumgartner."

Mounted National guards made this proclamation known at the barricades, and the workmen received it with joyful acclamations, without however desisting from their labour. They were determined that the ministry should make farther concessions before they laid down their arms, and the building of barricades proceeded with undiminished vigour. The public excitement was kept up by orators who harangued the people at the corner of every street, and the more wealthy classes either out of love or fear, supplied the workmen freely with provisions and liquor.

The ministry now saw themselves necessitated to comply with the demands of the people as far as it was in their power to do so, and consequently published another proclamation to the following effect:

"The assurances given by the Emperor on the 15th. and 16th. of May, remain in full effect. The Academic legion will remain unaltered. The military will instantly return to their barracks, and the guard at the city gates will consist of equal numbers of the military, the National guard, and the Academic legion. May 26th. 1848."

And shortly afterwards the following:

"The military have received orders to withdraw. The workmen will receive immediate employment from the government, and in order to restore order they have only to return to their labour. Vienna May 26th. 1848. (Signed) Pillersdorf. Baumgartner. Krouss."

Still the barricades continued to rise in every part of the city within the walls, and every street was fortified with larger or smaller samples of these defences. Between them lay heaps of stones and other materials so disposed as to render an attack from cavalry impossible, The workmen were all furnished with a printed paper with

the inscription, "The continuance of the Academic legion," which they wore on their hats or caps, and armed with shovels, pick-axes, or any other implement that came to hand, they now occupied under the direction of the students and National guard, the barricades they had erected. Dr. Goldmark whose influence over them was immense, now went among them; informed them of the concessions of the ministry, and entreated them to remove the barricades; but even his eloquence was unable to unable to allay the suspicions which they entertained of the ministry, "They must give it us in black and white!" cried some, "Windischgrätz is marching on Vienna!" exclaimed others, while many insisted that the barricades should remain until the return of the Emperor. In consequence of the refusal of the populace to remove the barricades, the ministry published a declaration that the troops had retired to their barracks, and that they should only be called out in the event of their assistance being required by the National guard. Still the excitement continued to increase rather than diminish, and this is in a great degree to be attributed to a paper to the following effect, which was most industriously circulated among the people:

"What we will have! As we have discovered that the reactionary party contemplate abridging the liberties obtained by the victory of the sovereign people, we insist that the whole of the military shall be withdrawn from Vienna, in order to occupy the Italian and Russian frontiers. That all the concessions of the 15th. of May shall be granted without diminution, and that the National assembly shall be immediately summoned to Vienna. That official persons shall be sent into the provinces, in order to inform our brothers that all we have done is for the common good. That the Monasteries shall be abolished. That an income tax and poor's rate shall be established. That the military shall be sworn to support the constitution. That an intimate union shall be formed with Germany. That the Emperor shall immediately return to Vienna; and that all those who counselled him to leave the capital, shall be tried by a tribunal of the people."

The barricading of the city was now continued, the proclamations of the ministry were received with unbelief and torn from the walls, and the reports that large masses of troops were advancing towards the city gained ground every hour. A large body of workmen furnished with spades and pick-axes set out for Slowis, in order to destroy the bridge at that place, and the telegraph at the Railway station was occupied by the National guards and workmen, in order to prevent troops from being summoned by that means. At the same time a locomotive was despatched to the station at Ganserndorf to send intelligence by means of the electric telegraph to Brunn and Prague, that no troops should be forwarded on the railway. The 12th. Jäger-battalion and a battalion of infantry which had been summoned by the government from Mährisch-Ostrau, had already arrived in

Lindenburg on their way to Vienna; here the officers of the railway refused to forward them, but they obtained carriages and a locomotive by threats, and by this means advanced as far as Hohenau. Here the engine-driver purposely contrived to run the train off the proper line of rails into the rear of a baggage train, by which the farther progress of the troops by railway was rendered impracticable, and they then marched forward on foot, until they were met by a courier from the minister of war, ordering them to return.

To the credit of all classes of the population of Vienna, it must be observed, that notwithstanding the complete suspension of all legal authority during this outbreak, there were even less offences committed against property than during a season of tranquillity. Over many shops and warehouses were written the words "Property is holy," and this became a kind of watch-word during the continuance of the insurrection. The most embittered feelings were however displayed against the Aristocracy, especially against Collorado and Montecuculi, both of whom thought it prudent to consult their safety in flight. Count Hoyos was arrested and detained at the Aula, as a hostage for the fulfilment of the demands of the insurgents, and Count Breuner and Baron Pareira were also made prisoners.

In comparison with the violent agitation of the day, the evening passed in comparative tranquillity, but about 10 at night, the report of fire arms was heard in the suburbs and the rumour that Windischgrätz had arrived at the Prater, spread like wild-fire through the city. In an instant the tocsin sounded from all the church steeples, and the whole of the population was in motion. The report eventually turned out to be false, as the bridges were occupied by bodies of workmen who were ready to destroy them the instant any soldiers showed themselves in the neighbourhood. The alarm consequently soon ceased, and the people resumed their labours at the barricades.

Up to midday on the 27th. affairs remained in precisely the same state, at this time however negociations were commenced between the committee of public security and the ministry, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the former published the terms of the treaty they had concluded with the government. 1. That the barricades should be removed in the course of the night by the workmen. 2. That the minister of war should place cannon at the disposal of the people, which should be mounted on the bastions, and served by the burghers and National guard. These conditions were punctually fulfilled on both sides, and the workmen showed scarcely less zeal in demolishing the barricades, than they had on the previous day in erecting them. The military, with the exception of a few necessary for keeping guard at the public buildings, were withdrawn from the city; and the victory of the Academic legion over the government was complete.

Nothing now remained unconceded but the return of the Emperor, an event over which the ministry had no controul. The pro-

vinces however showed no sympathy with the agitators of Vienna, but continued to pour in addresses of confidence and sympathy to the Emperor. Meanwhile the people fulfilled their part of the contract by clearing away the barricades, Count Hoyos and the other hostages were set at liberty, and Montecuculi and Bomballes were hanged in effigy, and doubtlessly thought themselves extremely fortunate that they had escaped suffering this punishment in their own persons. New suspicions were awakened at this time by the hesitation of the minister of war in delivering the cannon to the people according to promise, but the delivery of 12 pieces and the promise of 24 others, produced a better state of feeling, and the people began to flatter themselves that if the Emperor would not return they should at least soon see the Archduke John as his deputy. The program published at this time by the ministry also met with considerable public applause. It promised a perfect reform of the machinery of the state in every particular, and pointed out the necessity of order and public confidence, to enable them to carry their promises into effect.

Various attempts on the part of professional agitators, to again disturb the public peace, having been defeated by the returning good sense of the population of Vienna, the Emperor on the 4th. of June addressed a proclamation to "The faithful inhabitants of his residence," in which he stated that notwithstanding the forcible manner in which the concessions of the 15th. of May had been obtained, he was prepared to keep his word with his subjects, and that his most earnest desire was to open the first constitutional parliament in Vienna in person, but added that this event could only take place in the event of the order and tranquillity of the capital continuing unbroken.

The mild and paternal tone of this proclamation did much towards quieting the perturbed spirits of the population of Vienna, and the assurances of his speedy return which the Emperor at length gave to a new deputation of the citizens, together with the favorable news from Italy, produced a feeling of returning confidence which was only overshadowed by the breaking out of the Sclavonic agitation in Prague. The hopes of the return of the Emperor were again destined to be disappointed; on the 20th. of June a proclamation announced that in consequence of the deranged state of his health, he had appointed his uncle the Archduke John to undertake the affairs of government in his stead. This choice was undoubtedly the best that under the circumstances could be made. The Archduke John was at once the most popular and the most talented of the princes of the Imperial family, by his marriage with the daughter of a postmaster he had as it were allied himself with the people, and his well known liberal opinions had banished him from the court during the reign of Metternich. These circumstances caused the choice of the Emperor to be received with a perfect tumult of acclamations, and his appointment to the of-

fice of Regent was held to be the best proof of the sincerity of the intentions of the sovereign.

On the evening of the 24th. of June, Prince John arrived in Vienna and on the following morning the committee of public security received an audience, when the prince requested them to speak their sentiments with freedom; claiming the same right for himself in reply. Dr. Fischhof acted as spokesman and laid before the prince his views of the occurrences which had taken place since the flight of the court. Prince John endeavoured to combat the fear of reaction which formed the principal topic of the Doctor's speech, and Dr. Goldmark then brought forward the subject of the six batteries of cannon which had not yet been supplied to the National guard; but was stopped by his colleagues, who felt that this topic was ill-timed on the present occasion. The other corporations of Vienna, the National guard, and the Academic legion, also sent deputations which were received in a manner that inspired universal confidence. With admirable tact he entreated the committee of public safety to continue its functions during the sitting of the Parliament, and by this and similar measures gained the respect and esteem of the liberal party, which on the occasion of his presenting the promised cannon to the National guard, found vent in loud and enthusiastic acclamations.

The elections for the general Parliament of Austria now took place, and the political ignorance displayed by the population of the provinces would have been truly langhable, had not the affair been of such fearful importance not alone to the welfare of the empire, but to the peace of Europe. Indeed the lamentable speactacle exhibited by the first Austrian parliament was sufficient to convince the most violent partizan of the rights of the people, of the danger and folly of giving political power into the hands of persons utterly ignorant of the meaning of the trust confided to them. As a specimen of the ignorance which prevailed with regard to the qualities required in a deputy, it may be stated that the members for Galicia consisted of peasants who were entirely ignorant of the German language, and consequently utterly unable either to make themselves understood, or to comprehend the speeches of their colleagues. A general determination prevailed among the peasantry not to elect any person unless they had been acquainted with him from childhood, and the consequence was that men of education and intelligence, were set aside for farmers and shopkeepers, whose previous life had by no means qualified them to act as legislators; and the new parliament consequently presented a chaos of clashing interests and nationalities, from which little good could be either hoped or expected.

The news of the election of the Archduke John to the dignity of Reichsverweser or Regent of Germany caused the most lively demonstrations of satisfaction in Vienna, a salute of 101 pieces of cannon was fired and the troops and National guard were paraded, but the

Archduke himself was absent, having departed for Presburg to open the Hungarian Diet. On the 4th. of July the deputies from the German parliament arrived in Vienna to invest the Archduke with his new dignity, and were received with the greatest enthusiasm by the people, and on the 7th. the Archduke addressed a proclamation to the Viennese, in which he informed them that his new duties called him to Frankfort, but promised to return in order to open the Austrian parliament on the 18th. of the same month.

During the absence of the Archduke new divisions broke out between the ministry and the committee of public security, in consequence of the latter body assuming to themselves the right of interfering with every act of the government, the members of which they considered and treated as mere puppets. The ministry naturally resisted this illegal and unauthorised interference, and hence arose new suspicions and heartburnings. Differences also arose between the military and the National guard which had nearly terminated in bloodshed. The people ever suspicious of the machinations of the court party, suffered themselves to be alarmed by the most ridiculous rumours, a light having been seen in the tower of the cathedral, it was held to be a signal, and this trifling circumstance was sufficient to threw the whole city into confusion. 200,000 ball cartridges were distributed to the National guard, the cannon were placed ready for use, and howitzers in addition, were demanded from the government. To put an end to this painful state of affairs, the officers of the garrison invited those of the National guard to a public conference in the Auegarten. The unfavourable state of the weather prevented the meeting from being very numerously attended, but the good intentions of the military were successful; General Frank having ascended a temporary tribune, addressed the assembly to the effect that the military were determined to adhere with loyalty to the constitutional Emperor, but at the same time would not permit themselves to made the tools of reaction. Several other speakers followed, and the meeting ended by the soldiers and National guards parading through the streets hand in hand. This restoration of confidence was also attributed to the suggestions of the Archduke John, who laboured incessantly to produce union between the citizens and soldiers. On the following day a declaration appeared from the troops of the garrison, complaining of the shameful attacks of a portion of the public press, to which it attributed the want of confidence which had existed between the troops and the National guard, and assuring the citizens of Vienna of the high regard in which they were held by the garrison.

On the 17th. of July, the Archduke John returned to Vienna, and on the following day the list of the new ministry was published, which gave universal satisfaction to the liberal party. A preliminary meeting of the members of the new Parliament was held for the purpose of choosing a president, and on the 22nd. of July the session was for-

mally opened by the Archduke, who on his way to and from the house was greeted with the most rapturous applause. The assembly itself presented one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of the kind ever seen. The German members in their black dress coats, being mixed up with peasants in white linen tunics, here stood a group of Poles in their national costume, and there a party of Tchechs, altogether differently attired, Dalmatians, Illyrians, etc. etc. made up the motly scene, which bore considerably more resemblance to a masquerade than to a legislative assembly.

On the 28th. of July the funeral ceremony in honour of the victims of the revolution took place with a great display of pomp on the glacis of the Josephstadt, and passed off without any more weighty occurrence than a quarrel between Pannasch the commander of the National guard, and the committee of public security, which led to the former resigning his office.

In the Parliament, a violent debate took place on the 20th. of July, in consequence of a communication from the minister Dohblhof that the Emperor would not return to Vienna, but would send his brother in the room of the Archduke John, whose duties as Reichsverweser called him to Frankfort. It was at length determined to send a deputation from the parliament to the Emperor, to *insist* on his return, as a measure on which the tranquillity and well being of the capital depended. This deputation succeeded in assuring the mind of the sovereign with regard to the state of the city, and received the satisfactory answer that on the 8th. of August he would set out for Vienna.

Accordingly on the 12th. of August at 8 o'clock in the evening, the Emperor made his public entry into Schönbrunn, he was received by deputations from the National guard, the Academic legion, and the various corporations of the city. The Emperor was seated in an open carriage, by his side sat the Empress, who looked ill and frequently shed tears, and opposite sat the Archduke Francis and his consort, whose absence would have been considerably more pleasing to the people, who nevertheless welcomed their sovereign in the most enthusiastic manner. On the following day he issued a proclamation to the people, in which he called on all classes of his subjects to aid by their peaceable and orderly demeanor the carrying out the great measure of constitutional reform.

Although the Emperor did not enter Vienna, his presence at Schönbrunn produced for a time most beneficial effects upon the capital, public confidence began to return, and as a natural consequence, commerce which had been almost entirely destroyed by the revolution, again showed symtoms of revival. Negociations for peace commenced in Italy, and the attention of the public became entirely occupied with the war in Hungary, and the proceedings of the parliament. This period of repose was however but of short duration; the advocates of

quiet felt that they had no warrant for its continuance as long as the Academic legion was in existence, and consequently began to petition for its dissolution. This roused the suspicions of the workmen, and a report that the government intended to reduce the wages of those employed upon the public works, caused a new demonstration. On the 20th. of August a vast number of workmen with flags and banners assembled in front of the town hall, but the National guard who had on the previous day been supplied with ball cartridges, promptly assembled and succeeded in dispersing them, without any more serious consequences than a few bayonet wounds received by some of the more unruly of the populace. The ministry now issued placards declaring that the reduction of the wages of the workmen, was a step rendered necessary by the state of the public finances, and notwithstanding the irritation this occasioned, the workmen overawed by the firmness displayed by the National guard, dispersed themselves quietly. On the 23rd. new demonstrations on the part of the populace led unfortunately to bloodshed, the workmen were fired on in the Leopoldstadt, by the Municipal guard, and the National guard were also compelled to make use of their weapons, the result was that several persons were killed and many wounded. The long suppressed jealousy which existed between the National guard and the Academic legion now found vent, and many of the students were insulted in the streets. Under these circumstances the latter did not appear in arms, but placed themselves at the disposal of the government, thus disappointing those who had hoped to see them take part with the workmen.

On the following day the ministry declared the committee of public security to be dissolved, and took upon themselves the necessary steps for securing the tranquillity of the city; and although the agitation among the workmen still continued, no farther appeal to force was necessary. On the 3rd. of September the funeral service for the workmen who had fallen in the last outbreak took place, and in consequence of the precautions taken by the government it passed off quietly. From this time until the 6th. of October, Vienna was the scene of a constantly increasing agitation which on several occasions led to scenes of violence which were with difficulty suppressed without bloodshed. The affairs of Hungary became every day more complicated, and at length the Palatin Archduke arrived in Vienna in order to resign his office into the hands of the Emperor. It now became necessary to take decided measures in order to prevent the dismemberment of the Empire and on the 3rd. of October the Emperor issued a proclamation in which he gave to the Banus of Croatia, the celebrated Field Marshal Jellachich full powers to act as he thought proper for suppressing the Hungarian insurrection; and all the disposable troops of the garrison of Vienna were ordered to march to his support. This brought the embitterment against the ministry to its height, and this feeling was shared to a great extent by the military. On the 5th. of October many soldiers

appeared in the political clubs asking counsel as to whether they should obey the orders of the government or not, and the first battalion of the regiment Cocopieri which was on this day forwarded by railway towards Hungary, was with difficulty induced to commence the journey.

On the following morning at 4 o'clock the German Grenadiers received orders to march, which they refused to obey, and destroyed the furniture and moveables in their barracks. The General march was now beaten and the Cuirassiers and Dragoons appeared in arms, between which the grenadiers were induced to march to the Railway station, loudly protesting against being compelled fight against the Hungarians. Here at 7, in the morning, a considerable number of National guards and students were already assembled, and had broken up part of the railway bridge so as to prevent the departure of the train, while on the other side of the bridge a number of peasants armed with pikes and sythes had already assembled. As soon as the news of these occurrences reached the city, the alarm was sounded, and 6 companies of the Academic legion, with a large number of National guards marched to the railway and took possession of the embankment. At a short distance were seen the regiment of Nassau and a large body of Cuirassiers, while a party of pioniers were endeavouring to repair the damaged bridge, in which they were constantly interrupted by the crowd of workmen. Some cannon were now brought forward and directed against the people. Upon which the crowd made a sudden rush, took possession of the cannon and threw two of them into the canal, and during this struggle, the Grenadiers went over to the National guard and Academic legion. General Breda who commanded the troops now ordered the regiment Nassau to advance and fire; he had however scarcely given the order, before he fell dead from his horse, struck by a well-directed bullet from one of the Grenadiers. A sharp fire now commenced between the Nassauer's on the one side, and the Grenadiers, National guards, and Academic legion on the other, in consequence of which the former were compelled to retire. At the same time a party of Cuirassiers who attempted to enter the city by the Tabor-strasse were fired on by the people, and their commanding officer and many of the privates killed.

The National guard and Academic legion now re-entered the city with the captured cannon, and at one o'clock in the afternoon, the National guard of the Karthner and Wimmel quarters took up their position in the Stephens-place, where they were hissed at and ridiculed by the crowd, they being suspected of conservative principles. At this moment the National guard of the Wiedner quarter entered the city through the Karthner gate, and in consequence of some mistake the Karthner and Wimmeler National guards fired on them; this was returned, and for some minutes a sharp fire was kept up on both sides, the Wiedner guards ultimately succeeded in making the others take to flight; and although more than a thousand shots were fired,

only two persons were killed and about twenty wounded. The consequences of this mistake were however most disastrous, the cry of "barricades" was instantly raised, and the people rushed to the public offices, which might have easily been defended had not the Grenadiers joined the people. In one of these the unfortunate Minister of War Latour, was discovered, and instantly murdered by the infuriated rabble, in spite of the attempted interference of several National guards. After exhausting their brutal rage upon the lifeless body of their victim, the mutilated and naked remains of the venerable minister were hanged upon a gas lamp, amidst the mingled jeers and execrations of his murderers. This frightful crime fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the population of Vienna; the more so as the provisional government which was subsequently established, made no attempt to discover or to punish its perpetrators.

The people now rushed to the arsenal to furnish themselves with weapons, but found an obstinate resistance from two companies of infantry which occupied the building. A furious attack of the people on the principal door having been repulsed by a discharge of grape shot, they proceeded to throw up barricades in front of the building, which they furnished with cannon, and then sent a flag of truce to induce the soldiers to submit. The bearers of this flag having been fired on by the military, the combat recommenced, cannon were placed on the Schottenbastei which commanded the rear of the building, and a heavy fire was opened on all sides. After a cannonade of three hours a breach was made in the wall, and the people obtained admission to a depôt of miscellaneous arms, which they emptied in a few minutes, but the main part of the building still continued in the possession of its defenders. The populace now set fire to a detached building in hopes of compelling the soldiers to surrender, this also failed, and hostilities again commenced and continued until the following morning, when the military despairing of relief surrendered. The people now streamed into the arsenal and furnished themselves with weapons; and thus was dispersed one of the finest collections of ancient arms in Europe.

The parliament now declared its sittings permanent, but although the Right or Conservative party, with a great part of the Centre or moderates did not appear, enough remained to render the sittings legal, and they entered into negotiations for mutual assistance with the Hungarian rebels. On the 7th. of October Vienna was completely in the power of the armed populace, that part of the garrison which remained faithful to the Emperor, having retired from the city, and taken up a position in the Schwartzenberg garden and in the Belvidere. At 7 o'clock in the morning, the Emperor guarded by about 6000 chosen troops, retired from his palace at Schönbrunn in the direction of Olmütz, leaving a manifesto addressed to the Minister Kraus, in which he declared that after having granted everything that could be reasonably

desired by his subjects, he saw himself compelled to again fly from his capital, which was filled with blood and rapine; and to oppose the insurrection which had thus shamelessly reared its head, by force of arms. And called on all the supporters of true freedom to rally round their Sovereign.

The 8th. and 9th. of October were passed by the Viennese in a strange chaos of mingled exultation and fear, the flight of the Emperor and the tone of his manifesto which seemed nothing less than a declaration of war against the new movement, filled the minds of the thinking part of the community with apprehension, while the populace abandoned themselves to the wildest expressions of joy at their victory; yet it required but little foresight to perceive that this triumph was somewhat premature, the majority of the garrison under Count Auersberg still held a threatening position close to the city, while a few days would be sufficient to enable Jellachich and Windischgrätz to unite their forces beneath the walls. These fears soon turned out to be well founded, Jellachich no sooner heard of the new outbreak in Vienna than he hastened to the support of his Sovereign, and marched with such rapidity than on the 9th. he had already arrived with his advanced guard of about 2000 men at Schwadorf within 16 miles of Vienna; but finding that the capital was completely in the hands of the insurgents, withdrew on the 11th. to Inzerdorf, where he took up his head quarters and waited for reinforcements.

On the 12th. Auersberg abandoned his position in the Schwartzenberg garden, and united his forces with those of the Ban, and other troops began rapidly to pour in from all sides. Prince Windischgrätz who had distinguished himself so greatly during the Revolt of Prague, was appointed to the chief command, and in few days his forces amounted to upwards of 120,000 men. These reinforcements enabled the Austrian army to extend itself to the island of Lobau on the Danube, an island celebrated in the history of Napoleon's campaigns, and thus to invest Vienna along the whole extent of its eastern and north-western aspects, and at the same time to interfere between the capital and any relief which the Hungarian rebels might attempt to afford to the insurgent citizens.

The Viennese did not however, lose all hope or confidence. The state of excitement within the town was great, and by a decision of the Parliament or rather of that part of it which acted in the name of the whole, every person in the city, even foreigners, were compelled to fight in the ranks of the rebels. The palace and other public buildings of the city were reported to be filled with gunpowder, and destined to be blown up the moment a hostile gun was fired against the town, and two imperial generals who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents were threatened with death in case of a bombardment. Both the city and suburbs were fortified with numerous barricades, many of which were of enormous height and thickness, and all were

be possible, after all that has passed — after my troops, without giving any provocation, have been fired upon since their very first appearance, — whether, I say, it be possible for me to enter Vienna with them — to enter that city which according to the assertions of all, swarms with armed and evil-minded men, before these men be disarmed, without immediately causing a bloody engagement in the streets? I ask whether those who offer me peace, who call upon me unhesitatingly to enter Vienna, even if they are sincere with me — whether, they would be able to command moderation and order in those who have for weeks, with arms in their hands terrorized the city?"

"It is my duty to inform the well disposed inhabitants of Vienna of what has occurred since the short time of my appearance here, as I am convinced that these events have been grossly misinterpreted. For several days, continued attacks have been made upon my troops, who are under orders to answer them only in case of the most urgent need, which has in fact already occurred in several places. The party which demands from his Majesty an amnesty for the authors of that unexampled deed of crime perpetrated on the minister of war Count Latour and even on his corpse — which demands the withdrawal of the troops so shamefully attacked — which made a proposition for the banishment of several members of the Imperial house, and declared the mission confided to me by the Emperor to be illegal — this party sends messengers of peace for the purpose of inducing me to enter the city with all my troops without any guarantee!"

Far from me be the thought of employing unnecessary compulsory measures; my heart is filled with grief that I am compelled to act hostilely against the capital of the monarchy; but I again ask the right-minded inhabitants of the city, if mediation is possible in the form proposed to me, and under such auspices?"

Prince Windischgrätz.

Head-quarters Hetzdorf, Oct. 25th.

Within the city all was anarchy and confusion, the armed populace would not hear of making terms, and neither the provisional Commandant Messenhauser, nor the Communal council, had any means of compelling them to submit to any treaty which they might make with the besieging force. Consequently, although the Prince had twice extended the time for deliberation no satisfactory answer could be obtained, and it was consequently determined that a general attack should take place on the morning of the 28th. The insurgents defended their outposts with great bravery. The battalion Schönhals which had to storm the barricade at the entrance of the Jägerzeil, and which was defended by 12 pieces of artillery, was almost completely destroyed. The barricade was subsequently taken by the chasseurs and grenadiers. Jellachich's chasseurs are reported to have taken thirty barricades in the Landstrasse within three hours, and their loss was consequently very severe. At dusk four different parts of the suburbs were observed

to be on fire, white flags were displayed at various points by the National guard but instantly torn down by the operatives, Messenhauser caused martial law to be proclaimed, and threatened with death all those who should shut their houses, while Prince Windischgrätz threatened with the same fate all who did not shut their doors and windows. During the ensuing night the Belvidere, the Schwartzenberg garden, and the whole of the suburb of St. Leopold were occupied by the troops, in order to afford a refuge to such of the inhabitants as might choose to avail themselves of it, in case it should be necessary to bombard the town.

On the 29th. at midday, the troops had gained the glacis — the great space which intervenes between the old city and the suburbs, and the prodigious breadth of which converted into public walks, is the great peculiarity of Vienna. This induced the Municipal council to send a deputation to the prince to ask if he would refrain from proclaming martial law in the event of the city surrendering. This he declined promising and demanded unconditional submission, upon which at the recommendation of Messenhauser, the Municipal council, the National guard, and the Academic legion determined on laying down their arms, while the Mobile guard on the contrary determined to resist to the last. A deputation accordingly repaired to the prince to inform him of their unconditional submission, and the following proclamation was immediately posted in the streets:

"Citizens! The Commander-in-Chief of the National guard has communicated to the Municipal council the intelligence that the National guard as well the Academic legion have resolved to throw down their arms and submit to the conditions imposed by Prince Windischgrätz. A deputation composed of members of the Municipal council, and of the National guard, has repaired to the prince for the purpose of making this communication to him.

The Municipal Council of the city of Vienna.
Vienna Oct. 29th. 1848."

What a night must this have been for the pleasure-loving Viennese! Their favorite promenades converted into a camp, the gardens in which they had been accustomed to listen to the strains of their well conducted orchestras, dotted with batteries which frowned open-mouthed upon their own domiciles, the darkness only relieved by the watch-fires of the Croats, the silence only broken by the pass-word of an enemy's sentinel, the heavy step of the patrole, the occasional discharge of a fire-lock, or the booming of a gun. Within the city all was anarchy and disorder, the armed rabble irritated at the approaching downfall of their cause, raised the cry that they were betrayed and sold, and indulged in the most frightful threats against Messenhauser, and the Municipal council. On the 30th. Prince Windischgrätz offered the insurgents the following terms: —

and at last the barricade was carried at the point of the bayonet, and eight guns were captured. After this first success they forced the gates both at the Burg-thor and Kärnthner-thor, carried the palace by assault, and occupied the Kärnthner-street and the square of St. Stephen in the very heart of the city. At six o'clock the bombardment ceased, but the Imperial library and museum, the church of the Augustins and part of the palace were on fire, and it was with difficulty that the troops saved these buildings from total destruction. The fire in the Imperial library was not quite extinguished until the next day, and the gallery of natural history suffered almost irreparably. The spire and roof of the church of the Augustins broke down, but the fine monument of Canova was but little injured. The palace of Count Kollowrat and many private buildings also became the prey of the flames.

When the troops had thus gained the heart of the city, the Poles, students, and deserters, who despaired of mercy, retired to the Salzgrier barracks and the university, which they fortified, taking in cannon to defend themselves. They demanded a full and complete amnesty as the price of their surrender; but the first of these buildings was taken by storm, and at the latter no resistance was made, the greater part of the students having escaped and concealed themselves in the city as they best could.

Great was the terror which now took possession of the party which had so long usurped the powers of the legitimate government. The slouched and plumed hats which since the days of March had been "the only wear," gave place at once to the old fashioned "cylinders;" the tri-coloured scarfs, ribbons, and cockades, vanished altogether, and every barber in Vienna was employed in removing the beards and long hair which formed one of the distinguishing marks of the ultra-democrats; and such was the change in outward appearance which many of them exhibited, that their most intimate acquaintances could only recognise them by their voices. The houses were now searched and an immense number of arrests took place, and every body who appeared in the streets wore their best clothes, for fear of being taken for one of the Mobile guard, against whom the military showed extreme bitterness.

On the second of November, Prince Windischgrätz issued a proclamation to the effect that although the city had announced its surrender on the 30th. the terms of the capitulation having been most shamefully broken, he decreed that Vienna, with its suburbs and environs was to the distance of two miles, were in a state of siege. The National guard, and Academic legion were to be dissolved. A general disarmament, to be executed within forty-eight hours after the proclamation, after which any one found in possession of weapons would be arrested and tried by a court-martial. All newspapers and clubs were suspended; and it was forbidden for more than ten persons to assemble in the streets.

The parliament was prorogued and declared to be an illegal assembly, a new ministry was named, of which Baron Wessenberg was the president, Prince Felix Schwartzenberg minister for foreign affairs; Bach, of the interior; Buchner, war; Helfert, public instruction; and Bruck, commerce. All foreigners and Austrians who were not residents were expelled from the city, and General Cordon was appointed commandant. Prince Windischgrätz established his head-quarters in the palace at Schönbrunn, and the Banus Jellachich in the palace D'Este. Of the immense number of prisoners, thousands were destined to serve as private soldiers in the campaign which has since followed against the Hungarians; a sad lot for these foolish young men.

On the 4th. of November, Prince Windischgrätz and Jellachich established their quarters in the palace. The inner city as well as part of the suburbs presented at this period a frightful picture of destruction. Many houses from which the insurgents had continued to fire after the troops were in possession of the city, were broken into and plundered, in addition to such as had been devastated by the rebels or damaged by the bombardment. All the public places and squares were occupied by soldiers, and as night set in groups of semi-barbarous Croats were to be seen sitting round their watch-fires, singing national airs; their rude features and picturesque costume being brought into bold relief by the contrasts of light and shade. Even the Cathedral of St. Stephen was used as quarters for soldiers, and the palace of the archbishop was taken possession of by the officers of the staff.

On the same day Blum and Fröbel the deputies from Frankfort who had come to assure the rebels of the sympathy of the left or ultra radical section of the legislative assembly in that city, and had afterwards borne arms against the imperial troops, were arrested; and a placard was published calling on all persons who might shelter in their houses either Messenhauser, Bem, Pullsky, Schütte or Fenneberg to deliver them up in six hours. In case of contravention they were threatened with a trial by court-marshal; and it was intimated that Prince Windischgrätz had made dependant on the arrest of these individuals the restoration of the free communication between the city and the suburbs. Messenhauser was arrested in the course of the day, but the others had already effected their escape or remained concealed in the city.

On the 8th. of November, the Municipal council issued a proclamation stating that free intercourse between the city and suburbs was restored from five in the morning till seven o'clock in the evening. Prince Windischgrätz who had at first prohibited the publication of all daily papers, now relaxed his rigour, and one after another the Presse, the Gierzel (Scourge) and the Austrian Lloyd made their appearance. Great members of the inhabitants of Vienna who had left the city since the sixth of October, now returned to their homes. General Welden was appointed governor of Vienna, and Prince Windischgrätz

took up his head quarters at Hetzendorf, previous to commencing the campaign against the Hungarians.

On the morning of this day the sentence of the court-marshal on Robert Blum was carried into execution; he was sentenced to be hanged, but as the official report stated "in the temporary want of an executioner it was carried into effect by powder and lead." His death was a severe loss to the ultra democratic party in Germany, but was probably a fortunate circumstance for the cause of rational freedom. His companion Fröbel was also sentenced to death; but his comparative insignificance recommended him to mercy, and he escaped with the fright. He was conducted by a policeman to the frontier, and there set at liberty. On the 16th. of November, Messenhauser, the provisional commandant during the outbreak, was shot in the city trenches; and many others of the more prominent leaders of the revolt shared the same fate. Others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Thus ended a contest the result of which must be gratifying to every lover of true liberty, and to every friend of the human race; and can only be mortifying to the demagogues who would use the passions of the people as the means of their own personal ambltion, and to their ignorant and misguided tools. The Emperor hastened to quiet the minds of the friends of constitutional freedom by the avowal of the firm intention of abiding by the constitution which he had granted to his people, but he never again returned to his capital. His health which had long been in a declining state was so shaken by the occurrences of the last year, that he resigned his crown in favour of his nephew the present Emperor, and retired to Prague, where he continues to reside as a private individual.

Having thus concluded our necessarily brief sketch of the historical events of which the Austrian capital has been the scene, and more especially of those which have lately attracted the attention of the whole civilised world in that direction, we proceed to describe the city itself, and the most important objects of interest which it contains.

Vienna is situated on the north side of a gentle eminence, on the right bank of an arm of the Danube, and has been since the reign of Maximilian I., the residence of the sovereign of the Austrian states, and also the seat of the government of the province of Lower Austria, in which it is situated. It is also the seat of an Archbishop and of a protestant consistorial court. Including its thirty-four suburbs, it contains a population of 420,000 inhabitants, about 9000 houses, some of which are of enormous size; 34 churches, 19 chapels, and 25 monasteries. It is usually garrisoned by about 20,000 soldiers, and before the revolution about 5000 foreigners on the average, resided in the city and suburbs. The city itself lies nearly in the centre of the nu-

merous suburbs, from which it is divided by the glacis, a space of ground about 600 paces wide, which is laid out in a most tasteful manner in public gardens, and which gives to the city a peculiar character which distinguishes it from any other capital in Europe. The greater part of the ancient wall and bastions also remain, but that part of the fortifications destroyed by the French on their retreat in 1809, has not been restored, and the space has been laid out in public walks and gardens, and the town is consequently no longer in a condition to withstand an attack by regular troops. The streets in the old town as in most ancient cities are narrow and crooked, but they are well paved with granite, and kept remarkably clean, at night they are well lighted with gas, and pavements for foot passengers are in the course of formation. The old town contains 127 streets or lanes, 9 squares or open spaces of different dimensions, 1320 houses which are massively build and for the most part seven stories high, and 64,000 inhabitants. The suburbs are build with some approach to regularity, the streets are broad and straight, and the numerous seats of the nobility and wealthy merchants, give them an air of wealth and importance. They are upon the whole tolerably well paved and lighted, and are surrounded by a wall and ditch, constructed in 1703 to defend them from the Hungarian rebels. Through these "lines" the city is approached by twelve gates, at which a tax is levied on all provisions brought into the town The brook called the Wien flows through part of these suburbs and is crossed by two bridges of stone, a chain bridge, and many smaller ones of wood for foot passengers. The canal by means of which a large quantity of provisions and fuel is conveyed to the city is also crossed by several bridges, and on each side are paved quays.

Of the bridges which connect the city with the island on which the suburbs called the Leopoldstadt, and Jägerzeil are situated, the most remarkable is that called the Ferdinand's bridge, from the first stone having been laid by the crown-prince, it is situated immediately in front of the Rothen-thurm Gate, and is not less remarkable for the boldness of the design and the solidity of its construction, than for the immense traffic which is constantly passing over it. It was completed in the year 1819. The suburbs on the south side of the city are supplied with water from a distance of about four miles by means of iron pipes, which distribute their contents through the medium of twelve public fountains, this useful work was completed at the expense of Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen and his consort the Archduchess Christine. There are also the Emperor Ferdinand's Waterworks, in which water is forced up from a basin at Nussdorf by means of several steam engines for the supply of the capital. There are also numerous artesian wells in various parts of the city and suburbs. The drainage of Vienna is better than that of most continental cities, and there are numerous sewers both in the city and suburbs which

carry off the refuse into the Danube. The climate in Vienna is somewhat changeable and on the average there are not more than forty calm days in the year. One of the most disagreeable circumstances attending a residence in Vienna is the continual dust, which produces numerous diseases of the eyes and chest. The most healthy parts of Vienna are the south and south-eastern suburbs.

Vienna is rich in splendid public buildings, as also in large and well built private houses. One of the most favorite resorts of the fashionables of Vienna, is the street called the Graben, which may be considered as the Regent street of the Austrian capital. Here are the most elegant shops, in which all kinds of articles of luxury are exposed for sale; in the centre of the street is the pillar erected by Leopold I. in gratitude for the ceasing of the plague in the year 1679, which had swept away upwards of 70,000 persons. It is dedicated to the Trinity, and represents a number of allegorical personages in the midst of which is the Emperor Leopold. Little can be said of the taste displayed in the composition, which is the work of an artist named Burnacini. At each end of the Graben is a fountain, which like the pillar in the centre is by no means remarkable for beauty. Among the open spaces in the city the new Burgplatz and the Franzensplatz or inner Burgplatz deserve to be noticed. The first of these squares is 950 feet long and about half as wide, and is decorated with a beautiful alley of trees. The latter is an oblong square and contains a monument to the memory of Francis I., erected in 1846. After the Burgplatz the Hof is one of the most remarkable squares, it takes its name from the Hofburg or palace of Duke Heinrich Jasomirgott, having formerly stood here. It is decorated with a pillar erected to the honour of the holy virgin by the Emperor Leopold I., in 1667. It is of metal, 24 feet in height, and surmounted by a statue of St. Mary with a dragon at her feet, and at the base are four angels engaged in combat with monsters. It is surrounded by a balustrade of marble, and is but of small value as a work of art. At a short distance on either side of this pillar is a fountain decorated with groups of allegorical figures rather above the size of life, executed at the expense of the corporation in 1812. In this square is held a market for fruit and vegetables every day in the week with the exception of sunday, and the regimental bands play three times a week during the summer season.

The square called the Hohe Markt is of an oblong form and is decorated with a monument in the form of a temple, composed of four corinthian columns, under which are figures representing the marriage of Joseph and Mary. Over the summit the holy ghost hovers in the form of a dove surrounded by gilded rays, and at each corner of the monument is a figure the size of life, bearing an hymeneal trophy; the base is decorated with four bas-reliefs and an inscription stating that it was erected by the Emperor Charles VI., in the year 1732.

The Josephs-platz takes its name from the Emperor Joseph II., and is adorned with an equestrian statue of that monarch, erected by Francis I., to the memory of his renowned uncle. He is represented in Roman costume, with a crown of laurel on his head his left hand holding the bridle and his right stretched out with a gesture of command; the horse was cast in the year 1800 and the figure in 1803, the latter if standing would be upwards of 13 feet high. The statue stands on a pedestal of dark grey granite, on each side of which is a bas-relief, the one representing agriculture and the other commerce, both of which like the statue are cast in bronze, the entire height of the monument is thirty-three feet. At the cornice of the pedestal are four pillars commemorating the most important events in the life of the Emperor. It was completed in the year 1805, and is one of the best works of the kind in Europe.

The other squares are the Stephans-platz by the cathedral, the Michaelsplatz, the Stock im Eisen, so called from the trunk of a tree about seven feet high, which is covered with iron nails and is the last remains of the forest which once occupied the site of the city, the Franciscanerplatz before the convent of St. Francis which contains a fountain representing Moses striking the rock, and some others of less importance.

The Burg, or imperial palace, is situated at the south-west side of the city near the bastions, and consists of several buildings of various ages, and different styles of architecture, and consequently has no pretentions to beauty in its general effect, but the four inner sides of the principal buildings form a handsome court-yard 180 paces long and 105 broad. There are also two smaller courts. The building on the eastern side of the palace is the most ancient, and was erected in the beginning of the thirteenth century by Leopold III., Duke of Austria. In 1275 it was much injured by fire, and Ottokar II. king of Bohemia and duke of Austria immediately commenced repairing it, but the works were suspended in consequence of his death, and they were not completed until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Ferdinand I. had his residence here from 1536 to 1552, and made some alterations and improvements, as did also the empress Maria Theresa. On the third floor of this building are the apartments occupied by the last emperor.

The building on the south side was commenced in 1660 by Leopold I., but was burnt to the ground in 1668, and restored in 1690. In this part are the apartments dedicated to state ceremonies and festivities, and Joseph II. in order to gain more space for these purposes erected the additional wing in 1805. In the middle building is the guard room, before which stand two pieces of cannon; and here at 11 in the day, a company of grenadiers with flying colours and music, relieve the guard.

The western building is called the Amalien-Hof, from its having been first inhabited by Amalia the widow of Leopold I. Leopold II. inhabited this wing during his short reign, but it is now devoted to the reception of distinguished visitors.

Although the exterior of the Burg is inferior in appearance to the palaces of most great potentates, the interior is fitted up with great magnificence, but contains nothing that is not usually found in such buildings, such as tables of lapis lazuli, large mirrors, gilded furniture etc. etc. A part of the palace may be reckoned the chancery office, and the imperial riding-school and library. The first of these buildings is one of the finest in Austria; it was erected in 1728, from the design of Fischer von Erlach, and occupies the whole of one side of the Burg-platz. Up to 1807, it was really the chancery office of the German empire, but since that time has been used as a residence for members of the imperial family and court officials. It is a nobly proportioned building, four stories high; in the centre is a large balcony of white marble, and in the pediment the arms of Charles VI. At each end is a large arched gateway over which is also a balcony of marble, and on each side on the front towards the Burg-platz are colossal figures of stone representing the labours of Hercules. These groups are by Lorenzo Matthieli and deserve the attention of the spectator.

The riding-school adjoins the old part of the palace, its front being in the Michaels-platz. It was built in 1729 by Charles VI., and is a large handsome building. The interior is surrounded by a gallery resting on forty-six pillars, and at one end is a box for the imperial family. On great occasions balls are given in this building. Beside it is the summer riding-school, an open court-yard, and here the princes of the imperial family and the gentlemen of the court are in the habit of riding between 10 and 1 in the forenoon, the public being admitted as spectators.

The imperial library adjoins the palace, occupying one side of the Josephs-platz. On the summit of the building is a statue of Minerva in a triumphal car, treading beneath the feet of her horses the figures of ignorance and envy: at each end of the building is a figure of atlas with the world on his shoulders, and beside him two figures representing science and astronomy. The library has two entrances, one from the palace, which is sacred to the court, and the other for the public, which is at the corner of the Josephs-platz. On entering the first objects which meet the eye are some roman antiquities, stones with inscriptions busts etc. and on passing, these, a noble staircase.

The imperial library adjoins the palace, from which there is a separate entrance, and occupies the whole of one side of the Josephs-platz. It is, or rather was, one of the most elegant buildings in Vienna both externally and internally; but at present is little better than a heap of ruins. On the 31st. of October at the moment that the mi-

litary became masters of the city, this building was discovered to be in flames, according to some accounts ignited by the rockets of the besiegers, and according to others fired by the mob. But whatever was the origin of the fire, the building has received so much injury that it will be necessary to almost entirely rebuild it; but the loss and injury to the vast accumulation of rare and valuable books and manuscripts in this superb collection, is such as can never be replaced.

Immediately before the palace is the Burg-thor (Palace gate) which is the most beautiful of the twelve entrances into the city. It is an extremely chaste and elegant structure, presenting on either side a colonnade of twelve Doric columns. In consequence of the desperate resistance made at this gate to the entrance of the military, it suffered severely from the cannon shot of the assailants and the barricade which filled the spaces between the pillars was taken by storm.

Of the religious structures in Vienna by far the most remarkable is the Cathedral of St. Stephen, one of the best specimens of ancient German architecture extant. It was commenced by Henry II. duke of Austria, in **1144**, the side being at that time without the walls of the city. The work proceeded with such rapidity under the direction of the architect Octavian Wolzner, that in **1147** it was consecrated by Bishop Reimbert, and declared by its founder to be the metropolitan church of his dominions. The choir by the principal entrance and the two foremost towers are the venerable remains of this ancient structure. In **1258**, **1265**, and **1270**, the building was greatly injured by successive outbreaks of fire, and in the latter year king Ottokar of Bohemia ordered the church to be thoroughly repaired and remodelled, and this work was already completed when Rudolph of Habsburg the founder of the imperial family of Austria, returned thanks within its walls for his victory over that prince. Later two chapels were added, and in **1326** the chapel of the holy cross on the right, was erected by Ulrich of Tirna. The baptismal chapel on the left was built a few years later by Albert II., who commenced enlarging the lower part of the building; but the present appearance of the church at least as far as the plan is concerned, is owing to Rudolph IV. He not alone completed the improvements began by Albert, but also commenced some new additions in the upper part of the building, and erected the Thekla and Frauenchoirs, the first stone of which he laid on the 7th. of April **1339**. Shortly afterwards he commenced the two lofty towers; and the name of the architect was according to tradition, George Hausern of Klosterneuburg. This talented master placed the towers on each side of the building, as the towers in front were already completed, and brought the tower on the eastern side to two-thirds of its present height. After his death in **1400**, the work was continued during several years in such a slovenly and unscientific manner, that it was necessary to remove it, when at length a man had been found,

who was able to carry out the ideas of the designer. This was Antony Pilgram of Brunn who commenced his labours in 1407, and 26 years afterwards, four days after Michaelmas, in 1433, he completed the tower, which is remarkable for its light and graceful appearance.

His successor was Johann Buchsbaum, who laboured from 1446 to 1454, with untiring energy to complete the upper part of the church, which had been commenced by Rudolph, but was completed by king Matthias of Hungary, who was at that time in possession of Vienna, and who also commenced the still unfinished tower. In 1511, at which time Gregory Hauser was the architect, the works were suspended, and in 1579 the unfinished tower was covered with a cupola. Since this time the church has remained almost without alteration; but the buildings which formerly enclosed the church and prevented its beautiful proportions from being seen, have been removed. This occurred on the occasion of the coronation of Francis I., who on his return from Frankfort, forbad the erection of triumphal arches, and suggested the employment of the money in this more useful manner.

In the year 1365, St. Stephen's was raised from a parish church which it had hitherto been, to the rank of a collegiate church, and in 1468 to that of a cathedral and the seat of a bishop. In 1726, through the intercession of Charles VI., the prelate of Vienna was raised to the dignity of an archbishop. His suffragans are the bishops of Lintz and St. Pölten, and he has a chapter of twelve canons, of whom four are appointed by the emperor, four by the heir apparent, and four by the representative of the Liechtenstein family; the church having been endowed by the princess Emanuels von Liechtenstein.

The cathedral of St. Stephen is one of the finest examples of ecclasiastical architecture in the Austrian empire, it is built throughout of squared stones, which are united to each other with iron cramps. It is 114 yards in length, its breadth between the two great towers is 74 yards, and the width of the front 48. The pillars which support the vaulted roof give an air of great lightness to the interior, over which 31 windows of stained glass, throw a dim religious light: above the vaulted ceiling spring two pyramidical roofs, that of the front part of the church is thirty-five, and that of the hinder part twenty-two yards in height. Both are covered with glazed tiles, enameled with white, red, and green, and which especially on a moonlight night have a most surprising effect. Besides the principal entrance, the cathedral has four others, two on each side; the great, or as it is generally called the giant entrance, is in the front of the building which belongs to the original church of Henry Jasomirgott, and shows evident traces of the Byzantine style of architecture which prevailed in the fourteenth century; and the figure of Christ as well as the other sculptures which adorn the portal are well worth the attention of the connoisseur. Above the entrance rises a large pointed window which reaches nearly to the parapet, and the front is flanked by towers which

rise but little higher than the summit of the roof. The chapel of the holy cross on the left, and that of St. Eligius on the right, form the wings of the principal front. At the corner of these chapels are to be seen statues of Rudolph IV. and his consort, which are supposed to be the work of Heinrich Rumph, and Christoph Horn. On the side of the Eligius chapel is the singers' door, in the hall of which the conversion and martyrdom of St. Paul, are exquisitely sculptured in stone. From this place a few steps bring the spectator to the door under the great tower. The entrance hall is decorated with well executed sculptures from the life of Christ, and there is also a mount of olives, and at the end of the church are thirteen Alto-relievos representing the sufferings of the redeemer, they were executed in the thirteenth century and are but of indifferent workmanship; and there are numerous other pieces of carving in other parts of the building.

The interior of the church is well adapted to produce a religious awe upon the mind as we enter. Eighteen lofty columns support the vaulted ceiling, and separate the nave from the side aisles. These are all of equal breath, but the nave is loftier than the side aisles. The columns are decorated in the manner usual in gothic architecture, and are besides ornamented with bas-reliefs. The high altar was erected by Count Frederic von Breuner, bishop of Vienna, and is the work of the sculptor Johann Boch; it is of black Polish marble and is decorated with eleven statues; and was completed in 1640. The altar-piece is by Tobias Boch the brother of the former, it represents the stoning of Stephen, and it belongs to the most preferable of the works of German art of that period. To the right of the high-altar is seen the richly ornamented door leading to the sacristy, above which is an alabaster statue of Pope Pius VI., and on the opposite side a similar door leads to the treasury, on either side is a screen which is beautifully carved, and contains busts of all the bishops of Vienna down to bishop Breuner. On leaving the marble balustrade which incloses these screens and the high-altar, we see the richly carved stalls, above which is the imperial oratorium, and on the opposite side the music choir, containing an excellent organ. On either side of the high-altar is a smaller one; that on the right was erected in 1723, and that on the left in 1728. Leaving these we arrive at the altar of the Passion, which has a fire altar-piece by Sandrart, and before which is the splendid sarcophagus of the emperor Frederic the third, one of the greatest master-pieces of the famous sculptor of Strasburg Nicholas Lech. It is of marble and is surrounded by a railing of the same material, which is of wonderfully delicate workmanship; the tomb itself stands on two steps of marble and is 12 feet long by 6 feet 2 inches broad. The sides are divided into compartment in which are sculptures portraying the principal events in the life of the emperor, and every part of the surface is decorated with the most elaborate ornament representing birds and animals, and also no less than thirty shields

representing the arms of the various possessions of the house of Austria. On the top of the tomb is the figure of the emperor surrounded by the armorial bearings of Austria, the house of Habsburg, and the German empire on his left hand, or a flying scroll are the letters A. E. I. O. V. which he used as his motto, and are supposed to indicate the words, "Aller Ehren Ist Oesterreich Voll," *Austria is full of all honours.* On his right hand is the monogram with which he used to sign his decrees, and above his head are figures of St. Christopher and the infant Jesus. On either side of this imperial tomb, are several others of bishops and dignitaries of the church.

It would far exceed our space to describe a tythe of the numerous pictures, tombs, and works of sculpture, which decorate this cathedral, suffice it to say that it contains 38 altars, many which are extremely rich, and are for the most part in the style prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; that many of the pictures are good, and many of the tombs extremely curious.

The church has four towers, of which the two in front of the building are part of the church of Henry Jasomirgott, and were completed in 1168, they are built throughout of stone and decorated with statues, and their height is about 180 feet. These towers contain six bells, of which the largest weighs upwards of four tons, and was cast in 1772. On the eastern side of the church rises the great tower, 428 feet in height. It leans perceptibly towards the north, and the point of the steeple is upwards of three feet out of the perpendicular. An eagle of copper surmounted by a cross of the same material forms the summit of the tower, and at some distance a circle of twelve pinnacles forms a kind of collar round the steeple, and here is shown the seat from which Count Rüdiger von Stahremberg the defender of the city against the Turks during the second siege, used to watch the motions of the enemy, and from this place Messenhauser during the last siege watched in vain for the Hungarians. As memorials of the Turkish siege cannon shot are to be seen built into the tower in various places. The clock which is in this tower is very large, and for the purpose of regulating it, there is a meridian line in the tower, which was made in 1742 by the Jesuit Franz. The tower is ascended by 553 steeps of stone, and 200 of wood, the uppermost portion is only to be reached by ladders.

In this tower hangs the great bell which Joseph I. caused to be cast out of Turkish cannon, as a trophy of the raising of the siege by the Grand Vizier. It weighs 354 cwt. and its clapper 1300 lbs. It is only sounded on the occasion of some unusual ceremonies of the church. As in most ancient churches it was intended that St. Stephens should have two towers; but as in numerous other cases, the great cost of these appurtenances induced the builders to confine themselves to completing one. The second tower of St. Stephens has been carried to the height of about 150 feet and then abandoned; it at present

terminates in a cupola, covered with copper. In this tower hangs only one bell, weighing 208½ cwt.

The subterraneous part of the church consists of thirty arched vaults, which are used as catacombs, and the most remarkable of which is the "Fürstengruft," or imperial mausoleum. It was founded by Duke Rudolph IV. in 1365, and up to 1576 was used as the last resting place of the Austrian princes; but from this time many emperors and dukes chose their graves elsewhere, and this mausoleum fell into disuse for upwards of a century, and was only again discovered by accident. By the order of Ferdinand III., the bowels of all members of the imperial house since his time, are preserved here in copper urns, their hearts are placed in the Loretto-chapel of the church of the Augustines, and their bodies in the vault in the church of the Capuchins. In the year 1754, the empress Maria Theresa caused the vault in St. Stephens to be enlarged, and the remains of her ancestors to be transferred to copper coffins. The old vault is of an oblong form and is decorated with curious old sculpture; the modern addition is of an oval shape.

The finest church in Vienna with the exception of St. Stephens, is undoubtedly that of St. Charles of Borromea, in the suburb of the Wieden, which was erected by Charles the VI., in the years between 1715 and 1733. It was erected in consequence of a vow of the emperor, during the plague which visited Vienna in 1713. It is from the design of Fischer von Erlach. A flight of eleven steps leads to the portico, which consists of six Corinthian columns, in the pediment above which the circumstances of the plague are represented in sculpture; and beneath in golden letters, is the inscription: "Vota mea reddam in conspectu timentium Deum."

On each side of the portal stands an isolated Doric column, on which are sculptured the acts of St. Charles; each column contains a staircase by which persons can ascend to the summit. At the top of each pillar is a cupola containing a bell, and at the corners of the pedestals are eagles of gilded bronze with outstretched wings; farther back on both sides of the church are buildings in the form of triumphal arches. The body of the church is surmounted by an octagonal dome covered with copper and terminating in a lantern. The interior is richly decorated with sculpture and painting, the holy Charles of Borromea, kneeling on clouds preparatory to his ascent to heaven, forms the high-altar, which is of white marble. The side chapels contain some good pictures, and the cupola is painted by Rothmayer.

The other more remarkable churches in Vienna are, the church of the redemptionists in Maria-Stieger, completed in 1412, and recently restored; it contains several beautiful altars, among which are two sculptured in the old German manner, and some excellent specimens of glass painting. The Italian church, in which is to be seen the beautiful mosaic picture of the last supper copied from the original

of Leonardo da Vinci. The church of the Augustine which contains Canova's celebrated monument, was almost entirely destroyed by the late bombardment; but fortunately the monument escaped injury. The churches in the suburbs are all modern, but many of them will repay a visit, especially that of the Virgin at Mariahilf, with its wonder-working picture.

The bastions which surrounded the old city, are since their partial destruction by the French, no longer regarded as fortifications, and have been laid out in numerous agreeable walks and gardens for the use of the public. The most favorite re-union for the fashionable portion of the Viennese, is the Paradies-garden on the Löwen-Bastei (*Lion bastion*), from which an excellent prospect is obtained of the glacis and the adjoining suburbs. Here is one of the most elegant and best frequented coffee houses of Vienna, and near it a kiosk from which on summer evenings is heard the tones of an excellent orchestra. In the centre of the garden is a building called the temple of Theseus, containing the great masterpiece of Canova, representing the victory of Theseus over the Centaur. This magnificent group was designed by Canova in 1805, but not completed in marble until 1819. It represents the hero at the moment in which he has overthrown his monstrous enemy and raises his club to despatch him. Nothing can be finer than the contrast between the noble form of the hero and that of his half human adversary, who although overthrown still tries to recover the advantage, and to avoid the death-stroke of the victor.

The temple itself is in every respect worthy of the treasure it contains. It is a copy of the well known building of the same name at Athens, is of the Doric order, and has ten pillars on the longer sides and six on the shorter. It is 76 feet in length and 43 in breadth, and in the catacombs are exhibited many antiquities; as sarcophagi, urns, etc. The garden is laid out in regular alleys; between which are grass plats, beds of flowers, etc. etc.

The university of Vienna (the students of which have attracted so much attention, during the late events, and who for a time usurped the authority of the government), is situated in the University-platz, and is a large oblong pile of building of handsome exterior. On each side of the principal entrance are fountains, and it has two stories besides the ground floor, and above these is the observatory. On the first floor is the Aula, where the students held their meeting during the revolution, and which meetings possessed infinitely more power than those of the legally constituted Diet or parliament. It is a large and handsome apartment, the ceiling is painted by Guglielmi, and on the walls are allegorical paintings of the sciences. The groundwork of the university was laid in 1237, by the foundation of a school for latin in Vienna, in which philosophy and the *belles lettres* were also taught. Duke Rudolph IV. raised it to the rank of a high-school, and caused instructions to be given in medicine and law. His successor

added the study of theology in 1384; and various alterations in the modes of teaching took place from time to time in accordance with the advancing knowledge of the times; until in 1662 the emperor Ferdinand II., placed it entirely under the direction of the Jesuits, who conducted it on their peculiar principles. In 1756 the university was completely remodeled. Gerhard van Swieten having formed a new plan of study, his ideas were adopted by the empress Maria Theresa; who resolved in addition, to erect the present building for the greater convenience of the professors and students. The building was commenced in 1753, and finished in 1755; and on the 5th. of April 1756, the new university was opened with the usual solemnities.

Since the expulsion of the Jesuits, and especially during the reign of the emperor Francis, many improvements have been made in the plan of education, by increasing the number of professors, who in 1846 amounted to 56, with 28 assistants. In connection with the university are two seminaries, one for catholic and another for protestant clergymen; a botanical garden, an anatomical and chirurgical museum; a veterinary school, an observatory, etc. Previous to the revolution the university was attended by upwards of 2000 regular pupils, while the number of poor students, who did not contribute to the funds of the university were scarcely less numerous. At present (1849) the university is closed, and the students in consequence of the part they took in the revolution, are either serving as recruits in the Austrian army, are prisoners in the fortresses, or fugitives from their native land.

Besides the university, Vienna is rich in institutions for the advancement of various branches of learning and science, at the head of which stands the imperial academy founded by the emperor Francis I. in 1846, with the truly noble dotation of 40,000 Florins yearly. It is divided into three classes, which devote themselves to the study of mathematics, natural-history and philology; with a president, a vice-president, and 42 members, under the curatorship of the Archduke John. There is besides the Oriental academy, which is intended for the education of young men for the office of interpreters in the east; the Josephinum where surgeons for the army are educated; and numerous others, which our want of space prevents us from noticing.

Vienna is famous for the gaiety of its inhabitants, who after the fatigues of the day give themselves up to the amusements which are provided for them in countless variety, both in the city and its delightful environs. Few of the 1500 taverns with which the city and suburbs are studded, are without music, and many of these bands are truly excellent. During the carnival not less than 800 public balls take place. For the admirers of the drama there are five theatres, of which the first in rank is the Hof-theatre near the palace, which is devoted to what is usually called the legitimate drama. The next is the Kärnthner-theatre, for the performance of operas and ballets, a

class of performances better adapted to the taste of the pleasure loving Viennese than the more serious productions of the muses. The exterior of neither of these theatres is worthy of the metropolis of Austria, nor to be compared for a moment to those of Berlin, Munich, or Dresden, and the interiors although convenient and well adapted for the purposes for which they are intended, are by no means remarkable for splendour.

On the other hand the performances are generally excellent, and in the last named theatre have been celebrated some of the greatest triumphs both of German and Italian music. Besides these, there is the Leopoldstadt-theatre, which was entirely rebuilt in 1847. The Carls-theatre for farces and vaudevilles; and several other smaller theatres in the suburbs. The fireworks on the Prater are among the most popular amusements of the Viennese, and excursions and pic-nic parties in the romantic environs of the city, are frequent during the summer season. The most brilliant period of the year in Vienna is the spring, before the nobility betake themselves to their country residences, and at this time the Prater can boast a diplay of equipages which is only to be rivaled by that in Hyde-park during the London season. This favorite resort of the inhabitants of Vienna is situated on an island in the Danube, beginning at the suburb called Leopoldstadt, and bounded on all sides by the river; it is upwards of three miles in length, and consists mostly of wood, varied by large lawns, and divided throughout its whole length by a noble avenue of horse-chestnut trees. During the height of the season this avenue is often completely thronged with carriages, forming a line from the end of the drive to the Stephansplatz in the city, a distance of more than four English miles.

On the left of the avenue is the Wurlstprater, a complete village of taverns, small theatres, show-booths, etc.; while to the right a continuation of the main avenue leads to the great Augarden, a wood behind the Leopoldstadt which has more avenues than the Prater itself, and is interspersed with numerous gardens and open spaces. Adjoining the Augarden is the Brigittenau, a large meadow with clumps of trees, but which is rapidly becoming covered with houses, forming a new suburb. Besides the Prater the glacis or esplanade between the old city and the suburbs affords numerous pleasant walks, open lawns, and shady allees, and in addition to these the splendid gardens belonging to the imperial palace called the Belvedere, and those of the Schwartzenberg palace are always open to the public.

The first of these palaces was founded by the famous prince Eugene of Savoy in the year 1693, and completed in 1724, here this greatest of the Austrian generals resided during the most brilliant period of his career, at his death it was purchased by the Court, and after being applied to various purposes, the imperial collection of pictures was deposited here in 1776. The palace is divided into two

parts, the upper and lower Belvedere, the former of which lies on a height which commands an extensive prospect of Vienna and its environs, it is approached by a double flight of steps and the principal front is grand and noble in the extreme. Behind the palace lies the garden, which is laid out in flower beds without trees, and behind this is the lower Belvedere, which is smaller and less noble in appearance than the upper.

The Schwartzenberg palace lies in the immediate neighbourhood of the Belvedere. The garden is one of the finest in the environs of Vienna. It has noble orangeries, fountains, and all the other luxurious appliances usually found in the palaces of the great. In this garden the garrison of Vienna after retiring from the city during the late outbreak, remained some days, previous to uniting itself with Jellachich.

One of the finest suburbs of Vienna is that called Leopoldstadt, the rapidly increasing population of which rendered it necessary in 1828 to provide for a more direct communication with the city; for this purpose the beautiful suspension bridge called the Carlsbrücke, from the Archduke Charles who laid the first stone, was erected in that year. It is an extremely light and elegant structure, but is only intended for foot passengers. It is upwards of 100 yards in length and forms an approach to the most favorite resorts of the citizens, as the Augarden, the Prater, etc.

Having now noticed the principal points in the city and suburbs, it only remains to add that the country around Vienna yields in picturesque beauty to the environs of no capital in Europe. Among the many palaces which adorn the neighbourhood, that of Schönbrunn deserves to be first mentioned. It is the usual summer residence of the emperor and his court, and assumed its present aspect during the middle of the last century, being the favorite palace of the empress Maria Theresa. In addition to the usual suites of richly furnished apartments common to all palaces, the grounds contain a botanical garden, a menagerie, and a noble orangery, and on a height above the palace is the beautiful summer-house Gloriette, which commands a magnificent prospect of the capital and the surrounding country. Here Napoleon established his head-quarters during the campaigns of 1805, and 1809; and here in 1832, in the same apartment in which he slept, expired his only son the duke of Reichstadt, and in the saloon in which he received his marshals and ministers, the heir of his fame and his misfortunes lay in state.

On leaving the garden of the palace, the visitor finds himself in the beautiful village of Hietzing, consisting almost entirely of the splendid villas of the wealthy Viennese. Here is also an elegant coffee-house in which the famous Strauss was for a considerable time the conductor of the music, and at this time the establishment notwithstanding the extensive accommodation it afforded, was usually unable to supply seats to the crowd of guests. Immediately opposite this

favorite resort stands the humble village church, which although its external appearance is by no means prepossessing, contains some curious specimens of ancient art, and an image of the virgin which was greatly honoured by the empress Maria Theresa, and according to ancient custom the bridal garments of the princesses and empresses of Austria are employed in its decoration.

Another favorite resort of the Viennese is Nussdorf, where the traveller who descends the Danube towards Vienna stops to have his luggage searched, and his passport inspected, and completes his journey to the capital by land. It is the Blackwall of Vienna, here the citizens resort on Sundays and holydays to regale upon the delicious carp and cray-fish of the Danube, which are served to them in numerous elegant taverns on the river side. The town is ancient, and its chronicles are rich in historical interest, it having been according to the chances of war, alternately occupied by the Hungarians, the Turks, the Hussites and the French. The natural beauties of the village rendered it a favorite resort long before the conveniences of steam navigation had rendered it so accessible as at present; it has several manufactories and a fixed population of about 1800 souls, but during the summer season this number is greatly increased by visitors.

In one of the most charming districts on the left bank of the Danube lies the little town of Kloster Neuburg, famous for the splendid monastery of the same name, founded in 1106 by St. Leopold, the patron saint of Austria, and completed in 1136; but has been repeatedly repaired and beautified since that time. According to tradition, the trifling accident of the veil of Leopold's consort having been carried away by the wind, and found hanging on a bush on this spot, was the occasion of that pious prince founding this cloister, a story which is however told of several other similar foundations. Here repose the ashes of that sainted prince, and on the 15th. of November the day dedicated to his remembrance, they are exhibited on a splendid shrine to the adoration of the devout, who crowd in thousands to the church on this occasion. The building contains numerous works of art both ancient and modern, and an immense wine-tun containing no less than 999 Eimers, would seem to indicate that the worthy Chorherren are not altogether indifferent to the good things of this world.

One of the most interesting villages around Vienna is Döbling, which since the establishment of omnibusses is much resorted to during the summer months. Here many of the wealthy inhabitants have their villas, and it is scarcely possible to conceive anything more delightful than these retreats embosomed in the delicious foliage of the surrounding vineyards. Here are still to be seen some remains of the Turkish entrenchments thrown up during the siege by Cara Mustapha, and here the Turks under the eye of the grand vizier defended themselves with an obstinacy which they showed on no other point during the

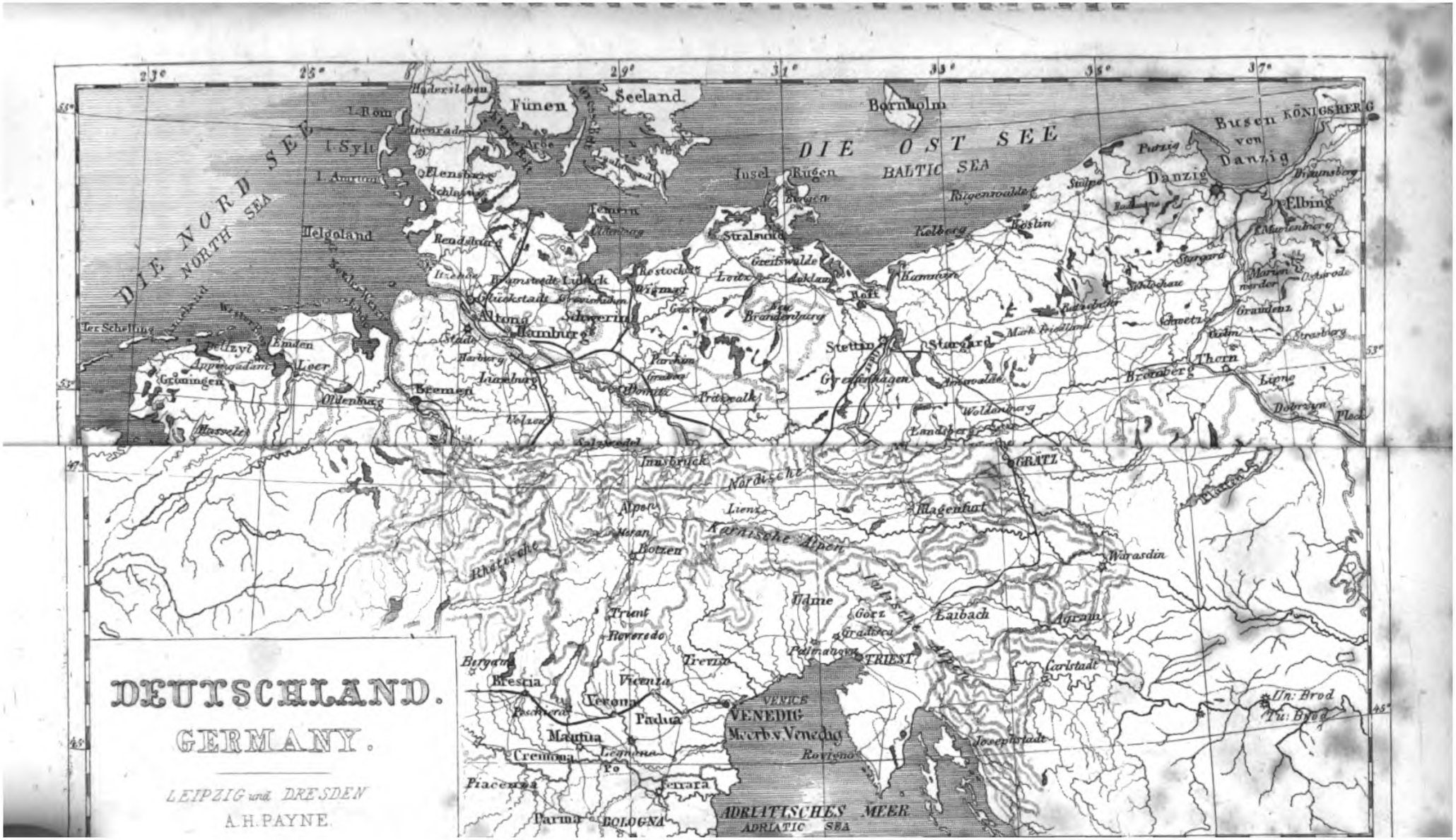
famous attack of John Sobiesky. At present Döbling is celebrated for the elegance of its places of public resort, more especially its theatre and casino; here is also a mineral spring, which if it possesses no great healing powers, has sufficient reputation to collect many visitors around it during the summer season, for the enjoyment of the various pleasures which the locality affords.

Not less charming is the village of Laxenburg, at the distance of two German miles from Vienna. Here is an imperial castle of the same name, erected in **1377**, and famous for having been the scene of several diplomatic negociations between Spain and Austria in the last century. The neighbouring castle of Franzenberg however attracts the attention of the visitor too much to leave him much time to bestow upon it. Here everything is arranged to give the visitor an idea of a castle of the middle ages, and a fine collection of curiosities of the same period adds to the delusion. Especially interesting are the specimens of the rediscovered art of painting on glass, and there are also many trophies of the Turkish war of **1683**. Here is also a collar said to have been worn by the great Gustavus, on the fatal field of Lützen; but as two others, to each of which the same story is attached are to be seen, the one in the arsenal at Vienna, and the other at Schwarzburg, it follows that at least two of the three must be false. Here are also many exquisite specimens of ancient cabinets, richly inlaid with ivory and mother'o pearl, which it would be no light task for the artificers of the present day to imitate. The natural beauties of the park are also of a character to richly repay a visit.

The last place of resort in the neighbourhood of Vienna which our space allows us to notice, is the Sauerhof, an establishment devoted to bathing, the baths being supplied by a spring strongly impregnated with sulphur. The name of the locality is derived from the first builder George von Sauer, who erected accommodation for visitors in the sixteenth century. The spring has been known from the most ancient times, and is said to have been used by the Romans. The present building was erected in **1822**, and the interior is fitted up in a most costly and splendid manner, affording ample accommodation for the numerous guests, who for the most part belong to the more wealthy classes of society.

BERLIN.

The capital of the Prussian monarchy, is situated in the midst of a vast sandy plain, on the banks of the river Spree, and notwithstanding its unfortunate situation, is with regard to the regularity of its streets, and the splendour of its buildings, one of the finest cities of Europe; indeed in these respects it is only to be rivalled by St. Petersburg, and like that city Berlin has few historical associations connected with its name, its political importance having arisen entirely within the last 150 years. But although modern as a capital, it is of considerable antiquity as a city, it having been surrounded by a wall and ditch as early as 1253. The foundation of its present greatness was laid by the elector Frederic II. of Hohenzollern, surnamed "of the iron teeth," who built himself a residence on the site of the present palace in 1451, and under his successors the city rose to a considerable degree of opulence; but the events of the thirty year's war effectually checked its rising greatness, and the terrible expressions of the Swedes and Imperialists reduced the inhabitants to the verge of ruin. War pestilence and famine seemed to have combined for the destruction of the ill fated city, and eight years after the termination of this horrible civil war by the treaty of Westphalia, Berlin remained little better than a heap of ruins. The suburbs which had been burnt, remained in the same state in which had been left by the enemy; the electoral palace was in a ruinous condition, scarcely any of the apartments being habitable; and the space from the Cathedral to the Lange Brücke (Long Bridge) was occupied by rows of dirty and miserable wooden sheds. The present Lustgarden was a spot of barren sand, the site of the Museum was covered with bushes, and a morass occupied the space now covered by a large portion of the modern city. Of the 840 houses which Berlin at that time contained, one fourth were uninhabited, and one half of the remainder ruinous. The few handsome houses were concentrated round the palace of the elector in the Brüder-strasse, in which part of the city the only specimens of pavement were to be found, and the communication between the opposite sides of the river was kept up by means of several ruinous and unsafe wooden bridges. Frederic William the great who reigned as elector from 1640 to 1688, and may be considered as the second founder of Berlin had however already commenced the great work of restoring the city. Great and successful in war, this prince gained for himself a higher and better renown as the patron of the arts of peace, and the healer of the wounds of his distracted country.


DEUTSCHLAND.
GERMANY.
LEIPZIG und DRESDEN
A.H.PAYNE.
DIE NORD SEE
NORTH SEA
DIE OST SEE
BALTIC SEA
Helgoland
Fünen
Seeland
Bornholm
Insel Rügen
Danzig
Elbing
Stettin
Hamburg
Altona
Schwerin
Bremen
Emden
Leer
Oldenburg
Groningen
Amsterdam
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswalde
Kolberg
Köslin
Stargard
Graudenz
Thorn
Bromberg
Posen
Lissa
Breslau
Glogau
Frankfurt
Berlin
Potsdam
Magdeburg
Hannover
Braunschweig
Minden
Münster
Osnabrück
Arnsberg
Cassel
Göttingen
Eisenach
Erfurt
Weimar
Leipzig
Dresden
Torgau
Wittenberg
Halle
Zerbst
Dessau
Cöthen
Bernburg
Aschersleben
Quedlinburg
Goslar
Hildesheim
Hameln
Minden
Paderborn
Soest
Iserlohn
Elberfeld
Barmen
Düsseldorf
Crefeld
Neuss
Cöln
Aachen
Bonn
Coblenz
Trier
Mainz
Worms
Speyer
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Carlsruhe
Rastadt
Offenburg
Freiburg
Basel
Constanz
Ulm
Augsburg
München
Landshut
Passau
Regensburg
Amberg
Nürnberg
Bamberg
Würzburg
Schweinfurt
Fulda
Hanau
Frankfurt
Darmstadt
Mannheim
Landau
Zweibrücken
Saarbrücken
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
Colmar
Basel
Innsbruck
Botzen
Trient
Roveredo
Brescia
Verona
Vicenza
Padua
Treviso
Udine
Venedig
Mantua
Cremona
Piacenza
Parma
Ferrara
Bologna
Rovigno
Triest
Görz
Gradisca
Laibach
Agram
Carlstadt
Warasdin
Josephstadt
Klagenfurt
Gratz
Leoben
Brünn
Olmütz
Prag
Leitmeritz
Dresden
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Glogau
Posen
Thorn
Graudenz
Marienwerder
Elbing
Danzig
Putzig
Stolpe
Rügenwalde
Stargard
Pyritz
Anclam
Wismar
Lübeck
Rendsburg
Flensburg
Schleswig
Husum
Tondern
Ribe
Aarhuus
Apenrade
Hadersleben
Sylt
Amrum
Föhr
Römö
Jütland
Kopenhagen
Roskilde
Helsingör
Malmö
Lund
Ystad
Trelleborg
Kalmar
Karlskrona
Ronneby
Christianopel
Gotland
Visby
Memel
Königsberg
Pillau
Braunsberg
Marienburg
Neustadt
Pyritz
Stargard
Cüstrin
Frankfurt
Guben
Sorau
Sagan
Glogau
Liegnitz
Jauer
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Glatz
Habelschwerdt
Reichenbach
Frankenstein
Münsterberg
Ohlau
Brieg
Oppeln
Ratibor
Troppau
Teschen
Olmütz
Brünn
Iglau
Znaim
Krems
Linz
Passau
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Botzen
Trient
Roveredo
Brescia
Verona
Vicenza
Padua
Treviso
Venedig
Udine
Görz
Laibach
Agram
Carlstadt
Warasdin

In the years between 1658 and 1681, the suburbs of Berlin arose from their ashes in rapid succession, and increased in size and splendour, and the city was fortified according to the most approved methods of the time. Frederic William the great, founded the electoral (now royal) library, the picture gallery and the academy of Art, as well as numerous churches and schools, and by this means laid the foundation of the high intellectual eminence to which Berlin has attained in modern times. His successor the elector Frederic III., the first king of Prussia, erected the suburb of Fredericstadt, and by the aid of the renowned architect Schlüter united the confused mass of buildings of which the palace was composed, into an harmonious whole. He also caused the arsenal to be richly decorated with architectural ornaments. He enlarged and improved the suburbs and gave to the city which at this time contained about 50,000 inhabitants, the aspect and appearance of a capital.

Under Frederic William I. the building of the royal palace was completed, and that of the Fredericstadt continued, it was in the first instance principally inhabited by protestant refugees from Bohemia, who took refuge in Prussia in consequence of the religious persecutions which took place in their native country in 1727. He erected the squares now known as the Dönhofs-platz, the Belle Alliance-platz, and the Pariser-platz. The streets called the Zimmer-strasse and Koch-strasse were also built in his reign, as well as most of the palaces in the Wilhelm's-strasse. Under this prince the population of Berlin amounted to 90,000 souls.

Under Frederic the great, the city was enriched by numerous noble buildings. He erected the Opera-house, one of the most tasteful buildings in the city; the catholic church which is modelled after the Pantheon at Rome, the Cathedral, the University, and various other public buildings of less importance were also erected in this reign, and the Thiergarten assumed its present appearance of a noble park under his directions. He also caused the last remains of the fortifications, which had been partially demolished by his predecessors to be removed, thereby adding greatly both to the appearance of the city, and the conveniance of the inhabitants. Commerce and manufactures began now to afford new sources of wealth to the citizens. In 1751 the first sugar refinery was established, and shortly afterwards the Bank and various other commercial institutions gave a new impetus to the industry of the capital. Under this monarch Berlin assumed an appearance of wealth and splendour worthy the metropolis of a state which the genius of its sovereign had raised to the rank of one of the great powers of Europe; and at his death the inhabitants had increased to the number of 145,000.

During the reign of Frederic William II., Berlin advanced rapidly in wealth and prosperity, and manufactories of silk and cotton were established, which caused a rapid increase in the numbers of the

population. This prince erected the Brandenburg gate, the palace of Monbijou and various other public buildings, and took a lively interest in promoting all undertakings connected with trade and industry. His successor Frederic William the third did more for the beautifying and improving the city than any of his predecessors, not only by the erection of splendid buildings and monuments, but by improving the pavements, the supply of water, and other less showy necessities of a great city, upon which so large an amount of the health and comfort of the inhabitants depend. After the conclusion of the war in **1815**, began a new era of architectural improvement in Berlin, by the erection of numerous splendid buildings from the designs of the celebrated artist Frederic Schinkel. His first great building was the Theatre, then followed the Museum, which is situated in the former bed of a river, and the foundations of which rest on no less than **8000** wooden piles. He also erected the school of architecture and numerous other public and private buildings. Under Frederic William III., Berlin became in **1809** the seat of an University, at his death in **1840**, the city contained **331,000** inhabitants.

Berlin according to the census of **1841** contained a population **340,260** souls, and consequently is according to the number of its inhabitants the eighth city in Europe. It is divided into eleven separate districts, viz. The city of Berlin, old and new Köln, Friedrichswerder, Luisenstadt, Friedrichsstadt, Dorotheenstadt, Friedrich-Wilhelmsstadt, Königsstadt and the Spandauer and Stralauer quarters, besides these there are the suburbs of Rosenthal and Oranienburg. The most important public buildings are to be found in the old city or Berlin proper, while the royal palace is situated in the district called old Köln. In the Dorotheenstadt or as it is more commonly called the Neustadt is the noble street known as the Linden or under the Linden, the most favorite promenade of the citizens of Berlin, and one of the finest streets in Europe. It is **1600** paces in length and **72** in breadth, and is planted throughout its length by a quadruple row of Lime or Linden trees. The approach to this avenue is through the Brandenburg gate, which is at the same time the principal entrance to the city. It is a noble structure of the Grecian Doric order, presenting on either side a colonnade of six massive columns. The whole breadth of the structure is **196** feet, and its height exclusive of the group of sculpture on the summit, is **64** feet, the side buildings which are lower than the centre, are used as guard rooms and offices for collecting the toll which is levied on all provisions entering the city. The group on the top of the building represents the goddess of victory in a car drawn by four horses, it is a beautiful work of Art and was executed in copper by an artist named Jury, from a model by Schadow. Like many other ornaments of the Prussian capital it was removed by Napoleon to Paris in **1807**, but restored to its former position in **1814**. Beneath this group is an ex-

cellent bas-relief, representing the Margrave Albrecht Achilles in the act of capturing an enemy's standard with his own hand, and between the Metopes are sculptures representing the combats of the Centaurs with the Lapithae.

From the Brandenburg gate, the street called the Linden leads in a straight line to the Platz am Opern-haus, in which the spectator sees on his left hand the buildings of the University, originally intended as a palace for the prince Henry, the brother of Frederic the great, and on the other the theatre erected by that monarch for the puposes of the Italian-Opera. The front of the building is striking, and statues of Apollo, Melpomene and Thalia, decorate the angles of the pediment, which contains a bas-relief of Apollo receiving offerings. The interior is in the old French style, but it has recently been redecorated and modernised. The best works both of the ancient and modern masters are produced here in a style of great magnificence, and the theatre itself is admirably adapted with regard to acoustics for the purpose to which it is devoted.

Immediately opposite the Opera-house stands the University, a noble pile of building, originally the palace of one of the princes of the blood. This institution was established in 1809, and first opened on the 15th. of October 1810. Since 1828 it has borne the name of Frederic-William's university, and is one of the most celebrated of the German schools of science. Previous to the late revolution it was visited by upwards of 2000 students. In the rear of the building is a small botanical garden and pleasure ground, but a much larger botanical garden exists in the suburbs near the Potsdam gate, and which contains a vast collection of foreign plants.

In the vicinity of the University and the Opera-house, in the Royal arsenal (Zeughous), the storming of which by the populace was one of the most daring acchievements of the Revolution in Berlin. The building itself is one of the most imposing in Berlin, it is in the Italian style of architecture, and is said to have been erected on the model of that at Venice. It was commenced by the splendour loving monarch Frederic I., in 1695, from the designs of Nering, but was completed from those of De Bodt, a French architect. The basement is rusticated, with arched windows, and the story above is of the Doric order. Above the principal entrance are four detached Doric columns supporting a pediment decorated with a bas-relief representing the triumph of Mars. In the central space between the pillars is a bust of Frederic I. cast in bronze, from the design of Hülot; but the best decorations of the building are the sculptured armour over the windows on the side of the street, and the masks of dying warriors in the court-yard; and we must admire the poetical feeling of the sculptor Schlüter who after decorating the exterior of the building with the trophies of victory, converted by means of these fearful looking masks the solitary court-yard into the resemblance of a house of death.

By the side of the Arsenal stands the King's Guard-house, which it is to be regretted accords neither in size nor style with the neighbouring building. It is in the form of a square, surrounding a court-yard, and is supposed to present the idea of an ancient Roman castrum. The front of the building is decorated with a portico of six Doric columns, and on either side of the building is a statue, the one representing Bülow and the other Scharnhorst. They are from the designs of the sculptor Rauch, and are considered to be of high merit. This building was erected in 1818.

Opposite the Arsenal stands the Royal palace, the favorite residence of Frederic William III. who preferred this by no means splendid residence to the more handsome building called the Schloss. With regard to external appearance it scarcely merits the name of a palace, but the interior is handsome and convenient. It was originally built by the Field-marshal von Schönberg, who driven from France as a protestant in 1687, took up his residence in Berlin, and entered into the Prussian service. In 1734 it became the property of the government, and since that time has been the residence of various members of the Royal family. To the left of the palace stands the statue of Field-marshal Blücher, one of the master-pieces of Rauch. It was erected in 1826, and was first uncovered on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo in that year. It is cast in bronze and the pedestal is of polished granite. The veteran is represented in a Hussar uniform, and the military cloak is arranged in ample and simple folds, the attitude is noble and at the same time highly characteristic of the original. The height of the statue is eleven feet, and that of the pedestal thirteen. From the open space between the palace and the Arsenal, we cross the Schlossbrücke (Castle bridge), and arrive in front of the Royal residence called the Schloss or Castle. This bridge which was completed in 1824 is nearly 100 feet broad, by 156 feet in length, the balustrade is of cast iron, representing arabesques of imaginary aquatic beings.

The Schloss itself is one of the finest, perhaps the very finest buildings in Berlin. Its present appearance is owing to the genius of the architect Schlüter who succeeded in uniting the various buildings of successive sovereigns into one grand pile, worthy of being the residence of the sovereign of one of the great European powers. Our engraving affords an excellent view of the principal facade, which is 538 feet in length. The ground floor of the building is principally occupied by the offices of various high officials, and here is the chamber of the council of state. This palace contains no less than five hundred apartments, the most splendid of which are the Rittersaal (Knight's Saloon), and the famous White Saloon, which is considered to be the most magnificent apartment in Europe. In the last named saloon the famous united Landtag or Prussian parliament was assembled in 1847. On the Schlossplatz or open space in front of this palace the first collision between

the troops and the people took place on the 18th. of March 1848, which led to the revolution the results of which are still agitating Germany to its centre.

The vast open space called the Lustgarten, which is laid out in a very agreeable manner, forms one of the grandest squares found in Europe, on one side is seen the magnificent Schloss, and opposite rises the beautiful structure of the Museum, commenced in 1824 from the designs of Schinkel. The building forms an oblong square 276 feet in length, and 179 in depth. The height is 61 feet, and the elevation consists of a basement and two upper floors. The principal facade which faces the Lustgarten, is decorated with a colonnade of eighteen Ionic columns, each of which is 4 feet 6 inches in diameter; the space between the columns being 14 feet; this colonnade is approached by a flight of 21 steps, which gives an indescribable air of grandeur to the building, on either side is a granite pedestal one of which is decorated by the beautiful group of sculpture designed by Kiss, and representing an Amazon attacked by a tiger. The interior of the building contains a fine collection of antique sculptures, coins, etc. which previous to the erection of this building were scattered through the various royal palaces.

On the eastern side of the Lustgarten rises the Domkirche or Cathedral of Berlin. It was commenced in 1747 by Frederic II., and consecrated in 1750. In 1817, the exterior was completely remodelled from the designs of Schinkel; it is a handsome building but by no means to be compared with the noble Gothic Cathedrals of Vienna or Cologne. The entrance is simple and unpretending, and on either side rises a cupola similar in form to the larger one in the centre. In niches on either side of the entrance are figures of angels executed in copper by Tieck, one of which holds a chalice and the other a book. The interior of the church is superior in architectural effect to the exterior, and the vaulted roof supported by two rows of Corinthian columns gives it an air of grandeur not promised by the external appearance of the building. The altar which is extremely handsome is approached by six steps of white marble, and is enclosed by a massive railing of bronze, which is decorated with figures of the twelve apostles, copied from the famous tomb of Sebaldus at Nürnberg. The altar-piece representing the descent of the Holy-ghost, is from the pencil of Begasse, as is also the side picture of St. Paul, which forms a companion to the picture of St. Peter on the other side, which is executed in mosaic, and was presented by pope Leo XII. to the late king. The length of this edifice is 330 feet, and its extreme breadth 134 feet, and it contains many ancient monuments removed from the preceding building.

Among the numerous squares and open spaces to be found in Berlin none makes a more agreeable impression on the mind of a stranger than the Gendarmenmarkt, which derives its name from the

stables of the regiment of Gensdarmes having formerly stood there. Its size may be judged of from the circumstance that the theatre and two large churches stand in the area without in the least interfering with the effect of each other, there being ample space between them to accommodate thousands of persons on occasions when any public event causes the public to assemble in this part of the city. The French church stands to the left of the theatre, while on the right stands the handsome edifice known as the New church (Neue Kirche) although it is older than the greater part of the edifices in Berlin, having been completed in 1708. It was erected under the inspection of the Italian architect Simonetti, but from the designs of a German named Grünberg. It is good specimen of the Italian style of architecture, and the cupola in particular is much admired; the statue on its summit representing triumphant virtue is of copper gilt. The other sculptures and bas-reliefs which decorate the church represent persons and scenes from scripture history.

In the centre of the Gendarmenmarkt stands the new theatre which in the opinion of many persons is the handsomest structure of the kind in the world, although it must be admitted that it has formidable rivals in those of Munich and Dresden. It was commenced in the year 1819 and completed in the following year, on the site of a former edifice destroyed by fire in 1817. A flight of 27 steps, 85 feet in breadth leads to a peristyle of six fluted Ionic columns, which support a pediment containing an alto-relief representing the death of Niobe and her children. On the angles of the pediment are figures of Thalia, Melpomene, and Polyhymnia, and behind them rises a kind of attic, on the pediment of which is an alto-relief representing Eros as the conquerer of the world. On the summit of the building is a group of sculpture representing Apollo in a chariot drawn by winged griffins, and at the angles are ornamental vases. The whole of the sculptures were designed by Tieck. The principal front of it is 245 feet in breadth, and its height to the summit of the Apollo is 120 feet. The interior of the theatre is in every respect worthy of its external appearance. It has four rows of boxes the two lowest of which have projecting balconies, on the ceiling is a painting of the nine Muses painted by Wach, over the procenium is another representing a procession of Bacchinals, and the whole of the interior is fitted up with great taste and elegance. The building also contains a handsome ball and concert room, in the vestibule leading to which is seen a bust in bronze of the architect Schinkel. This theatre obtained an European fame during the year 1848, in consequence of the Prussian National assembly having held its meetings within its walls, and from which they were forcibly expelled, or rather prevented from entering, on the 15th. of November, by a military force under the command of general Wrangel.

One of the most lively and peculiar street views of Berlin is to be

obtained from the Königsbrücke (K.ng's bridge) leading from the Königsstrasse, one of the most lively streets in the city, to the Alexanderplatz. The bridge derives its name from the splendid entry of Frederic, the first King of Prussia into Berlin after his coronation at Königsberg it having previously been called the Georgen bridge. The present structure was however build nearly eighty years afterwards, having been erected in 1777 under Frederic II. It has four arches, and the balustrade is decorated with sculptured groups of children by Meier. It connects the city of Berlin with the suburb of Königsstadt, and on the side of the city is decorated with an Ionic colonnade also ornamented with groups of children.

Among the numerous institutions for the advancement of science and learning with which Berlin abounds, the Royal library deserves particular mention. It was erected by Frederic the great in the year 1775, and is a copy with some trifling alterations of the imperial library at Vienna. The front of the building bends inwards and is ornamented at each end by a pavilion. The central projection is decorated with eight Corinthian columns, and above it is an ornament terminating in a crown; the inscription of "Nutrimentum Spiritus" which decorates the front of the building, and which was chosen by Frederic himself, was formerly an almost inexhaustable subject for jests among the wits of Berlin. The interior of the edifice consists of two large saloons, one above the other, the upper one having a height of two stories. This splendid room is 258 feet long and 56 feet broad, and has a communication with an adjoining building in the Behrenstrasse in which are the reading rooms and the apartments of the librarian.

Berlin deserves perhaps more than any other capital of Europe, the somewhat too often applied epithet of "the city of palaces." The custom which prevails here of several families occupying the same house, causes many of the ordinary dwelling houses to have the appearance of large public buildings. There are however numerous real palaces, the property of wealthy private persons or of the nobility and members of the royal family, and among these one the most remarkable is that of prince Albert in the part of the city called Friedrichstadt. This edifice was erected in 1725 by a wealthy French baron, Mathiew Vernezobre, and Frederic the first, who encouraged everything likely to add splendour to his capital, not only gave him the ground for this purpose; but also 100,000 trees from the royal forests for the purpose of driving piles in order to render the swampy foundation secure. This palace was erected on the model of that of the prince Soubise in Paris. The screen in front was erected in 1832 at which time the palace was repaired and to some extent remodeled. The first Turkish ambassador that visited Berlin resided here in 1763, and since 1772 when it was purchased by the princess Amalie it has continued to be occupied by members of the royal family.

Not less worthy of observation is the palace of prince William of Prussia in the street called the Linden. It was formerly the residence of the Graf von Tauentzin but at that time was only one story high, in the years from 1834 to 1838 the building was completely reconstructed, and enlarged by taking in an adjoining house, whereby the necessary room for a princely household was obtained. The situation of this palace is of the finest in Berlin and the interior does especial credit to the taste and patriotism of the prince, the whole of the costly decorations being the work of Prussian artists. During the late Revolution in Berlin this palace became the scene of one of the most absurd of the many farces which formed as it were episodes to that great event. On the 20th. of March 1848, a large party of the populace assembled in front of the building and demanded that the guard of citizen soldiers or Bürgerwehr should withdraw themselves, as it was they said, no post of honour for the citizens of Berlin. At the same time a report was spread that a body of workmen were on their march towards the palace with the intention of leveling it to the ground. A number of students and citizens headed by the rector of the University, now appeared for the purpose of protecting the building, and at this moment the idea seized a workman to declare the palace "National property" and this whim finding applause among the by-standers, the words "Eigenthum der ganzen Nation" (property of the whole nation), were inscribed with chalk in large letters under the window at which the prince usually sat to observe the passers by; and was received with loud applause and shouts of derision by the multitude; while a workman ascending to the balcony fastened a large tri-coloured flag to the railings. This inscription remained on the wall the whole summer, being constantly renewed when there appeared any signs of its being rubbed out. The effect was a good one, as it preserved the palace from injury until the time arrived when the prince and his family could again take possession of it.

Meanwhile a party of gentlemen who styled themselves a "Committee of petitions", took up their quarters in the palace, and their proceedings were such as to entitle them to an honourable mention in the next edition of the "annals of impudence." The committee consisted of three persons, named Karrig, Normann, and Becker, all of whom belonged to that class of society generally known as "people who live by their wits." Karrig had for some years been well known to the police of Berlin in consequence of the obtuseness he displayed in distinguishing between *meum* and *teum*. Normann had but recently returned from Switzerland where he had fought on the side of the Jesuits in the campaign of Lucern; and of Becker little was known, but that little was not much to his credit. It was indeed laughable to observe the more than farcical impudence with which this self appointed committee took up their residence and opened their bureau, in the palace of the king's brother. As the ardious nature of their

duties prevented them from leaving the house, all their meals had to be provided by the domestics of the prince, and bottles of the best and finest wines from the prince's cellar constantly decorated their writing tables, and served to refresh them during their unremitting labours. These consisted in drawing up petitions from the working classes to the king, some of which were sufficiently absurd: for instance, one was to the effect that certain workmen with their families wished to take up their residence in the palace, in which so many fine apartments were standing empty, in order to save the expence of house rent. But the most laughable part of the farce was, that none of the authorities, neither the police nor the magistrates, nor even the new ministry under Count Arnim, dared to put an end to their unauthorized proceedings. At length some of the corps of students who were on guard at the palace, arrested Karrig one night, while in the act of inspecting their posts, with an air of much mysterious importance. Normann was also arrested by the same corps the next day, and Becker retired of his own accord into private life.

The streets of Berlin are almost without exception straight and broad, and the open places, or as they would be called in England squares, are numerons and beautiful. But it must be admitted that the architectural splendour which is seen on every side is merely superficial; almost all the buildings are of brick, sandstone being here what marble would be in other cities, and the splendid facades are merely stucco. In outward show they may rival the edifices of Greece or Rome, but they are not built for eternity, and a few years neglect of the needful painting and repairs, would convert them into piles of unsightly ruins.

Owing perhaps to the great width of the streets, Berlin has the appearance of being too large for its inhabitants. To any one used to the bustle of London or Paris, the streets of the Prussian capital appear even in the busiest periods of the day empty, and resemble those of a provincial town rather than of a great metropolis. In the churches and public buildings also, we find nothing antique or venerable; nothing that reminds us of the past. It seems like the splendid and rapidly created cities of America to have no history. It is perhaps to give the city some appearance of this kind, that the new Friedrichs-Werdersche Church on the Werdersche Markt, has been erected in the gothic style of architecture. It is a large building, 199 feet in length and 66 in breadth, and the arched roof of the nave is 73 feet high and supported by 16 pillars. Like almost all the other buildings of Berlin it is entirely of brick and stucco, and its appearance reminds an Englishman of the suburban churches of London, the style of which has so happily been described as "carpenter's gothic." Even the piece of sculpture which forms the principal decoration of the portal, representing St. Michael's triumph over the arch-fiend, is formed not of stone, but of a species of pipeclay, but it does not the

less credit to the talents of the designer L. Wichmann. The altar piece representing the resurrection, is from the pencil of Begasse.

Passing through the Halleschen Thore, or gate leading towards Halle, we arrive at the highest point presented by the sandy plain on which Berlin stands, and from which is obtained the best view of the city. On this eminence which bears the name of the Kreuzberg, stands a handsome monument in memory of the heroes of the war of liberation, the first stone of which was laid on the 19th. of September 1818. Its form is that of a Gothic cross and with the exception of the base it is composed entirely of cast iron. It was executed in the royal iron foundry, from the designs of Schenkel; to whose genius Berlin owes so many handsome edifices. Its height is 61 feet, and the twelve niches in its sides are filled with figures of winged Genii, representing the twelve principal battles which occurred during the war. This site is much visited by the citizens of Berlin for the sake of the prospect, a pleasure difficult of attainment in so level a country; a shady alley leads to Tegel, on the lake called the Havel-See, the birth place of Humbold, and famous for the excellence of its Zander, a species of perch, much admired by the epicures of Berlin.

Potsdam, although at the distance of four German miles from Berlin, is generally considered as a part of that capital; and the traveller whom curiosity has led to the one, seldom fails to visit the other. Next to Berlin it is the finest city in Prussia, and here the court resides during the summer months. It is agreeably situated on an island formed by the river Havel, several small lakes, and a canal. It consists of the old and new town, with four suburbs; and contains five churches and a synagogue, besides the Greek church in the Russian colony of Alexendrowka; and the inhabitants amount to upwards of 32,000. The streets are broad and straight, and the whole town has the appearance of a collection of model palaces, but the interior of the buildings disappoint the expectations raised by their splendid external appearance.

The palace is a truly magnificent building, and greatly excels in external beauty that at Berlin. It was commenced in 1660, by the elector Friedrich, who erected the facade shown in our engraving, from the designs of the French architect Philip De Chiese, who died before the completion of the building; but its present appearance is owing to Frederic the great, who caused great additions and alterations to be made under the direction of Baron Von Knobelsdorff, who raised the side buildings to their present height of three stories, and united them to the main building by the splendid colonnades. Another colonnade of 32 columns unites the palace with the royal stables, numerous groups of sculpture, vases, etc. decorate the front of the building, and the interior contains in addition to the splendid apartments common to all palaces; a fine collection of paintings, principally of the French school of Art.

In a small vault in the Garrison church, repose the ashes of the great Frederic, and those of his father the excentric Frederic William, the latter in a coffin of marble, the former in one of lead. Napoleon visited his resting place in full state uniform, and attended by a numerous staff, and on leaving the vault is said to have exclaimed "Sic transit Gloria mundi!" and it was perhaps to give force to this reflection that he carried of the relics of Frederic, his sword, scarf, etc. to Paris.

One of the handsomest buildings in Potsdam is the Nicolai church, completed in 1837 on the model of the Pantheon in Paris. It stands on the site of another church erected in 1724, which being thought too mean for its situation, received many additions during the reign of Frederic the great, particulary an Ionic portico, which had the effect of rendering the interior of the church so dark that the congregation complained of the circumstance, but were comforted by that monarch in the words of scripture, "Blessed are they who see not, and yet believe." It was afterwards destroyed by fire, and in 1830 the present building was commenced from the design of Schenkel. It is in the form of a square, each side of which is 180 feet long, and its height to the top of the cross is a hundred feet. A flight of 14 steps leads to the Corinthian portico, and the whole design does equal credit to the taste of the architect and the munificence of Frederic William III., at whose expense it was erected.

Among the squares or open places in Potsdam the most beautiful are the Wilhelms platz with its monument of Frederic William III.; the Altmarkt, in the centre of which is an obelisk of red and white marble, the four sides of which are adorned with busts of the elector Frederic William, Frederic I., Frederic William I. and Frederic II.; the Lustgarten, consisting of the parade and park, in which are nine busts of the principal heroes of the war of liberation, twelve marble statues, and six cannon of various degrees of antiquity; and lastly the Bassin-platz, adjoining a piece of water, on an island in the centre of which, that royal oddity Frederic William I., held his "tobacco college." Here he used to spend his evenings with his ministers and favorites, in drinking beer, and smoking tobacco from clay pipes, on rare occasions only, "Schnaps" or corn brandy was produced, and sometimes the king invited his companions to partake of a herring salad prepared by his own royal hands.

Another freak of this monarch was to collect the tallest men of every nation to form his famous regiment of grenadiers, which were generally quartered at Potsdam. In carrying out this whim he paid no respect to freedom or justice, every man of extraordinary stature in his dominions was compelled without regard to rank or circumstances, to enlist in this corps. He is said to have even in some instances compelled unusually tall women to marry certain of these soldiers, in hopes of perpetuating a race of giants; and some travellers have

fancied that at the present day, the population of Potsdam presents some traces of the residence of these sons of Anak. At the court of this sovereign a man was only considered with regard to his size. And the only criticism which a Prussian general on returning from Paris, thought fit to bestow upon the French army was, "Nothing but little rubbish, hardly five feet high!"

Through the Brandenburg gate, a handsome triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, a shady alley leads to Sans Souci, the favorite palace of the great Frederic. The building contains little worthy of observation except the apartment of that prince, which remains in the same state as it was at the moment of his death. On a table lie his hat, sword, crutch-stick, etc.; and on another his books, music, etc. open as when he last used them. Here lie his inkstand and pens, and the ink spots are still to be seen on his favorite tattered chairs and sofas. Here the great king wrote bad French verses, which Voltaire corrected, and it seems like an adroit courtier only discovered trifling failures; as for instance, "Your Majesty uses the word *Prussians* as though it had three syllables, we consider it a word of two, like *Vauriens;* but you are a king, and can doubtlessly do as you please with your Prussians."

How many must have trembled in this apartment as they found themselves face to face with the great king, with his large keen eye fixed on theirs, while the barking of his four-footed favorites on the approach of a stranger tended to increase his confusion; and not all men are blessed with the philosophy of our worthy countryman, who in reply to the question of Frederic as to what had induced him to demand an interview, replied. "I have seen five kings, and wished to make up the half-dozen."

During the years **1848** and **1849**, the eyes of Europe have been fixed with an unusual degree of attention on Berlin. The sudden revolution which occurred in that capital in the month of March **1848**, gave the death blow to the old state of affairs in Germany; and in the latter year the wisdom and firmness of the Prussian sovereign, and the loyalty of the Prussian army, have caused Berlin to be considered as the point which must afford the earliest indications of the solution of the great question as to whether the German nation would be content with rational freedom in the form of constitutional monarchy, or in the hopes of obtaining the questionable good of a republican form of government, open the door to anarchy and civil war.

The political agitation in Berlin commenced in the year **1840**. It dates its rise from the accession of Frederic William IV., who came to the throne with ideas of a great and comprehensive reform in the machinery of the state, and the hope of commencing a new era both for Prussia and Germany, which he however hoped to effect without making any change in the principles on which Prussia had hitherto been governed. The consequence of these ideas was the grotesque

creation of the united Landtag or parliament of 1847, by which he hoped to satisfy the political cravings of his people, without sacrificing any of the powers of the crown. The speech from the throne with which the king opened this assembly on the 11th. of April 1847, showed by the extraordinary manner of its delivery, the contending emotions which must occupy the mind of a prince who wishes to uphold the historical rights of his royal house, and at the time far from denying the justice of the demands of the present age, or the power of public opinion, hopes in his character of a sovereign to satisfy the one, and direct the other. The speech in question was delivered with startling rapidity, with sharp and biting accent, and with violent and impatient gestures, and a gloomy foreboding of coming evil seemed to have taken possession of his mind, and to have communicated itself to those of his hearers. The following sentence in especial fell heavy on the minds of all: "I feel it necessary to make the solemn declaration; that no might on earth shall induce me to change the natural relation between prince and people, for that produced by a constitution; and that I never will permit a written sheet of paper to stand like a second providence, between God and this land, to rule us with its paragraphs, and to substitute them for our ancient and holy faith."

If this declaration of the king was unsatisfactory to the liberals, the circumstance of calling a parliament at all, was still more so to the old Prussian party, who held any concession to the spirit of the age as little less than a crime, and the Landtag itself with all that preceded and followed it, as a political blunder. According to these old-prussian obstructives, the king was the real agitator of the country, who sought even to free the press from its shackels, and to engraft the new-fangled nations of a representative government, on the old German system of the Landtag.

Meanwhile the long suppressed impatience of the people for the enjoyment of their political rights was fanned into a flame by the news of the French revolution of February, and various outbreaks in the smaller states of Germany showed that the storm would ere long be felt in the Prussian capital. On the 4th. of March 1848, the committee of the Landtag which had been employed in consulting on a reform of the criminal laws, closed its sittings; and on the 6th. the king dismissed it with an address from the throne, in which in his usual open manner he alluded to the passing political events, and conceded that the Landtag should be assembled every four years. He seemed to imagine that even in the state of political excitement which then prevailed, the people would be satisfied with this trifling concession, and at the close of his speech still held it to be possible, "to show the world, that in Prussia the king, the people, and the army, were the same from generation to generation."

The agitation in the public mind was not to be quieted by such

homoeopathical remedies, and began to find vent in addresses and petitions, the most important of which was an address from the citizens of Berlin to the town-council, praying them to impress upon the king the necessity of immediately granting the liberty of the press, a real representation of the people in the Landtag, and the more frequent assembly of that body; and above all to take steps for the intimate union of the whole German nation, and for the representation of the same by means of a central parliament. Certain parties also began to prepare for the approaching conflict with the government, as was shown by numerous placards posted in the neighbourhood of the barracks, calling on the military in case of a political outbreak, not to use their arms against the people. A more important symptom than these placards, were the preparations made on the part of the government, in order that the soldiers might be ready to act at a moments notice; and in the courtyards of the barracks cannon were kept in a constant state of readiness. A fearful state of expectation occupied the public mind, and every one seemed to anticipate a storm, without being aware of the exact reason for this belief. Small assemblies began to take place in private houses, in which the persons present debated on the freedom of the press, arming of the people, etc.; but the best indication of the feverish state of affairs, was as is usual in such cases, the funds; and this was shewn by the public securities declining in value from day to day. The same was the case with railway shares, and the sudden fall in the value of these papers, brought distress and ruin into countless families.

Meanwhile the first active steps towards the revolution in Berlin, were taken in the tents in the Thiergarten; where on the 6th. of March a small assembly, consisting of students, clerks, workmen, etc., took place for the purpose of drawing up a petition to the king. These so called tents, are the favorite resort of the citizens of Berlin, and consist of a row of taverns, in which on sundays and holidays, they listen to their famous concerts, and indulge in their no less famous white beer. Before these taverns is a large open space, capable of containing many thousand persons, in the centre of which is a large statue of sandstone, representing some unknown mythological personage, and at a short distance from this permanent puzzle to the wits of Berlin, is a large wooden orchestra, used for the purpose of the weekly concerts; a popular amusement of the Berliners, which is assisted by the presence of the numerous itenerant dealers in sausages schnaps and cigars, without which no entertainment of the kind would be complete in that city. This orchestra became the tribune of the orators of a series of popular assemblies which now took place daily, and from the immense influence they produced on the minds of certain classes of the population, paralysed for some months the energies of the government.

The meeting which took place here on the 6th. of March was repeated on the 7th. when an address to the king was drawn up, con-

taining the usual demands prevalent at this time, viz. Freedom of the press, an amnesty for political offenders, the right of holding public political meetings and forming political unions, the arming of the people, dimunition of the army, universal suffrage, etc. etc.

An interesting scene took place on the following morning in the News-room (Zeitungshalle), an institution which was originally intended for the use of the commercial classes, had now become the head-quarters of the radical and democratic elements of Berlin. Here the president of the police sought out the committee who were charged with drawing up the address to the king, pointed out to them the various reasons which existed for their abstaining from delivering the address personally to his majesty, and counselled them to send it through the public post; but at the same time he permitted the address to be publicly exhibited for the purpose of obtaining signatures. By this means it became evident that the king was perfectly well informed of all that had taken place at the meeting, and that he was determined not to publicly receive the address.

These assemblages in the tents had already on the 9th. of March assumed an imposing character; on this day upwards of four thousand persons assembled, who bestowed the most enthusiastic applause on the various orators who addressed them. Still at this time a respect and even zeal for law and order, was apparent throughout the assembly; and it only required a knowledge of the time, and of the political necessities of the period, on the part of the government, to have secured to Prussia a brilliant position in the midst of revolutionary Europe. But the ministry of Frederic William, although prepared to make concessions, and to advance in accordance with the spirit of the age, could not be prevailed on to move, except in accordance with old slow and official routine. Thus on the 8th. of March, an ordinance from the king promised the people a thorough reform of the laws of the press and abolition of the censorship, but at the same time declared that this must be sanctioned by the general diet of the German states (the Bundestag), before he could grant it to his subjects. In almost all the smaller German states the sovereigns had conferred freedom on the press at once, and Prussia the chief state of North-German and protestant intelligence, must wait the pleasure of the diet, a legislative body which hardly gave any signs of life.

It was an impressive sight on the 9th. of March, to observe the many thousands who had attended the meeting in the tents, returning in perfect order through the Brandenburg gate to their homes, they had come to the determination to deliver their address to the king, to the town-council; to be presented to the king at the same time with the address which was preparing by that body. This was however refused by the town-council in a stormy sitting on the 11th. of March; the address of the people differing in many points from that which they had themselves prepared, and which they thought

sufficient for the purpose. Of this address of the town-council, it may be sufficient to say that it was by no means in accordance with the spirit of the times, and contained an especial clause thanking the king for his expressed intentions with regard to the freedom of the press. The deputation which waited on the king for the purpose of presenting it were not admitted, but were told they might come again on the following day; while the reception of the deputation from the people was still more unfavourable, they were again recommended to send their petition through the post, and at the same time informed of the displeasure with which the king regarded such demonstrations.

The consequence was that the assembly in the Thiergarten on the 13th. of March, bore a more earnest character. By means of these assemblies the people of Berlin had taken to themselves the right of free political discussion, and a report had been spread that it was the intention of the government to put an end to them by military force. Curiosity also, a marked characteristic of the population of Berlin, increased the desire to attend these meetings, which was assisted by the unusual fineness of the weather. The projected journey of the prince of Prussia to the Rhine also excited the attention of the people, the prince having on the previous day visited the different barracks, and taken leave of the soldiers in a speech in which he pointed out to them the threatening appearance of public affairs, and the probability of an approaching war. And it was said the prince and his family were about to take up their residence for an uncertain period at Cologne. The prince of Prussia was believed at this time to be unfavourable to the demands of the people, and to wish to uphold the system of military despotism in its strongest form. But it was also well known that from the love of justice, and strong feeling of honour that formed the foundation of his character, none but open means of opposition would be resorted to on his part.

Already in the afternoon of this day, large masses of people who however seemed by no means riotously disposed, appeared in the streets of the capital. Soon however the materials for inflaming the masses appeared in the shape of strong detachments of cavalry, which advanced in the direction of the Brandenburg gate; and cannon were even displayed in some parts of the city. To the astonishment of every one, the Schloss and Arsenal were also occupied by military, and the Gendarms also showed themselves in every direction in full activity. Adjutants and orderly officers galloped to and fro; and between them were seen the constantly increasing crowd, some gazing with anxious faces on these martial preparations, and others with true Berlin wit endeavouring to turn them into ridicule.

In the meantime the assembly in the Thiergarten had taken place, and was attended by large numbers of people, who applauded loudly the speeches made by several members of the working classes. But the numerous police who appeared among the crowd evinced no feelings

of dissatisfaction, the discourses being confined to the subject of the German fleet. The military nevertheless interfered in several instances, several rather noisy bodies of the populace being driven back towards the city, by the cavalry; and by this means a large body of people were assembled under the Linden. Wild cries of rage were now heard from the people in this part of the city, and the agitation became so great that the public in the Opera-house, in which on this occasion a new ballet was produced, left the house in the middle of the performance. The crowd now began to assemble in the neighbourhood of the Schloss, where it first came to blows; and here, as well as subsequently under the Linden, several persons were wounded by the cavalry, and the conflict between the civilians and the military, which formed the most prominent feature of the revolution in Berlin, had from this moment began. This conflict was undoubtedly provoked on the side of the government, by the most unwise display of military force, on an occasion on which it was utterly uncalled for; and the biting ridicule with which the people retorted the violence of the soldiers, caused the most embittered feelings to be entertained on both sides. The people however on this occasion made no resistance, for the feeble attempt to erect a barricade in the Grünstrasse, and the attack on a gunmaker's shop in the Jägerstrasse, can scarcely be considered such.

On the 14th. of March the town-council appeared before the king, in order to deliver their address; and his answer contained some remarkable passages. Among other things he remarked, "While everything around is boiling, it is hardly to be expected that Berlin should remain below the freezing point; and if we take this into consideration, it is remarkable that in a city which contains so many elements of disorder, the public peace has hitherto not been seriously disturbed." Over the position of Prussia, the king spoke in a manner which shewed him to be perfectly master of the subject; he also declared his willingness to grant a constitution, which he however declared ought to be gradually developed, and deferred an answer to the prayer of the petition, until the meeting of the Landtag, which he promised to call together on the 27th. of April.

The affair would in all probability have ended in a peaceable manner, and the new constitution become a mere new wing to the Gothic structure of the united Landtag, had the terrorism of the military produced the effect of irritating rather than daunting the spirits of the people. The filling the streets and squares of Berlin with soldiers, produced the very effects it was intended to suppress, and the military irritated by their fatigues and the jeers of the populace, conducted themselves in too many instances in a manner that was well calculated to provoke an outbreak. Peaceable citizens were ill-treated, and beaten with the stocks of their muskets, and the wounds thus wantonly inflicted ended in some instances in death. The Potsdam cuirassiers in particular, distinguished themselves by their brutal conduct towards the civilians

on the evening of the 14th. of March, on which occasion the first attempt was made to build a barricade in the streets of Berlin.

On the 15th. of March, increasing agitation shewed itself among the population. The town council held a meeting, in which the first steps were taken for forming a guard of citizens to uphold order, without rendering it necessary to call out the military; and the authorities promised that the soldiers should not be employed as long as the people continued to respect private property. Nevertheless in the evening a large crowd of persons assembled in front of the Schloss, and finding the usual thoroughfare through that building closed by the military; gave vent to their dissatisfaction by whistling and groaning. This raised the easily excited wrath of the soldiery, the general march was beaten, and a party of infantry issuing from the Schloss, drove the people back into the neighbouring, streets. Here some attempts were again made to build barricades, the military for the first time made use of their fire-arms; and the result was that several persons were killed and wounded. In the midst of this confusion, the news of the revolution in Vienna reached Berlin, and the agitation was consequently redoubled.

On the 16th. a repetition of the same scenes took place, and in the Theatre-platz the military fired on the crowd; by which two persons were killed and several others injured, cannon were displayed at the corners of several of the principal thoroughfares, and patrols of cavalry and infantry were incessantly employed in dispersing the crowds which filled the streets. On the 17th. a singular change appeared to have come over the people, few persons appeared in the streets, and a kind of strange and unnatural repose appeared to reign in the city. Many persons hoped the agitation was at an end; but as it afterwards appeared, this pause was employed in preparations for the approaching conflict. On this day a deputation from the city of Cologne waited upon the king, and represented to him the fearful state of excitement prevailing in the Rhenish provinces, and urged him to timely concessions, as the only means of preventing an outbreak. The king replied in considerable agitation, that his own opinions agreed with those expressed by the deputation, promised to put himself at the head of the liberal movement in Germany, and spoke of assembling a congress of the various states of that country at Potsdam. The deputation replied that such a congress could only be useful, in the event of its being surrounded by the representatives of the German people; and the king then requested them to delay their departure for three hours, in order that they might be the bearers of a proclamation, in which he would make known his intentions to his people.

The news of these liberal intentions on the part of the king, flew like wild fire through the city, and on the following day the town council of Berlin sent an address to the king, praying him to dismiss his ministers, and to grant without delay a constitution to his sub-

jects; together with the arming of the citizens, and the withdrawal of the military. About 1 o'clock in the day, the deputation returned from the palace with the information that the address had been favourably received by his majesty, who had immediately granted part of the prayer of the petition, and had promised that the remainder should not be long delayed. The hearty cheer with which this news was received by the people, showed how willing they were to accept any signs of concession on part of the king, and how readily they were disposed to be satisfied. In the council of the sovereign, however, little credit seems to have been given to the people for their moderation, and notwithstanding their peaceable demeanour it was thought necessary to issue a proclamation assuring them that the liberty of the press was already granted, and that the council were then debating with regard to the farther concessions which had been promised.

The weather was at this time fine and mild, and the people again assembled in great numbers both on the Schloss-platz, and under the Linden. About 2 o'clock the report was spread that the expected proclamation from the king had appeared, in a supplement to the "Allgemeinen Preussischen Zeitung." Soon copies of this important paper were seen in the hands of numerous persons, who elevated above the crowd, were engaged in reading it to knots of attentive hearers; who received its contents with the loudest expressions of satisfaction. On examining these concessions closer, it was however observed, that they merely amounted to a law of the press, by which a sum of caution money, was substituted for the abolished censorship; and a patent concerning the immediate summoning of the united Landtag, without any promise with regard to a fundamental reform of the mode of government.

Nevertheless, these concessions trifling as they really were, produced a feeling of almost boundless joy and confidence in the minds of the people, who on the 18th. of March repaired in vast numbers to the front of the Schloss, in order to express their thanks to the king; who appeared twice in the balcony, and was greeted with tremendous applause by the assembled citizens. A black and white Prussian flag was now planted on a balcony in the Schloss-platz, which was applauded by a part of the people, while others demanded that the tri-coloured German flag should be placed beside it. Suddenly a cry was raised of "Away with the military: let the king trust himself to his citizens!" and Count Arnim who was with the king, informed him of this new demand of the people. His majesty replied, "A dishonourable retreat of the troops cannot be demanded!" And now ensued a scene of excitement and confusion, the cause of which remains a riddle even at the present time. The refusal of the king to withdraw the military became instantly known among the crowd, and the idea that a new attack on the people was intended soon became prevalent. The members of the town council threw themselves

among the people to exhort them to order, which it was thought would be best produced by reading the royal patent, and while this was listened to with applause on one side of the square, a regiment of the dragoons of the guard showed themselves suddenly on the other. These were greeted with loud cries of "Away with the military," and as the regiment wheeled round, the crowd supposing they were about to retire, raised a loud shout of applause. This appears to have irritated the officer in command, who instantly ordered the soldiers to face about and advance upon the people with drawn swords. At the same moment a battalion of infantry issued from the middle portal of the Schloss, and drove the people with fixed bayonets, in the direction of the Langen Brücke; and at the moment that the people were falling back in great confusion, two shots were fired from the ranks of the soldiers, whether from accident or design has never been clearly ascertained; but never have two musket shots produced a more astounding effect. With cries of rage and terror the people fled from the Schlossplatz into the adjoining streets, and it became evident that nothing but withdrawing the military, could prevent the streets of Berlin from being the scene of a bloody and desperate combat.

The palace at this moment presented a curious scene, the king with the various high personages who surrounded him, instantly retired into the interior of the building; while in the court-yard of the palace, the town-council negociated with the ministers concerning the withdrawal of the troops. These last replied that they would not undertake the responsibility of such a measure, and referred the petitioners to the commander of the garrison, General Prittwitz. It seems that the idea that the military honour of the troops would be compromised by their retiring before the people, was the sole cause of the hesitation shown in complying with the public wishes.

In the mean time the news of what had occurred on the Schlossplatz, had circulated with various exaggerations and additions, throughout the city. The people loudly accused the government of treason, declared that all hopes of an amicable arrangement were at an end, and the cry of "To Arms! To Arms!" was heard pealing like an alarm of fire, from street to street. The expressions of rage against the brutality of the soldiers, were soon mixed with political outcries, and the people declared it was time to put an end to the old military system of Prussia, and to found a new one, on the broad principles of civil liberty and equal political rights. The open spaces in the neighbourhood of the Schloss were now completely deserted, and not a human being was to be seen except now and then an orderly, hurrying with dispatches to the different barracks; but in the distance was heard the loud shouts of the enraged multitude, and the noises accompanying the erection of the first barricades; mixed with the occasional report of fire-arms as the soldiery attempted to disperse the crowds. At the moment in which the contest was about to commence, the minister

count Arnim appeared in the balcony of the Schloss with a white flag, which he afterwards carried through the Breite-strasse; and later in the afternoon a large flag bearing the word "Missverständniss!" (Misunderstanding) in large letters, was displayed from a window of the palace. The attempts to avoid a contest on the part of the government however remained unnoticed, the people believed themselves to have been betrayed in the affair of the morning; and would no longer listen to any attempts at mediation.

The contest began soon after three o'clock in afternoon, at the corner of the Oberwall and Jäger-strasse, where immediately in front of the news-room, the first barricade was erected. Two cabriolets, a coach, the sentry-box from the bank, and about a dozen casks, formed the first foundation of this structure, which soon assumed a very formidable appearance; and like all similar erections in Berlin, was constructed with a degree of skill, that would have induced a spectator to believe that the people had been previously used to the business. The military posts in the neighbourhood were disarmed, and a sentry at the bank who made resistance, was killed. The second barricade was at the corner of the Werder-strasse, opposite the government house; and on the roofs of the adjoining houses large numbers of people posted themselves armed with paving stones, which they hurled with deadly effect on the heads of their assailants. These first barricades were scarcely finished, when a party of cavalry and a battalion of infantry advanced against them. The first discharge of the soldiers killed a young man a confectioner; in the news room; as also a servant girl, who with the words "We cannot avoid our fate!" advanced at that moment to the window.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the whole town was studded with barricades, which in many cases were as high as the windows of the first floors. The students armed themselves, and displayed the tri-coloured cockade on their hats and caps; and crowds of persons of all ranks and classes of the community, were seen hurrying about seeking for arms, or for a place in which they might take part in the combat. The shops of the gunmakers were broken open and the weapons taken away, with the promise of returning them after the battle; a promise which in the great majority of instances, was faithfully fulfilled. The arms in the theatres and opera-house were also taken possession of. Tri-coloured flags were also prepared in great numbers, and scarcely a barricade was without one or more of these "banners of freedom," as they were called by the people. Several students mounted on horseback proceeded through the Oranienburg gate, and stopping before the various factories in that quarter, harangued the workmen and persuaded them to go into the town, and take part in the contest; and to the heroic courage and perseverence of these workmen, the failure of the military in suppressing the outbreak, was principally to be attributed.

Shortly after five o'clock, the sound of cannon was heard for the first time; they were directed against the barricades in the Königsstrasse, which were of unusual height and thickness, and were composed for the most part of omnibusses, wagons, and wool-packs. The people who defended these structures, were for the most part very inefficiently armed. But few guns or pistols were to be seen among them, the greater part having merely sticks, pitch-forks, axes, or any instrument which in the excitement of the moment, could be made to answer the purpose of a weapon.

The houses on either side of the barricades were unroofed, and the tiles placed ready for hurling down upon the military; baskets full of stones were also carried up for the same purpose. In the Königstrasse the prison called the Ochsenkopf was forced open, and the prisoners for debt, confined there, set at liberty. On the Alexanderplatz a peculiar body of volunteers appeared, under the guidance of a young Pole in the dress of an Uhlan, and wearing a Polish cap; he brandished in his right hand a crooked sabre, and he was followed by a drummer and several persons bearing red and white flags; then came his recruits, armed with every variety of weapon. This was the only open manifestation of the part the Poles took in the affair, and although no doubt others were to be found among the defenders of the barricades, still the idea that the outbreak was originated and conducted by Polish refugees, seems to be altogether erroneous, and the report was probably raised by the advocates of the old state of affairs, whose interest it was, to deny the popular origin of the Berlin revolution.

Between six and seven in the evening, the Königs-strasse was the scene of a fearful contest; one after the other, the barricades yielded to the force of the cannon shot, and the soldiers irritated almost to madness by a species of warfare to which they were unaccustomed, commenced a fearful carnage. When a barricade was taken, they immediately rushed into the adjoining houses and put to death all persons whom they found with arms in their hands; thrust their bayonets into the beds in their search for fugitives, and arrested and misused many persons who had taken no part in the conflict. At seven o'clock the whole of the street was in the hands of the soldiery; and cannon were placed so as to sweep it, in the event of any new attempt of the people to take possession of it. At this time the tocsin began to be sounded from the church steeples, and this melancholy sound continued the whole night.

Several hours later the battle began on the other side of the Schloss. Here it was thought possible that an attempt at negociation might be successful; and a deputation of the inhabitants headed by bishop Neander, repaired to the palace, and succeeded in obtaining an audience. They however found the king but little disposed to consent to the withdrawal of the military. He considered himself already as a victor, and pointing to the Königsstrasse, exclaimed: "That street is mine

already, and I will also take the others!" The king also observed that it was only the "refuse" of the people that had taken part in the outbreak. Then suddenly pointing to a tri-coloured flag which waved from the window of a house at some distance, he exclaimed: "Remove that flag from my sight!" and dismissed the deputation. Nor were petitions from other sources wanting; the president of police Minutoli, himself counseled the withdrawing the military, and a deputation from the University prefered the same prayer; and as at this moment the intelligence was brought to the palace that it was principally students who commanded on the barricades, the king addressed himself with great warmth on the subject to one of the professors. This circumstance alone, was sufficient to show that the outbreak was not as was supposed in the court circle, a mere rising of the rabble, who had been deluded by foreign agitators; but one in which all classes of the community took a part. The inhabitants of the palace, appear however to have been very imperfectly informed of the real state of affairs in the city.

It was now night, but the full moon which shone unusually clear and bright, rendered the scene of conflict nearly as visible as by day. A peculiar picture was formed by the groups behind the barricades, the great majority of which were composed of mechanics and labourers of various descriptions, among which it is probable that not a few suspicious characters might have been found; but it is by no means true, as has been since asserted by the organs of the reactionary party, that the combatants of the 18th. of March, were principally thieves and outcasts. If such persons fought in the ranks of the Berlin revolutionists, it was by no means in their character of criminals, for it is admitted on all sides, that property was throughout the contest, respected in a manner which is truly extraordinary, considering the number of bad characters known to exist in Berlin.

That the a large portion of the citizens sympathized with the combatants of the barricades, was shown by the readiness with which they were supplied with refreshments of every description without payment; and those shopkeepers who dealt in gunpowder or lead, gave up their stocks of those articles with perfect good will. In many places the houses were illuminated, in order that the people on the barricades might see their assailants, and this circumstance gave a peculiar and solemn character to the scene. Behind the barricades groups principally consisting of boys, were seen busily employed in casting bullets, while in the forges of the smiths, pike heads were hastily manufactured. As long as a barricade was not attacked, its defenders stood behind it in groups, discussing with loud voices and animated gestures, the events of the day; but no sooner were military seen approaching, than every-one rushed to his post; some to the breast work of the barricade, others to the windows and roofs of the adjoining houses.

The employment of cavalry against the barricades was soon found to be useless, and the attack was consequently left to the infantry, who displayed but little ability in a mode of warfare altogether new to them. The proper theory of fighting against barricades, by breaking through the houses so as to take them in the rear, and which was first exhibited by Cavaignac, in the Parisian outbreak of June 1848; was at this time unknown, and the soldiers consequently suffered severely. Their plan of attack was to advance in two single files, one on each side of the street, until they arrived close to the barricade, and then to form a front, and climb over the obstacle. The consequence was, that whole ranks were beaten down by the stones and tiles thrown on them from the houses, without their having an opportunity of using their weapons. This explains the terrible exhaustion under which they laboured on the following morning; and the little effect which their considerable numbers, and really gallant exertions, produced upon the insurgents.

The principal scene of this murderous combat was the neighbourhood of the Alexanderplatz, in which three barricades of colossal dimensions had been erected. The most important of these was one at the corner of the Neuen Königsstrasse. An overturned wagon formed the foundation of this structure, above which however was a regulaly built breast-work, composed of granite paving stones, and plates of iron, from an adjoining factory. This barricade was not only defended by numerous riflemen, but was also provided with two cannon, which the people had brought from the Schützen-haus. These cannon were very small, and no balls were to be procured; but the ingenuity of the people contrived to overcome this deficiency. Several baskets full of marbles were procured from the toy-shops in the city, and a number of these placed in a stocking, formed the lading of the guns, which were worked by two men who had formerly served in the artillery. One of these men named Gustavus Hesse, was in consequence of the bravery he displayed, honoured with a wreath, which he in the festivities which followed the revolution, constantly wore around his hat. This barricade was also the scene of the exploits of the veterinary surgeon Urban, a man who from his strange manners and costume had long been considered as one of the "oddities," of Berlin. He was indeed a most original figure, and with his long hair hanging on his shoulders or flying in the wind, a beard that descended low upon his breast, and without a hat, was often seen hurrying either on foot or on horseback, about the streets of Berlin. This man who was reported to belong to some sect of fanatical pietists, took the lead both in erecting and defending this barricade, and it must be admitted that the post he had chosen was one of the most dangerous in the whole city. From the front, this barricade was attacked by a regiment of the guard and a battery of cannon, which had entrenched themselves on the Königs-brücke behind a barricade of flour sacks. On the flanks

right and left were the barracks in the Münz-strasse, and Alexander-strasse, the troops in which might be expected to take part in the attack, and in the rear it was threatened by a regiment of the line which had just arrived from Frankfort, and lay ready for action without the city gates; and to prevent the union of which with the guards on the Königs-brücke, was the principal object of the barricade. The members of the city rifle company took an active part in its defence, and two of these who had posted themselves in an advantageous position, are said never to have never failed in their aim, which was invariably directed against the military officers. Against this barricade a tremendous fire was kept up from the doors and windows of the Königs-stadt theatre, whereby numerous citizens lost their lives. An attempt was consequently made to set fire to the theatre, and a party of students and workmen succeeded in firing a booth adjoining the building, which however burnt out without the fire communicating itself to the theatre. Meanwhile the regiment without the city, entered by the Frankfort gate, and after storming another barricade in the Frankfort-strasse, succeeded in joining the guards on the Alexander-platz. But even with this reinforcement, they were unable to take this barricade, which remained in the possession of the people until the following morning.

Not less strong was the bulwark which the people had erected in front of the Rathhaus in the Breiten-strasse. This barricade resisted five successive attacks of the military; who were compelled on each occasion to retire with considerable loss. At length, after having been exposed to a terrible fire of shot and shells from the artillery, it was carried by the Potsdam guard; who forced their way into the adjoining houses and put to death all whom they found there. The director of the Kölnischen Gymnasium, August, who from motives of humanity had received some of the wounded defenders of the barricade into his house, was treated with great violence and brutality, by the infuriated soldiery; an officer struck him in the face with his sword, and a drummer broke his drum-sticks over the head of the peaceful professor; while his nephew who attempted to escape, was shot dead by a guardsman. Fortunately for the prisoners and wounded, this regiment was soon afterwards relieved by another, which showed much more humanity, and in consequence many persons who had hitherto feigned themselves dead, or found a hiding place in the houses, now surrendered themselves.

The barricade in the Tauben-strasse, which was composed of oil casks piled one upon the other, was also defended with great courage. Here the citizens proposed to their assailants, that both sides should refrain from the use of their fire-arms, which was refused by the officer in command. The storm began, and the first who fell was the Major, who was struck from his horse by a bullet. At the second and third attack, fell two other officers who had taken his place. The

artillery was now employed, and a fire of grape shot opened against it; in the midst of which a young student stood for a considerable time, waving a tri-coloured flag; apparently invulnerable. The women in the neighbourhood honoured this heroism, by waving their handkerchiefs, until at length the barricade was abandoned by its defenders.

Next to the students and workmen, it was the apprentices of Berlin that took the most active part in the conflict; and one of these youths, maddened as we must suppose by the love of fighting, actually attempted to defend a barricade with his own single arm, against a whole battalion of infantry. A barricade had been erected at the corner of the Jäger-strasse, but afterwards abandoned by the people as too weak, but two youths named Glasewald and Zinna, could not be induced to follow their comrades, who had gone to strengthen the defenders of the barricade in the Tauben-strasse. The former of these youths was armed with an old firelock, and the latter with a rusty sabre, and they were both leaning over the barricade, at the moment when the sound of drums announced the approach of the military. Glasewald fired his piece, but at the same moment received a bullet which shattered his right arm, and he fell to the ground: Zinna was now alone, and he determined to make a sally against the enemy. With desperate courage he leaped over the barricade and aimed a furious stroke at the officer who was leading on the soldiers. The officer avoided the blow by springing back, and five or six shots were fired by the soldiers, which Zinna escaped by adroitly stooping; he now picked up three paving stones which he threw one after the other, among the soldiers; he was not sufficiently quick however, to escape a new discharge of musketry; a ball passed through his body, and clasping his hands on the spot, he without a single exclamation of pain, staggered to a doorway, where he quietly laid himself down to die.

One of the principal efforts of the people, was directed against the Landwehr arsenal, in the Linden-strasse, in order to make themselves masters of the arms deposited there. This building was defended by twenty young officers, who kept up an incessant fire from the windows, upon the crowd beneath. Among the assailants appeared Gustavus Hesse, whose acquaintance we have already made upon a barricade; wearing his wreath of flowers upon his head. With a crow-bar in his hand he led on the people to attack the arsenal, and one man after another fell at his side, pierced by the bullets of the officers; but his heroic example ever brought new combatants to his side. The attack continued the whole of the night, and at the dawn of day when the bullets of the officers began to tell still more fatally among the assailants, an attempt was made to destroy the door by fire; but this also failed, owing to the want of combustible materials, and it was not until late in the morning that a strong reinforcement from the barricade in the Tauben-strasse, succeeded in getting possession of the building.

An immense number of barricades were erected in the suburb of the Rosenthal; and the Rosenthal gate was alone defended by five of these structures, built with a solidity which seemed to defy the power of artillery. Little fighting however took place in this quarter, but the numerous forges in this neighbourhood were busy the whole of the night in preparing pike-heads; and a well known machinist delivered alone six hundred weight of iron for this purpose; strong wires were also stretched across the streets to hinder the approach of cavalry, and in the Leipziger-strasse broken glass was strewed about for the same purpose. In some houses boiling water was prepared to throw upon troops; but does not seem to have been used, or at least not to have taken effect; and the story that vitriol was discharged upon the troops from a garden engine, is a mere invention of the newspaper writers. Here also four riflemen in the dress of Tirolese, distinguished themselves greatly by the coolness, and skill in the use of their weapons which they displayed. These men fired with the most deadly aim, and even succeeded in striking the particular button which they selected for a target. At the break of day they disappeared in the same mysterious manner as they had come. Among the terrors of this fearful night was the dread that the city would become the prey of the flames. The stables of the artillery, and the royal iron-foundery, were burnt down, as were almost all the toll-houses, at the city gates; and the columns of smoke and flame rising from so many quarters at the same time, added not a little to the anxiety of the peaceable portion of the citizens.

The inhumanity which the soldiers exhibited towards their prisoners, tended in a great measure to increase the exasperation felt by the populace towards them. All such as fell into their hands were rudely pinioned and then driven forward by blows with the flat sides of their swords and the butts of their muskets; and in this ill usage the officers not unfrequently took part. The prisoners were in the first instance taken into the court-yard of the Schloss, where they were received with all kinds of insult and abuse. After a short hearing by two police commissioners, they were locked up in the cellars of the palace, in which several hundreds of these unfortunates were at length assembled. A student of medicine, who formed one of this sorrowful company, gives the following account of the treatment he experienced: "Until four in the morning we were compelled to remain in the cellar, where in consequence of the numbers confined there, the air was truly pestilential. We were afterwards brought into the court-yard, and from thence marched into the Lust-garten. Around us were a considerable number of troops, and the bright moonlight enabled us to perceive the countenances of our tormentors, I say, our tormentors; for nothing can exceed the fanatical rudeness, the horrible abuse and threats, and the incessant blows on breast and back, to which we were subjected. Not less frightful than this treatment was

the uncertainty we felt with regard to our destiny. Were we to be shot upon the parade, or were we to be conveyed to prison, or to one of the barracks? For sometime after passing the Brandenburg gate we imagined the latter would be the case, but we afterwards found we were being taken, or rather driven, to Spandau. Every order we received was accompanied by the words, "You accursed hounds!" and the stereotyped command of "Immer 'rann" (keep moving), was regularly accompanied by a blow from the butt-end of a musket. Any peculiarity of clothing or of person, such as long hair, a beard, or even the circumstance of wearing spectacles, was sufficient to provoke ill-usage from the soldiers; and it was useless to appeal for protection to the officers. Our sufferings also afforded subjects for the rude wit of the soldiery; for instance, when driven forwards by blows or the fear of them, we hastened on for a moment, then stood still, and again hastened forwards; this was called: "dancing the Polka!" The number of prisoners brought in this manner to Spandau, amounted to upwards of a thousand. Here were remained until the middle of the following day without any other refreshment than bread and water; when we were set at liberty with the remark, that the king held us for the most part, for people who had been led astray by designing persons, and was willing to drop the veil of oblivion over the past. We however were compelled to return to Berlin by a circuitous route, in order to avoid passing through the towns of Spandau, and Charlottenburg, where we had been loaded with abuse and ill-usage."

At about seven o'clock in the morning of the 19th. of March, the firing gradually ceased, and a kind of truce seemed to have been tacitly agreed to, between the contending parties. A terrible state of uncertainty prevailed in the city as to the results of the conflict, the people in one part of the town being completely ignorant of what had occurred in the others. It seems however to be certain, that the military had succeeded in making themselves masters of all the principal streets and open places in the city, and in removing the barricades, and driving their defenders into the less important thoroughfares. But at the same time the people were far from being vanquished. Great numbers of barricades were still in their possession, and even in the parts of the city occupied by the military, groups of people were to be seen consulting together on the necessity of renewing the conflict. At this moment the celebrated proclamation of the king "To my dear Berliners," was distributed among the people. In this singular document the blame of the occurrences of the preceding night, was laid upon "a gang of wretches, consisting for the most part of foreigners," and spoke of "the victorious advance of the troops" which however the king offered to withdraw, on condition that the barricades were immediately removed. The people who discussed this proclamation in groups, in every part of the city, shook their heads with an

air of doubt at this proposal; and in many places was heard the cry of "Too late!" a watch-word, which was afterwards the parole of so many of the agitations that convulsed Germany.

A few musket shots still continued to be heard at intervals, and these for the most part came from the still unconquered barricade in the Neuen Königsstrasse, from which the people had after a short rest, again opened their fire upon the military. Before this barricade appeared about 8 o'clock in the morning, General Von Möllendorf, on foot and bearing a white flag, in order to negociate a suspension of hostilities. No sooner however did he approach the barricade, than he was seized upon by several armed men, who declared him their prisoner, and dragged him over the barricades, where he was thrown upon the ground, and a pistol was already at his breast; when Urban the commander of the insurgents, succeeded in rescuing him from his perilous position. He was then taken into a private house in the Alexander-strasse; where it was insisted on, that he should sign an order to the troops to cease hostilities, and retire to their barracks; which after considerable hesitation he complied with, Urban now hastened to the fore-posts of the military, and read the order of the general, to the officers. At the same moment however it became known that the king had already given orders for the troops to retire to their barracks. General Möllendorf was in the meantime taken to the Schützen-haus and kept in close confinement. Here he was treated in a most unworthy manner by the populace, being compelled to appear repeatedly in the balcony, amidst the jeers and insults of the mob, who demanded that he should make a speech to them; and several hours elapsed before he could safely be set at liberty.

Meanwhile the sounding of the tocsin still continued, and the people began to again repair to the barricades; and when the order to withdraw reached the military, these had already made dispositions for recommencing the combat, cannon having been planted on all the bridges. The Bürgermeister Naunyn had again visited the palace, and represented to the king the frightful state of the city, and the king had at length consented to withdraw the troops, sending several adjutants with the Bürgermeister, who were to deliver the order at the same time, in the different quarters of the city. The violent agitation of the king's mind at this time, was visible both in the tones of his voice and his gestures, and it is not to be denied that the victory of the troops in the event of the recommencement of the combat, was very doubtful, they being completely worn out with fatigue, in consequence of their immense exertions during the preceding night.

The news of the retreat of the troops spread with amazing rapidity through the city, but no one knew whether this meant that they would merely retire to their barracks, or leave Berlin altogether; and the councils of the king, seem to have been greatly divided on this point. At length his Majesty, to whom the idea of a civil conflict

was unbearable, replied to the renewed entreaties of the town council, that the troops with the exception of a small number should be withdrawn from the city. At the same time he promised a complete alteration in the ministry; and finally agreed to restore the prisoners to liberty, with the peculiar expression: "If they please you!"

The military retired with drums beating and colours flying, which reminded the spectator of a parade, and afforded a singular contrast to the horrors of the preceding night; and seemed to be an open assertion that they retired as victors, which inasmuch as the power the crown remained undiminished, they had in some degree the right to assume. Under the Linden and in the Schloss-platz, numerous persons were to be seen, who looked at the departure of the troops without any expression of their opinions, but in many of the streets the people loudly declared their displeasure, and demanded that the air of some popular song should be substituted for the triumphal march; which in some cases was complied with. The appearance of the soldiers was however by no means of a triumphant character, most of them seemed but too happy to be released from their painful duties, and many looked dispirited and exhausted. At the head of the troops which withdrew from the Schloss, was the Prince of Prussia; he was on horseback, followed by a carriage in which was his son. This was the last time the Prince was seen for some months in Berlin; he appeared earnest and thoughtful, and his face seemed at one moment flushed, and the next extremely pale. He turned his face constantly, as much as possible from the people, who gazed in silence on his retreat.

At 11 in the forenoon, a considerable crowd collected on the Alexander-platz, where they bestowed tumultuous applause on various orators, who harangued them on the subject of a general arming of the people. It was now resolved to repair to the palace, and inform the king of their wishes; and the crowd set itself in motion for this purpose. On their way to the Schloss they met the Bürgermeister Krausnick who had just left the king; the moment he was recognised, a terrible uproar was raised, he was loudly accused of having kept the king in ignorance of the wishes of the people, and the crowd having attempted to lay hands on him, he escaped with some difficulty from their clutches, and took refuge in a neighbouring house. The crowd however surrounded the building shouting "Resign, resign, he shall resign at once!' A deputation was now sent to him, demanding that he should immediately give up his post. Upon this he appeared at a window, and endeavoured to address the people, assuring them that he had just seen the king, who had promised to comply with all the wishes of his "good Berliners;" but the shouts of "resign, resign!" drowned his voice, and the people having forced their way into the house, compelled him to accompany them to the palace.

In the mean time a most singular and impressive scene was being

enacted in the court-yard of the Schloss. A strange idea had simultaneously seized on the minds of the people in every part of the city, to bring thither the bodies of those who had fallen in the conflict of the preceding evening, and exhibit them to the king. These victims of an unnatural contest were carried partly on biers, partly on wagons; their pale countenances crowned with wreaths of flowers, evergreens and laurels; with which they had been decorated, principally by women, as they passed through the streets. Their wounds, by a species of horrible ostentation were carefully displayed; and as these terrible processions passed, the people uncovered their heads, with every sign of the deepest reverence. Each bier was followed by the sorrowing friends and relatives of the victims, and the bearers were for the most part the fellow combatants of the dead, many still bearing their weapons in their hands; and in their earnest and gloomy countenances, in many cases still blackened with gunpowder, was to be read the frightful history of the fate of those they carried. The bodies of the dead were deposited in the court of the palace, and the people in awful silence formed a circle around them. Tears filled the eyes of most of the spectators; and the silence was only broken by the arrival of a new bier, one of the bearers of which announced with a loud voice the circumstances of the death of the fallen. Some of these announcements were truly heart-rending in their terrible simplicity. Some of them ran thus: — "My only son, fifteen years old, shot at my side!" — "Bayonetted by the soldiers after laying down his arms!" — "The father of five young children!" — "A widow, the mother of seven orphans!"

Now arose a hoarse cry from the people: The king! the king shall come! Then all was again silent, as if to allow time to consider the meaning of this fearful cry. The people brought to their sovereign the bloody fruit of that dreadful night: they would show him the harvest that death had reaped, and over this heap of dead they would meet the king face to face, and appeal to him as to a fellow man. Again and again the cry arose, and each time louder, hoarser, and more threatening. Now the new minister count Arnim, appeared upon the balcony; but the people would not hear him, and the cry of, "The king! the king!" arose with fearful vehemence. At length the king appeared in the inner gallery of the court, with the queen leaning on his arm, whose pale countenance and trembling limbs, showed the dreadful agitation under which she laboured. The moment the king appeared on the balcony, a scene commenced in the court below, such as probably was never before witnessed. The people took the bloody corpses in their arms, and held them up to the king, so close that he could almost have touched them with his hands; and this act was accompanied by a loud threatening murmur from the men, and a shrill chorus of lamentation from the women. The eyes of the king filled with tears, and he silently uncovered his head. Upon which

the people set down the dead, and commenced the funereal hymn, "Jesus meine Zuversicht" (Jesus my trust). Nothing could be more awfully impressive and heart rending, than this hymn, sung under such extraordinary circumstances, and which the king heard bareheaded to its conclusion; and then led the queen who was evidently on the point of fainting, back to her apartment.

Little repose was granted to the king, to recover from the effects of this terrible scene. He was doomed to feel on this occasion the full weight of the awful responsibility, which rests upon an absolute monarch; and the difficulty of repairing the consequences of the unnatural relation which had so long existed in Prussia, between the people and the crown. Scarcely had he returned to his chamber, when a deputation appeared, who demanded that he should consent to the general arming of the people. At the head of this deputation was Minutoly the president of the police, and the Town councillor Holbein, which last addressed the king, and requested him to show himself to the people on the Schloss-platz, and give them the assurance that he felt himself as secure under their protection, as when surrounded by cannon. The king stood a moment undecided, but with the words: "Come, your Majesty, there is no time to be lost!" the burghers Hiller and Schweiditz took him by the arms and led him to the terrace of the palace. Here an immense crowd had assembled, and the king who seemed scarcely conscious of what he was doing, began: "My dear citizens — you have wished me to appear among you — I have come." Here he stopped and whispered to Hiller who stood beside him: "What more shall I say?" Hiller replied; "merely that you place yourself with confidence under the protection of your people, and willingly grant them permission to arm themselves." The king then resumed: "Your fellow citizens have convinced me, that the quiet of the city depends on the arming of the burghers — I grant you willingly permission to arm yourselves." No sooner had the king spoke these words, than a tremendous burst of applause ensued, and the air was rent with cries of "long live the king." His majesty now turned to the citizens who stood beside him, and asked: "Where will you procure arms?" to which they replied, "You must give us arms from the Arsenal, until the burgher-guard is organised." Upon which the king turned again to the people, and said with a loud voice: "I now place the upholding of peace and order in your hands, by whom it can be best supported!" and the most enthusiastic cheers again greeted the king as he retired.

In the afternoon of the same day appeared a proclamation, stating that the king had empowered count Arnim to form a new ministry. Later in the day the first steps were taken to organise the new burgher-guard. Arms were distributed to the citizens and they now mounted guard for the first time. The palace of the king was entirely evacuated by the military, and the guard was now composed of the Bürger-

schützen, who had taken so active a part in defending the barricades. The king himself visited the guard-room in the evening, and spoke in a friendly manner with the citizen-soldiers. He appeared to have recovered in a great degree his self-possession, and his voice had become firmer and clearer. He had outlived a day which was sufficient to shake the opinions, and change the sentiments of an entire life. He had been speaking to the people with short intermissions the whole day, being constantly called for by new crowds, and had again and again to appear on the balcony, and repeat his promises and assurances; and he several times descended to the Schloss-platz and conversed with the people.

As soon as it became dark the city was illuminated, and its truly festal appearance afforded a singular contrast to that of the previous night. An incessant discharge of small arms was kept up until a late hour at night, the new burger-guard proving by this means their weapons, and the people firing the powder into the air, which they had provided for the continuance of the defence of the barricades. On the 20th. of March the rejoicings of the people still continued, the principal amusement consisting in compelling the tradesmen of the Prince of Prussia to remove his name from their sign-boards. But the great occurrence of this day, was the setting at liberty the Polish prisoners. Already on the previous evening a deputation from the Poles resident in Berlin had repaired to the palace with a petition on the subject, the prayer of which was granted by the king, and at one o'clock in the day the doors of their cells were opened. Their departure from prison was a complete triumphal procession, which was attended by the whole population of Berlin, who even went so far as to take out the horses and draw the carriage of Mieroslawski through the streets. In this manner the procession passed through the Linden, white handkerchiefs waving from every window until it reached the palace; where the king himself, attended by his ministers Arnim, Schwerin, and Bornemann, appeared on the balcony, and greeted the liberated Poles by waving his cap. It afterwards returned to the front of the University, where numerous patriotic speeches were made, and the Poles and Prussians solemnly fraternised with each other, declaring that from henceforth the two nations were eternally friends; a vow altogether forgotten when a few weeks later, the civil war between the two races broke out in the duchy of Posen.

On the 21st. of March, Berlin saw a new spectacle, which was if possible more extraordinary than those of the preceding days. A placard from the government printing office, to the following effect, was extensively circulated: "To the German nation. A new and glorious epoch commences for you from this day. You are from this time forth, again a great and united nation, strong, free, and mighty, in the heart of Europe! Prussia's Frederic William IV., trusting to your heroic support, and your spiritual regeneration, has placed himself at

the head of the united Fatherland. You will see him this day in the midst of you, decorated with the ancient and honoured colours of the German nation: Hail! to the constitutional Prince, the leader of the united German people, the new king of the new-born German nation!" This peculiar act, by which the king sought to place himself at the head of the liberal party, was intended principally to influence the students, who in their turn, had immense power with the people. The new Minister of education, Count Von Schwerin, repaired to the University, where he made an address to the students; in which he assured them that the king would place himself at the head of constitutional Germany, that he was determined to take measures for calling together a German parliament, and by these means ensure the success of the cause of liberty and political progress. That as a pledge of his sincerity the king would appear in the streets wearing the German colours, and hoped above all to see the youth of Germany rally round him. And he finished his address by demanding a cheer for the responsibility of the ministers.

Accordingly at mid-day, the king appeared on horse-back, in front of the palace. He wore the uniform of the first regiment of the guard, and on his arm was a tri-coloured scarf. He was followed by such of the royal princes as were in Berlin, and the ministers in their ordinary civil clothing, but also wearing the tri-colour. On arriving on the Schloss-platz, the king addressed the following words to the assembled people: "It is no usurpation on my part, that I feel myself called to achieve the unity and freedom of Germany. I swear before God that I will thrust no prince from his throne, but will protect Germany's unity and freedom; it must be protected by German truth, and founded on the broad basis of an honest German constitution."

After the king had spoken these words amidst the joyful shouts of the populace, he proceeded with his attendants to ride through the streets of the city, preceded by two students bearing the German flag. He was greeted with most enthusiastic shouts by the multitude, and the waving of handkerchiefs and flags from the windows. At the Guard-house he stopped to look at the new burgher-guard, which now saluted him for the first time. "I see you are on guard!" said he, "but I cannot find words to tell you how much I thank you." At this moment a voice exclaimed, "Long live the Emperor of Germany!" The king turned sharply round, exclaiming; "Not so, that I will not, must not be!" At the University, the king stopped and addressed the students, who were drawn up in a line to receive him. "In you Gentlemen," said he; "I behold a great future, and when in times to come, you look back on your career, this day will assuredly not be forgotten. I bear this day colours which are not mine; but this is no act of usurpation, I wish no crown, no power, I wish only for the unity and freedom of Germany, and the support of order. I swear before God (here he held up his right hand) that I have only done that which

has often occurred in the history of Germany, when mighty Princes have displayed their banner in support of order, and placed themselves at the head of the whole nation. I believe that the hearts of the other princes of Germany beat in unison with my own, and that the will of the people will support me."

It was indeed a moment of universal joy when the king thus publicly announced his intention of putting himself at the head of the German agitation; the students clashed their weapons together, the people threw up their hats decorated with tri-coloured cockades, and loud and long, continued the shout of "Long live Frederic William." In the evening another proclamation was published, repeating more distinctly all the promises which had been made to the people. Still the citizens were much divided in their opinions as to the present state of affairs. Above all a dread of treachery on the part of the king seems to have haunted the minds of the lower classes, and this was increased by the absurd rumours which continually floated about the city. At one time the Prince of Prussia was advancing against the city, at the head of a large military force, at another the troops had taken possession of one or the other of the city gates; and these fables kept the minds of the people in such agitation, that they again commenced building barricades, and arming themselves to the best of their ability, against an imaginary foe.

On the 22nd. of March the prince of Prussia left Potsdam (to which city he retired after leaving Berlin) and departed on his famous mission to England. On the same day the king ordered all the articles pledged in the royal Leihhäusern (pawnbroking establishments) for sums under fifteen shillings, to be restored to their owners without payment; and the corporation of Berlin not to be behind hand in the good work, released all the pledges of a similar amount in the hands of private money lenders. On this day also took place the funeral of the "victims of the barricades," many persons wished that in order to more readily reconcile all classes of the community that both the soldiers and civilians be buried in one grave. This however found no echo in the public mind, and the military were refused a share in the honours paid to the heroes of the barricades. The number of dead which were conveyed to their last resting-place on this occasion was 187, and a great number of wounded still lay in the hospitals and private houses, many which afterwards died. The religious ceremonies were performed in the gensdarmenmarkt, by a catholic, a protestant, and a Jewish clergyman. The immense procession now set itself in motion, and proceeded through an espalier formed by the new burgher guard, and an innumerable crowd of spectators to the Friedrichshain, an elevated spot near the city, where an immense grave had been prepared by the comrades of the fallen. The procession lasted nearly three hours, and formed one of the most imposing spectacles of the kind ever beheld. The burial of the military took place on the 25th.

demagogues who harangued the people at the corners of the streets, and still more by the crowd of new periodicals of a witty and satirical character which issued daily from the press. A collection of these publications, with the accompanying caricatures and political squibs, would afford the most lively picture of the state of public feeling which prevailed at this time in Berlin. A very complete collection of these papers was purchased by an English gentleman for the British museum, and a similar collection was made for the royal library at Berlin.

It was indeed high time that order should be restored in the capital, in which every branch of trade and industry seemed to stand on the verge of ruin. Whole streets in the best parts of the city were uninhabited in consequence of the flight of the gentry, and house property had already lost one third of its value. The ceaseless agitation produced a feeling of insecurity with regard both to person and property, which called forth a corresponding reactionary feeling in the breast of every person who had anything to lose. The constant attempts at new outbreaks were not directed to produce a new revolution, but as it were to keep the wounds of the day open, and prevent the return of order. The producers of these incessant riots, were the mere adventurers of the revolution; who after raising the discontent of the people to the point of outbreak, became invisible in the moment of danger, or by their inactivity prevented the success of the cause they had undertaken.

The most important of these undertakings was the attack on the arsenal on the night of the 15th. of June, a proceeding which notwithstanding its complete success led to no political results whatever. The embittered feeling which had arisen during the previous two months between the burgher-guard and the populace, in consequence of the former being constantly called to quell the riots of the latter, reached its height on this day; a company of the burgher-guard having fired on a crowd of riotous workmen, by which several persons were killed and wounded. Enraged to madness at the sight of blood, the multitude raised a fearful cry for vengeance. The crowd rapidly increased in numbers, and the usual popular orators appeared among them, urging them by every means in their power to acts of violence. Handkerchiefs dipped in the blood of the wounded were fastened to sticks, and served as banners to the enraged crowds, who with fearful shouts rushed towards the arsenal to procure arms. The burgher-guard who occupied the building, abandoned their post and retired to their houses, or exhibited white handkerchiefs on their weapons as a sign they would not fire on the people. Affairs continued in this state until 11 at night, when the crowd around the arsenal was reinforced by a large body of armed workmen bearing torches. Large beams of timber were now procured, and used as battering rams against the doors of the building, which at length yielded, and the people rushing into the interior began a general plunder of

the weapons. The splendid collection of ancient arms were shared among the people, the flags and trophies torn from the walls and trampled under foot. All the arms, together with a large store of bars of lead were carried off, and many of the neighbouring streets were literally strewed with bullets. The upper part of the building was occupied by 250 soldiers of the 24th. regiment of infantry, who however made no attempt at resistance, the officer commanding them having suffered himself to be persuaded that the whole city was in the hands of the people. The plundering of the arsenal continued until midnight; when at the approach of a body of soldiers, the multitude dispersed, the greater part having previously however departed with their plunder. The burgher-guard recovered a large number of the weapons on the same evening, many ancient and costly specimens were offered for sale in the streets, and purchased for a few pence, and these were for the most part returned on the following day, and gradually the greater part of the arms were recovered.

This was the last scene of violence in the Berlin revolution. From this time the agitation visibly declined, the capital was again garrisoned with a sufficient number of troops to maintain order, and on the 15th. of September general Wrangel was appointed governor of Berlin. The reputation of this officer was in itself a sufficient guarantee that a more energetic attempt would be made to restore order, and accordingly from this time the state of continual uproar in which the city had been kept during the preceding six months, gave way to a period of comparative quiet.

The Prussian national assembly had in the meantime been called together; but as might have been expected from the persons of which it was composed, it was found to be utterly impracticable to reconcile its proceedings with the existence of a monarchal form of government. After various attempts to conciliate the more prominent factions into which it was divided, and to induce it to adopt a tone of mutual concilation, in the formation of the new constitution; the king by the advice of his new ministry, the chief of which was Count Brandenburg, prorogued the assembly on the 9th. of November. A portion of the members refused to obey the order of the king, and consequently general Wrangel surrounded the theatre in which they held their meetings, with his troops, and refused to permit them to enter. The president Unruh and a few of the more obstinate democrats, made various attempts to continue their sittings in taverns and school-rooms, from which they were constantly driven by the military, and by this means became the standing jest of the populace, who had long ceased to have any sympathy with its proceedings.

The minority of the members recommenced their sittings in the cathedral of Brandenburg, on the 29th. of November, and proceeded to chose a president; but as sufficient members did not appear to make their sittings legal, they remained in that city without effecting

anything, until the remainder, finding the impossibility of continuing their sittings in Berlin, at length joined them. The first step of the new comers was to demand that their president Unruh should be installed as the president of the Brandenburg assembly. This was refused by the other party, and the meeting consequently broke up in the utmost confusion. The Brandenburg ministry now believed that the moment had arrived, in which they could safely dissolve the national assembly, and grant the people a constitution emanating from the king.

This was accordingly done, by means of a royal patent dated the 5th. of December 1848. And thus the revolution of Berlin ended in procuring the people of Prussia, the form of government for which they had strove in vain during the preceeding thirty-five years.

DRESDEN.

The capital of the kingdom of Saxony, famous during several centuries for the treasures of art which it contains, and which has of late obtained a more melancholy celebrity for the revolutionary outbreak of which it has been the scene; is situated on both banks of the river Elbe, which divides the city into two unequal parts, which are united by a handsome stone bridge. Originally the city only occupied the left bank of the river, and this part is consequently known by the name of the old town, while that on the right bank of the Elbe is distinguished as the new. The old town has three suburbs, known as the *Pirnaischen,* the *See,* and the *Wilsdruffer Vorstädte* or suburbs, besides Friedrichstadt, which is separated from the city by the little river Weiseritz, one of the tributaries of the Elbe, over which is a stone bridge, and another of wood for foot passengers.

The new town has also a suburb called Antonstadt, which in 1730 was a barren sandy waste; but is now remarkable for the beauty of its gardens and the elegance of its dwelling houses. To the jurisdiction of this suburb also belongs the large village called Neudorf, the gardens of which supply a large proportion of the fruit and vegetables, to the markets of the city.

The origin of the city of Dresden is lost in the obscurity of antiquity; but it seems that as early as the tenth century a ferry had been established at this place by people of a Slavonic race known as the *Wenden,* whose language is still spoken by the peasantry in part of Saxony and Bohemia. Later a fortress was erected here by Henry I. duke of Saxony; but the earliest authentic records of the city, bear

A.H. Payne del & sculp.

Dresden.

the date of 1206. Various opinions have been expressed concerning the origin of the name of the city, but the most probable is that it is derived from the Wendish word "Traschezjan" a ferry or crossing place. In 1270, Henry surnamed "the illustrious," made Dresden his permanent residence, and improved it by the erection of schools and churches; a fragment of the holy cross, which his consort Constantia of Austria deposited in one of these churches, drew great crowds of pilgrims to the spot, and had a considerable influence on the rising importance of the city.

On the division of Saxony between Ernest and Albert the sons of the elector Frederic II., Dresden fell to the latter, and has ever since been the residence of the princes of the line founded by him. This occurred in 1484, and in 1491, the greater part of the city was destroyed by fire. Duke Albert who in consequence of the possession of the famous silver mines of Saxony, was one of the richest princes of the time, assisted the citizens with such liberality, that it was entirely rebuilt before his death. His son George the bearded, strengthened the hitherto inconsiderable fortifications, and built the castle of St. George. The elector Henry the pious, the successor of this prince, was the famous patron of the reformation; he was succeeded by his son Moritz who completed the fortifications of the city, built the Moritzstrasse, and reformed the municipal government. His successor Augustus, caused the city to be paved, built the arsenal, the church of St. Anne, and several other public edifices, and was the founder of the library and most of the artistic and scientific collections for which Dresden is famous. Under George I. Dresden had to endure its share of the horrors of the thirty-year's war, and during his reign the new town was fortified. During the government of his son John, and his grandsons George II. and III., the city recovered from the effects of that disasterous period. With the reign of Frederic Augustus I., who in 1697, received the crown of Poland, began the most splendid period in the history of Dresden. The town on the right bank which had been partially destroyed by fire in 1685, was now rebuilt with increased splendour, and received the name of Neustadt. The Japanese palace, the Zwinger, the Frauenkirche, and various other buildings were erected by this prince, and the picture gallery and royal library received important additions. The city was a reflection of the court which at this time was one of the most splendid in Europe. His son Frederic Augustus II., who inherited his fathers love of splendour, erected between 1739 and 1756, the magnificent catholic church. In the last mentioned year, in consequence of the seven year's war, Frederic the great of Prussia, appeared suddenly before the gates of Dresden, having taken the Saxon army prisoners. In 1758, and again 1759, the *Pirnaische* and *Wilsdruffer* suburbs were burnt by the enemy; but the city suffered still more severely by the siege of 1760. 500 houses became the prey of the flames, and

hunger and disease destroyed thousands of the inhabitants. After the death of Frederic Christian, the regency under prince Xavier founded new churches and palaces, and in 1764 the Academy of painting was established. Under the wise government of Frederic Augustus III., the works begun by the regency were completed, the Johanese palace which had been injured during the war, was restored, the treasures of art increased and arranged in order, and all traces of the ravages of war removed from the city.

Dresden escaped the ravages of the early wars of the French revolution, and although in 1805 a Prussian force assembled in the neighbourhood, the storm on that occasion passed over. In the eventful year 1806 however, the Saxons were involved in the misfortunes of Prussia at the fatal battle of Jena on the 14th. of October, and on the 25th. of the same month the French occupied Dresden. On the 20th. of December in the same year, Dresden became again a royal city, the elector having allied himself with Napoleon, and received the title of king. The increase of territory which Saxony obtained on this occasion, brought no good fortune; in 1809 the Austrians occupied the city as enemies, in 1812 the armies of almost all Europe passed through the city as the confederates of Napoleon, and in the following year he was attacked on the same spot by their united forces.

Dresden thus became the point at which the fortunes of that great man reached the point of culmination. He had availed himself of the truce with the allies to put this central point of his position in an admirable state of defence. The Elbe was secured to him by the fortresses of Torgau, Wittenberg, and Magdeburg, the mouth ofwhich Davoust had strongly fortified. The Lilienstein, Pirna, and Stolpen, were united by a military road, which still bears the name of Napoleon, and Dresden was the centre of this vast position on which the mastery of the world was to be decided. The year 1813 will ever remain famous alike in the history of Dresden and of Europe.

Shortly before its commencement, Napoleon had rested here a few days, during his rapid flight from Russia. He was followed on the 7th. of March 1813, by the remains of his immense army, scarcely amounting to 3500 men, consisting principally of Saxons, and pursued by the Cossacks. On the 12th. of March, Davoust arrived in Dresden with 12,000 men, and shots were exchanged with the Russians in the new town. On the 19th. of March he caused one of the piers of the bridge to be blown up, and retired from the city leaving behind him only 3000 men. On the 22nd. the new town was surrendered to the Russians, bridges were thrown over the Elbe both above and below the city, and on the 16th. of April Blücher crossed the river. On the 24th. the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia arrived in Dresden, which they left on the 30th. in order to be present at the battle of Lützen. On the 3rd. of May they returned, and retired with their forces to the right bank of the Elbe. On the 8th. the French again

entered Dresden, and a mutual cannonade took place between them and the allies until the 10th. when the latter retired on Bautzen, and Macdonald repulsed the Russians at Stolpen.

On the 12th. the king returned to Dresden, and the principal military hospital was established in the city; while the new town was fortified by general Rogniat. The citizens of Dresden suffered terribly under the pressure of finding quarters for the troops, which were constantly marching through the town. On the 18th. of May, Napoleon departed to be present at the battle of Bautzen, from which place 20,000 wounded were brought to Dresden, and had to be provided with quarters and supplies. The success of Napoleon brought the citizens no relief from their burdens; for his troops were repulsed by the Prussian cavalry at Haynau on the 26th. of May, and on the 4th. of June a truce was concluded between the hostile powers. The ten weeks during which it lasted were a season of relief to the other parts of the country; but all the burdens of Dresden were increased, as the emperor returned to the city, and established there the head quarters of his guard, and the city had consequently to provide for 30,000 men. On the Lilienstein, on the right bank of the river, was formed an entrenched camp for 60,000 men, which was united by means of two bridges with the Königstein on the opposite bank. It was but little consolation to the inhabitants, that during this time the city was the scene of the splendours of the imperial court, or that a company of actors from the théâtre français performed at the opera-house.

The truce expired on the 17th. of August, and on the same day Davoust recommenced hostilities, but suffered himself to be kept in check by the Prussians at Lauenburg until the 19th., on which day Blücher and Napoleon met at Goldberg, and Vandamme with 40,000 men hurried through Dresden to the support of Poniatowsky at Rumberg. While Blücher on the 21st. again engaged Napoleon at Löwenberg, the allies under Wittgenstein entered Saxony from Bohemia, and defeated St. Cyr at Giesshübel and Pirna. The latter now fell back on Dresden, followed by the allies; while on the 23rd., Napoleon beat the Prussians at Goldberg, but on the same day they were victorious at Grossbeeren. Murat now hurried to Dresden, and while the allies employed themselves in inclosing the city on all sides, Napoleon had already assembled such a force within the town, that it could easily resist the attack of 100,000 men.

The battle of Dresden took place on the 26th. of August 1813. The emperor Alexander had his head-quarters at Nothwitz and the king of Prussia at Lockwitz; the firing commenced at day-break, but instead of commencing the attack at once, the allies hesitated; and by that means, gave Napoleon time to throw more troops into the city, where he himself arrived at 10 in the morning, with part of the old guard. At length, at six in the evening, the attack commenced, the

Prussians drove the young guard out of the grossen Garten, and established themselves in the Pirna'sche suburb, while the Austrians stormed the trenches on the Freiberg road, and a Hungarian regiment those before the Mosczinski's Garden. At this moment Napoleon broke out of the city, the works taken by the allies were retaken in an instant, and they were compelled to retire from the city with great loss.

On the following day, the allies awaited his attack on the heights of Zocherritz and Räcknitz. He had in the meantime been joined by the corps of Marmont and Victor, he first attacked the Prussians on the left wing; and in the centre a cannon shot killed Moreau, his old rival, at the side of the Russian emperor. But the most decisive attack was on the side of Corbitz. Here at mid-day Murat threw himself with his cavalry upon the Austrians, drove them back with great slaughter and took their general Messko prisoner. Meanwhile Vandamme advanced as far as Pirna, and the allies were compelled to forsake the field with the loss of 30,000 men. Dresden was thus preserved from the immediate horrors of war, but was burdened with 13,000 prisoners, and 10,000 wounded Frenchmen. In this battle, victory smiled upon Napoleon for the last time, and merely served to delay his downfall. On the 28th. the Prussians were victorious at Belzig, on the 29th. at Kulm, and on the 30th. Vandamme was taken prisoner at Nollendorff.

On every side, fortune deserted the banners of Napoleon, who seemed in consequence to set the greater store on the possession of Dresden, the defences of which he caused to be strengthened by three new entrenchments on the side of the old town. Every day the circle formed around him by the allies was drawn closer, and on the 24th. of September he was compelled to abandon the right bank of the Elbe, while Bernadotte with his Swedes had already approached Leipsic. On the 7th. of October Napoleon left Dresden for the last time, to concentrate his forces around Leipsic, leaving behind him however a garrison of 30,000 men, under Gouvion St. Cyr.

On the 18th. Napoleon suffered a decided defeat at Leipsic, and the citizens of Dresden had to expect all the horrors of a siege. Notwithstanding that the city was surrounded on all sides by hostile forces, the burghers were ordered to provide themselves with provisions for two months; barricades and palisades were erected, houses in the suburbs which stood in the way of the operations pulled down, and others turned into block-houses. Hunger and disease were now added to the sufferings of the citizens, and the typhus fever swept away upwards of 300 persons daily, besides 200 who died in the military hospitals.

At length on the 11th. of November, the retreat of Napoleon having deprived the garrison of all hopes of relief, they agreed to surrender, and 27,714 privates and 1759 officers, laid down their arms, but 6000 wounded were left behind in the hospitals, when on the 16th. of No-

vember the last French soldiers left the city. Dresden was now occupied by the Russians who found here military stores which were valued at five million francs. Saxony remained under the rule of the Russians until the 8th. of November 1814, when they were superseded by the Prussians, and the king of Saxony did not return to his capital until the 7th. of June 1815. From this period until the year 1849, Dresden has been the scene of no event of historical importance; but under the late sovereign, and still more under the present, the public buildings have been improved and multiplied, and the arrangements for the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants, carried to a degree of perfection equal to those of any capital in Europe.

No traveller can visit Dresden without being struck by the extreme beauty of its situation; a noble river sweeps broadly past it, spanned by a bridge which long retained the reputation of being the finest in Europe; and the view from which, is one of the most beautiful of its particular kind in the world. The streets of Dresden are not remarkably lively; but the houses and public buildings have a clean, fresh, and at the same time solid appearance, which is more imposing than the brick and plaster splendour of Berlin. The bridge is approached from the new town by a splendid allee of Linden trees, occupying the centre of a broad and handsome street, which is however inferior to the Lindenstrasse of Berlin. At the corner of the bridge in the artillery guard house, a handsome but somewhat heavy looking building, occupied by the offices of the military executive of the kingdom; and in front of which is the celebrated equestrian statue of Augustus II. It is of bronze, gilt, and the horse is represented at full gallop, the weight being thus balanced entirely on the hinder legs and tail of the horse, which is represented as touching the ground. The figure of Augustus is in Roman costume, to which the immense peruke worn during the middle of the eighteenth century, forms a singular, not to say laughable contrast.

The bridge itself was erected in 1284 in lieu of an earlier structure of wood; the cost being defrayed by the proceeds of Papal dispensations for eating butter in Lent. It was repaired in 1344, and in 1547 five of the piers mere removed to gain room for the fortifications of the city. In 1732 two other piers were removed to gain space for the catholic church, and at the same time the whole structure was repaired, and assumed its present appearance. In 1813 Davoust caused two of the arches to be blown up, and in 1845 an unusual flood in the Elbe carried away two of the arches, these have however been since restored. On the centre of the bridge stands a crucifix of bronze weighing 32 cwt., it is placed on a kind of artificial rock, bearing the inscription *Galli Dejecerunt Die XIX. Mart. MDCCCXIII. Alexander I. Restituit Die Natili XXIV. Dec. MDCCCXIII.* As however the cross was removed by the French before blowing up the arches, out of care for its preservation, it cannot be said to have been

thrown down, and therefore the first words of the inscription contain an untruth. This bridge is undoubtedly one of the finest works of the kind in Europe, and as during the spring, the Elbe often rises sixteen feet in twenty-four hours, it is necessarily of the most solid construction.

On crossing the bridge the most prominent object is the catholic church, which is united with the palace by a bridge. It is an imposing building, commenced in 1787 from the designs of Chiaveri, and completed in 1756. The taste displayed in the design has been much blamed by many critics, the style of architecture is Italian, and it is profusely decorated, perhaps in some degree overloaded with sculpture. The interior of the church is elegant in design and richly decorated with marble. The altar-piece representing the ascension is one of the masterpieces of Raphael Mengs, and the two side altars are also decorated with paintings by the same master. The side chapels also display many excellent paintings, and are profusely decorated with marble and gold. Beneath the church is the mausoleum of the royal family, and the whole building is said to have cost upwards of two million dollars.

The royal palace, the tower of which has a striking appearance from the bridge, is a strange irregular pile of building, without any architectural pretensions. Many of the suites of apartments are however splendidly furnished; but the principal attraction to strangers is the celebrated green vaults, which contain the finest collection of gems and articles of virtu in Europe. Crowns and regalia blazing with the most costly jewels, ancient and extensive services of massive embossed plate; goblets and vases of antique forms; precious enamels; old watches, called from their shape Nuremberg eggs; quaint and grotesque toys, made of the coral, the topaz, the emerald and the pearl, meet the eye on all sides. Many specimens of early art are also here, and some earrings in ivory so beautifully relieved, that the infant bacchanal, the fair full form of youth, and the withered lines of age, are given with a grace, a truth, and a life, which equally astonish and delight. These are highly interesting as mementos of a very difficult art, and of the untiring industry which enabled the German artists to mould the most reluctant materials into forms of variety and beauty. There is no catalogue of the contents of these vaults, and the objects to be viewed are so numerous and bewildering, that it is almost impossible in half a dozen visits, to separate and fix in the mind those most worthy of being remembered. But the court, the festival, the chamber, and the cabinet, of other days, are furnished out of a treasury like this; and fancy recals and illustrates the periods which have long since passed away.

The apartments of the king contain some good modern pictures, principally by Dietrich; and the chamber of Augustus the strong, is still to be seen in all its ancient splendour. There is also an apart-

ment containing a curious collection of old china, and the private chapel contains several fine paintings both by ancient and modern masters.

The building called the Zwinger, is part of an immense palace which Augustus II. contemplated erecting; but which with the exception of the buildings surrounding a single court has never been carried into execution. The structure is in the elaborate and over-ornamented French style, of the age of Louis XIV., but its graceful proportions produce a pleasing effect upon the spectator. The court is 800 feet long, and 460 in breadth, and during the summer the number of orange trees which are displayed here and several fountains, render it an agreeable promenade. In this building is the cabinet of engravings, which deserves the notice of all lovers of art; it is the most complete collection of copper-plates in the world, and contains at least 250,000 thousand specimens of this beautiful branch of art. In the Zwinger is also the cabinet of natural history, a collection of scientific and mathematical instruments, and the historical museum. Part of this building, together with the adjoining opera house, was destroyed by fire during the revolutionary outbreak in May 1849.

The new theatre, completed in 1838, is one of the principal ornaments of the city, and is well worthy to stand beside the gorgeous buildings of the splendour loving Augustus. The architecture of the building is in the highest degree characteristic, and the spectator perceives the object of the building at the first glance. The exterior is decorated with various groups of sculpture emblematic of poetry and the drama; and the interior is fitted up with mingled taste and magnificence. The extreme length of the building is 240 feet, it is 230 feet broad and 81 high. The stage is 100 feet broad, and 68 feet deep, and the procenium is 46 feet in height. The pit is 56 feet in breadth, and with the five rows of boxes will contain upwards of 1700 spectators. 800 gas-lights illuminate the interior; and both from its architectural beauty, and the completeness of its arrangements, it merits its reputation of being the finest theatre in the world.

Adjoining the palace is the famous picture gallery, containing the finest collection of paintings in Germany. The building itself which was originally the royal stables, is by no means remarkable for architectural beauty, nor is it well adapted for the purpose to which it is applied; the light being so bad that the beauty of many of the pictures is scarcely to be perceived. It contains upwards of fifteen hundred paintings, among which none are bad, few mediocre, the majority good, and many of surpassing excellence. The outer gallery which is lighted from the street, contains specimens of the Dutch and Flemish schools; while the inner gallery, lighted from the court-yard, is devoted to the works of the Italian masters.

It is impossible for us to notice a tythe of the masterpieces, which here meet the eye on all sides; especially noble is the lion-hunt of Rubens, himself a lion among painters; and how jovially old

Rembrandt glances at us, as with his wife on his knee, he lifts the Champaign glass above his head, and drinks the health of the whole world. Truly Dutch is Rembrandt's Ganymede, whose fear displays itself in a manner which is *too* natural, but it seems as though we could actually pull the feathers from the eagle, so perfect is the deception. Dow's dentist and hermit, are splendid pictures, and the landscapes of Berghem, Ruisdale, and other Dutch masters, absolutely confuse us with their number and their beauty. The drunken Boors of Teniers and Ostade are so natural that we seem to feel the effects of the beer and tobacco, and the tinker of Mieris is beyond all praise. Dutch nature, is not less nature than the nudities of the Italians, and admirable is the patience and industry which these pictures display, while dutch frugality and content seems to be embodied in Kalf's Apotheosis of the herring, with its accompanying bread and butter, cheese and onions.

But let us enter the interior of the temple, and worship the Madonna of Raphael. This Madonna with St. Sixtus and St. Barbara is the first of all Madonnas, and could only have been painted by a fervent believer. Barbara and Sixtus glance with rapt devotion on the heavenly vision, and the angels in the fore-ground seem real members of the heavenly host. Here are six pictures by Correggio, the painter of the graces. The famous painting of the Magdalena was stolen some years since by an artist named Mogatch, who substituded a copy for the original; but was detected and sent to prison, with the additional and appropriate punishment, of having his portrait painted and deposited in the gallery. Here is also the famous nativity by the same master, in which all the light in the picture streams from the infant god, and which has driven all would be imitators to despair. For this master-piece Correggio received 208 lire, about six pounds sterling, as is proved by the contract still existing at Modena; but the story that he died from over-heating himself in carrying home the sum in copper, is untrue. The fame of Correggio induced many painters to copy his works, and many of these copies now pass as originals. None of these copyists approached him nearer than Schidone, by whom there is a beautiful picture in the gallery, he however painted but little, in consequence of his love of play. Renowned is Titian's Christ and the Pharisee, and beside it hangs Tosse's copy, which is difficult to distinguish from the original. Sarto also copied Raphael with such correctness, that even Julio Romano was deceived, and the difference between Albano's copy of Correggio's Magdalena and the original, is purely imaginary.

Battoni's Magdalena has by no means the pure and holy repose of that of Correggio, and is likely to excite warmer ideas than the Venus of Titian, which is nevertheless a work of great beauty, and worthy of its fame. Both these works were copied by the command of Frederic the great, who unlike Napoleon did not decorate his capital with the

plunder of vanquished cities. A peculiar good fortune seems ever to have attended this collection; the bombs of Frederic exploded in the gallery without damage, and under Napoleon not one of the pictures found its way to Paris. Also in the late outbreak, although the gallery was one of the principal points against which the insurgents directed their attacks, the whole of the pictures escaped injury.

The gallery contains a vast number of pictures in crayons, the most famous of which are the cupid by Mengs, the greatest of the German painters, and the chocolate girl by Liotard of which more copies exist than of perhaps any other picture in the world. The gallery is poorest in specimens of the German school, there is however a Madonna by Holbein and a portrait of Henry VIII. by the same artist. There are also but few pictures of the French school, but there is an excellent specimen of Claude Lorrain, and two or three by Le Brun, Poissin, etc. In a suite of apartments on the ground floor of the building is a series of portraits of various princes and other celebrated persons, also curious paintings of the Dresden tournaments.

The armoury, or as it is now called the historical museum, contains one of the finest collections of the kind in the world, being only second to the celebrated Ambras collection at Vienna. It contains all the weapons offensive and defensive of chivalrous warfare; all the costly trappings and caparasons of the tournament, and the other wild and poetical sports of feudal times. The elaborate workmanship in gold silver and ivory, on gunstock sword, bit, and stirrup; the splendid damasking of the plate armour, together with the profusion of inlaid ornament, excite both wonder and admiration; and wealth and skill appear to have exhausted every possible material and decoration in the display which has been made. The suits of armour are countless, from those adopted to the strength of a boy of ten years of age, when the education of a knight appears to have begun, to that of Augustus the strong, in which few men of the present day could move, and whose helmet is as heavy as a small cauldron. The strength of this prince is said to have been so great, that he could break a horse-shoe between his fingers; and he rivaled Hercules in other particulars, as his progeny is said to have amounted to the enormous number of 235. The historical museum contains also many curious articles of furniture, drinking cups, etc. among others a cup, ring, and sword, formerly belonging to Luther. There is also a collection of ancient clothing; principally bridal suits of the various members of the royal family of Saxony, a hat of Peter the great, the boots of Napoleon, and the gloves which he wore at his coronation.

The Brühl palace was erected in 1737 by Count Brühl, the profligate minister of Augustus II.; the various buildings surround six court-yards, and since the death of the builder, it has been the property of the state. In this palace is a splendid collection of land-

scapes, mostly views of Dresden and its vicinity, by Thiele and Canalletto. The rest of the building is appropriated to public offices. The adjoining terrace over-looking the river, is the favorite promenade of the inhabitants of Dresden, and affords a beautiful view of the valley of the Elbe. On this terrace stands the magnificent place of public entertainment called the Belvedere, in which concerts are given during the summer months, and in which every kind of refreshment can be obtained at moderate prices.

The Japanese palace, so called from the collection of porcelain which it contains, was erected 1715 by Count Flemming; but was purchased in 1717 by Augustus the first, under whose directions it received its present appearance; and was destined by him to form a summer residence for the court. The principal front was completed in 1729; but the rest of the building was not finished until 1783. In a long range of chambers on the ground floor of this building is the celebrated collection of Dresden china, consisting of about 60,000 specimens of Chinese, Japanese, and European porcelain; in which is to be traced the rise, progress, and varied improvements of an art, which contributes in so great a degree to the comforts and luxuries of civilized life. One of the numerous services of China contained in this collection, was given to Augustus II. of Saxony, by Frederic I. of Prussia, in exchange for a regiment of dragoons fully equipped.

In the same building is the collection of antiquities, which although it may disappoint a traveller fresh from Rome or Florence, contains some works of a very high order, alike illustrative of ancient art, and of ancient history. The beautiful figures of vestals, in which the form is so admirably seen through the light drapery, are curious in an historical point of view, having been the first works of art discovered at Herculaneum in 1706. The Neptune is the finest which has hitherto been discovered, and the dying son of Niobe a miracle of art; his muscles still seem to quiver, and his breast to heave with the last gasp of life. Many of the statues have been restored in a miserable manner, especially those of Perseus, Diana, and Apollo, of which the bodies are alone antique. The dancing Satyr is not inferior to that of Florence, and the group of the Fauns with a Bacchante, produces a more than comic effect.

The collection of casts from the antique, deposited in the Zwinger, claims also a short notice. It was formed by the celebrated painter Raphael Mengs, and consists of casts from the various relics of ancient art scattered through the cities of Italy and Spain; to which are added those of various works by Michael Angelos, Benini, and John of Bologna. After the death of Mengs, the collection was purchased from the sister of the painter, by the elector Frederic Augustus, in 1783. Since 1828, casts of the principal works in the Dresden collection have been added, and in 1839, casts of the Elgin marbles, from the British museum, were deposited here.

The most imposing ecclesiastical structure in Dresden is the Frauenkirche (church of St. Mary), situated in the new market, and erected between the years 1726 and 1734, in place of a former building which had become ruinous. This church is one of the handsomest modern structures in Germany, and its simplicity affords a pleasing contrast to the elaborately ornamented catholic church. Its appearance would have been still more imposing, had the cupola been finished according to the original design of the architect George Bähr; who proposed to complete it with a lofty pyramid of stone, instead of the present lanthorn. This idea was abandoned from the fear that the cupola could not sustain the weight, although from its immense strength it resisted the numerous bombs which struck it during the siege of 1760. The church is in the form of an octagon, and the interior is circular, it is 136 feet long, and 124 feet in width. It contains accommodations for 3350 persons, and beneath the church are extensive catacombs. The four towers at the corners of the building are 178 feet high, and a staircase leads to the summit of the cupola, from which a beautiful view of the surrounding country is obtained. After the suppression of the outbreak in Dresden in May 1849, the Frauenkirche was used as a prison for the captured insurgents, whose number at one time amounted to upwards of a thousand.

The Kreuzkirche (church of the cross), situated in the old market, is also a handsome building. As early as the 13th. century, a chapel existed on this spot, which was renowned for possessing a fragment of the true cross, and a wonder working picture of the virgin. Being destroyed by fire in 1491, it was rebuilt in the Gothic style of architecture, and a tower was added in 1582. In 1669 it was again the prey of the flames. At the siege ef Dresden in 1760, the tower was destroyed by the bombs of the Prussians, and falling on the church reduced if to a heap of ruins. In 1784 it was re-build in its present form, but was not consecrated until 1792. Its length is 224 feet and its breadth 160; the roof is covered with copper, and the tower which has at once an elegant and massive appearance, is 205 feet in height.

Among the public monuments with which the city is adorned, the statue of king Frederic Augustus, in the court-yard of the Zwinger, deserves especial mention. It was erected in 1830 from the design of Professor Rietschel, and represents the monarch in a sitting posture, holding in his hand a volume inscribed "the Laws." The drapery of the figure is very elegantly arranged, and at the corners of the pedestal are figures representing the cardinal virtues. The monument of the elector Moritz is to be seen at the corner of the wall of the botanical garden in the Pirnaischen suburb. It was originally erected by the elector Augustus on the so called bastion of Mars, to indicate the point which the fortification of the city had arrived at, under prince Moritz. It represents the latter, behind whom stands the figure of death, to indicate his early end, at the battle of Sievenshausen, in the act of

presentmg his brother Augustus with the electoral sword. Beside him is his wife the princess Agnes, in deep mourning, and Anna the wife of Augustus is also standing by the side of her husband. This monument was concealed for more than two hundred years by a part of the fortifications, and was discovered in 1811 on removing part of the old wall. There is also a curious dance of death on the wall of the burial ground in the new town. It was executed in 1534 and consists of a row of 27 figures in alto-relief, representing the grim enemy conducting persons of every rank to the grave. It is executed in sandstone, and deserves the attention of the connoisseur as a favourable specimen of the powers of the early German sculptors.

Among the other public buildings worthy of notice in Dresden, is the post office, a plain but handsome building erected in 1831. It contains in addition to the offices connected with the postal arrangements, various other offices for the collection of taxes, and the administration of public business. The Synagogue of the Jews, is also a handsome building in the Byzantine style of architecture, erected in 1839 from the designs of Semper. The Zeughaus or arsenal which has recently obtained considerable celebrity from being the point at which the late revolutionary outbreak in Dresden commenced, is one of the largest and highest buildings in the city, and formerly contained one of the largest collections of arms in Europe. In 1756, it contained 1500 pieces of cannon, and arms for 100,000 men. Of late years, this stock has been greatly reduced; but it still contains a large quanfity of various kinds of arms, including many pieces of historical interest, including some cannon left behind by the Swedes at the famous battle of Lützen. In the cellars which were formerly used as stores for wine, are exhibited various curiosities, consisting of ancient carvings in wood, paintings on glass etc. and in one of the apartments are portraits of all the Saxon princes, from Moritz downwards, as well as of the most celebrated Saxon generals.

The palace in the great garden (a large pleasure ground without the city on the road to Pirna), is a building in the French style of architecture, overloaded with ornament, and now in a ruinous condition. It contains a handsome saloon, decorated with some curious paintings, which was formerly used as a ball room. After the battle of Dresden it was used as a military hospital, and the marks of the various floors erected to afford accommodation for the wounded, are still to be seen amidst the remains of former splendour; affording a vivid idea of the horrible scene of human suffering, afforded by a crowded recepticle for the wounded, after a great battle.

The great garden itself formerly contained no less than 1500 marble statues, few of which now remain, they having been either destroyed or removed by the Prussians, during the seven year's war. There are still however, two colossal groups representing Centaurs and Nymphs to be seen at the entrance of the flower garden; in the centre of

which is a beautiful allegorical group by Balestra; representing time carrying off beauty. At the eastern end of the ornamented piece of water is a handsome marble vase, and the entrance to the garden is ornamented by two others of an extremely elegant shape.

Dresden is indeed extremely rich in agreeable walks, and places of resort; in addition to the great garden, those of the palace of Brühl, the botanic garden, and above all the Prince's or Orange garden, afford pleasant promenades to the inhabitants. The garden of Marcolini, formerly the property of Count Brühl, contains a splendid fountain, now unfortunately no longer supplied with water. It was designed by Martelli and represents Neptune surrounted by tritons and sea-horses, in the act of crowning Amphitrite. This work is said to have cost Count Brühl upwards of 11,000 pounds sterling. The Orange garden contains a splendid series of hot-houses, and besides some fine specimens of Palms and Aloes, some fig trees of great age, formerly belonging to the Convent of Grey-friars, and which are said to have been brought by pilgrims from the holy land.

Few capitals can vie with that of Saxony, in the beauty of its environs; and the facility of communication both by steam boat and railway, renders the various points of interest easily accessible to the inhabitants. By the former conveyance we reach in about an hour, Pillnitz, the summer residence of the court. Here is a palace built in a strange and anomalous style of architecture, and which from its being decorated with rude paintings, similar to those seen upon oriental porcelain, is supposed to be intended for that of Japan. It contains few objects of interest, the only remarkable apartment being the dining room, which is large and elegant. The gardens are laid out in a pleasing manner, and on the hill behind the palace is an artificial ruin. From Pillnitz the visitor usually ascends through the beautiful valley called the Friedrichs-grund, and which contains a pretty waterfall, to the summit of the Borsberg, from which a magnificent view of Dresden and the surrounding country is obtained, including upwards of 300 towns and villages, and a considerable part of the so called Saxon Switzerland, a chain of mountains skirting the Elbe in this part of its course, and the proper name of which is the Meissener Hochland.

At Pillnitz the tour of Saxon Switzerland properly begins; but our space does not permit us to do more than point out a few of the more interesting spots, within a moderate distance of the city. From Pillnitz the tourist generally proceeds through the beautiful valleys or rather ravines, called the Liebthaler-Grund, and Ottowalder-Grund, to the Bastei; a precipitous rock, the summit of which is 680 feet above the level of the Elbe, which it overlooks, and from which is obtained one of the most magnificent and peculiar views in the world. At the foot of this precipice lie the inconsiderable ruins of the ancient castle ot Rathen; and in the immediate neighbourhood, the small but pretty

waterfall of the Amsel. One of the principal objects seen from the Bastei is the rock and fortress of Königstein, with a similar but somewhat higher mass of rock on the opposite bank of the Elbe called the Lilienstein. The Königstein is the only fortress of Saxony, and has hitherto successfully resisted all attacks which have been directed against it. The Sorben are said to have had a fortress here as early as the 13th. Century, in the early part of the 16th. century a monastery existed here, and towards its latter end, the present fortifications were erected. It is one of the strongest forts in the world and can neither be undermined nor effectively bombarded; from the Königstein, Augustus II., had the mortification of seeing his army which had been surrounded by that of Frederic the great, lay down their arms for want of provisions, on the 15th. Oct. 1756.

At the foot of the rock on which the fortress stands, is the little town of Königstein, containing about 1700 inhabitants, who are mostly employed in brewing and distilling. From the Lilienstein runs the road still called after Napoleon, it having been constructed by him, in 1813, to unite the Königstein with Stolpen, and the remains of the entrenchments erected on that occasion are still visible. The prospect from the summit of the fortress affords a beautiful panorama of the valley of the Elbe, and the surrounding country, which amply repays the trouble of ascending it. The fortress is supplied with water by means of a well hewn through the solid rock to the depth of 900 feet, and here are also the remains of an immense tun, once the rival of that at Heidelberg.

Having now described the principal points of interest in Dresden and its vicinity, we proceed to give a short description of the late revolutionary outbreak, which has recently attracted the attention of the public in so painful a manner towards the Saxon capital. This contest was without doubt the most obstinate which has yet occurred within the walls of a city, and although the insurrection in Lyons in 1834, also lasted six days, yet half of that time was consumed in pauses, during which the troops awaited the moral influence of the force which they displayed, upon the minds of the insurgents — a mode of proceeding which was also tried on this occasion; but without result. The Parisian struggle in June 1848, exceeded that of Dresden in the numbers of the hostile parties, and the wild horror of isolated scenes; but it by no means equalled it in the obstinacy of the combatants or in the relative amount of loss of life.

In order to understand the causes of this lamentable conflict, or rather the pretences under which it was commenced, it is necessary to take a slight glance at the political state of Germany during the early part of the year 1849. The union of the various states of Germany, into a great and independant empire, was the object which the constitutional party in Germany had in view during the whole of the agitations to which that country has been subjected during the last two years. It became apparent however in an early stage of this agi-

tation that before any substantial political edifice could be erected, it would be necessary to limit the suffrage to that part of the community, whose education fitted them for appreciating and understanding the various political questions of the time. They therefore sought to carry into effect the moderate restriction of the franchise, recommended by the committee appointed to consider the subject, by the central parliament in Frankfort; and above all to retain the absolute veto in the hands of the respective sovereigns, as a necessary principle of constitutional monarchy. As however the left, or democratic party, in Frankfort obtained a majority upon both these questions, the respective German governments sought by urgent representations to the parliament to induce that body to alter its decision with regard these subjects; but unfortunately without effect. The ultra democratic party took advantage of these proceedings on the part of the governments, to accuse them of a design of depriving the people of the whole of their newly acquired liberties, and of re-establishing the old state of affairs; a circumstance not only impossible in itself, but even if possible, so opposed both to the principles and interests of the constitutional party, that the amount of popular credulity which must have existed to enable this falsehood to obtain belief, is positively wonderful. The monarchal party indeed carried their proposal, to place an Emperor at the head of the German confederation, but under such restrictions, that no prince was at all likely to accept a crown burdened with such conditions. The king of Prussia declined not only to receive the proffered imperial crown, but also to accept the constitution which the democratic majority of the Frankfort assembly, wished to impose upon him, and in this latter determination he was joined by the kings of Saxony, Hanover and Bavaria.

The democratic clubs, whose object it was to procure a republic at all risks, now believed the time for action had arrived, and that under the pretence of combating for the Frankfort constitution, they could commence a movement the result of which if successful, would be to overturn the whole of the German thrones, and to establish an universal German republic upon their ruins. The occurrences in Würtemberg had the effect of encouraging the hopes of this desperate party; while the friends of order and constitutional liberty, saw with dismay the numbers and influence of the individuals, who supported the republican cause in that country.

Saxony seemed to offer a fair field for the exertions of this party. It was governed by a prince who was known to be devoted to constitutional freedom; but whose ministry were partly weak and vacillating, and partly composed of men who were secret advocates of the republic. The chambers were filled by men chosen during the excitement of the revolution, and whose ignorance and incapacity was only to be equalled by the recklessness with which they laboured in defiance of their oath of allegiance, to prepare the way for a republic.

Many high officials (as was proved by the establishment of the provisional government), were inclined to republican principles, and none dared to offer any opposition to the constant agitation of the democratic clubs, which were the instruments by which that party worked. Their numerous newspapers laboured unceasingly to prepare the minds of the people for the approaching struggle; by the formation of numerous gymnastic clubs and other similar bodies of young men, they had prepared a considerable organized force, and by their success in the election of jurymen, they had provided as far as possible, for the consequences of any miscarriage in their plans. In short, all the preparations for an outbreak were complete.

The retirement of the ministry of Van der Pforten, disturbed the arrangements of the democrats in some degree, still more so the formation of the succeeding cabinet, under the government of which they could no longer so openly proceed with their machinations. The dismissal of the chambers followed, and as the members hoped at precisely the right point of time; then the question was one of finance, and gave occasion for holding numerous public meetings, at which they could parade their conscienciousness in suffering themselves to be dissolved rather than submit to place such sums at the disposal of the government, and indulge in various themes of a similar character, which never fail to win applause in a popular assembly. Nevertheless the Deutschen Verein (German Club), and all the friends of constitutional liberty represented by that body, supported the government in the measure of dismissing the chambers.

Now came the crisis; the majority of the ministers declared for accepting the constitution of the Frankfort assembly, on what grounds is unknown, but in all probability they feared a collition with the democratic party, in which they might be compelled to give way, as had already been the case in Würtemberg; or perhaps they did not believe the monarchal principle to be strong enough to brave the approaching storm. Certain it is, that this conduct of the ministry did no small damage to the cause of the constitutional party, as it gave the conduct of the king, who firmly refused to accept the Frankfort constitution, the appearance of assuming an irresponsible power, and of persisting in his own course in spite of his constitutional advisers.

The communal-guard now began to mix in the discussion. With what right it would be difficult to say; but it is certain that a body of men who are capable of employing the arms entrusted to them for the support of order, as a means of terrifying or coercing the sovereign into measures of which he disapproves, are unworthy of the trust reposed in them. By their armed demonstrations, they were the first to set the fearful example that might is superior to right, and by attempting to overawe the government by a military force, they violated every principle upon which a constitutional monarchy is founded. It must however be observed in justice to the communal-guard, that they

were for the most part completely led astray. The intrigues of the republicans had been for some time employed to place their creatures in authority in that body, and they had been in too many instances successful. The leaders consequently gave their orders and the unsuspecting herd obeyed them, in most cases without having the least idea of the ulterior object of the movement, and for the most part believing they were doing the crown good service by making it aware of the wishes of the people. Besides this, they had the example of the burgher-guard of Würtemberg before their eyes, which had by their demonstrations compelled the government to accept the Frankfort constitution; and they imagined, the same game could be played in Saxony, with the same results.

It may easily be supposed that all possible means were put in requisition by the revolutionary party to excite the communal-guard to follow the example of their brethren in Würtemberg; they had determined as in Baden, that whether the Frankfort constitution were accepted or not, that an attempt should be made to establish a republic, and the communal-guard afforded the readiest tools for this purpose. As a proof of the extent to which preparations had been made for this outbreak, it may be mentioned, that after the suppression of the insurrection a large seal was discovered, bearing the inscription "Provisional Government", and the execution of which, according to the evidence of persons acquainted with the subject, must have occupied at least fourteen days.

The garrison of Dresden had for some days been kept in a state of readiness to suppress any attempts which might be made to disturb the peace; but the slight stock of ammunition which had been provided, shows that none of the authorities, whether civil or military, had the least suspicion of the real nature of the measures in preparation by the democratic party. The more the club leaders boasted of the eighty thousand armed men at their disposal, and the more the Dresdner Zeitung and other radical prints preached up the necessity of bloodshed and anarchy, the more the public seemed to be lulled into security, and to believe that as on many other occasions, the excitement would evaporate in words. No one with the exception of the democratic leaders, dreamed of the volcano which lurked beneath this apparent state of security.

On the second of May, an address numerously signed by the communal-guard was presented to the king by a deputation from that body, praying for the immediate acceptance of the Frankfort constitution, and intimating that on the following day the whole communal-guard would appear in arms to receive the answer. Accordingly at one o'clock on the third of May they assembled in arms; a proclamation from the government prohibiting the meeting, having been disregarded. In the midst of an immense crowd the simple and dignified answer of the king declining to comply with the prayer of the petition,

was communicated to the communal-guard, and the excitement which this occasioned among the multitude, afforded the wished for opportunity for the putting the previously prepared plan into execution. Numerous strangers were now observed to be extremely busy among the crowd, giving directions as to their proceedings, and the military authorities perceiving that mischief was intended, doubled the guard at the principal posts and abandoned the more isolated. At one o'clock the military entered the old town, and occupied the palace, the arsenal, and the Brühl terrace; and at four o'clock, the artillery arrived from Radeberg.

It is now necessary to take a closer glance at the scene on which the contest took place. It must be observed that the Brühl terrace and the wall of the Zwinger, as parts of the old fortifications, command in some degree the neighbouring parts of the city, and form a position, the centre of which is composed of the palace and adjoining public buildings. The streets of the old town are seldom straight, mostly narrow, and the houses high. The buildings are composed of sandstone, and the walls are very thick, the party-walls being also for the most part of stone. The pavement is composed of squared stones, admirably adapted for the materials of barricades, and the large square flag-stones of the *trottoirs* are equally well adapted for forming breast-works or smaller barricades. The numerous projecting angles of the buildings afford great facilities for the defence of the streets, and the insurgents availed themselves of these advantages with great dexterity, so that repeated discharges of grape-shot on the part of the military, produced little or no effect. It must also be observed that the leaders of the insurgents evidently possessed considerable technical knowledge, and shewed more skill in availing themselves of local advantages than the Saxon troops, who practised this mode of warfare for the first time. On the other hand the troops had the advantage of acting on a regular plan, every part of which was under the eye of the commander, whose eye is accustomed to discover the important points of a position at the first glance.

The new town is evidently less adapted for barricade building than the old, because it is divided into two parts by the main street, and this street is too broad to be barricaded unless by a party possessed of overwhelming numbers; besides this, almost the whole of the military establishments, barracks, etc. are in the new town; only the arsenal being on the other side of the river, on the old Venus bastion, now called the Brühl terrace. It seems impossible to arrive at any very correct idea of the force of the insurgents; during the first day of the contest it certainly included the greater part of the communal-guard, which partly, really belonged to the insurgents, and partly believed they could be useful as the protectors of property. The last were however soon compelled either to give up their weapons, or to take an active part in the contest. On the second and third days, the ranks of the

insurgents were joined by the numerous gymnastic clubs from other parts of the kingdom, by the miners from the neighbouring mountains who brought with them six four pounders, well supplied with ammunition, by numerous volunteers from the neighbourhood of Freiburg, and lastly by the *crême* of the republicans from the manufacturing districts in the Erzgebirge, men of such decidedly liberal ideas, that they looked upon the distinction between *meum* and *teum* as one of those which ought to be immediately abolished, as belonging to a bygone state of society. The villages on the roads leading to Freiburg, also sent many volunteers, as also the district of the Mulda; but many of these soon returned to their homes, not finding the state of unrestrained liberty within the city precisely to their taste. Altogether we may calculate that during the height of their short lived power, the Provisional government had at their disposal a body of from 8 to 10,000 armed men, besides numerous others who lent a helping hand in the building of barricades, etc. etc., and the fair sex on this occasion, as on all others of an extraordinary character, did not fail to produce the usual number of heroines to give the affair a proper spice of the romantic.

With regard to the quality of the forces thus brought together, the gymnastic clubs must undoubtedly be looked upon as the *élite* of the insurgents; they were for the most part provided with good rifles and possessed at least the elements of tactical discipline. After them came the members of various other free companies, which although not present as bodies, sent numerous members to increase the force of the revolutionists. With these persons however all semblance of discipline ended, and however great the zeal and courage of single individuals may have been, it was of little use to the cause, as they were not to be brought under the guidance of the leaders. Had they been so, it would have been impossible for a mere handful of troops to have become the masters of a city containing 80,000 inhabitants, in spite of the superior and well protected forces of the insurgents.

The troops consisted of:

The first regiment of the line	1100	strong
4 Squadrons of the first light cavalry . . .	350	„
2 Squadrons of the cavalry of the guard .	100	„
1 regiment of foot artillery	300	men 6 guns,
1 Division of Pontoniers	30	„
Together	1430	men 6 guns.

A trifling force indeed, considering the extent of the city and the numbers of the insurgents.

The greater part of the Saxon army was at this time in Schleswig-Holstein; but there still remained in other parts of Saxony, 2100 men of different regiments, and 6 pieces of cannon.

The excellent spirit which pervaded the troops may judged of from the circumstance, that all the attempts of the various clubs to induce the soldiers to join their ranks failed; and only a few, led by a feeling of curiosity were occasionally to be seen at their meetings, and whatever may have been the opinions of the soldiers as individuals, they all remained true to their oath of allegiance, and the colours of their sovereign.

The government were prepared to expect tumults but not an insurrection of so formidable a character, or they would without doubt have been better prepared to resist it. Prussian help had however been promised in case of necessity, as the absence of the Saxon forces rendered the government at this period unusually weak.

The command of the garrison was in the hands of the military governor of the city, general Von Schulz.

For some time after the answer of the king had been communicated to the communal-guard, the crowd continued to wander about the streets, apparently without any particular object. The gymnastic clubs and the leaders of the insurrection had probably in the mean time formed a plan of attack, which was carried into execution about five in the evening. This was directed against the arsenal. With the help of a wagon the insurgents succeeded in forcing the gates of the building, but a volley of musketry, and the discharge of a cannon loaded with grape-shot, quickly put the whole of the assailants to flight, with the exception of numerous killed and wounded which strewed the street in front of the building, and the latter of which were conveyed by the soldiers to the hospital.

Meanwhile barricades began rapidly to make their appearance in various parts of the city; the general plan on which they were arranged was good, and showed that the leaders understood the advantages of the ground they occupied; but want of obedience among their supporters prevented it being properly acted upon, and the barricades on some of the most important points were weak and ill constructed, while others of little comparative consequence, were built with a much greater expenditure of labour and material. In some places the blind zeal of the insurgents caused them to erect these structures where an open space would have been more advantageous to them, and their commander Lieutenant Colonel Heinze an officer in the Greek service, has been much blamed in consequence his remaining quietly in the town-hall, and not personally inspecting the works which his supporters erected. It is probable however that this gentleman was aware that his inspection of the works would have been of little use. Heinze was placed at the head of the movement merely in consequence of his military title, which it was hoped would give confidence to the insurgents; but throughout the contest he displayed none of the talents necessary in an insurgent leader.

The weakness of the garrison, prevented any attempt on the part

of the troops to interfere with the erection of the barricades in the interior of the city, and the destruction of the Railways by the populace at Leipsic, and other places, prevented them from receiving the expected reinforcements; and it consequently became necessary to place the king and royal family in a place of security. Accordingly at 4 in the morning of the fourth of May, the royal family, attended by the ministers embarked in a steamboat on the Elbe, which conveyed them in safety to the fortress of Königstein.

The departure of the king remained for some time unknown to the insurgents, who at five in the morning commenced a vigorous attack on the palace, in which however they were repulsed with such severe loss, that they did not again attempt it during the whole continuance of the outbreak.

Towards midday, the commander of the military found himself compelled in consequence of the non-arrival of the expected reinforcements, to conclude a kind of convention with the insurgent chiefs, who had now assumed the title of a provisional government. By the terms of this treaty the Theater-platz was evacuated by the military, and the cannon withdrawn from the bridge, while on the other hand the military were allowed free communication with the arsenal. The Theater-platz, was a completely untenable position, as the Zwinger wall which commands it, was in the hands of the insurgents, and the opening a communication with the arsenal was a point of great importance; but nevertheless the withdrawal of the troops had the effect of greatly dispiriting them, and this truce gave an opportunity for numerous attempts to seduce them from their duty.

The troops in the arsenal, were alike in want of provisions and of correct information as to the real state of affairs; and the orators of the insurgent party were unceasing in their endeavours to induce them to give up their post. They were assured that the provisional government was universally acknowledged, that the king and his ministers had fled, and that the rest of the troops had joined the people. They consequently permitted the guardroom of the arsenal to be occupied by the communal-guard; but they still retained possession of the building itself, and refused all the numerous and pressing applications for weapons and artillery.

The proclamation of a provisional government, was a hasty and ill advised act on the part of the insurgent leaders; it is true, that this proclamation had the effect of inducing many of the ultra republicans from the manufacturing districts to join in the outbreak; but at the same time the name of Tschirner which appeared at its head, was sufficient to undeceive the citizens and communal-guard of Dresden, who had merely taken up arms in order to obtain the Frankfort constitution, and were by no means inclined to assist in the formation of a social republic.

Soon after midday, a battalion and a half of light infantry arrived in Dresden, and their appearance gave fresh life to the garrison, which had become extremely dispirited at being confined to defensive operations. In the course of the afternoon the disposible part of the life guards (infantry) arrived, and the courage of the troops, who had supposed themselves abandoned, revived. Every one seemed to feel as if a load were removed from his breast.

At six o'clock in the evening, the ministers, Von Beust and Rabenhorst, returned to Dresden, having placed the king in safety in the Königstein. They brought with them a proclamation declaring the members of the provisional government guilty of high treason, and an order of the day addressed to the troops, appointing Lieutenant general Von Schirnding to the command of the forces, thanking them for their fidelity, and inciting them to fresh exertions. The reading of these documents was greeted with loud acclamations by the soldiers, and all seemed inspired with new life.

The night passed without hostilities. The defensive preparations of the insurgents were completed, and they again threw up barricades in front of the arsenal and stopped the communications. A party of the communal-guard occupied the Zwinger for the protection of the various collections within its walls, and endeavoured to obtain for this building the privileges of a neutral territory, and it was regarded as such, during a great part of the time, during which the contest continued.

On the morning of the fifth of May, the commander of the garrison developed his plan of attack. After deducting the troops necessary for securing the possession of the new town, his forces were too weak to attempt a decided movement *à la Cavaignac,* he therefore confined himself to establishing a basis for future offensive operations. The results of the conflict during the following days placed the excellence of his arrangements in so clear a light that we cannot refrain from describing them here, as they afford a singular instance of the triumphant power which knowledge and science, possess over mere brute force.

The main strength of the insurgents, consisted in their communications with those parts of the country which were already in a state of incipient insurrection; and it became necessary to interrupt these in the first place. For this purpose six squadrons of the second regiment of light cavalry, and two of the first light horse, were employed to inclose the old town; and if their numbers were insufficient to prevent all reinforcements from entering the city, they at least threw considerable obstacles in the way, and also prevented the powder magazine at Schusterhausen from falling into the hands of the insurgents.

These measures were however naturally insufficient in themselves to quell the outbreak within the walls, and it now was to be considered

how this could be carried into effect with the least loss of life to the troops and injury to the city. As the troops were far too few in number to inclose the whole city, it became necessary to leave the suburbs out of the question, and by advancing along the promenade which occupies the site of the old fortifications, and the lanes which run parellel with it, to form a ring round the old town. The danger attending this plan was, that the troops were likely to be placed between two fires, and it therefore became necessary to have a good basis and to provide for the security of the communications. A strong force was therefore held in reserve at the palace, which formed the centre of the position of the military, and from this point the troops advanced step by step, ever keeping in mind the great object of inclosing the old town, and avoiding being drawn into the narrow lanes in the interior of the city. Between the Polytechnic school and the Seegasse the two wings of the military at length met, the communications of the insurgents with the country were cut off; and from this moment the troops may be said to be theoretically victorious, the practical victory had however still to be achieved by means of a simultaneous advance from all sides into the Altmarkt, the central point of the city. The excellence of this plan was proved by the result, for no sooner did the insurgent leaders perceive that they were on the point of being surrounded, than they hastened to avail themselves of the only road still remaining open, and retreated to Freiburg. We now proceed to notice the principal events attending the carrying this plan into execution.

The military authorities first demanded the re-opening of the communications with the arsenal, and threatened to use force in case of refusal. This was refused by the insurgents, and at 2 o'clock in the day, a party of light infantry stormed the opposing barricades and opened a communication with the arsenal. From thence they advanced to the palace of Kosel, which they occupied, and as it was now evening, they abandoned the idea of making any farther advance, and availed themselves of the remaining daylight to render their position as secure as possible. Meanwhile the picture gallery had been occupied by a party of troops from the palace, and on the right wing a party of prince Albert's regiment took possession of the Zwinger, and being fired on by the insurgents who occupied the wall, this was carried with the bayonet, and three sides of it taken possession of.

In the centre, the insurgents were kept employed by a smart fire directed against them from the windows of the palace, and occasional cannon shots fired against the barricades and corner houses. In the evening a company and a half of infantry were ferried across the river to reinforce the party in possession of the powder magazine; and at half past six, the fusileer battalion of the emperor Alexander's regiment of infantry (Prussians) arrived in the new town, and were received with loud acclamations by the troops. At seven in the evening, a

deputation from the old town endeavoured to open negotiations, but the ministry refused to treat with rebels, and informed them of the only terms on which a cessasion of hostilities would be granted. viz. That the insurgents should lay down their arms, remove the barricades, and deliver up the members of the provisional government. A truce until 12 o'clock on the following day was however granted, in order to allow the insurgents time for consideration; but of which the latter did not choose to avail themselves.

During the whole of the night the ringing of the church bells and the firing from the barricades showed that no return to order was to be expected. At day break on 6th. of May, a heavy fire was opened by the military from the Zwinger wall, against the roof of the church of St. Sophia, and the lofty houses in its vicinity, but as the muskets of the infantry were found not to carry far enough, at six o'clock they were relieved by a party of fusileers (riflemen); who soon silenced the fire from the church, but it still continued from the Thurmhouse on the Post-platz. At 7 o'clock the opera-house was set on fire by the insurgents, as also several houses in the Brüdergasse, in the hope that it would communicate to the palace; but this hope proved deceptive. A 8 o'clock two pieces of artillery were placed upon the Zwinger wall, from which they played with great effect upon the Thurmhouse. In the course of the day the soldiers advanced from the Zwinger wall and established themselves in the houses in the Ostra-allee, so that the whole square might now be considered as secure. In the centre a heavy fire was kept up both with musketry and cannon, in order to distract the attention of the enemy from the more important operations on the flanks.

By clearing all the houses on the side of the Elbe, and the occupation of the Frauen-church the left wing was brought into more immediate communication with the centre. On this side, the infantry continued to advance, and in the evening, were in possession of the Landhouse. Two guns were now brought upon the Brühl-terrace and directed against the barricade in the Moritz-strasse and the adjoining houses. At 2 in the afternoon two guns were brought out of the arsenal and one from the reserve, and posted on the Schloss-platz, from which they fired with such effect upon the barricade, that shortly afterwards both it and the neighbouring houses were stormed by a party of Prussian and Saxon soldiers, and at eight in the evening all the houses in the new-market were in possession of the military, who by breaking through the houses sought to unite themselves with those in the Schiess-gasse. This was indeed a deviation from the plan of attack, but it was found advisible to compress the insurgents into as small a space as possible.

The advance of the troops and the reinforcements which they received, had the effect of somewhat cooling the ardour of the insurgents, who no longer ventured to attack the position of the military;

but nevertheless obstinately defended their own. It was indeed a struggle for life, and not a house or barricade was abandoned by them without a contest. Their undisciplined valour was however insufficient to prevent the success of the methodical operations of the troops, and their loss in each of these conflicts was considerably greater than that of their assailants.

With day break on the 7th. of May, the troops recommenced their advance, supported by a lively fire of artillery. The Thurmhous, the neighbouring barricade and the house at the corner of the Sophia-street, were stormed in succession by the soldiers, and this success was purchased by a considerable loss; it was also necessary for the troops to erect barricades for their own protection against the heavy fire of their opponents, and this occasioned a great loss of time. In the course of the morning the Prussians stormed the church of St. Sophia, an operation of some danger, as the fire of the insurgents from the neighbouring houses was well sustained. The Willsdruffer square, was now so much exposed to the fire of the troops, that the insurgents were compelled to abandon it and take shelter behind the neighbouring barricades.

It was also necessary to take possession of some houses in the Taschenberge in order to secure the palace from being set on fire, this having been several times attempted by the insurgents. Part of the offices had indeed been ignited, but were fortunately extinguished by the soldiers, who employed for this purpose a stock of Bavarian beer, water not being immediately to be procured. The sluices by which the palace is supplied with that article having been stopped, to prevent the possibility of introducing gunpowder under the building and thus blowing it into the air, a plan which was said to have been contemplated by the insurgents. Communications were afterwards discovered, addressed to the insurgent leader Heinze informing him that attempts had been made to penetrate these sluices, but that it had been found impossible to do so, on account of the water.

An attack was now made on the Gewand-house, and a piece of artillery which fired with admirable effect on this building, lost 1 officer, and 5 men in killed and wounded. At half past 10 the building was stormed by the light infantry, who pressed forward into the Kreuzgasse and occupied the houses on both sides of the street. Several houses in the Frohngasse were also taken possession of in order to secure the communications, which became now of more importance than ever.

A Prussian and Saxon reserve which occupied the new market, could no longer remain calm spectators of the conflict, and obtained permission to attack the Frauengasse; this led to a sharp and bloody conflict, this being the strongest part of the position of the insurgents and the resistance proportionally obstinate. Eventually however the whole of the street was taken possession of by the troops, and the

Schuhmachergasse was also cleared of the enemy. At 11 o'clock on this day a grenadier-battalion of Prussians arrived in Dresden. On this day also the steamboat coming from the Königstein with dispatches, was fired on by two boats filled with armed men near Pirna, which in vain endeavoured to stop her passage. Two companies of light infantry were also dispatched to Leipsic, which had also been the scene of tumult; but in which the communal-guard, with the loss of four or five killed and wounded, had succeeded in preserving order.

On the morning of the 8th. of May, the effect of the unremitting fatigue to which the troops had been subjected, began to be very apparent, and a position in the reserves where perhaps half of the men could lay down and rest, was an advantage which fell to the lot of but few of the divisions. To fatigue was added the effects of a heavy rain which in the course of an hour penetrated the thickest cloak. The commanders of the troops consequently resolved to make no farther efforts on this day; but to allow their forces time for the necessary repose. One party of soldiers were permitted however to enter the houses in the Badergasse and from thence to silence the fire of a barricade, which from time to time was excessively annoying. About midday it became apparent that the fire of the insurgents slackened, and as the 24th. regiment of infantry joined the forces on this day, a general attack was decided on for the morrow. In the afternoon a company and a half of infantry were ferried over to the left bank of the Elbe, in order in conjunction with four companies of cavalry and four pieces of horse artillery, to prevent a large party of insurgents from Chemnitz, from entering the city. Early in the morning the commander of the insurgents, Heinze, was captured by a party of soldiers, while inspecting their position, or as some said endeavouring to make his escape. He would certainly have met the fate he deserved, had not he had the presence of mind to promise important revelations; a promise which when once under the protection of the law, he naturally forgot to perform.

On the morning of the 9th. of May, the rain still continued to descend in torrents, but the morning had scarcely dawned when the troops in deep silence put themselves in motion. A loud hurrah soon proclaimed that the corner house of the Willsdruffer Gasse was in the hands of the military, and another that the Post-office was taken; but the insurgents were not surprised in their sleep, and the troops had to regret the loss of several killed and wounded. The twelve pounders opened a heavy fire against the barricade in the Wallstrasse, not however for the purpose of attacking it, but to distract the attention of the insurgents from the real attack in the Marienstrasse, the object of which was to advance to the Seegasse, and thus completely enclose the rebels.

This attack was however delayed by a vigorous counter-attack of the insurgents on the Orangery, in which a reserve had been placed

for protecting the communications. The attack was repulsed, and it ultimately proved that its object was merely to cover the retreat of the members of the provisional government, who with the greater part of their supporters retreated at the same moment on the road to Freiburg.

When at length the military entered the Marienstrasse, white flags already waved from the windows of all the houses, upon which the battalions assembled themselves and remained in the positions they had taken. On the left wing the troops drove a body of insurgents out of the *Caffé Français,* which they took possession of, as also of the Kreuzkirche in order to fire into the Old market, but this was prevented by the appearance of white flags from the houses.

Between eight and nine in the morning the last shots were fired; in the meantime, the main body of the insurgents with the provisional government succeeded in making good their retreat to Freiburg, on arriving at which city notwithstanding the numerous parties which had left them on the road, they still amounted to 1800 men. Being closely pursued however, they made no attempt to establish themselves there, but immediately dispersed themselves in all directions, the greater part endeavouring to reach the Bavarian Palatinate, in which the insurrection had not yet been quelled.

The appearance which Dresden presented on the morning of the 9th. of May will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Ruined barricades encumbering the streets in every direction, the pavements torn up, the windows broken, and the houses riddled by shot, formed a perfect picture of the horrors of civil war, which was added to in no small degree, by the insurgents having set fire to several houses in their flight. A piece of useless barbarity, which could be of no possible advantage to them; and which will probably not readily be forgotten by the inhabitants of Dresden.

The loss of the troops in this contest was unusually small, a certain proof of the admirable arrangements of the commanders; and with the official report of which, we close the account of this lamentable affair.

The loss in killed amounted to:

Prussians:	Saxons:
2 Officers 6 Men.	3 Officers 20 Men.

5 Officers and 26 Men.

In Wounded to:

Prussians:	Saxons:
— Officers 33 Men.	7 Officers 57 Men.

7 Officers and 90 Men.

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THE REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY.

First Campaign of the Austrian army against the Hungarians, under Field Marshal Prince Windischgrätz.

(December 1848 till June 1849.)

In the first volume of this work, we have recorded the events of the Hungarian revolution, from its first outbreak till the moment when the Banus Jellachich was compelled by the commencement of the insurrection at Vienna, to abandon the field to his enemies, and hasten at the head of his victorious Croats to the support of his sovereign beneath the walls of that capital. In our second volume we have recorded the circumstances attending the siege of the Austrian metropolis, until the moment of its surrender to the combined forces of Jellachich and Prince Windischgrätz; and we now resume the thread of our narrative at the point where the suppression of the Viennese outbreak, left these generals at liberty to direct their forces against the Hungarians.

During the first days of December 1848, the imperial army made active preparations for resuming offensive operations against Hungary. Reinforcements were drawn from every province in the empire, and soon the roads leading to Presburg and Bruck were covered by the columns of the advancing Austrians. At the same time Field Marshal Simunich, at the head of an auxiliary corps, advanced from Moravia and Silesia through the defiles of the Jablunka mountains, and commenced the campaign with varying fortune in the northern provinces.

The emperor Ferdinand had abdicated; his age and infirmities affording him a sufficient excuse for declining any longer to wield a sceptre which had become too heavy for his feeble grasp. He was succeeded by his nephew Francis Joseph, a youth only eighteen years of age, whose want of experience might have been found not less fatal at such a crisis, than the feebleness of his predecessor, had he not submitted to the counsels of his mother, the Arch-duchess Sophia, a woman to whom even her enemies cannot deny the attributes of talent and energy.

On the 15th. of December, Prince Windischgrätz accompanied by his staff, repaired by railway to Bruck, and on the following day the first corps with its reserve, advanced upon Karlsdorf and Newdorf; both of which, after a heavy cannonade were taken possession of by the Austrians. The Hungarians retired in good order, declining the battle thus offered them by their opponents. Arthur Görgey, who had been nominated to the chief command of the Hungarians, retired with his forces in the direction of Altenburg, carrying off or destroying the various magazines of provisions which had been collected on his line of march; but abandoning by this movement, the province of Wieselburg and the road to Presburg, to the Austrians.

In the meantime F. M. Simunich had advanced over Skalitz in the direction of Tyrnau.

F. M. Schlick had advanced into Hungary from Galicia, and had marched over Bartfeld to Eperies, which town he entered with his corps, on the 10th. of December.

F. M. Puchner operated with his corps from Transylvania and the Banat (Croatia), against Arad, in order to raise the siege of that fortress, which was vigorously pushed by the Hungarians.

F. M. Nugent endeavoured meanwhile by the occupation of the most important places in lower Hungary, to cover the flank of the main army; and Suplikacs the Woywode of Servia, supported the cause of the Austrians with varying fortune in the districts of the lower Danube, and on the banks of the Theiss.

As we have already stated, the Hungarians under Görgey, retired over Altenburg in the direction of Raab; and Windischgrätz consequently advanced upon Presburg, which had already been evacuated by the insurgents; but as the bridge of boats had been carried off by the Hungarians, the Austrians were compelled to cross the river in boats, which occasioned a great delay. While the main body of the army occupied Presburg, the corps of Colonel Horvath marched upon Güns, in order to fall on the flank of the Hungarian corps under Maurice Perczel, which had offered considerable resistance to the operations of Nugent, and to prevent its uniting itself with the troops of Görgey.

The Austrians advanced to Altenburg without seeing any signs of an enemy; but at Wieselburg, about an hour's march from that place their advanced guard fell in with the Hungarians. The result of this meeting was a sharp skirmish, which ended in the Austrians retiring, as it was evident the enemy were determined on avoiding an engagement. On the 27th. of December, the city of Raab which had been strongly entrenched by the Hungarians, was occupied by the Austrians without a shot being fired; an event which caused the liveliest joy at Vienna, and the government journals predicted in the most positive terms the speedy end of the insurrection. The occupation of Raab however, so far from indicating the termination of the Hungarian war, only showed that the insurgent leaders were determined to transfer the seat

of hostilities to a part of the country more favourable to undisciplined troops.

While both armies were thus concentrating themselves for the approaching struggle, the Hungarian Landtag or Parliament, continued its sittings at Pesth, and probably in order to show their determination of resisting to the utmost, resolved to deny the legality of the abdication of the emperor Ferdinand, and the assumption of the imperial dignity on the part of Francis Joseph. By this impolitic step, they put an end to all hopes of an amicable adjustment of the differences between the Hungarian diet and the court of Vienna, and rendered any solution of the quarrel except though the means of arms, impossible.

On the 17th. of December the Hungarian house of representatives assembled for the purpose of discussing this important subject, and after a stormy debate, the following decision was adopted by the majority of the members:

"Protest against the new King Francis Joseph."

"The Hungarian Landtag having received private information that king Ferdinand has abdicated his throne in favour of his nephew Francis Joseph, feel themselves bound to declare that they do not recognise the legality either of the abdication on the one part, or the assumption of the kingly office on the other. For, inasmuch as Hungary has never been an integral part of the Austrian empire, but has ever formed an independent kingdom of itself, that could only be governed according to its own constitution and in accordance with its own laws, — so the alteration of the succession to the imperial throne of Austria, can have no influence on that of the kingdom of Hungary, unless by the sanction and consent of the Hungarian diet."

"In order therefore that the silence of the diet may not be misconstrued by evil disposed persons, the legally assembled representatives of the nation, and the members of the upper house, hold it to be their duty solemnly to declare:"

"That the throne of Hungary can only be vacant in the event of the death of the legally crowned king. That in this event, it is the duty of the person on whom the succession falls, to conclude a coronation contract (diploma inaugurale) with the nation, to swear to support the constitution and laws, and to cause himself to be crowned with the diadem of St. Stephen. Previous to which acts, he can indeed exercise certain acts of sovereignty, but only in accordance with the laws."

"This can however only take place in the event of the death of the king, and with this single exception, no change in the person of the sovereign can take place without the consent of the diet. It is true that Francis the first, emperor and king, procured the consent of the diet to the coronation of the still living king Ferdinand the fifth;

but this consent which was given in the year 1836, was accompanied by an especial clause, which inhibited Ferdinand the fifth from exercising any of the royal perogatives during the life of his father, without having first obtained the consent of the nation."

"As therefore without the consent of the nation, no person can assume the regal title during the life of the king, still less can the succession be decided by a mere family treaty; as the royalty of Hungary rests on a mutual contract, an evident feature of which is, that no one can be considered as the sovereign until he has completed a contract with the nation, has sworn to support the constitution and laws of the country, and consequently has been crowned with the diadem of St. Stephen; after which also, in case the king should be found too weak to bear the responsibility of governing, the nation has the right to provide for the temporary government of the country. And as the Hungarian nation was not consulted with regard to the family treaty which took place at Olmütz on the 2nd. of December; the diet as the legal organ of Hungary and the countries united with it, declare that without the knowledge and consent of the diet, no one has the right to dispose of the possession of the Hungarian throne. The diet therefore, in support of the legal independence of the constitution, and the fundamental rights of the nation, command all the Religious, Civil, and Military officials, as well as all other inhabitants of Hungary and the united countries, to remain true to their duty to the constitution. To refuse obedience to all persons not legally authorized by the diet, and to treat all interference in the affairs of the country as an usurpation. To remain under the legal banner of the Fatherland, to defend which against all such usurpation, foreign interference, and hostile attacks, is the holiest duty of a patriot. Who behaves himself otherwise, is a traitor."

This resolution of the Landtag, was ordered to be immediately communicated to all the civil authorities, as well as to the various military commanders, who were employed in carrying out the plans of the committee of defence, which had been empowered by the Landtag to assume all the functions of a provisional government.

Louis Kossuth who was the heart and soul of this committee, did not however take an active part in the debate which preceded this important resolution of the Landtag, but contented himself with merely voting for the measure.

On the entrance of the imperial army into Hungary, the forces of the insurgents although far from contemptible in point of numbers, were insufficient both in dicipline and equipment to withstand the formidable force at the disposal of the Austrian generals. The energetic measures of the committee of defence, the inspiriting appeals and proclamations of Kossuth, and above all the want of talent and energy displayed both by the Austrian government, and the Austrian generals, inflamed the courage of the nation, and by the middle of December

upwards of 100,000 recruits had placed themselves at the disposal of the committee of defence. As however, part of the Hungarian forces were required against the Transylvanians and Servians, and part of the troops required to be disciplined before they could be brought into the field; the Hungarians could only oppose about 55,000 men, to the army of Prince Windischgrätz, which amounted to little less than 110,000 soldiers, including the choicest troops of the empire. The committee of defence therefore directed the Commandant Görgey, to retire before the enemy, and take up a strong position in the marshy plains beyond Raab.

In the meantime, the exercising and organization of the troops were proceeded with in the most energetic manner. Pesth, Debreczin and Szegedin were the principal places for the assembling of the recruits, who poured in from all sides for the defence of their native country. The northern and south-western provinces furnished the best recruits for the Honvéd battalions (infantry), the Cumanier, Jazygier and Heyduke districts the best cavalry; while the southern districts on the banks of the Theiss and Danube, afforded the best recruits for the artillery. The herdsmen that attend to the numerous herds of swine, horses and oxen, which graze in a half wild state on the vast plains of Hungary, and who, are used from their infancy to pass the greater part of their time on horseback, formed a peculiar species of cavalry, furnished partly with lassos, and partly with long whips bearing a leaden bullet at the end of the thong; by means of which they seldom failed to bring the most practised horseman out of his saddle; and proved to be most formidable troops in the various skirmishes and affairs of the outposts.

To the wild melodies of their national songs, and the warlike clang of the Rákóczy march, every town and village poured forth its troop of recruits, which on arriving at head quarters, were divided according to the capability of the individuals, among the different branches of the service. Commissioners appointed by the committee of defence, superintended the formation of the various corps of Honvéds and Hussars; the first were exercised in the use of their weapons and the necessary manoeuvres, in the open plains about the cities, while the last were sent at once against the enemy, to learn the use of their arms in the incessant skirmishes. They needed no instruction in riding, being before their enlistment among the best horsemen in the world.

In consequence of these energetic proceedings, the Hungarian army was soon placed on a respectable footing, and shortly before the commencement of the operations of the Austrian army, consisted of the following corps:

The first Hungarian corps under the command of Arthur Görgey, was placed on both sides of the Danube, opposed to that of Prince Windischgrätz, and amounted to 55,000 men with 100 pieces of cannon.

The second corps in southern Hungary, operating against Croatia and Steyermark, consisted of 10,000 men with 20 field pieces, and was under the command of Maurice Perczel.

The third corps was in Sclavonia, and consisted of 12,000 men and 30 pieces of cannon, under the guidance of General Blagöwich and the commissioner Count Cassimir Batthyany.

The fourth corps, operating against the Raitzen in the Bacs, amounted to 15,000 men, with 10 admirably appointed batteries, and was commanded by General Ernest Kitz.

Resides these forces, a considerable number of troops were concentrated round Arad, under the command of General Vetter, and were destined to besiege that fortress.

The various corps amounted altogether to a force of upwards 100,000 men, with 220 pieces of artillery.

We shall shortly have an opportunity of describing the leaders of this imposing army, at the same time that we narrate their various fortunes and exploits.

GENERAL BEM AND HIS MISSION TO TRANSYLVANIA.

The news of the revolution which broke out at Vienna in October 1848, summoned to that city adventurers from every part of Europe. who sought to avail themselves of the opportunity of acquiring fame and fortune, in the ranks af the insurgents. Among the various officers who placed their swords and technical knowledge, at the disposal of the provisional government, the most celebrated was the hero of Ostrolenka, the well known Polish general Bem. Messenhauser, the provisional commandant of the city, knew how to appreciate the talents of this veteran soldier, and appointed him to the command of the Mobile guard, and of the outer lines of defence. It is admitted on all hands that had it been possible to save the city, the energy, decision, and experience of Bem would have effected it; Vienna however fell, and Bem favoured by unusual good fortune, escaped through the midst of the Austrian army to Hungary. In Pesth he had a conference with Kossuth, and in consequence was appointed to the command of a corps, which at the moment of his appointment had not yet been called into existence. In this city an attempt was made to murder him, but the cause of this attempt has never been very clearly elicited. A young Pole obtained admission to the General's apartment, and discharged a pistol at him; but the ball fortunately only slightly grazed the head of his intended victim, and the slight wound it inflicted healed in a few days. The young man was arrested, and on his examination stated that he had reason to believe that Bem had betrayed the cause of the people at Vienna, and that therefore he felt himself called upon to put an end to the existence of this disgrace to the Polish nation. At the intercession of Bem, the life of the youth was spared, but no

clue has ever been obtained to the real motives which prompted the attempt.

Kossuth sent Bem to Transylvania to take command of the Hungarian forces in that country; but the band of undisciplined peasants which he found on his arrival, scarcely deserved the name of a corps. Six companies of soldiers from the military frontiers, a regiment of Hussars, three battalions of Honvéds, and two batteries, were the whole of the forces which he found at his disposal. To these undisciplined and demoralized troops, were opposed an army of 25,000 Austrians, with an excellent park of artillery, under the command of F. M. Puchner, General Wardener, and Colonels Gideon and Urban; who had also the advantage of being supported in their operations, by the national-guard of the Saxon land, and the fanaticised peasants of the Wallachian levy *en masse;* while all the fortresses and towns, were in the possession of the Austrians.

This apparently desperate state of affairs, did not however appal the dauntless spirit of Bem, which seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties he had to encounter. The splendid talents which he possessed for the organization of military masses soon became apparent, and in a few days he had succeeded not only in improving the discipline; but also in materially increasing the number of his forces. The stream of recruits which constantly poured to his standard, strengthened his infantry; while the levy *en masse* of the Szeklers, enabled him to equip several new cavalry regiments. Kossuth sent him three new batteries from Pesth, together with the greater part of the Polish legion (1500 men) and the Vienna legion (700 men). With the help of these volunteers, who furnished admirable officers and non-commissioned officers, he succeeded in a short time in transforming his raw and undisciplined levies, into a regular and well disciplined army. Partly through familiarity and kindness, and partly through the exercise of the most fearful severity, he succeeded completely in his difficult and laborious task. He could now look with pride upon an army which he had himself created, and which was inflamed with an ardour which needed rather repression than encouragement.

With this army Bem felt himself strong enough to attack and defeat a hostile force of 25,000 men, and to conquer a country containing upwards of two millions of inhabitants. But previous to entering on this part of the subject, it is necessary to glance at the other parts of the country, in which hostilities had already commenced.

PROGRESS OF HOSTILITIES IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES.

After the occupation of Raab by the imperial forces, the Hungarian army retired partly upon Ofen, and partly over Komorn to Waitzen. The fortress of Komorn which can boast of never having been taken, had been abundantly supplied with all the means of resisting a siege.

The magazines which had been collected at Waitzen were removed to the fortress, as were also an immense quantity of provisions from Ofen. 5000 of the best Hungarian troops were thrown into the place, which was provided with not less than 200 pieces of artillery of various calibre. The rear guard of that portion of the Hungarian army which had retired towards Ofen, was overtaken on the 28th. of December at five in the morning, by the Austrian cavalry, and a sharp engagement followed, which after continuing with varying fortune for upwards of four hours, ended in the retreat of the Hungarians. In this engagement where the opposing parties had for the first time an opportunity of confronting each other man to man, the fury displayed on either side was boundless, and notwithstanding the commands of the Hungarian officers to retire, it was difficult to put an end to the contest. The Hungarian Hussars repeatedly charged the heavy cuirassier regiments of the Austrians; although these, towards the close of the action were supported by infantry, and as in consequence of the fury of the combatants, the action did not take place in order of battle, the artillery on either side was compelled to remain idle, for fear of doing execution on friends as well as enemies. At length the Hungarian officers succeeded in inducing their troops to retire, which they did slowly and in good order.

A battalion of the regiment of the Prince of Prussia which had gone over to the Hungarians, was charged with covering the retreat, which arduous duty it performed in a manner which elicited the admiration of its opponents. Three times its closely formed squares resisted the desperate charge of the Austrian cavalry; but at the fourth a regiment of cuirassiers succeeded in breaking the square, and more than the half of the battalion, including their commander Lieutenant Szel, who had been appointed major by the Hungarian government, fell beneath the swords of their opponents, the remainder succeeded in reaching the shelter of a neighbouring wood. In the meantime the Hungarians had effected their retreat, taking with them the greater part of the horses from the extensive stud at Babolna.

The imperial commander General Ottinger, appears to have felt little inclination after this affair, to continue the pursuit of the Hungarians; but quietly awaited the arrival of the main body of the army, which after the occupation of Raab advanced in two great columns. One of which took its way towards Komorn, in order to unite itself with the corps of General Simunich, and besiege that fortress. The second column took the direct road to Ofen, over Bana, Koes, Banhida and Barok; while a third corps under Jellachich was directed to proceed towards Stuhlweisenburg by forced marches, in order if possible to cut off the corps under Perczel, which was advancing to Ofen, and prevent its junction with the main body of the Hungarian army. This manoeuvre however failed, and Jellachich's corps arrived at Kisber where the two roads unite, six hours too late. Perczel however although

he had received orders to avoid a battle if possible, could not resist the opportunity of engaging the detested Croats, and awaited the arrival of the enemy in a strong position which he had taken up at the distance of about an hour's march from Moor. The Banus however did not immediately attack him, but waited for the arrival of Hartlieb's division, on the appearance of which on the ground, the engagement began. The force of the Hungarians amounted to about 10,000 men, with two batteries, that of the Austrians was greatly superior in numbers, including three cuirassier regiments, and nine batteries. Under these circumstances the result of the battle could not be long doubtful, and after a short but furious engagement the Hungarians were driven from their position with the loss of 600 killed. A considerable number of prisoners and two pieces of cannon also fell into the hands of the Austrians. Perczel however collected on his retreat the greater part of his dispersed troops.

While this engagement was taking place on this side the Danube a not less fearful scene was enacting on the other. On the 16th. of December F. M. Simunich attacked the Hungarians at Szered with a very superior force, and drove them back in the direction of Komorn. A part of the defeated Hungarians (1700 men) under Colonel Guyon, threw themselves into the town of Tyrnau, barricaded the streets, and withstood during five hours the attacks of the whole Austrian army. The cannon which the Hungarians had placed in the streets of the town, caused the most fearful carnage in the ranks of the assailants, and at nightfall Guyon succeeded in escaping and retiring along the banks of the Waag, towards Komorn.

F. M. Schlick, who had advanced into Hungary from Galicia, also had a sharp action at Katcha with the Hungarians, which ended in their retreat, and the occupation of the place by the Austrians.

The commencement of the war was therefore decidedly unfavourable to the Hungarians, and the Austrian journals were filled with bulletins of victories and speculations on the measures which were to follow the approaching subjugation of the country. These rejoicings were however of short duration, and ere long a new storm tore the wreath of victory from the brows of the subjugator of Prague and Vienna.

THE EVACUATION OF PESTH AND EMIGRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT TO DEBRECZIN.

On the 29th. of December the members of the Hungarian Landtag at Pesth assembled in a state of great excitement, in consequence of the rapid advance of the Austrians, and this excitement rose to actual fury, when Messaros the minister of war, rose and proposed that Pesth should be abandoned to the enemy and that the government

should retire into the interior of the country, either to Debreczin, Szegedin or Grosswardein.

Under frequent and violent interruptions from the members, which all the influence of Kossuth was scarcely sufficient to silence, Messaros proceeded to explain the reasons which had induced the committee of defence to abandon Raab and Presburg to the Austrians without resistance, and now to propose to follow the same course with regard to Pesth. He pointed out to them, that the great strength of Raab consisted principally in the marshes by which it was surrounded, an advantage of which it was in a great measure deprived in winter, during which season in consequence of the frost, the swampy ground was perfectly practicable for the movements of every kind of troops and even of artillery. He showed the folly of suffering the Hungarian army to await the attack of the more numerous forces of Austria in this position, where they were every moment in danger of being outflanked by the forces of Jellachich. He pointed out that the same reasons which had induced them to abandon Raab and Presburg, applied equally to Pesth, that a battle lost under the walls of that city, must at once decide the contest; and even a victory would be useless, as the Austrians could easily procure reinforcements and renew the attack. On the other hand, by the army and government retiring behind the protecting marshes of the Theiss, they would concentrate their forces, and gain time for the better organization of the army, which would enable them to advance again with threefold might; while even in the case of defeat they would still have a place of refuge in Transylvania, where General Bem was already victorious over the enemy opposed to him.

The assembly, notwithstanding the violence with which they had opposed the plan on its being first proposed to them, were now perfectly convinced of its necessity. The motion of Messaros was carried without a division, and the people were informed by means of placards of the resolution of the Landtag. The excitement caused by this determination of the government was frightful, the citizens of Pesth could not tolerate the idea of again seeing the blue and yellow flag of Austria floating from their towers, and having again to submit to the iron yoke of the Croats and Austrians. The greater part of the young men entered the army as volunteers, and on the night of the 31st. of December, the members of the government repaired by railroad to Szolnok, and from thence to Debreczin, where they established themselves, and the greater part of the members of the Landtag followed them. During the eight days which elapsed before the entry of the Austrians, everything of worth was removed; the apparatus for the manufacture of arms and the boring of cannon, the presses for printing bank notes, all the public money with the exception of the funds in the bank, and all arms, ammunition and military clothing; as well as the locomotives and carriages, were removed by means of the railway to Szolnok. Even such of the national-guards as remained in Pesth were disarmed, in

order probably to spare the Austrians the trouble of doing so on their arrival.

THE AUSTRIANS IN PESTH.

On the 3rd. of January Görgey with a corps of 40,000 men, retreated over Balassa Gyarmath, and took up his quarters in the mountainous districts in that neighbourhood.

The imperial army now advanced in every direction upon Buda-Pesth, and on the 4th. of January the head quarters of Prince Windischgrätz were at Bia, four hours march from Ofen. Here a deputation from the moderate party of the Hungarian Landtag, presented themselves to negociate the terms of a peace with the imperial general. The deputy Count Louis Batthyány, the ex-minister Count Maylath, Archbishop Lonovies, and the ex-minister Deak, solicited an audience of the Prince and were refused, with the words: "I will not negociate with rebels!" Irritated at this treatment, they returned to their party and informed them that all hopes of obtaining terms from the Austrians were at an end. Some of the party despairing of the deliverance of their native country, delivered themselves up to the Austrians (as Batthyány, Móga and Hrabówsky), others retired into foreign countries (as Deak and Pasmándy), but the greater part joined the ranks of the revolutionists.

On the 5th. of January Prince Windischgrätz entered Pesth, the various corps of the imperial army having previously united before Ofen. Jellachich rode at the head of the first column which defiled before the Prince, whose son was sent with the keys of the two cities to the court at Olmütz. With the entry of the Austrians into Pesth, began a reign of military despotism over a large part of Hungary. All who had taken an active part in the revolution fell into the hands of the "military commission of inquiry", which was established at Pesth, and numerous victims paid for their political opinions with their lives. General Habrówsky lay dangerously ill at Ofen, Móga surrendered himself, and L. Batthyány was arrested. And all these persons especially the last, had to endure a long and rigorous imprisonment. Prince Windischgrätz issued proclamations limiting the circulation of the Hungarian banknotes, declaring Kossuth to be a traitor and an outlaw, and offering rewards for the apprehension of the principal military chiefs, as well as for the wife and children of Kossuth. A proceeding evidently ridiculous, as these chiefs were still at the head of large bodies of troops, which in the end proved more than a match for the immense army under his command.

The family Zichy, two members of which had been sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunals, now set the price of 50,000 Florins on the head of Kossuth, and all official situations were filled with the creatures of the reactionary party.

The Austrian army now took up its quarters in Pesth and its neighbourhood, in order to recover from fatigues of the campaign, but two brigades were dispatched to the support of Schlick, and Jellachich with his corps reconnoitred the position of the enemy in the direction of the Theiss; but on more than one occasion was repulsed with loss.

SCHLICK, SIMUNICH AND ROSA SÁNDOR.

Already in the beginning of December F. M. Schlick, governor of Galicia, had crossed the Carpathian mountains from that country at the head of 26,000 men, and after a hot engagement had occupied Bartfelt, Esperies and Kaschau. On the 4th. of January, a Hungarian force under the command of Messaros, and consisting of 12 Honvéd and mobile national-guard battalions, 800 Hussars and 33 cannon, advanced towards Kaschau; and came up with Schlick near Parcza, where he awaited the attack of the Hungarians in a strong and well chosen position. The Hungarians were twice repulsed, but again returning to the charge drove the Austrians from their entrenchments. Schlick had meanwhile summoned the garrison of Kaschau to his aid, with two additional batteries, and the battle was renewed with redoubled fury. Messaros in person led his soldiers to the charge and had two horses shot under him; but the flank of the Hungarians being threatened by two regiments of Austrian cavalry, he found it prudent to retire, and leave the hard fought field in the possession of the enemy.

A thousand men belonging to the Polish legion were charged with covering the retreat, and performed their difficult task with their accustomed bravery. They were posted on a rising ground, and supported by four pieces of cannon, and for several hours resisted all the efforts of the enemy to force their position. The Austrian regiment of Parma suffered especially in this encounter, it having twice advanced to the attack, and having been repulsed on both occasions with severe loss. The object of the commander having been effected, the Poles fell back in good order on the main body.

At the same time F. M. Simunich was ordered to operate against the corps of Görgey, which had occupied the mountainous region in the neighbourhood of Kremnitz; while General-Major Götz was directed to advance at the same time upon Schemnitz. Numerous skirmishes accordingly took place in the neighbourhood of these towns, without the Austrians being able either to dislodge Görgey from his position, or to bring on a general engagement. Görgey was admitted on all sides to have availed himself of his advantageous position in the most masterly manner, thus gaining the most important of all advantages, time to discipline the numerous recruits that daily flocked to his standard.

In lower Hungary, affairs however assumed a far more favourable appearance for the Austrians. All the towns of any importance were in their hands, and with the exception of a horde of Guerillas under a notorious robber chief named Rosa Sandor, which infested the forest of Bakonyer, and sometimes intercepted the transport wagons, no Hungarian troops of any description remained in the neighbourhood of Pesth. To put an end to these annoying proceedings, Prince Windischgrätz sent a flying column of 4000 men into this woody region. A hot and irregular engagement between the Austrians and the Guerillas was the consequence, in which the latter were worsted, and Rosa Sandor with a part of his band, threw themselves into the massively built monastery of Bakowy Bel, where he defended himself for two days, until the building being at length set fire to, he succeeded in cutting his way through the surrounding force, and regaining the woods. After a long promenade, the Austrians returned to Pesth, and immediately on their departure, the Guerillas returned, and the communications of the Austrians were as insecure as ever.

We must now turn our attention to the central point of the Hungarian revolution.

DEBRECZIN.

The members of the Hungarian government, arrived on the 1st. of January at Debreczin from Pesth, and were followed by the greater part of the army. Every means had been taken not only for the organization of the government in the interior; but also for its proper representation in foreign countries. Count Teleky was sent to Paris, Pulsky to London, Szálay to Brussels, and Spleny to Piedmont, in order if possible to induce the respective courts to acknowledge Hungary as an independent nation. These efforts were indeed unsuccessful, but Count Teleky succeeded in obtaining the services of the famous Polish general Dembinsky, who arrived in the month of January by way of Constantinople at Debreczin, accompanied by an excellent staff; and the results of his command, fully justified the expectations which had been formed of his abilities.

Shortly after the arrival of the government at Debreczin, the Committee of defence was dissolved and a new council of war formed, to which in addition to the former members of the committee, the generals: Görgey, Vetter and Klapka, the Poles Bem and Dembinsky, the Frenchman Duchatel, and the Englishman Guyon, were admitted. After the formation of this council, the organization of the army proceeded with even greater energy than before. The talent which had been attracted into the Hungarian service soon began to make itself apparent. The numerous Polish officers which partly entered Hungary from Galicia, and partly accompanied Dembinsky, furnished excellent military instructors; by whose exertions numerous new regiments of

Honveds were formed and disciplined; and owing principally to the tact displayed by these officers, the Hungarian army was in an inconceiveably short space of time increased by more than one half.

The manufacture of small arms, cannon, gun powder and bank-notes, was carried on with unremitting industry; while men, horses, and provisions were readily furnished by the country.

A Saloon was fitted up for the meetings of the Landtag, 145 members of which, had followed the government, or in other words Louis Kossuth, to Debreczin. Dembinsky and Vetter consulted on a plan of warlike operations, which was laid before the council of war, and approved of. The arrangements made in consequence of this plan, were as follow:

Görgey, was we have already stated, employed at the head of an army of 40,000 men, in spreading the insurrection in the mountain districts of northern Hungary. At Szolnok stood the centre of the Hungarian army, under Dembinsky. At Tokay, the right wing under Klapka and Guyon, guarding the passage of the Theiss against the advancing Austrians under Schlick; while the left wing under the command of Perczel, extended to Szegedin. The main army was united with the fortress of Essig, which was under the command of Casimir Bathjány and Eder, by a numerous corps under the command of Kiss; and by means of the force employed in the siege of Arad, with the Transylvanian army under the command of Bem. January passed over without any important operations on either side, the attempts of the Austrians to pass the Theiss, having been invariably repulsed. The Hungarian army was now ready for action and impatient for the commencement of hostilities, an impatience which was soon destined to be gratified.

GENERAL BEM IN TRANSYLVANIA.

While the main body of the Hungarian army awaited with impatience the signal for the commencement of the compaign, one of the auxiliary corps had already performed the greater part of its destined office. This was the division of General Bem in Transylvania. We have already pointed out the success with which this veteran soldier transformed a crowd of undisciplined peasants into an effective and enthusiastic army, and it now only remains to record the results of his indefatigable exertions.

In the beginning of January, Bem felt himself strong enough to commence the offensive, and consequently advanced into Transylvania in order to clear that country of the Austrian army of occupation. In a sharp engagement at Dees, he completely routed the corps of General Wardener, which he pursued by forced marches as far as Klausenburg, where the fugitives took refuge behind the trenches; while another portion under Colonel Blonsky which had fled in the direction of

Bistritz, were driven by the Polish lancers and five batalions of Honvéds, as far as the district called the Bukowina, on the frontiers of Galicia.

The imperial Lieutenant-general Malkowsky, now assembled all the disposable troops in that province, and advanced into the Bukowina, united himself with Colonel Blonsky, and about the middle of January marched with 15,000 men and 36 guns, to Bistritz. Bem advanced to meet him with a part of his army, and the result was an engagement in which the Austrians received a complete overthrow, and were compelled to retreat in great confusion towards the Bukowina. The cannon, ammunition and baggage wagons remained sticking fast in the snow, which lay in immense masses in the mountain passes, and for the most part fell into the hands of the Hungarians. Bem having mounted his cannon on sledges, pursued the flying enemy with tremendous effect, and captured an immense number of prisoners and the greater part of the Austrian baggage. In consequence of this advantage, Bistritz, Klausenburg and Thorda, were occupied by the Hungarians, and a communication was opened with the Szeklers who had already risen in arms.

In combination with this warlike race, Bem commenced operations against the Saxon land, where F. M. Puchner at the head of a corps of 28,000 men, supported by the Saxon national-guard, was preparing to take the field.

On the 19th. of January, Bem appeared before Mediasch, in front of which town he found the imperial army drawn up in order of battle, attacked and drove it back in the direction of Hermanstadt, and occupied the partly fortified town of Mediasch.

On the 21st. of January at 8 in the morning, Bem appeared before Hermanstadt, where Puchner with his whole division, supported by 7000 national-guards, awaited his attack. At 9 o'clock the cannonade commenced, which lasted upwards of an hour, and in the course of which several of the Austrian guns were dismounted, and the troops suffered so severely from the enemy's fire, that Puchner resolved to assume the offensive and attack the Hungarian position with the bayonet. Under the protection of their artillery, several columns of infantry and a squadron of Austrian dragoons advanced to the attack, and compelled the Hungarians to retire. They however immediately took up a new position and the action became general along the whole line. This murderous engagement continued for seven hours without any material advantage on either side, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon both commanders as if by mutual consent, discontinued the action and retired. The Austrians withdrawing behind the defences of Hermanstadt, and Bem retiring to the distance of four hour's march in the opposite direction.

These battles had the effect of convincing both the Austrian commander and the Saxon burghers, that the troops even when supported by the national-guard, were insufficient to oppose the forces

of Bem, and the former therefore determined to call in the aid of the Russians, in order as he stated, to protect the peaceable inhabitants of the country against the extortions and cruelties of the insurgents. But previous to putting this plan into execution, he resolved once more to try the chance of arms upon his own account, and for this purpose collected the whole force at his disposal around Hermanstadt.

Bem in the meantime occupied a strong position at Stolpenburg, and contented himself with closely watching the proceedings of his enemy. For this purpose he from time to time sent detachments against Hermanstadt, which led to frequent skirmishes with the garrison of that place, while he detached a part of his force to the assistance of the insurgent Magyars in Croatia, so that he at length had reduced his forces at Stolpenburg to about 9000 men, with 27 pieces of cannon. Puchner who was duly informed of this circumstance by his spies, and probably fearing that ere long, in conjunction with the Szeklers, he would make a serious attack on Hermanstadt, resolved after his union with F. M. Gideon, to assume the offensive. On the 4th. of February therefore, he advanced to Salzburg, to which place Bem also advanced to meet him. The Hungarians had taken up a strong position in front of the town, from which Puchner in vain strove to drive them; the attacks of the Austrians were repulsed on all sides, and they again retired upon Hermanstadt, where strengthened by the national-guard both of that city and Mediasch, they awaited the attack of the Hungarians. Bem flushed with victory, suffered himself to be decoyed from his strong position at Salzburg, and suddenly found himself in the presence of an enemy whose force was nearly three times that of his own. He attacked the lines of the Austrians with his usual impetuosity; but fortune on this occasion deserted her Polish favorite, the Hungarians were repulsed with great slaughter, and Bem found himself under the necessity of retreating, which he did in good order, carrying of six pieces of cannon captured during the early part of the battle, and repulsing several attacks of the brigades of Rosenau and Stutterheim, which endeavoured to harass his retreat.

Bem now retired to Mühlenbach, which town he barricaded and prepared to make the most desperate resistance; but perceiving that his retreat was in danger of being cut off, by a part of the garrison of Karlsberg which had sallied out for that purpose, he did not wait for the contemplated attack; but proceeded by forced marches to Szas Buros, where he took up his quarters for the night. On the following morning (Febr. 7th.), he abandoned this place to the Austrians after a short resistance, and retreated to Deva, where he destroyed the bridge over the Strelia, and occupied the neighbouring district.

Here he was joined by a reinforcement of 4000 men, with 8 pieces of cannon, and on the 9th. of February the most bloody engagement of the Transylvanian compaign, took place on this spot. The Hungarians had restored the bridge over the Strelia, probably with the intention

of again advancing, when they were surprised by the Austrians, who made three gallant attempts to storm it; but on each occasion were repulsed by the Hungarians, who at length by a singular stratagem, obtained a decided victory.

A strong detachment of infantry crossed the bridge, making signs by the lowering of the colours and the waving of handkerchiefs, that they wished to go over to the Austrians. They were consequently permitted to approach; when suddenly opening their ranks, they discovered a battery of cannon which had hitherto been concealed, and which opened a murderous fire of grape-shot on the Austrian ranks. Under the protection of this battery, a regiment of Hussars galloped forwards, and charging them in the moment of confusion, put them completely to the rout. The Austrian regiment Bianchi was almost entirely cut to pieces, and the remainder fled in wild confusion in the direction of Hermanstadt. Bem pursued them to Alvintz, where he came up with the flying enemy, cut the right wing from the centre and drove it back upon Karlsburg, while the rest of the imperial forces concentrated themselves in Hermanstadt.

In all these actions the Vienna legion, composed of political fugitives from that city, distinguished itself above all others. If a retreat was to be covered, a battery stormed, or any service of more than usual danger to be performed, the Vienna legion was certain to be present. In the numerous engagements, more than one half of these brave youths had already fallen, and as after this battle, the remainder defiled before Bem, he shook their leader heartily by the hand and observed: "With 10,000 Viennese I should be certain not only to conquer Transylvania, but to keep possession of it, against all the force which Austria and Russia could bring against us!"

We will take a later opportinity of returning to Transylvania and the Russian intervention in that country, and in the meantime take a glance at the state of affairs in the Carpathians, and on the banks of the Danube and Theiss.

AFFAIRS ON THE THEISS AND GÖRGEY'S MANOEUVER.

We have already informed the reader of the position of the main-body of the Hungarian army; we will now examine more closely the country for the defence of which it was destined. The country occupied by the Magyars is about 350 English miles in length, by 90 in breadth, and from its natural position extremely easy of defence. On the north-east, the steep and uninhabited mountains called the Marmoros form a natural bulwark, and from these descends the Theiss, which first flows in numerous windings to the westward; receiving all the waters of the east and north-east parts of Hungary, and at length takes its course to the southward, where close upon the military frontier, it mingles its stream with that of the Danube. The

Theiss divides the country of the Magyars into two nearly equal parts, and therefore forms the natural line of defence either against the west or north. On the south, the wild and rapid stream of the Maros, and on the east, the mighty chain of the Carpathians, inclose the country. Transylvania which cannot be considered as belonging to this district, lies on the other side of the Carpathians, and would have formed an excellent place of retreat, in the event of the Hungarians being forced to abandon the line of the Theiss. And it was on this account that Kossuth had dispatched Bem into that country, in order to secure a point of retreat in the event of a reverse.

The first that ventured to cross the Hungarian line of defence were the Servians, which under the command of Lieutenant Field Marshal Berger, and Major General Leiningen, crossed to the northern bank of the Maros immediately after the relief of Arad; but were soon under the necessity of retracing their steps and recrossing the river with the greatest possible speed.

On the west and north-west, the Theiss with the broad marshes on both sides of the river, formed an almost unassailable line of defence. And here was the scene of the principal operations of the war; as not only the Austrian army from Pesth, but also that of F. M. Schlick in the north-west, made every possible exertion to force a passage across the river; but the natural difficulties of the undertaking and the activity and bravery of the Hungarians, rendered all their efforts fruitless. Earlier in the winter, when both the marshes and the stream were covered with a thick coat of ice, the attempt would have indeed have been attended by comparatively few difficulties; but already in February a thaw had taken place, and the Austrian general was painfully convinced of the value of the time which had been wasted after the occupation of Pesth. The points at which the river can be crossed by an army, except during a hard frost, are but few, and these were occupied by the Hungarians with a force which proved amply sufficient to baffle all the exertions of the enemy. While the Landtag continued its sittings and the council of war pursued its plans for the organization of the forces, a corps was thrown forward on each wing of the army, in order to disturb and annoy the enemy. The corps under Görgey showed itself now in the Sclavonic provinces, now in the Zips, and now in the mountain districts, appearing to be almost omnipresent, and harassing by forced marches and counter marches the whole of the Austrian corps in northern Hungary. The second corps, under the command of Perczel and Damianich, stood between the Danube and the Drau, and spread the insurrection in lower Hungary. Both corps had a secure line of retreat open to them; the first on the Theiss, and the second over the Danube into Croatia.

The retreat of the Hungarian army over the Maros, was followed by the defeat of the corps under Perczel and Damianich, by the Austrian general Nugent, upon which it was dissolved into a number of

Guerilla bands, which partly continued their operations between the Dran and the Danube, and kept a large body of the enemy's troops in constant employment, and partly took refuge in the forest of Bakony, where they employed themselves in interrupting the communications of the Austrians.

In the north, Görgey by means of a bold and active Guerilla warfare, and through a series of brilliant actions, maintained possession of the Sclavonic provinces nearly two months against the utmost exertions of three different divisions of the Austrian army. While he was almost daily annihilated in the Austrian bulletins, he appeared constantly again in the field, beating one Austrian general after another; and by the rapidity of his movements, baffling their combinations and preventing them from acting in concert. After the fall of Leopoldstadt he however found it necessary to retire before the enemy in earnest, and taking his way over the higher Carpathians, threw all Galicia into alarm. He then threw himself into the Zips and from thence marched to Eperies and Kaschau; thus placing himself in the rear of Schlick. This general, whose communications with Windischgrätz were cut off by the Hungarian corps which had advanced to Milkolz, now saw himself in danger of being surrounded, and consequently retreated in all haste in a northernly direction, in the hope of uniting himself with General Götz at Leutschau. But at this moment strong divisions of the Hungarian army crossed the Theiss at Polgar and Thisza Füred, united themselves the column at Milkolz, and advanced to Rima, thus placing themselves between Windischgrätz and Schlick. The Austrian commander therefore saw himself compelled to alter the whole of his plan, to abandon Götz to his fate in the Carpathians, and hurry by forced marches in a south-western direction to Rima Szombath, in order arrive there before the main column of the Hungarians.

Through this masterly manoeuver of the Magyars, Schlick was compelled to fall back into Sclavonia, Götz was isolated in the Carpathians, and the union of Görgey with the main army of the Hungarians was secured.

All these occurrences took place in the beginning of February.

THE FORTRESSES OF HUNGARY AND THE HOSTILE FEELING OF THE HUNGARIAN POPULATION AGAINST THE AUSTRIANS.

The part of Hungary at this time occupied by the Austrian forces, formed nearly two thirds of the whole kingdom; but still this vast tract of country could by no means be considered as conquered. In all the occupied provinces, the great majority of the inhabitants were hostile to the Austrians, and ready in the case of a reverse to rise upon their oppressors. Besides this, several fortresses were still in the hands of the insurgents, forming rallying points for the disaffected,

and commanding the districts by which they were surrounded. Leopoldstadt. a small but tolerably strong fortress in the neighbourhood of Tyrnau, held out upwards of six weeks against the forces of General Simunich, which had besieged it since the middle of December. It was commanded by Medniasky, formerly an officer in the Austrian service, and his lieutenant was Baron Bayer, formerly in that of Prussia.

Tl construction of this little fortress was not calculated to afford much resistance to a bombardment, but as long as Görgey found employment for the various Austrian corps, the garrison by means of frequent sallies found means to overawe the neighbouring district; and this fortress formed the point on which the advanced right wing of the Hungarian army sustained itself.

Komorn, one of the strongest fortresses of Europe, situated at the junction of the Waag with the Danube, bid defiance to all the efforts of the Austrians, and formed as it were the advanced guard of the Hungarian centre.

The left wing of the Hungarian army rested on the mighty fortress of Peterwardine, while the various Guerilla bands between the Drau and the Danube, found a point of support in the fortress of Essegg.

Leopoldstadt was garrisoned by 1000 men, with 26 guns; Komorn by 4,500 Honvéds, 200 Hussars, and 250 guns; Peterwardein by 2,800 men, with 160 guns.

On the 2nd. of February, Leopoldstadt surrendered after enduring a heavy bombardment, to F. M. Simunich, and the soldiers of the garrison were sent to Austria, where they took the oath of allegiance to the emperor, and were sent to Italy to reinforce the army of Radetzky. Through the fall of this fortress Görgey was compelled to abandon the districts in which he had previously operated, and turn in the direction of Kaschau. F. M. Simunich now put himself in communication with Major General Götz, and advanced along the banks of the Waag to Komorn, in order to strengthen the corps already assembled before that fortress for the purpose of besieging it. We shall soon have occasion to relate how this unimpregnable fortress defied the utmost efforts of the Austrians; but may state in the meantime, that the garrison by means of repeated sallies in concert with the columns of troops which Görgey kept at no great distance, managed to keep open their communications with the Hungarian army.

Peterwardein which was commanded by General Kiss, and which was only imperfectly blockaded by some Servian troops, kept the whole of Sclavonia in a state of agitation by the sallies of its garrison.

Essegg was commanded by Major General Eder and Casimer Batthyány, and for a long time the garrison defended themselves with success, against an Austrian corps of 24,000 men, under Colonel

Van der Null, F. M. Thodorovich, and Lieutenant General Trebersburg. Several times the garrison sought by desperate sallies to cut their way through the assailing force, but in vain; these attempts being invariably repulsed. The besiegers were strengthened by a part of General Nugent's corps, and after a heavy bombardment, took the town and the lower part of the fortress by storm. Batthyány who saw that the fall of the fortress was inevitable, now sought for safety in flight, and on the 13th. of February, the fortress capitulated; the garrison laying down their arms and engaging not to serve against the Austrians for the space of four months.

Essegg was now occupied by a part of the besiegers, and the rest marched upon Peterwardein, in the hope of meeting with similar success before that fortress.

The enmity of the population and the influence of the hostile garrisons, were the causes which rendered it impossible to re-establish order in the conquered districts. No sooner did the Austrians evacuate a town, than an agent from Kossuth made his appearance, and stimulated the people to renewed resistance. Risings were constantly taking place in the rear of the Austrian columns, and Windischgrätz although nominally master of the greater part of Hungary, was in fact only certain of the ground actually covered by his troops. A specimen of this was afforded by the population of Gran, a town lying between Komorn and Pesth, where notwithstanding the homage paid to the emperor by the authorities, the Austrian arms and flags were torn down, and the Hungarian tricolour hoisted in their places. The principal magistrate was murdered, and most of the authorities taken prisoners and sent to Komorn, for no other crime than publishing the Austrian manifestos. The triumph of the revolutionary party was however but of short duration. Steam-boats filled with troops soon arrived from Pesth, the rising was promptly suppressed, and the leaders compelled to seek safely in flight.

BATTLE OF SZOLNOK; GÖRGEY'S MARCH THROUGH THE ZIPS; DIFFICULTIES OF THE COMPAIGN.

As we have already stated, Prince Windischgrätz allowed his troops to remain some time in a state of inactivity at Pesth, in order that they might recover from the fatigues of the compaign. He filled the higher posts in his army with Hungarian cavaliers, who had continued faithful to the cause of the Emperor, and the dissatisfaction this gave to the Croats, led to disputes and heart-burnings, which were not without their influence on the results of the campaign.

Prince Windischgrätz seems to have made the great mistake of supposing that the campaign was virtually finished by the surrender of Buda-Pesth, and therefore contented himself with dispatching single

corps in the direction of Kiskemet, Szolnok, and Gyingyös. The corps sent to Szolnok consisted of about 20,000 men, who took up a strong position in that neighbourhood.

Here, on the 23rd. of January, they were attacked by the Hungarians under General Perczel, and after half an hour's conflict utterly routed. The roads were almost impassable, the mud being literally knee deep, and in consequence the heavy Austrian cuirassiers were almost entirely out to pieces or taken prisoners by the Hungarian Hussars. The road from Szolnok to Czegled was strewed throughout its whole length with the bodies of the slain, and the inhabitants of the latter town abandoned themselves to the wildest rejoicings as the Hungarians chased the flying Austrians through the streets, and the ladies kissed in patriotic extacy the Hussars and other warriors who halted for a few minutes to breathe their exhausted horses. On the 26th. of January, Windischgrätz at the head of all the troops which could be assembled at the moment, advanced in all haste to Szegled, where the Hungarians awaited the attack, and drove the Austrians back as far as Monon. A complete panic prevailed at Pesth, and every preparation was made for evacuating that city, when it was discovered that the Hungarians had vanished as suddenly as they had appeared, and had again retired over the Theiss, before their retreat was suspected by the Austrians. This retreat was occasioned by the rapid thaw which had now set in, and which had affected the ice on the Theiss to such an extent as to render it dangerous to have that river in their rear. The loss of the Austrians consisted of 20 cannon, a rocket battery, 1800 prisoners, among which were 400 cuirassiers, a large quantity of baggage, and 1200 killed; besides a large number of wounded.

Eight days later, an Austrian corps was sent into the neighbourhood of Gyöngyös to seek out F. M. Schlick, who together with his division had disappeared, and who it was feared must be in very critical circumstances. As however Hungarian columns showed themselves both in front and on the flanks of the Austrians, they thought it the safest course to return to Pesth. Count Montekukuli, colonel of cuirassiers, remained at Gyöngös in consequence of illness, and immediately after the departure of the Austrians, was taken out of his bed by a party of Honvéds, and conveyed as a prisoner to the camp of the Magyars. Prince Windischgrätz subsequently laid the district under contribution to the amount of 50,000 Florins, in retaliation for this act.

In the north of Hungary, the affairs of the Austrians were not more florishing. The agents of Kossuth maintained their influence over the minds of the people, and under the direction of Csaky Lafflo, the recruiting the Hungarian army was carried on with great energy in the Zips, and large bodies of recruits from this district were forwarded to the head-quarters on the other side of the Theiss. Görgey had as we have alteady stated, detached several columns against Pesth, and

others to the neighbourhood of Komorn, and when he appeared in the Zips his force still amounted to about 18,000 men, including 2000 grenadiers and eight divisions of Hussars. 30 cannon and 12 howitzers formed the artillery; and an immense train of wagons with stores and provisions followed the army. Here he issued an address to the German inhabitants of the district, calling on them to join his standard, and declaring that the cause of Hungary was also that of Germany. This address was not without effect, and a considerable part of the national-guard joined his ranks. The Hungarians were every where received with enthusiasm, and Görgey advanced by rapid marches to Eperies, and the consequence of this movement was, that Schlick was cut off from the main body of the Austrian army and forced to fall back on the Slovakei.

While the insurrection in North Hungary increased daily, and even the Sclavonians enrolled themselves in the ranks of the Honvéds, the affairs in South Hungary also assumed a favourable aspect. The wet and stormy weather had reduced the roads to such a state, that it was almost impossible for large bodies of troops to move from one place to another, while the baggage wagons and artillery remained sticking for hours together in the morasses. The Hungarians who are used to this state of things and whose light vehicles are purposely constructed to encounter it, consequently reaped all the advantage; their columns advanced with a suddenness which gave them the appearance of springing out of the earth, combined into large masses of troops, and then vanished as suddenly as they had appeared. They harassed both the flanks and rear of the imperial army incessantly, and even rendered the communications with Vienna difficult and uncertain.

This vexations state of affairs, induced the Austrian commander to attempt to cross the Theiss at all hazards, in hopes of bringing the insurgents to battle; for this purpose he threw several bridges over the Theiss and sought by these means to press forward upon Debreczin; but all his attempts to establish himself on the other side of the river proved fruitless, and in the numerous actions which these attempts gave rise to, the Magyars were invariably victors. On the upper Theiss near Tokay, the population rendered desperate by the contributions which were levied on them, rose *en masse* against the Austrians, and on the lower part of the river from Szolnok to Szegedin, the banks were overflowed to the distance of a mile from the stream, and with this ground only the natives were acquainted, so that a corps was easily led astray and dispersed in these marches. Jellachich was several times dispatched to the south, in order to operate against Szegedin; but on no occasion penetrated farther than the steppes of Kecskemet, where he was always beaten back. This district is inhabited by the Jazygen and Kumanen, extremely warlike races, which had joined themselves in a body to the Hungarian army.

PROGRESS OF THE HUNGARIANS IN THE NORTH, AND THEIR RETREAT IN THE SOUTH.

It is a task of no little difficulty to describe a war in which the seat of hostilities is constantly changing from one district to another, the fortunes of which are continually wavering, and which is at one moment procecuted by mighty armies, and at the next by mere bands of Guerillas, and this was the case in the campaign the events of which we are now recording.

In the middle of February everything seemed to be turning in favour of the Hungarians. The city of Pesth, the head quarters of the Austrian Field Marshal, had a most gloomy appearance; the streets were absolutely desolate, and no equipages and scarcely any passengers were to be seen in them. Almost all persons capable of bearing arms had followed the idol of the nation Kossuth, to Debreczin, and those who remained seldom quitted their houses, or only appeared in the streets in the evening. The bitter and increasing hostility of the population towards the Austrians, specimens of which came every day under the notice of the commander in chief, stimulated him to put a speedy end to the war; but all his exertions for this purpose were baffled in succession by the bravery of the Hungarian troops, and the superior ability of the Hungarian generals; while the three bridges which he had thrown across the Theiss, served the Hungarians on several occasions to cross the river to assume the offensive. As the corps under Schlick, after a series of fatiguing marches again reached the banks of the Theiss, a Hungarian division under Klapka crossed the river at Tokay, and attacked the Austrians on the 11th. of February. On this occasion Schlick met with a complete overthrow, and was again compelled to retreat with tremendous loss. A Hungarian corps under Guyon now occupied Tokay, while Klapka pressed forward to Kaschau, but again retired, as Windischgrätz detached considerable reinforcements to Gyöngyös. In place of Klapka, Görgey now marched upon Kaschau, and took measures to remove the whole of the officials which had been appointed by the Austrian government.

While the fortune of war thus turned in favour of the Hungarians in the northern part of the kingdom, the Austrians with their allies the Raitzen, were making daily progress in the south. Without reckoning that all places of strength with the exception of Peterwardein, were in their hands; they were secured by the fortresses of Arad, Essegg, and Temisvar, from being surprised by the enemy. A considerable Austrian corps invested Peterwardein, and its commander Nugent, already announced the approaching fall of the place, to the count of Vienna. This commander distinguished himself by the severities he practised on the hostile population by which he was surrounded, and many frightful stories are told of the barbarities perpetrated by his command. The garrison of Peterwardein however, defied his utmost

efforts, and a plan formed by a part of the officers to betray the place having been discovered, they were immediately put in irons and had to repent their treasonable intentions in the deepest dungeons of this unimpregnable fortress.

The garrison of Peterwardein were however too weak to command the surrounding country, nor could they prevent the Servians from joining the greater part of their hordes with the soldiers of the military frontier, whose combined force plundered and laid waste the whole country, and even threatened Szegedin. They had put themselves into communication with the governors of Temisvár and Árad, and in combination with the garrisons of these places, practised the most dreadful cruelties on the inhabitants of the country.

THE HUNGARIAN ARMY AND THE VARIOUS TROOPS COMPOSING IT.

We have already related the energetic measures adopted by Kossuth and his colleagues, to put the Hungarian army in a proper state to combat the formidable force opposed to it by the Austrians, and the wonderful rapidity with which the hardy peasants of Hungary were transformed into soldiers capable of meeting and conquering the best troops of the Austrian empire. A short sketch of the elements of which this force was composed, will in all probability be interesting to the reader.

The Hungarian army consisted like every other, of Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, with the necessary rifle, pioneer, and engineer-battalions. There were however some species of troops in the Hungarian army altogether peculiar to itself, and such as have never before been employed against an enemy.

The Hungarian infantry at this time consisted of 70 Honvéd battalions, and five regiments which had deserted from the Austrians. Each Honvéd battalion consisted of from 1000 to 1200 men, had its peculiar flag and military chest, and was commanded by a major. The uniform of the Honvéds consisted of half boots, light blue pantaloons, ornamented with braiding of red white and green, a brown Attila (or surtout coat), and a Shako, or leathern military cap. The cartridge box was suspended by a black belt; and their arms consisted of a musket and bayonet, and a short sabre.

The regiments which had deserted, retained their former uniform, the tricoloured cockade being however substituted for the black and yellow one of Austria. At a later period, these troops were assimilated in dress and appointments to the Honvéds.

Various other departments of the infantry service, as Jagers, Sappers, etc. were distinguished by their weapons, but not by their dress from the Honvéds, but they differed in no material respect from those of other nations. Among the Jagers were two battalions of

Tyrolese sharp-shooters in their peculiar costume, viz. grey hunting coats with green facings, and high pointed crowned hats, with plumes of heron's feathers.

Among the Hungarian infantry must also be reckoued the Polish and Viennese legions. The greater part of the Poles, of whom an immense number were to be found in the army, were enrolled in the ordinary Honvéd battalions; but about 7000, formed a peculiar corps, under the name of the Polish legion, which wore the national uniform and was divided among the various corps of the army, the greater part being with that of Dembinsky. The Vienna legion consisted of about 2000 youths, students, workmen, etc. who after the fall of Vienna had succeeded in escaping from that capital and joining the Hungarians. It formed part of Bem's corps, and distinguished itself in a manner which made it the terror of the enemy and the pride of the general. Its uniform was the same as that of the famous Academic legion of Vienna, and its flag the German tri-colour. Ever foremost in the combat, the greater part of these gallant but misguided youths found their graves in Hungary. They neither gave nor accepted quarter, and of the 2000 that joined the Hungarians after the fall of Vienna, there are probably not 200 at present in existence.

We now come to the most peculiar feature of the Hungarian army, the cavalry. This consisted of 20 regiments of Hussars, 3 of Uhlans, and about 9000 irregular soldiers, called Esikosen. The Hungarian Hussars have been famous for ages for their activity and bravery in the field, and from the earliest times formed the main strength of the Hungarian armies. Six or seven centuries since, during the numerous incursions which the Hungarians made into Germany, these troops were ever the most dreaded guests, and many were the overthrows which the steel clad knights of that period, received from the crooked sabres of the Hussars. In later times every power in Europe has acknowledged the excellence of this species of light cavalry, and has armed and clothed a part of its forces after the manner of the Hungarians, and given them the name of Hussars; without having the slightest idea of the meaning of the word. In the Hungarian levies, one man in twenty, of course the one best adapted for the purpose, was set aside for the cavalry; and these picked men consequently received the name of "*huszar,*" *husz* meaning twenty, and *ar* being an abbreviation of the word *ember,* man.

The clothing of these troops is at once elegant aud characteristic. It consists of a braided Dolman or jacket, tight pantaloons, and boots edged with fur. Over the shoulder hangs an additional jacket of sheep skin, called a Mente, and which is seldom put on except in severe cold. The head is covered with a Shako decorated with the national cockade and a plume of feathers, and a kind of pocket of red cloth is suspended across the person, by a leathern belt. The arms of the Hussar consist of a sabre, in the use of which he is extremely ex-

pert, a carbine, and a brace of pistols. The slight but muscular figure of the Hungarian is admirably adapted to the small but swift and hardy race of horses, which graze in thousands on the wide plains of the country With short stirrups, and their heads bent nearly to the saddle bow, the crooked sabre in one hand, and a pistol in the other, while the reins are held between the teeth; these soldiers precipitate themselves upon the enemy with the rapidity of the wind, and if unsuccessful in their attack, retire as suddenly as they appear.

An especial number of these troops were called the Kossuth Hussars, and formed a division of heavy cavalry. They were dressed in long boots, brown attilas and blue trowsers, and were armed with heavy swords more slightly curved than those of the ordinary Hussars; in other respects their weapons were the same.

The Uhlan regiments consisted of Poles, and their uniform of wide blue trowsers with a red stripe at the sides, green jackets, and a low crowned shako. Their arms consisted of a lance, sabre, and pistols.

We now come to the description of the Esikosen, a species of troops altogether peculiar to this war. They consisted of herdsmen from the plains, attired in tight pantaloons, half boots, light dolmans, and round shepherd's hats with long black featkers. In bad weather they generally wore a grey cloak thrown over their other attire. But the most extraordinary part of their equipment was their weapon, which consisted of a whip, the thong of which was at least fifteen feet in length, with a bullet at the end, and attached to a short handle. These men handled this singular weapon with such dexterity, that they seldom failed to strike their opponent with the bullet in the face, at the distance of ten paces, or to wind the end of the thong so fast round either his body or neck, that they could pull him from his saddle without the possibility of his extricating himself. The Esikosen were generally employed against the heavy Austrian cavalry, which they unhorsed and captured with a facility whicb had almost the appearance of magic. In addition to this formidable weapon, they were provided with a crooked sabre and a carbine, and their belt always contained a dagger, and generally a brace of pistols. On one occasion a number of wounded cuirassiers were brought to Pesth, whose hurts puzzled the military surgeons not a little. Every one of them had a wound in the face, generally in the forehead, over the cause and character of which the sons of Galen held a long dispute, till at length one of the patients found Hungarian enough to inform them, that the heads of both his companions and himself, had come into too close collision with the leaden bullets of the Esikosen.

The Hungarian artillery acquired and maintained a high reputation throughout the struggle, which is the more creditable to them as their only practice was on the field of battle. The service of the wagon train was performed by peasants in their ordinary costume.

The amount of the Hungarian army at the commencement of the month of March, could have been little less than 150,000 men of all arms.

THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION.

The heroic defence made by the Hungarian nation against the formidable force brought against it by Prince Windischgrätz, raised the admiration and sympathy of all civilized nations, and these feelings were increased to the highest possible degree; when it became known that Austria finding even her colossal army unequal to the task, was about to call the hordes of the Czar to her assistance. The first Russian corps entered Transylvania to the support of F. M. Puchner, who as we have already related, found himself unable any longer to compete with the energy and decision of Bem. He accordingly applied for assistance to the commanders of the Russian forces stationed in the principalities of the Danube, which request was immediately granted, and on the 1st. of February, 6000 Russians entered Kronstadt and 4000 Hermanstadt.

This was the first step of the Russian intervention, and the news produced an immense sensation among the liberal party in Germany, France and England. This party were however powerless to assist the objects of their sympathy, while the advocates of reaction, and even that large section of the moderate party which prefers peace at any price, saw with secret satisfaction a measure which was certain sooner or later to put an end to the war. But even the entry of the Russians into Transylvania was insufficient to arrest at once the progress of the Hungarians. On the 19th. of February Colonel Urban, one of the bravest officers of the imperial army, undertook at the head of six battalions and two batteries, an expedition against Bayersdorf. He broke up from Bistritz, where he had entrenched himself, and arrived on the following day in front of the enemy. Bem had called all his disposable troops around him in order to oppose the Russians, and only two battalions of Honvéds, with 400 of the Polish legion under Colonel Ritzko, remained as a corps of observation on the side of the Bukowina.

At 10 in the morning of the 20th. Urban stormed the well entrenched village, in which the Poles and Honveds defended themselves with desperate valour. Ritzko himself headed his troops with his sabre in his hand, and three times were the assaults of the Austrians repulsed with tremendous loss; but at the fourth attack Ritzko was struck in the shoulder by a bullet, and the Honvèds seeing the fall of their leader retired; the Poles alone continuing the defence in order to cover the retreat of their confederates. Ritzko was taken prisoner by the Austrians.

Meanwhile the retiring Honveds united themselves with three other battalions and two squdrons of Szekler Hussars which were hurrying

to their assistance, and turned once more on their pursuers. After a sharp engagement, the Austrians were in their turn compelled to retreat, and withdrew with the loss of three cannon to their former position at Bistritz.

Weighty occurrences were now preparing on the principal theatre of hostilities. We have already stated that Klapka at the head of a numerous column had crossed the Theiss and united himself with Guyon at Kaschau. To this force Görgey now united himself, and advanced with 34,000 men and 50 pieces of cannon, in the direction of Pesth.

The Austrian commander had long expected this offensive movement of the Hungarians and taken the necessary steps for repelling it. On the 23rd. of February he had already sent all his disposible troops into the district of Milkolcz, on the 24th. he removed his head quarters to Hatvan, and on the 25th. to Gyöngyos. While the corps of General Schlick which had so long been driven about in different directions, at length found an opportunity of uniting itself to the main army.

BATTLE OF KAPOLNA. ENGAGEMGNT AT MEZÖKÖVESD.

At Kapolna the two hostile armies at length met. This town is situated at the distance of about 80 English miles from Pesth, and here commence the immense plains which stretch along the banks of the Theiss. Schlick was stationed in a north-westerly direction about 5 hour's march behind Erlau, and he received orders to join the main body of the army on the 26th. of February.

On the same day at 8 in the morning, the corps of Lieutenant Field Marshals Wrbna and Schwarzenberg, came upon the centre of the Hungarian army at Kapolna, and after a lively cannonade were forced to retire, and the Hungarians now extended their line of battle on both sides. Their right wing rested on a forest upon a rising ground, which was occupied by two battalions of Hungarian sharp-shooters. Their centre occupied Kal, while their left wing extended to Adacs, and their reserves occupied Kapolna and Maklar. The fortune of war at the commencement of the action leaned to the side of the Hungarians, and Windischgrätz looked with anxiety in the direction of Erlau for the appearance of Schlick, of whom no signs were yet to be perceived. Two regiments of infantry were now ordered to clear the wooded height of the sharp-shooters that threatened the left wing of the Austrians; and although the bullets of the Jagers told with frightful effect on the advancing columns, they effected their purpose and cleared the wood of the enemy at the point of the bayonet.

In the meantime, the Hungarians endeavoured to break through the Austrian centre by a charge of cavalry. Four regiments of Hussars threw themselves upon the lines of the Austrians, and compelled them to retire in some confusion; but succours arriving at the critical mo-

ment, the Hungarians were in their turn compelled to retreat. A regiment of Austrian Uhlans was ordered to pursue them; the Hungarian Hussars halted, and a squadron of Polish lancers singing in chorus the national-melody "Poland is not yet lost!" rode towards the Uhlans. These halted at the sound of their native tongue, and after hesitating a moment, joined in the chorus and went over to the Hungarians, who retired upon their reserves at Kapolna.

We must now bestow a moment's attention upon Schlick, whose arrival had been so anxiously awaited by Windischgrätz. Between Peterwardein and Kapolna lies a branch of the Carpathians, called the mountains of Matra, and through these mountains Schlick was under the necessity of marching in order to join his commander. On arriving at Sirok he found the narrow defile through which the road winds, strongly occupied by a hostile force, which he strove in vain to dislodge from its position. From 9 in the morning till 6 in the evening, all his efforts were baffled by the bravery of the Hungarians and the natural strength of their position. At length by the assistance of his heavy artillery which had now come up, he forced the pass, and the enemy retired to Verpeleth. The approach of night putting an end to the combat on all sides.

On the following morning, the Hungarians who expected reinforcements and were desirous of postponing the combat, retired in a westerly direction, thus turning their whole force against Schlick. In Kapolna, a battalion of the Italian regiment Zanini, which had deserted from the Austrians, remained to cover to retreat, and defended the place with desperate valour for nearly two hours against their former comrades. At the end of that time they were compelled to evacuate the town, leaving 200 prisoners in the hands of the Austrians. Meanwhile Schlick had advanced to Verpeleth, where a sharp cannonade ensued, which lasted until the Hungarians learned that Windischgrätz had made himself master of Kapolna. They now evacuated Verpeleth and endeavoured by a furious cannonade and an attack with the bayonet, to re-possess themselves of the former place; but failing in this, and Schlick having now effected his union with Windischgrätz, they fell back upon Maklar, where they took up a strong position and awaited the attack of the Austrians.

On the following day (February 28.), the Hungarians finding their flank and line of retreat in danger, retired upon Mezö-Kövesd. Windischgrätz immediately advanced with his whole force, and three hours after the evacuation of Maklar by the Hungarians, had established his head quarters in that town. At Mezö-Kövesd, the Austrian cuirassier regiment of Prince Charles of Prussia, came upon the thickly crowded rear guard of the retreating Hungarians, whose infantry however succeeded in repelling the heavy charge of their pursuers. The Hussars which had turned to the support of their infantry, now charged the Austrian cuirassiers, to whose support the brigades of Wyss and

Montenuovo now hastened. The cavalry engagement which now took place, was the most bloody in the whole campaign, and the heavy cavalry of Bohemia were repulsed with great slaughter by the light Hussars of Hungary. One half of the Austrian cuirassiers, with their commander a Prince of Holstein, were left dead on the field.

This severe check made the Austrians more cautious in their pursuit of the enemy, and on the 29th. of February, a pause took place in the operations of the imperial army; as Prince Windischgrätz had summoned the whole of his disposible troops from Pesth, in order to try his fortune with a better chance of success against the enemy. Schlick still operated on the flank of the Hungarians, and to his movements is to be attributed the circumstance that they were under the necessity of evacuating Mezö-Kövesd, and retreating through Eger Farmas and Szemere, to Porozlo. The snow now descended heavily, the intense cold rendered all field operations extremely difficult; and the Austrians felt little inclination to fellow the retiring enemy by forced marches through the heavy snow-drift. They however came up with the Hungarian rear guard near Eger Farmas, and after a short engagement the Hungarians retired, and left that place in the possession of the Austrians.

A part of the Hungarian army now crossed the Theiss at Thysza Füred, while the remainder proceeded to Cibakhaza, united itself with the troops at that place, and then marched to Abony.

Erlau was occupied by the Austrians on the 2nd. of March, after a sharp skirmish in the streets.

ENGAGEMENT AT SZOLNOK. RENEWED INSURRECTION ON THE DANUBE.

At Szolnok, the Austrian brigade Grammont was stationed, to watch the passage over the Theiss. On the morning of the 5th. of March, the banks of the river were enveloped in so thick a fog that it was impossible to discern any object at the distance of even a few paces. The greater part of the Austrians in Szolnok lay still in the deepest slumber, when suddenly a few pistol shots were heard, followed by the cry of: "The Hungarians are here!" The drums and trumpets were now heard sounding to arms, and out of every house poured streams of soldiers still half asleep and in many cases half dressed. The ranks were formed and the cannon brought out in all haste; but before order could be obtained, the Hussars dashed at full gallop into the town, and a murderous conflict began. The cannon remained silent, for at the first moment of attack two of the Austrian batteries had been taken by the enemy, and the artillerymen cut down at their posts. The Honvéds who followed close on the heels of the Hussars,

did not wait to put their cannon in position; but pressed forward to the attack with the bayonet. The surprise was complete, and in less than an hour from the first alarm, the place was strewed with the bodies of 400 Austrians; 800 were taken prisoners, and the remainder were flying in wild confusion through Czegled towards Pesth.

The brigade Karger and a regiment of cavalry came up at this moment and the battle began anew. The Austrians had now 12,000 men, with 30 pieces of cannon on the field, while the Hungarians were 15,000 strong, with 40 guns. The Austrians therefore endeavoured to avoid the action till they could receive reinforcements; but before these could arrive, they were completely routed by the impetuous attacks of the Hungarians, and retired in great confusion to Pesth; and it was not until a large number of troops had been collected in that city, that the imperial forces again advanced to Szegled and Szolnok which they occupied without any resistance.

Counts Karger and Deym were afterwards brought before a court martial on a charge of negligence in placing the outposts; and a few days after the action the Austrian general Ottinger died of the wounds he had received about a month earlier, when he was surprised by Perczel at the same place.

In the meantime the agitation of the people in the provinces occupied by the Austrians, continued to increase daily, as they were constantly stirred up by the emissaries of Kossuth to commence a war of extermination against the imperial forces. One of the principal stations of these emissaries was Kalocsa on the lower Danube, from whence they scattered placards and proclamations over the whole adjoining district, and their exertions were crowned with a considerable amount of success. The peasants again arose in thousands, armed themselves with whatever weapons came to hand, and placed themselves under the leaders provided for them by the emissaries. Especially numerous and well armed were the insurgents from the districts of Foldar and Denavecse, the officers of which procured numerous small boats, and a few cannon which had been buried on the advance of the Austrians, and by these means commanded the Danube, in the whole distance from Dunavecse to Tolna, a space of nearly thirty miles. Every vessel which endeavoured to pass was either boarded by means of the boats or sunk by the cannon posted on the banks, and the communications of the troops operating in the Bacska, with the main body of the army, entirely cut off. To put an end to this state of affairs, five steam boats, each having another vessel in tow containing troops, were dispatched from Pesth to the neighbourhood of Földvar. These vessels were indeed fired on from the banks; but on the landing of the troops the insurgents fled in all directions, in order to again unite and at the first favourable opportunity renew the same system of annoyance.

ATTACKS ON THERESIANOPLE AND SZEGEDIN. DEPARTURE OF THE SERVIAN AUXILIARIES.

As the reader is already aware, the Servians in combination with the imperial forces and supported by the garrisons of Temisvar and Arad, had after numerous engagements succeeded in clearing the districts called the Bacska and the Banat, of the insurgent forces, and now advanced by rapid marches upon Szegedin, in order to take that place at any price, and in combination with the other Austrian corps, commence operations against Debreczin.

Szegedin is a city containing about 45,000 inhabitants, and is situated on the right bank of the Theiss. In former times it was surrounded by walls and trenches, which had however been suffered for the most part to fall to ruin. The Hungarians who had concentrated a considerable force in this city, repaired the decayed fortifications as well as circumstances would permit, and threw up some new entrenchments in the outskirts.

As the distance of ten hour's march from Szegedin, in a wild and sandy region, a portion of which had only a few years before been brought under cultivation, is the city of Theresianople, containing 30,000 inhabitants, consisting for the most part of German colonists, who were determined to resist to the utmost, rather than submit to the unbridled license of the hordes of Servians which had been called in to the assistance of the Austrian forces. They had called a battalion of Honvéds and a large number of armed peasants to their assistance, and now awaited with confidence the attack of their enemies.

Every day brought these dreaded hordes nearer to their walls; plunder, murder, and devastation marking their footsteps. This Servian corps consisted of the following elements. Two regiments of regular infantry, about 8000 disciplined soldiers from the military frontier, a body of volunteers composed of Austrian Raitzen, a Sclavonic tribe residing on the frontiers of Turkey; and 11,000 foreign volunteers from all the neighbouring countries, who had hurried to the assistance of their Sclavonic brethren in their contest with the hated Magyars. 20 cannon of various caliber formed the whole artillery, and 2 squadrons of Uhlans and 3 of cuirassiers, the whole of the cavalry of this motley army.

On the other side, the Hungarians in Szegedin, had 12 Honvéd battalions (12,000 men), and 2 regiments of Hussars (2400 men), which with the national guard and the armed peasantry from the neighbourhood, amounted to a force of not less than 40,000 men, under the command of Generals Damianich and Vetter.

In the latter days of February, Theresianople was assailed by a body of 18,000 Austrians and Servians; but on this occasion the attack was repulsed by the bravery of the citizens. The Servians fired on the city with red-hot shot, and upwards of 100 houses became in con-

sequence the prey of the flames; but notwithstanding the divertion this calamity afforded, the citizens succeeded in beating back the storming parties of the Servians.

But at night fall a more terrible spectacle was exhibited to the eyes of the citizens; from every part of the surrounding country arose columns of fire, the Servians having fired all the villages in the neighbourhood, either out of revenge for their defeat, or in order to inspire terror in the minds of the inhabitants of the city. The atrocities practised by the barbarous hordes to whose cruelty the unfortunate Hungarians were abandoned, almost exceeds belief, but it is sufficient to state that every crime which lust or cruelty could prompt, was exercised on such of the inhabitants as fell into the hands of these savages. The howls of their drunken orgies reached the ears of the defenders of Theresianople, and renewed their courage to resist the attacks of the following day, in which the Servians were again repulsed with severe loss.

Dispairing of success at Theresianople, the main body of the Servians under the command of Lieutenant Field Marshal Thodorowich, turned their arms against Szegedin in hopes of meeting with better success in that quarter. The result of this operation was of great importance, as the fall of Szegedin would have opened the road to Peterwardein and from thence to Debreczin to the Servians, while on the other hand the possession of this city by the Magyars, left the whole of Servia open to their attacks.

In the first days of March, began the siege of Szegedin, which however was not more successful than that of Theresianople. Thodorowich had established his head quarters at Kiss Kanissa, and had already made his arrangements for an attack on the city, when to his astonishment orders arrived from Belgrade, recalling on the instant the whole of the Turkish Servians employed in Hungary; and threatening the strongest and most energetic measures in case these orders were not instantly complied with. These orders were at the same time communicated to the troops, and all the promises and persuasions of Thodorowich could not induce them to remain longer in Hungary. On the 4th. of March at the express demand of the Sublime Porte, the auxiliary corps were embarked in three steam-boats and six large sailing vessels, and returned by the Theiss and Danube to Belgrade.

The reasons which induced the Turkish Cabinet to adopt this course, have not been made public; but it was generally believed to have been at the suggestion of the English government. Certain it is however, that the departure of this corps took place at a most inconvenient moment for the Austrian commander, and proved of great advantage to the cause of the Hungarians. About 2000 however, tempted by the promise of higher pay still remained, and joined the ranks of the Austrian Raitzen under the command of the partisan chief Knicanin. Thodorowich felt himself so much weakened by this unexpected circumstance, that he abandoned all further offensive operations against

the Hungarians, and confined himself to the defence of such parts of the Banat and Bacsca as were occupied by his forces.

BUDA-PESTH.

After the engagements at Kapolna, Mezo-Kovesd and Szolnok, the Hungarians again retired behind the Theiss, and the Austrians who feared they would soon again make an attempt to pass the river, took up a position with their front towards the stream. At Tokay was stationed the corps of General Götz, forming the advanced guard of the whole army; the brigade of Jablonowsky held Miskolz and the neighbourhood, while the corps of F. M. Schlick had taken up a favourable position in and about Erlau. From this place to Szolnock was posted the bulk of the imperial army, the reserves of which occupied Pesth. Jellachich who had detached part of his troops to the support of Thodorowich, had fixed his head quarters at Czegled; while Prince Windischgrätz had taken up his residence at Ofen.

In the meantime, F. M. Nugent still blockaded the fortress of Peterwardein, the garrison of which had sworn rather to blow the fortress and themselves into the air, than surrender to the enemy. Before Komorn lay Simunich at the head of 20,000 men, without apparently knowing how to begin the siege, while by means of a telescope he had the pleasure of seeing the progress which the newly raised Honvéds daily made in their manual exercise. The incessant sallies made by the garrison caused in the meantime such uneasiness at Vienna, that Welden the governor of that city, stated openly that he would in a short time repair to Komorn in order to take the command of the besieging force.

We will return to this subject at a later period, and for the present throw a glance at Pesth and its inhabitants.

Pesth contains a mixed population, of which one half are probably Germans and two fifths Magyars. The remainder consist of Sclavonians and Wallachians, and the whole may amount to about 92,000 souls. This city is the central point of the kingdom, and every Hungarian whether Magyar, German, or Sclavonian, is proud of the capital of his fatherland. Opposite Pesth, on the right bank of the Danube lies Ofen, an ancient fortress whose original walls and bastions still remain, but which have been surrounded by the Austrians with walls and trenches according to more modern rules of fortification. Perched upon an immense mass of rock, the ancient fortress looks proudly down upon the modern bulwarks and the adjoining city, which contains 40,000 inhabitants, among which are many Raitzen and other persons of Sclavonic origin.

After the departure of the Hungarian government to Debreczin most of the supporters of the revolution followed them, and after the appearance of the Austrians the excitement which had so long prevailed

in the city gave way to a dead calm. The struggle of parties was at an end, because a third and more powerful might suppressed all expression of public opinion. At times indeed the indignation of the revolutionists found vent in secretly tearing down the proclamations of Prince Windischgrätz or in posting up those of Kossuth; and occasionally the inhabitants ventured to whisper to each other the reports of the difficulties which the Austrians had encountered in their advance on Debreczin, which was returned by a warm pressure of the hand, and a half-loud exclamation of *Éljen Kossuth! Élgen a magyarószag* (long live Hungary).

As however week after week past away without any advance on the part of Austrians, the Hungarians began to recover from their panic, and hate and scorn were plainly to be read in the faces of the inhabitants. After the reverses of the Austrians, when their troops entired Pesth in confusion and often without weapons, the excitement of the inhabitants was repressed with difficulty, and only the cannon of the fortress of Ofen which frowned darkly upon them from the other side of the river, prevented a new outbreak. A large portion of the inhabitants especially among the merchants and tradesmen, were in correspondence with the government at Debreczin, and large quantities of goods arms and ammunition, found their way from Pesth to the camp of the insurgents in spite of all the precautions of the Austrians. In order to put an end to this traffic, Windischgrätz issued various stringent orders prohibiting all direct or indirect intercourse with the rebels on pain of death, and many persons who were detected in this forbidden traffic were tried by court martial and executed.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF BEM.

Since the battle of Pisky, at which we took leave of Bem, that active general had traversed Transylvania in various directions, and in an action at Bistritz had beaten the Austrian commander Urban and compelled him to retire over the frontier; and Lieutenant Field Marshal Malchowsky who had assembled a new corps for the pacification of the country dared not to expose his raw levies to a contest with the Honvéds, but remained incamped at the distance of 10 leagues from the frontier.

On the first of March, Bem moved towards Hermanstadt, took up a strong position at Mediasch and awaited the attack of the Austrians who advanced from Hermanstadt in three columns for that purpose. On the 2nd. an Austrian brigade having ventured too near the Hungarian lines, was consequently fallen upon by a body of cavalry which drove them back upon their main body. On the 3rd. the Austrians 19,000 strong, under the command of Major General Kallyany, advanced to the attack against Bem, who fearlessly awaited the onset. After a heavy cannonade and a contest which lasted ten hours, the Austrians became masters of Mediasch, but the talents and decision

which Bem displayed in this struggle against a superior force, extorted the unwilling admiration of his enemies. On the approach of night, the right wing of Bem was driven from its position, and the battle appeared to be decided to the advantage of the Austrians; when an episode occurred which turned the affair in favour of the Hungarians. Kallyany had dispatched a column of 2000 men for the purpose of out-flanking the Hungarian left, and cutting off their line of retreat. As this column which was under the command of Count Daun, after a march of unusual difficulty had climbed the last height which separated them from the enemy, and were about to fall upon the rear of the Hungarians, a division of the latter with two guns, suddenly issued from the village of Eibesdorf, and placing their cannon in a commanding position on a neighbouring hill, opened their fire upon the rear of the Austrian regiment of Parma, which little expected an attack in that direction. A panic seized the Austrians who instantly retired in great confusion, and when order was restored and they again advanced, they found no enemy to contend with. Even the Uhlans which were dispatched in pursuit were unable in consequence of the darkness, to come up with the Hungarians, who had availed themselves of the temporary confusion of the enemy to retire on Maros Vasarhely.

Bem had however only dispatched a part of his troops to that place, he marched himself during the night to Mühlenbach where he united himself with some fresh troops, and awaited a favourable opportunity of attacking Hermanstadt. This opportunity was soon afforded him, for Puchner and Kallyany supposing the whole force of the Hungarians to be at Vasarhely, pursued them to that place. On the 10th. of March therefore Bem at the head of 9000 men marched from Mühlenbach upon Hermanstadt, before which city he appeared at 11 in the morning. Bem sent an envoy to the garrison which consisted of 3000 Russians and 2000 Austrians, demanding they should instantly lay down their arms, deliver up the Austrian officers, and retire to Wallachia. The Russian commandant was so enraged at this message, that he caused the envoy to be laid on the ground and subjected to the knout with such severity, that he was unable to return on horseback, but was forced to be brought back in a carriage. This piece of brutality raised the fury of the Hungarians to madness, they demanded to be instantly led to the assault and vowed the most fearful vengeance. And terribly did they keep their oath. Without firing a shot they rushed forward to storm the trenches; the defence of the Russians was useless against men who had lost all fear of death, and in a few minutes they were carried and the garrison driven back into the streets of the city, where a desperate and bloody conflict took place, which ended in the garrison being driven out of the city on the road to Wallachia, hotly pursued by the Hungarian Hussars. 1100 Russians and Austrians perished in this terrible contest, and about

10000 men, with a large quantity of cannon and military stores, were captured by the victors.

The inhabitants of Hermanstadt were agreeably surprised to find that the army of Bem, instead of being a horde of banditti as the Austrian officers had always represented it, consisted of well disciplined troops, which were infinitely less given to plunder and ill-treat the inhabitants, than their so called protectors the Russians. With bands playing and colours flying, the Hungarian army now entered the walls of Hermanstadt, and the inhabitants gazed with intense curiosity on the motley elements of which it was composed. First rode the Kossuth Hussars, before whose keen sabres the lances of the Cossacks were now in hasty flight; then the Polish legion in their national costume, these were followed by the wild looking Szeklers, and they by the German legion, in deep mourning, as became exiles from their fatherland. These soldiers, with the flag of red black and gold which they carried, excited great sympathy among the Saxon inhabitants of Hermanstadt, who pride themselves not a little on their German origin.

Bem himself addressed the people in the Market place, assuring them that he had no hostile intention against either their liberties or their nationality, demanded hospitality for his troops and assured them that his only enemies were the Russians who had enslaved his native land, and the house of Hapsburg which was endeavouring to follow the example with regard to the people of Hungary.

In the meantime Puchner had received news of the movements of Bem and hastened his return to Hermanstadt by forced marches. He however arrived fifteen hours too late, and not finding himself strong enough to attempt retaking the city, followed the remains of the garrison which had taken up a position at a place called "the pass of the red tower." On the 15th. of March, Bem drove the Russians out of this pass, and on the following day attacked the Austrians, whom he completely routed. Puchner escaped into Wallachia with only three hundred men, while Kallyany taking the command of the defeated forces, retired to Fogarasch.

The taking of Hermanstadt was an event of great importance, as it contained the whole of the magazines, the armoury and ammunition *depôt* of Puchner's army, and Bem who could easily procure recruits, had now the means of arming and providing for them.

After Bem had allowed his troops two days repose at Hermanstadt, he commenced his march on Kronstadt. The Austrians at Fogarasch did not venture to oppose his progress, but retired on his approach through the Tõrzburger pass into Wallachia. The taking of Kronstadt was a mere repetition of that of Hermanstadt. The troops stormed the trenches in spite of the vigorous opposition of the Russians, drove them in wild confusion out of the town and finally out of the country, they being compelled to follow their friends and allies into Wallachia. On the 20th. of March, Bem made his triumphal entry

into the city, and was met by the magistrates who implored his protection for the peaceable inhabitants. Bem answered they had nothing to fear, that he was not in the habit of making war upon unarmed men, or women and children. But that the persons who had been instrumental in summoning the Russians into the country must be punished, that such were the orders of the Hungarian government, with the justice of which he perfectly concurred.

By the taking of Kronstadt the whole of Transylvania, with the exception of the fortress of Karlsburg, was in the hands of Bem, and the news of this important victory occasioned the most lively demonstrations of joy at Debreczin. Bem had sent six Russian cannon and 200 prisoners to the committee of defence, which were paraded round the city amidst the shouts and exultation of the populace; the dread with which the Russian intervention had inspired them was forgotten, and every Pole exulted in the name of his gallant countryman Bem.

The Austrian journals maintained a profound silence with regard to these victories of the Hungarians; but at length the Presse and Austrian Lloyd informed their readers that the Austrian columns stood ready for action in Wallachia, and were preparing to march into Transylvania. And according to these official journals, the force of these columns consisted of 21,000 men, with 3000 horses and 50 cannon; while along the frontier of Transylvania stood 20,000 Russians, with 2800 Cossacks and 49 guns.

THE HUNGARIANS ASSUME THE OFFENSIVE AT ALL POINTS.

While these important events were occurring in Transylvania, others not less favourable to the Hungarian cause were taking place in other parts of the country.

In the south, the Servians were repeatedly defeated. The motley band which under the command of Dragisch and Stein still remained before Theresianople, was determined to make another attempt to storm the city, when suddenly the Servian auxiliaries were recalled to their native land. No sooner had the Magyars been informed of this circumstance, than they sallied out on their besiegers with the cry of: "Forwards! fear nothing, the Turkish Servians are no longer there." The battle lasted upwards of three hours, and the Servians defended themselves bravely. Tha Magyars now pretended to retreat into the city and the enemy pursued them with loud cries of exultation, when suddenly a masked battery of four cannon threw a terrible discharge of grape into the Servian ranks, the Magyars turned on their pursuers, compelled them to fly in their turn, and captured the three cannon which formed the whole of their artillery. This action was the commencement of a series of defeats which the Servians endured from the Magyars; and while Perczel held their leader Thodorowich in check,

Damianich and Vetter prevented the advanced of the succours which Jellachich endeavoured to forward them.

On the 20th. of March the contest began at all points, with a degree of fury hitherto unexampled in the Hungarian war. On that day the Hungarians passed the Theiss at Tokay and Thysza Fürned, broke through the line which the Austrians had formed from Tokay to Czolnok, and threatened the corps employed in the siege of Komorn. F. M. Ramberg was consequently compelled to make a flank movement in order to protect Pesth from an attack of the enemy, and also to prevent the relief of Komorn. In the course of this manoeuvre Görgey came on two occasions into collision with the enemy, and in both cases was victorious, compelling him to retire by forced marches on Waitzen. Görgey could now march without hindrance on Losoncz, where a singular circumstance occurred. The inhabitants of this town no sooner heard of the retreat of the Austrians, than they tore down the black and yellow flag and inflicted on it every insult in their power. Windischgrätz consequently sentenced them to pay a contribution of 25,000 Florins, and sent two battalions of infantry to enforce its payment.

These soldiers arrived at Losoncz on the 24th., and on the 25th. were surprised in that town by Görgey, and after a short resistance laid down their arms. On the same day Jellachich was defeated near Törös by the Hungarians under Damianich; and in the south affairs began to assume a most disastrous appearance for the Austrians. The garrison of Peterwardein broke off the negociations which they had entered into with the imperial general, and by repeated sallies did great damage to the forces opposed to them; while on the 18th. of March, a Hungarian column fell on three battalions of soldiers from the military frontier, and routed them with the loss of four cannon. In consequence of this defeat, the Patriarch Rachachich ordered a levy *en masse* both in Syrmia and Croatia; but this measure was not attended with the expected results.

The imperial generals Vogel and Hammerstein had in the meantime collected a corps of ten battalions in Galicia, with which they prepared to cross the frontier; and to oppose this new enemy a levy *en masse* of the population of the northern provinces was ordered by the committee of defence.

On the 3rd. of March a council of war was held at Debreczin which was attended by the whole of the Polish generals; even Bem found means to leave his army for a few days in order to attend the meeting. Kossuth was present, but took no part in the military consultations, only seeking by occasional addresses to inflame the zeal of the leaders and persuade them to concord among themselves. Nevertheless, in spite of his exertions, the first symptoms of that discord between the Generals was visible on this occasion, which subsequently led to the utter ruin of the Hungarian cause.

Meanwhile, the failure of the plan of the Austrian general for the reduction of the insurgent provinces, not only emboldened the discontented to fresh outbreaks; but began to have a most demoralizing effect on his own troops, which discontented at the arrears in which their pay was allowed to fall, deserted in great numbers to the enemy. The siege of Komorn after costing an immense number of lives was virtually abandoned, and the troops partly employed in suppressing the new outbreaks in the various provinces, and partly in reinforcing the main body of the army at Pesth and Waitzen. About 10,000 however still remaining as a corps of observation, in order to hold in check the sallies of the garrison.

The Hungarians well knew that the disorganization of the imperial army increased from day to day; but at the same time they were not ignorant that the most extraordinary exertions were being made in every province of the empire to raise fresh succours; and they therefore determined to attack the enemy before these succours could arrive. In the Hungarian council of war it was determined to direct the efforts of the army in the first instance, less to the retaking of Pesth, than to the relief of Peterwardein.

The Hungarians who had already crossed the Theiss, consequently advanced in the form of a half circle towards the capital, in order to compel the Austrians to give them battle. Windischgrätz burning with impatience to retrieve the reputation he had lost during the latter part of the campaign, resolved to gratify their impatience, dispatched all his disposable forces towards the north-east, and removed his head-quarters to Gödöllö.

The first meeting of the adverse armies took place at Aszod on the 9th. of April, where Schlick in a strongly entrenched position awaited the attack of his enemies. The principal battery of the Austrians was carried by a regiment of Hussars, the entrenchments were taken by the Honvéds at the point of the bayonet, and the Austrians driven back in great confusion on Gödöllö. At the same time Perczel and Casimir Batthyány had assembled a considerable body of troops on the Baczka, with which they had broken through the cordon drawn by the Austrian troops around Peterwardein, and thrown four Honvéd battalions and a hundred wagons loaded with ammunition and provisions into the fortress; which it was now decided to defend to the utmost; allowing all such as chose, to withdraw from the place. This took place accordingly, and a long train of wagons loaded with women, children and prisoners, was sent to the camp of the Austrians.

After the action at Aszod, the Hungarians continued to advance upon Pesth. Dembinsky who commanded the advanced guard had entered Hatvan, the main-body of the Hungarian army marched upon Gyöngyös in order to bring the enemy to action, while Damianich and Vetter stood between Szolnok and Jaszetpathy.

Windischgrätz had betaken himself to head quarters, and personally inspected the arrangements of his lieutenants. Both Schlick and Jellachich had taken up extremely strong positions, which they had fortified with the greatest possible care, the former at Gödöllö and the latter at Tabiobicske. On the 5th. the Hungarians attacked both the positions of the Austrians with the most brilliant success; at Gödöllö, Damianich was twice repulsed, but at the third attempt the imperialists were driven from their position. Strengthened by their reserves however, they again advanced and endeavoured to recover their lost ground; but this attempt failed in consequence of the determined resistance of the Hungarian cavalry, and Schlick was compelled to fall back in the direction of Pesth.

Nor was the success of the Hungarians less brilliant on the side of Tabiobicske. After four fruitless attacks on the strongly entrenched position of the Croats, they advanced for the fifth time, and on this occasion were successful. The loss endured by the Hungarians in this fearful contest was tremendous, whole ranks were swept away by the Austrian artillery, and hundreds fell before the iron wall of bayonets which was opposed to them; their fury therefore knew no bounds, and on carrying the trenches no quarter was given, and a horrible scene of carnage ensued. The Croats were seized with a panic and fled in utter disorder towards Pesth, before which city Jellachich at length succeeded in rallying them and in taking up a new position.

In consequence of the retreat of the imperial army, it now occupied the form of a half-circle around the city of Pesth, and the reserve at Waitzen was directed to advance and unite itself with the main body, so as to complete the defensive position around the city; which it was of course the object of the Hungarians to break through.

Early on the morning of the 6th. the Hungarians attacked the centre of the imperial army and again compelled it to retire, Jellachich was also again driven from his position and compelled to retire still nearer to Pesth. At 12 o'clock on the same day Fiedler's brigade and the division of Lobkowitz, which held a detached position at Waitzen, were attacked and driven in upon the main body of the army. Görgey concealed his movements under a grand attack of cavalry, and while twelve squadrons of Hussars engaged the attention of the enemy, and at length slowly retreated before the heavy cavalry of the Austrians, he marched by the western road upon Waitzen, thus threatening the left wing of the enemy. At the same moment that the Hungarian Hussars retired before the Austrians, fresh infantry columns from the corps of Dembinsky appeared upon the field, and drove back the troops which had been detached in pursuit, upon the main body. This double battle of Gödöllö and Tabiobicske belongs to the bloodiest of the whole war, the loss of the Hungarians being estimated at 11,000 and that of the Austrians at 15,000 men.

Meanwhile the excitement of the inhabitants of the capital increased hourly, those attached to the old form of government concealed themselves in their houses, and prepared to fly from the city in the event of its being evacuated by the Austrians. The majority of the inhabitants however could not conceal their satisfaction, red feathers and cockades were again seen in the streets, and crowds began to assemble in the public places. Count Wrbna the commandant of Ofen, fearing a new outbreak, issued a proclamation in which he informed the inhabitants that any disturbance of the peace would be instantly followed by the bombardment of the city from the citadel of Buda, for which everything was in a state of readiness; but even these threats could not repress the joy of the Magyars, as they watched the evident preparations which were making for the retreat the Austrians.

With gloomy countenances the Austrian officers whispered to each other the news of the defeats they had suffered, and stories of the wonderful heroism of the Magyars. The Hussars in particular, who were never mentioned by any other name than "Flesh-hackers," played the principal characters in these dismal stories, and with good reason; for during the last five days they had allowed the Austrians rest neither by day nor night. Still more secretly they whispered to each other their complaints of the utter incapacity displayed both by Windischgrätz and Jellachich, and cursed the chance which had placed them under the orders of men who were incapable of comprehending warfare on a grand scale.

In the meantime the Austrian army approached daily nearer to the walls of Pesth, the city became crowded with disorganized troops, dismounted cavalry soldiers, and trains of wagons filled with wounded. These were followed by bodies of troops escorting the heavy artillery, and several columns of infantry were thrown into Ofen to strengthen the garrison of that fortress. At length Prince Windischgrätz and his staff entered the city; but after a short stay crossed over to Ofen. The flying Croats who had commenced plundering the suburb called Leopoldstadt, were with great difficulty, and not until several had been executed by orders of the commander-in-chief, again assembled and placed under the command of Jellachich, in a new position before the city.

In spite of the prohibition of the authorities, hundreds of the citizens of Pesth issued from the city to satisfy their curiosity as to the state of the army, which had now sunk from a magnificent armament of 120,000 men, to a dispirited and disorganized mass of less than 60,000. The army of Jellachich, formerly 40,000 strong, was disminished to less than half that number, and now extended itself in the form of a half oval, from Steinbruch to Rakosfeld, where it leaned on the main army. This army which a few months before consisted of 92,000 choice troops, now scarcely numbered 40,000,

and was encamped at Rakosfeld awaiting in this strong position the attack of the Hungarians; for both Windischgrätz and his chief officers were of opinion that the main force of the enemy was opposed to them, and that his object was to obtain possession of Buda-Pesth. They were completely deceived however, the Hungarian committee of defence had decided to leave that city in the possession of the Austrians, in order to relieve the hardly pressed garrison of Komorn. While Görgey who was charged with this commission, marched to the westward in order to seize on Waitzen and thus secure the road to Komorn, General Aulich with only 8000 men remained in front of Pesth, and contrived by incessant attacks and well masked manoeuvres, to confirm Windischgrätz in the opinion that the whole Hungarian army was before him.

This plan succeeded completely, the Austrian general made every preparation for a great battle, and strengthened his position by every means in his power; while Görgey in the meantime marched without opposition on Waitzen. This terrible mistake of Prince Windischgrätz was the last act of his command, and he thereby put as it were the finishing stroke to the ruin of the imperial army. Instead of continuing inactively before Pesth, he should have hurried with his assembled forces to Gran, where favoured by the natural strength of the country, he might have checked the advance of the Hungarians, covered the corps of observation before Komorn, and assembled around him the succours which were hastening towards him from the other parts of the empire.

On the 16th. of April, Görgey arrived with a part of his forces before Waitzen, where he found the corps of Major General Götz drawn up in order of battle to receive him. The Hungarians commenced the attack with their usual impetuosity, and in less than an hour the Austrian line was broken and Götz and his troops flying towards the town, in the streets of which the contest was renewed. The Magyars in the town rose in arms to the assistance of their brethren, women and children threw stones and tiles on the heads of the Austrians beneath, while the men kept up an irregular but deadly fire on them from the windows. In the midst of this scene of confusion, Götz fell from his saddle, mortally wounded by a bullet fired by a youth from the window of the military academy; and his death put an end to the contest, his troops fled in wild confusion to Gran, leaving nearly 1000 dead and wounded in the streets of Waitzen. The dying general, together with a large quantity of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors; Görgey himself spoke with his brave but unfortunate opponent, received his testamentary instructions and promised with a shake of the hand to fulfil them. His remains were buried with unusual military pomp, and a salute of 100 cannon fired over his grave, as a mark of the respect in which Görgey held his gallant enemy.

While the Austrians fled to Kemend, the Hungarians marched in two strong columns on Leva. Here they assembled a force of 30,000 men, which passed the Gran in two columns at Kalna, Bars and St. Benedek.

RETREAT OF THE AUSTRIANS UNDER GENERAL WELDEN.

Even the Austrian ministry being at length convinced of the incapacity of Prince Windischgrätz, he was consequently recalled, and General Welden appointed to the command of the Austrian army in Hungary. On the 16th. of April, the new commander with a staff of the most experienced officers arrived at Gran, having already sent orders to L. F. M. Wohlgemuth, to attack the enemy posted on the river Gran, and drive him back in the direction of Pesth.

In the night between the 18th. and 19th. Wohlgemuth commenced his march with 16,000 men, and at 8 in the morning met with the enemy between Malas and Bese. The Hungarians to the number of about 28,000 men, had placed themselves in order of battle between Verebely and Nagy Sarlo, and at the latter place which was most exposed to the attacks of the Austrians had occupied a hill with a masked battery. The battle began, and the brigade of Prince Jablonowsky was ordered to take possession of the village of Naga Sarlo. The Hungarians retired on the approach of the enemy, the brigade reached its place of destination without opposition, and the columns had already entered the village, when suddenly a number of the straw roofed huts burst into flame, while from the doors and windows of others a heavy fire was opened on the advancing troops. At the same moment the battery on the hill above, consisting of 8 twelve pounders and two howitzers was unmasked, and opened its fire on the columns. The Austrians taken by surprise, fled in the utmost disorder, leaving one third of their number killed or wounded on the spot.

Welden who had received orders to stop the advance of the Hungarians at any price and to find them employment till the troops assembling at Gran could commence their operations, attempted in five different positions to arrest their progress, but in vain. He was beaten back at all points, and compelled to retire first behind the Neutra and afterwards behind the Waag; while the utterly demoralized corps of Wohlgemuth retreated on the 20th. through Neuhausel to Presburg, pursued by a part of the Hungarian army. The left wing of the Hungarians now united itself with the reserve column on the river Spoly, and advanced along the right bank of the Gran, against Gran and Kemend. Here they threw themselves upon the division of Csorich, which they completely routed; the remains of the corps fled across the Danube, and by burning the bridge, secured themselves from the further pursuit of their enemies.

In the meantime however, considerable masses of Austrian troops assembled on the right bank of the Danube. Welden advanced at the head of 10,000 men from Ofen, while the corps of Götz which had been beaten at Waitzen, with the remains of the divisions of Csorich and Simunich, concentrated themselves between Gran and Komorn. Here they were attacked by the overwhelming force of the Hungarians under Görgey and Klapka, and although according to the admission of their enemies they defended themselves with the most desperate bravery, Welden saw himself under the necessity of retreating, and abandoned the field of battle and 20 cannon to his opponents.

Previous to this affair however, Welden had detached a part of his army to Komorn, in order if possible to make himself master of that important fortress. Simunich, who commanded these forces, trusted for success rather to fraud than force; and while he caused the place to be vigorously bombarded, sent at the same time an envoy to the garrison, assuring them that Debreczin was occupied by the Austrians, that Kossuth and the other members of the government were taken, and that he was empowered to offer a general amnesty, on condition that the fortress was immediately surrendered.

This offer on the part of the Austrian general, had the effect of producing a division in the garrison, a part of which consisting of newly raised recruits, were heartily tired of the privations incident to their position; and the commander Mack seemed also inclined to accept the terms offered. On the other hand the regiments which had deserted the Austrian standard, as well as the civil commissioners within the fortress, declared against any capitulation and resolved to defend the place to the utmost.

This discord between the two parties in the garrison increased from day to day, and they were on the point of coming to blows among themselves, when they unexpectedly received intelligence which put an end to all thoughts of surrender.

General Guyon who had pursued Wohlgemuth as far as Neuhäusel, resolved at the head of only ninety Hussars, to attempt to open a communication with the garrison of Komorn. With equal dexterity and good fortune, he wound his way through the columns of the Austrians, and on the evening of the 22nd. entered the north gate of the carelessly invested fortress, amidst the exulting shouts of the Hungarians. His appearance, and the intelligence he brought of the triumphs of their brethren in the field, inspired the troops with new courage, and ere many days had elapsed the siege was raised, and the Austrians hastened by forced marches to gain the frontiers.

THE STORMING OF BUDA.

The victories of the Hungarians was not the only subject which at this moment gave uneasiness to he Austrian court. A new movement

had commenced among the Sclavonic population of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Istria, which demanded an independent government, alike free from the influence of the German and Magyarish elements of the Austrian monarchy. The soldiers of Jellachich now demanded to be led home to the defence of their own country, and Welden saw himself under the necessity of complying with their demands. Jellachich therefore marched with the remains of his forces in a southernly direction towards Croatia, while Welden retired from Pesth along the banks of the Danube.

At the first symptoms of the retreat of the Austrians from Pesth, the revolutionary spirit of the inhabitants broke out into new manifestations The people decorated with red feathers and tri-coloured cockades, exulted over the retreating soldiers, and some of the detachments were pelted with mud and stones. The Croats began their preparations for their march by plundering the houses of the citizens, and F. M. Schlick, who still remained in the city, sent a battalion of Jägers to put an end to these excesses. The Croats however fired upon the Austrians who interfered, and only the personal interference of Jellachich was sufficient to put an end to the plundering. The bonds of discipline appear at this time indeed to have been entirely broken, the Croats would yield obedience to no one but their own chieftain, and to him only on condition that he led them back again to their native land.

The city was now evacuated by the Austrians, who however left behind a strong garrison in Ofen, with instructions to defend the place to the last. Welden probably hoped either by means of the fresh masses of Austrian troops already assembling in Galicia, or the Russian auxiliaries which were now rapidly approaching the frontier, to relieve it before it could possibly be reduced to extremities. Major General Hentzi was appointed to the command of the garrison, which consisted of 4500 men, mostly Croats, but including a battalion of the Italian regiment Cescopierri.

The fortress itself had immediately after the return of the Austrians, been provided with new entrenchments, pallisates, etc. and was capable of resisting an army well provided with artillery for a short period; but not of enduring a regular siege. The cannon which frowned from the old citidel of Buda prevented any rising in Pesth, even after the departure of Jellachich and his Croats for the south; the last of these dreaded guests departed on the morning of the 25th. and on the same evening the first Hungarian Hussars galloped into the city. In less than a quarter of an hour, the tri-coloured flag was waving from every window, and two hours later a column of infantry headed by Aulich and Dembinsky, marched into the town with their bands playing and colours flying. It would be difficult to describe the enthusiasm with which the Hungarians were welcomed to their capital by the great bulk of the population, all ranks and classes abandoned

themselves to the wildest manifestations of joy, and for the moment the threatening cannon of Buda were forgotten.

Everyone now awaited with impatience the arrival of Görgey in order to attack that fortress; but that general had been instructed by the committee of defence to pursue the flying Austrians across the frontier, and thus spread the insurrection into the neighbouring countries. These orders, Görgey for reasons which have hitherto been never very clearly explained, refused to obey; and this refusal was ultimately the ruin of the Hungarian cause. The entry of the Hungarians into the German provinces of Austria, would probably have been the signal for a new outbreak of the democratic party, and a battle won under the walls of Vienna must have prostrated the government of Austria at the feet of Kossuth. The most probable explanation of the disobedience of Görgey is, that although he wished to see his country independent, he had become alarmed at the designs of the republican party of which Kossuth was the head; which by a decree dated the 14th. of April had openly declared that the house of Habsburg had forfeited its right to the throne of Hungary, thus in fact proclaiming Kossuth dictator. Under these circumstances, an invasion of the German provinces of Austria could only have been considered as the commencement of a revolutionary propaganda, and which if followed by a victory under the walls of Vienna, would have probably been the commencement of a general European war.

On the 25rd. of April, Görgey attacked the corps of F. M. Schlick, which had received orders to cover the corps engaged in the siege of Komorn; but while he remained inactive on the right bank of the Danube, the Hungarians marched along the opposite bank and arrived without opposition at the fortress. Schlick had taken up a position at Acs, and had commenced entrenching himself; when suddenly the Hungarians appeared, attacked the Austrians with their usual success. took possession of the sand-hill at Acs, and also commenced throwing up field works. This position was afterwards stormed by the division of Simunich, but while the Honvéds retired, the Hungarian Hussars attacked the cavalry brigade of Montenuovo, drove it back, and threatened the flank of the imperialists; and under these circumstances Schlick found it prudent to retreat.

After this victory, Görgey instead of obeying the orders of the committee of defence and following the flying enemy beyond the frontier, returned with 20,000 men to Pesth, in order to commence the siege of Buda which was still in the hands of the Austrians. He excused his disobedience, with the words: "Within three days the capital of my Fatherland must be in the hands of the Magyars, and it will then be time enough to obey the orders of the government." Kossuth and his ministry took no notice of this disobedience to their orders, probably because they were fearful of a rupture with a general who possessed in the highest degree, the confidence and affection of the army;

and this want of energy on the part of the government was the rock on which the hopes of the Hungarian nation split. The time consumed in the siege of Ofen enabled Austria to assemble a new army, and the Russians to arrive to their assistance.

Görgey arrived at Pesth on the 1st. of May, and immediately commenced operations for the reduction of Ofen. This city lies as we have already stated, on a hill which rises on the right bank of the Danube, and the summit of which is crowned by the ancient castle of Buda. The whole of both the city and castle, is however commanded by the neighbouring heights; especially by the Blocksberg.

In the first days of May, a detachment of troops was sent to erect batteries on the Blocksberg, and an immense multitude assembled on the banks of the river, to witness the first commencement of hostilities. On the Hungarian tri-colour being displayed from the summit of the mountain, the people expressed their exultation by loud acclamations. These were however instantly drowned in the thunder of the cannon from the fortress, and a shower of grape shot was poured on the thickly crowded ranks of the harmless spectators; who fled in wild confusion, leaving a considerable number of dead and wounded on the spot as the victims of this act of useless cruelty.

The garrison of Ofen now commenced bombarding the city of Pesth, and a horrible shower of shot and shells was poured on the unfortunate town. The German theatre and several other public buildings were destroyed, and whole streets reduced to heaps of ruins. The miserable inhabitants were compelled to abandon their dwellings, and loaded with the more portable part of their effects, to take refuge in the neighbouring forest. In the midst of this confusion a scene occurred, which places the humanity of the Magyars in the most advantageous light. One of the hospitals filled with sick and wounded Austrians, who had been abandoned by Windischgrätz on his retreat, took fire; and it was a touching scene to observe the alacrity with which not only the inhabitants of the city, but also the Honvéds, hastened to the assistance of these unfortunates.

Meanwhile, General Gaspar had erected batteries of heavy cannon on the Schwabenberg, from which he opened a heavy and unbroken fire on the fortress. Breaches were soon made in the walls, but the attempts to storm them proved fruitless, as the Honvéds were constantly repulsed by the brave resistance of the garrison.

Five days later, a train of heavy artillery arrived at Pesth, part of which had been taken from the Austrians in the field, and part from the walls of Komorn. These guns and mortars were placed on various heights around the fortress, and a heavy battery was constructed on the quay at Pesth, which kept up an unremitting fire on the bastions of Buda; and the cannonade continued on both sides till the 20th., by which time a large portion of both cities was reduced to a heap of ruins.

On the morning of the 20th. of May, a general assault was determined on, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the attack commenced. A breach had been made near the Vienna gate, and under the protection of the battery at Pesth, the first column of Honvêds mounted to the assault; and while a part of them endeavoured to break open the gate with axes, the remainder placed their scaling ladders against the wall and sought by this means to obtain an entrance. But an incessant fire from the ramparts decimated their ranks, and those who reached the top of the scaling ladders, were instantly hurled down on the bayonets of their companions. For a full hour the Honvéds continued this desperate contest, and as they at length retired, new columns advanced to supply their places.

Over ground thickly strewed with the bodies of their brethren, the new comers advanced to the attack; but instead of the former resistance, they were astonished to find hands extended to assist them to mount, and even ropes let down from the walls for the same purpose. The battalion of the Italian regiment Ceccopieri, which formed part of the garrison, had been ordered to relieve the Croats which had hitherto defended the wall, and as great disaffection existed among these soldiers, they absolutely refused to fire on the advancing Hungarians. Their Colonel who rushed forward to urge the men to their duty, was struck by two bullets from the ranks of his own soldiers, and fell mortally wounded to the earth; while as we have already stated, his men hastened to assist the Hungarians to enter. This piece of treachery decided the event of the contest, the bastions were occupied by the Hungarians, and the Croats driven back into the castle and the adjoining houses, from which they continued during several hours a desperate but unavailing resistance, nor was it until 7 o'clock on the following morning, that the place was completely in the possession of the victors.

At this hour Görgey and his staff entered the castle, and arrived just in time to save General Hentzi the commander of the Austrians, from the ill usage which he would certainly otherwise have experienced. He had been mortally wounded in the last assault, and Görgey caused him to be removed to Pesth on a litter. Even his presence was scarcely sufficient to protect him from the rage of the embittered Magyars, and a sytheman had already raised his weapon to dispatch him, when Görgey threw his cloak over his dying adversary, exclaiming: "Honour to the brave! Let no one dare to insult a dying man!" He was taken to a house, where every assistance was afforded him; but where he shortly afterwards breathed his last.

On the 5th. of June, exactly five months after the occupation of Pesth by the Austrians, Kossuth accompanied by his wife and sister, and attended by his ministers and the members of the Landtag, made his triumphal entry into that city, amidst the unbounded rejoicings of the people and the army.

REVIEW OF THE STATE OF PARTIES IN HUNGARY.

With the declaration of the independence of Hungary which at the suggestion of Kossuth was adopted by the Landtag on the 14th. of April, the Hungarian war lost its national character, but at the same time assumed one of European importance. It now became evident that Kossuth and his party so far from wishing merely the re-establishment of the independence of their country, sought to make Hungary the means of revolutionizing the whole of Europe, and of the formation of a number of confederated republics in place of the monarchal government at present existing, or in other words to play the same part as was performed by the French republic at the close of the last century. The alliance which had existed from an early period of the Hungarian revolution, between its leaders and the revolutionary party in Poland, and in consequence of which upwards of 30,000 Poles had entered the Hungarian army, was now openly avowed by the Landtag, which declared that the Hungarian nation fought not alone for its own independence, but for that of the sister nation of Poland. The Czar indeed had not waited for this declaration; but perceiving that threatening as the victory of the Hungarians would be to the monarchal principal throughout Europe, it would be doubly so to Russia, had already sent part of his army into Transylvania to the help of the Austrians; but which as we have already seen, did not prevent their being completely driven out of that province by the arms of the victorious Bem. Since that time he had contented himself with assembling immense numbers of troops on the Hungarian frontiers, and awaiting the moment when he could appear not only as suppressor of the Hungarian insurrection, but as the deliverer of Austria, and the Messiah of the peace of Europe.

This moment soon arrived, the declaration of independence, the avowal of sympathy with Poland, and the well known connection which existed between the Hungarians and the democratic party in Germany, which had already led to insurrections both at Dresden and Baden; showed that either the Hungarians must be conquered, or a general European war must be the consequence.

Kossuth was probably well aware that the declaration of independence and the avowal of the alliance with Poland, would cause Russia to take an active part in the contest; but he hoped that the appearance of a Hungarian army before Vienna would be followed by a general insurrection throughout Europe, which would enable him to defy even the enormous power of the northern colossus. How far this might have been the case if Görgey instead of wasting three weeks in the siege of Ofen, had followed the broken and disheartened troops of Austria across the frontier, it is impossible to state; but it is certain that his disobedience in this particular was the ruin of the Hungarian cause. It is also probable that Görgey well knew the consequences

of this proceeding. He belonged to the moderate or aristocratic party, and although prepared to go to any lengths for the establishment of the legislative independence of his country, had little sympathy with the wild visions of the republicans, or the desperate Polish adventurers who were the principal supporters of that party.

Görgey who at this time held the post not only of commander in chief of the army; but also that of minister of war; was aware that Kossuth was jealous of the power he thus held, and that intrigues were in progress to deprive him of it, and he therefore seems to have determined to settle the quarrel with Austria in his own way, regardless of the opinion of Kossuth or that of the republican party who supported him.

The first disobedience of Görgey produced no other effect, than that Kossuth sent to demand why he had given up the pursuit of the Austrians, and returned with his forces to Pesth. Görgey answered shortly and proudly, that the wishes of the whole army were fixed on rescuing the capital from the hands of the enemy; and this was so far true, that Kossuth did not dare to take any steps to punish Görgey for his disobedience. He indeed appears to have laboured earnestly and disinterestedly to appease the jealousy existing between the native and foreign generals; conscious that division in the Hungarian ranks must eventually lead to the triumph of the enemy.

STATE OF THE HOSTILE ARMIES AFTER THE TAKING OF PESTH.

Immediately on the return of the Hungarian government to Pesth, measures were taken for repairing the tremendous losses by which the army had purchased so many victories. In the numerous battles of the first campaign many thousands had fallen, while wounds fatigue, and disease, had rendered still greater numbers incapable of service; and the first afforts of the government were naturally directed to fill these gaps in the ranks of their supporters.

The various cities and districts of the kingdom rivaled each other in responding to the call of the Government. Pesth raised, armed and clothed an entire battalion of Honvéds, and the cities of Szegedin and Ketskemet, furnished 3000 cavalry. The Hungarian army consisted of 107 battalions of infantry, each originally from 1000 to 1200 strong, but these had in many cases been reduced by the casualties of war to 800 men, or even less. Recruits however still flowed freely to the revolutionary standard, and the government succeeded in completing the greater part of them. The same was the case with the cavalry, which now amounted to 55,000 men and horses, so that including the 8 Polish legions, the German and Italian legions, and a corps of Styrian sharp shooters, the whole Hungarian army could not have amounted to less than 165,000 men, with about 540 cannon of

various caliber; without reckoning the garrisons of Peterwardein and Komorn, which together consisted of about 15,000 men.

The Hungarian army was arranged in the form of a half circle, in order to resist the passage of a hostile force over any part of the frontier. Dembinsky commanded the forces in north Hungary, which were destined to watch the frontiers of Galicia, and which extended from Epiries to Neustadt. This corps rested its right wing on the Carpathians, its centre occupied Leutschau, Kasmark and Bartfeld, and its left commanded the valley of the Waag. It however only consisted of 38,000 men, and the immense extent of ground it covered, rendered it necessary to break it up into small parties, but the main force was concentrated at Bartfeld. Dembinsky has been much blamed for not entering Galicia, where the sympathies of the people were in his favour; but it must not be forgotten that a very superior Russian force was opposed to him, which was daily increased by the arrival of fresh troops.

The centre of the Hungarian army was commanded by Görgey, and extended from the Waag to Rabnitz. Its centre rested on Komorn, and its detached columns extended over the island of Schütt. It was commanded by General Guyon. The left wing, under the orders of Klapka, extended from Acs to Rabb, and from thence along the river of the same name to Vasarhely. The whole force of the central army consisted of 70,000 men, and the head quarters of Görgey were at Leopoldstadt.

A number of Guerilla bands occupied the country from Kesthely to Tolna, and kept up the communications between the main body and the army of the South.

This army, which was under the command of Perczel, held the Bacsca, the Banat, and a part of Syrmia, and rested on the strong fortress of Peterwardein. A part of this force was engaged in the siege of Arad, while several battalions, supported by a numerous irregular force of armed peasants, blockaded Temisvar. The regular troops of the South army did not exceed 27,000 men; but Perczel was supported in his operations by a levy *en masse* of at least 35,000 armed men. This army occupied in succession, Weisskirchen, Orsowa and Karansebes, and thus set itself in communication with the corps in Transylvania, which now did not consist of more than 11,000 men, the greater part of the troops having been withdrawn to other points.

Meanwhile the Austrians were not idle, they assembled their broken troops in Presburg and its neighbourhood, and awaited the reinforcements which were hastening towards them; but notwithstanding Radetzky sent a part of his best troops from the victorious army of Italy, that the recruiting was carried on with great activity in the provinces, and that garrisons of every part of the empire were reduced to the lowest ebb, the government found it impossible to bring the army to the same state either of numbers or efficiency, as on its first taking the field under Prince Windischgrätz.

The centre of the army was at Presburg, and it extended itself on either side in the form of a concave bow, the right wing extending to the Neusiedler lake and the left to the lesser Carpathians, where it had a point of support in the little fortress of Leopoldstadt. The whole force amounted to 54,000 men, and in consequence of the great extent of ground which it occupied, was divided into numerous small parties. Afterwards it was joined by the corps of Benedeck, the remainder of the force which had entered Hungary from Galicia, and which still amounted to 5000 men, which took possession of Freistadt on the Waag, and formed the advanced guard of the left wing of the imperial army. In the first days of June, the Russian corps of Paniutin joined the centre of the Austrian army and formed its reserve, and shortly afterwards another Russian division 25,000 strong, advanced to Trentschin and took up its position between that city and Tirnau.

In the south, Jellachick had again assembled about 25,000 men, and the corps of F. M. Puchner in Wallachia, might still amount to about 17,000; but these last were in a most wretched and disorganized condition. The garrisons of Arad, Temesvár, Eszeg and Karlsburg did not exceed 14,000, and the whole force of the Austrian army, including the Russian auxiliary corps, amounted to about 175,000 men, under the command of General Haynau, Welden having been recalled immediately after the taking of Pesth.

Although in point of numbers, the army assembled around Presburg was fully equal if not superior to that of the Hungarians, the hopes of the Austrian government were fixed less upon its exertions than on those of the Russian army which under the command of General Paskiewicz was assembling in Galicia, and on the 4th. of June, that officer addressed the following proclamation to the Hungarians:

"Inhabitants of Hungary! At the call of your legitimate monarch, who has solicited the aid of my illustrious master, the troops under my command have united themselves with the warriors of your Emperor, in order to restore the peace of the country, which has been overthrown by the weapons of rebellion. The leaders of the insurrection, consisting of adventurers from every land, abuse your lamentable blindness for their own personal advantage. Their nefarious machinations have led you to the crime of perjury."

"Yet the Emperor my master, is convinced that the majority of the nation is incapable of forgetting its ancient virtues, its hereditary loyalty to the dynasty of its sovereign."

"He is the faithful friend of the Emperor Francis, of glorious memory, of the Emperor Ferdinand, and the friend and ally of your king Francis Joseph I., who appeals to you through me, conjuring you to return from your errors, and enter once more on the paths of Honour Truth and Duty."

"The Russian army enters your land as a friend, it enters it at the call of your sovereign. But, should you treat it as an enemy, you

will soon have to repent the consequences of such temerity. May my warnings have the effect of bringing you to repentance and submission, and of sparing you the calamities of a bloody war."

"This is the fervent wish of my illustrious master."

"Warsaw, June 2nd. 1849."

"Count Paskiewicz of Erivan, Prince of Warsaw."

In the middle of June the Russian army commenced its operations against the Hungarians. The main army under the Prince of Warsaw consisting of about 86,000 men, crossed the Carpathians in three columns, while the reserve 40,000 strong, remained at Dukla, ready to follow at a moment's notice. The main army was in communcation with the corps of General Sass, which passed the Carpathians more to the westward, and occupied with 18,000 men, the district in the neighbourhood of Kubis and Rosenberg. More to the South was the corps of General Grabbe, about 15,000 strong, it took up its position in the valley of the Waag, and in combination with several Austrian brigades, formed the left wing of the Austrian army.

The corps of General Lüders, consisting of 16,000 men, that of General Grotenjelm of 12,000 men, and another corps of about the same strength, entered Transylvania at different points from Wallachia and Moldavia.

THE SECOND CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE HUNGARIANS, BY THE COMBINED AUSTRIAN AND RUSSIAN ARMIES UNDER COUNT HAYNAU AND PRINCE PASKIEWICZ.

Towards the middle of June, the imperial armies commenced offensive operations against the Hungarians.

On the 12th. the right wing of the Austrians under Schlick, set itself in motion, and on the 18th. came in contact with a corps of Hungarians in the neighbourhood of Csorna, and after a sharp engagement was compelled to retire. Another corps which had advanced into the island of Schütt, met the same fate, and a pause of four days took place in the operations on both sides. On the 17th. the Hungarians made a general attack on the position of the Austrians in the isle of Schütt and on lower Waag; but after a long contest were compelled to retire. On the 30th. they renewed the attack under the command of Görgey, who marched at daybreak with 30,000 men and 80 cannon on Pered, and drove the Austrians back as far as Szelly. Here the Russian division of Paniutin came to their assistance and the Hungarians were in their turn compelled to retire. L. F. M. Wohlgemuth had now taken the command, and while the Austrians returned to their former positions, the Russians advanced to Zsigard, and the brigades of Pott and Perin, took possession of Farkard.

Meanwhile, the main body of the Austrian army had commenced a movement which, indicated that an attack would probably be made

in the first instance on the city of Raab, and Görgey took every means to strengthen the fortifications and enable it to endure a siege. On the 26th. of June the imperial army was concentrated before the city, and the young emperor of Austria inspected the troops. Early the next morning the imperial troops resumed their march, and a lively cannonade ensued between the outposts of the armies. Meanwhile Görgey had determined to evacuate Raab, and only a body of 10,000 men under Klapka, remained to cover the retreat. On the 28th. the Austrians attacked the Hungarians with a greatly superior force, upon which Klapka retired behind the river Rabnitz and destroyed the bridge. The Austrians crossed the river on a pontoon bridge which they constructed with great rapidity, and advanced to attack the entrenchments of Raab; which were now only defended by about 10,000 men with forty pieces of cannon. They opened a heavy fire on the city, which was at first returned briskly; but gradually slackened, as the guns were withdrawn by the retiring Hungarians. Two columns now advanced to storm the entrenchments; while the 3rd. Austrian corps having already advanced so far as to threaten the Hungarian line of retreat, Klapka withdrew from the city in all haste, and retired upon Acs.

The young Emperor was present during the whole of this action, and on the 29th. made his public entry into Raab. The city appeared however to be entirely deserted, most of the inhabitants having accompanied the Hungarian army, and the remainder keeping close within their houses. As the emperor passed along one of the principal streets, a shot was fired at him from a window, which killed an officer by his side. The house was pulled down by the soldiery, and all the persons found in it massacred; but the Emperor left Raab on the same day and returned to Schönbrunn, nor did he take any further part in the campaign.

While these operations were taking place in the west of Hungary, the Russians passed the northern frontier in three columns. In most of the passes entrenchments had been thrown up by the Hungarians; but the northern army was too weak to offer any effectual resistance, and Dembinsky whose army amounted to about 40,000 men, considered it best to keep his troops concentrated, in order to watch a favourable opportunity of falling on the Russians with his whole force. Consequently they entered Bartfeld without resistance, and on the 23rd. of June had advanced to Eperies. On this day a sharp skirmish took place at Somos between the Russian advanced guard and the rear guard of the Hungarians; and on the 25th. Paskiewicz with the bulk of his army entered Kaschau. While the main body of the Russians continued to advance on Miskolz, General Czeodajeff with 25 battalions and 50 squadrons of cavalry, marched to Tokay in order to cross the Theiss at that point. The passage over the river was defended with great bravery by the Hungarians for more than three hours, but at length a large number of Cossacks having crossed the river by swim-

ming; threatened their flank, upon which they withdrew to Debreczin, closely followed by the Russians.

This was the first affair of any importance between the Russians and Hungarians; the skirmishes which followed were altogether insignificant, as the one army retired exactly as the other advanced; but the country through which they past was reduced to a desert, and on the road from Kashau to Miskolz not a house remained standing. The Hungarians continued to retreat and the Russians to advance, and on the 3rd. of June the latter entered Debreczin, the former seat of the Hungarian government. Everything of value had however been removed either to Pesth or Szegedin, most of the inhabitants capable of bearing arms were with the army, and nothing but old men, women and children, remained behind.

Meanwhile, another Russian corps under general Lüders had entered Transylvania. The Hungarians had entrenched themselves in the Tömöser pass, and offered a long but unavailing resistance to the advance of the enemy. On being driven from this position they retired to the convent of Skid, which they defended for two whole days against an overwhelming force. It was however carried by storm on the 20th. of June, and on the same day the Russians entered Kronstadt. The garrison consisting of about 200 men, retired to the castle which commands the town, but were compelled to capitulate on the following day. Other Russian columns now poured into the country on all sides, and the Austrian corps which had been driven by Bem into Wallachia, entered the pass of the red tower, in order to march on Hermanstadt.

Thus, in the course of a few days, Transylvania which had been conquered by Bem at such a fearful expense of human life, was permitted to fall almost without resistance into the hands of the Russians. Bem himself was no longer in the country; but with the greater part of his army had hurried to oppose Jellachich, who had raised a new army of Croats, and was preparing again to take an active part in the contest.

It now became evident to every person, that the Hungarians could not long withstand the gigantic force opposed to them, unless some of the other nations of Europe should take up arms in their cause. Kossuth himself, while he continued unremitting in his exertions to oppose the forces of the enemy, seems at this time to have been painfully convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, and the proclamation which he issued to the nations of Europe on the first of July, imploring aid against the aggressions of Russia, can be considered as nothing but an admission, that without foreign aid the cause of Hungary was hopeless.

THE BATTLE OF KOMORN.

After the occupation of Raab by the Austrians, Görgey assembled the main force of the Hungarian army in a vast fortified camp on the

right bank of the Danube, near the village of Acs, and which was united by means of a bridge with the fortress of Komorn. Here he awaited with full confidence the attack of the enemy. Görgey's force amounted to about 50,000 men and 150 cannon; that of the Austrians to 68,000 men and 300 pieces of artillery. The Austrian commander had determined to risk a battle, because while so considerable a force continued concentrated in and about Komorn, he found it impossible to advance upon Pesth without leaving the road to Vienna open to the Hungarians. Another reason, was the hope of taking possession of, or destroying the bridge over the Danube at O Szöny.

The Hungarians had retired into their entrenchments, with the exception of a corps that held possession of the village of O Szöny, on the eminences beside which, they had planted 5 batteries of cannon which commanded the whole adjacent country. The battle commenced with an attempt on the part of the Austrian cavalry to drive back the Hussars which were thrown forward to protect the batteries. A furious encounter of cavalry was the result, which ended in the retreat of the Austrians to their former position. From the *tête de pont*, the Hungarians drew fresh succours at the moment they were needed, and from the surrounding entrenchments two four and twenty pound batteries thundered against the flank of the advancing Austrians. During the last attack, an Hungarian battery followed the retiring enemy, aud desscended into the plain in pursuit. A regiment of cavalry which observed its isolated position, turned upon its pursuers, cut down the artillerymen at their guns and captured the battery. A regiment of Hussars hastened to the rescue, and succeeded in recapturing two of the guns; but the remainder were carried off by the Austrians.

While the centre of the imperial army was engaged in this attack on O Szöny, the brigade of Reischach advanced on Uj Szöny which was also occupied by the Hungarians. A long and bloody engagement ensued in the vineyards of this place, which ended in the Hungarians being driven back to their entrenchments, and the Austrians entering them at the same moment. The regiment of Parma stormed the two first trenches, and the brigade followed; but such a tremendous fire was opened from the third, that the imperialists were seized with a panic and abandoning the trenches, fled into the open country.

The Hungarians now assumed the offensive. Ten battalions of Honvéds with a numerous artillery followed the flying enemy, and endeavoured to outflank the left wing of the Austrians. This manoeuvre failed, in consequence of strong reinforcements coming up at the critical moment. At the same time numerous masses of Hungarian cavalry endeavoured to break through the Austrian line by an attack in front. In this they would probably have succeeded, had not the Russian brigade of Paniutin threatened their left flank, and thus robbed them of the victory at the moment it seemed within their grasp. The Hungarians attempted to outflank this division with their cavalry;

but the brigade of General Simbschen had now come up, the Hussars were driven back, and the Russians retook the village of Puhzta, which had been taken by the Hungarians in the beginning of the conflict, at the point of the bayonet.

The reserve of the Austrians now made a movement on the flank of the Hungarians, and threatened to cut off their retreat; upon which they fell back on their entrenchments, where the enemy did not think it prudent to follow them.

This battle, which from the number of troops engaged, and the loss on both sides, was one of the greatest of the Hungarian campaign, was utterly without results. The object of the Austrian general was indeed baffled, but the Hungarians gained no other advantage whatever. Görgey was slightly wounded in the head in the course of the engagement; but not so severely as to compel him to leave the field. Haynau now stationed his army in a half circle round Komorn, and awaited the arrival of the Russians, who were daily approaching nearer to Pesth.

While the main armies expended their strength without any material advantage being obtained on either side, the Hungarians met with a decided victory in another quarter. On the 1st. of July, the fortress of Arad surrendered after a siege of nearly nine months to the Hungarians under general Guyon. The fortress was first closely invested on the 18th. of June; on the 26th. the outer works were taken by storm, and the whole of the provisions being exhausted, L. F. M. Berger who commanded, surrendered the place; the garrison marching out with the honours of war, and engaging not to serve against the Hungarians for six months. In the fortress were found 75 pieces of artillery and 8000 stand of arms.

This advantage was not however of sufficient importance to counterbalance the gloomy aspect of affairs on every other side. The various Russian corps continued to advance, the dissensions between the generals, and more especially between Görgey and Kossuth became daily more apparent; fresh reinforcements from the victorious army of Radetzky were pouring in to the support of Haynau: and the Hungarian army although it still fought bravely, had lost much of the enthusiasm which in the early part of the contest led to so many victories over the best soldiers of Austria. The rural population on whom all the hardships of this stubborn and long continued contest fell, began to wish for peace at any price, and the recruits necessary to fill the frightful gaps which the sword and disease were constantly making in ranks of the army, no longer crowded to the Hungarian standard. As a last means of exciting the expiring enthusiasm of the people, Kossuth endeavoured to give the war a religious character, and revive the ancient hatred between the churches of Greece and Rome. The clergy were ordered to preach a crusade against the Russians, and no means were left untried to excite the people to a desperate resistance

compelled to retire and seek an entrance by the pass of Tömass, where they formed the reserve of the Russian army which had assembled at Kronstadt. The great success which attended Bem during his short stay in Transylvania rendered it probable he would soon clear the country of the Russians, but the threatening aspect of affairs in the Banat rendered it necessary he should hurry with the greater part of his troops to Perlasz, where he assembled the whole of his disposible forces.

Everything indicated that the Magyars would make an effort to relieve Peterwardein and force a passage across the Theiss, and the Austrians left no means untried to baffle this manoeuvre.

General Knicatin erected strong entrenchments on the side of the river opposite Titel, and Jellachich had established himself in an entrenched camp at Verbass in order to cover the Danube and Syrmien, and prevent any attempt to relieve Peterwardein, His intention was to blockade that fortress with a part of his troops, and with the remainder force his way to Temisvar, open a communication with the army of Haynau, and then march on Szegedin.

Bem who had collected about 30,000 men, crossed the Theiss at Kiss Kanissa, on the 11th. of June, and on the 12th. had arrived at Hegyes. Jellachich who was informed of this movement, now determined to break his way through this force by a sudden attack, and then march in a northernly direction towards Pesth. On the night of the 13th. he therefore marched with his whole force on Hegyes in order if possible to surprise the enemy; but by some means or other Bem appears to have been perfectly aware of his intention. The Croats advanced to Hegyes without meeting with any signs of the enemy, when on a sudden a number of rockets flew into the air and a large body of Honvéds advanced to meet them. An obstinute combat ensued, which ended in the retreat of the Hungarians; but scarcely had the Croats commenced the pursuit, when the earth shook beneath the hoofs of a large body of cavalry, which charged them with such fury that their ranks were broken and thrown into confusion, the darkness of the night increased the horrors of the scene, and ere long the Croats were flying in terror and disorder from the field. Jellachich exerted himself to the utmost to stop the panic, but in vain; and it was not till the following morning he succeeded in restoring them to order.

He now took up a new position; but this, after an engagement of four hours, was stormed by the impetuous Magyars, the army which the Banus had collected with so much trouble was utterly routed, the panic spread to the troops employed in blockading Peterwardein, and on the 16th. Bem entered the fortress at the head of a long train of wagons loaded with provisions and ammunition. Jellachich continued his flight to Ruma in Sclavonia, where he collected the remains of his forces; but it is said that out of the 22,000 men which he led to the

attack on Hegyes, not more than 9000 assembled under his banner at Ruma.

On the same day a hot encounter took place at Titel, where Perczel with his corps attacked the entrenchments of Knicatin and carried them by storm. The battalions of Brooder and Gradis which were at Futak and Palunka, fled across the Danube to Klok and Komeric, and all persons favourable to the imperial cause hastened to escape from the Bacsha.

The Magyars now proceeded to oppress the conquered country with an iron hand, heavy contributions were laid on the inhabitants, and enforced in the most cruel manner; and a vast number of recruits were compelled to enter the Hungarian ranks. Perczel distinguished himself by his harshness and cruelty on this occasion, in which he was seconded by the civil commissioners sent from Pesth; while Bem sought in vain to moderate the hatred with which all the Magyars but especially Perczel, regarded the Raitzen.

After Görgey had succeeded in breaking through the lines of the Russians at Waitzen, and consequently in baffling the plan of his enemies to inclose him on all sides, F. M. Haynau repaired with his army to Pesth, leaving only a corps of observation before Komorn, under the commend of L. F. M. Csorich On arriving in the capital, he proceeded to punish with a heavy hand, all who had taken part in the insurrection, and especially to levy large contributions from the Jews, who throughout the struggle had shown the liveliest sympathy for the Hungarian cause. On the 24th. he again left the city, and marched with his army towards the south.

The Russian general Grabbe, had in the meantime advanced without meeting any resistance, from the Slovakei into the interior of Hungary, and held possession of the cities in the mountains; while Paskiewicz moved to and fro between Pesth, Miskolz, and Debreczin, without knowing where to take up his position, as no information could be obtained as to the movements of Görgey.

That general, had marched immediately after the battle of Waitzen, towards the mountains of Tatra, reached the valley of the Ipoly at Balasza Gyarmáth, and from thence to Losonz and Rima Szombath. A Russian corps under General Rüdiger, which followed him to Losonz, found at that place only the traces of the Hungarian army, and the Russians that occupied the mountain cities, found themselves too weak to oppose the march of an entire *corps d'armée.* From Rima Szombath, Görgey marched upon Rosenau, and at that place fell in with a Russian column, which he attacked and utterly routed. A complete panic now seized on the Russian garrison and Austrian officials at Kaschau, who could not conceive how such an imposing Hungarian force could have made its way to the rear of the imperial armies. The members of the commission of war, which had been established in the city, fled in all haste, the garrison followed their

example, and on the 22nd. Görgey entered the town without opposition. An immense quantity of provisions and military stores fell into the hands of the Hungarians, and these having been packed on wagons obtained by requisition in the neighbourhood, were carried off by them for the use of the army.

From Kaschau, Görgey directed his march upon the Theiss, and in spite of all the exertions of the Russians to intercept him, crossed that river at Tokay and Tarczal. The consequences which seemed likely to follow from this splendid manoeuvre, were incalculable, the plans of both the Russian and Austrian commanders were completely baffled, and it became necessary to form an entirely new series of combinations. Meanwhile the Hungarians were at liberty either to operate upon the flank of the imperial armies, or to march to the southward, and unite with the remainder of the army in the neighbourhood of Szegedin.

While Görgey thus kept a part of the Russian army in employment, Dembinsky obtained an important victory over the main body. He had taken up a position between Gyöngyös and Szolnok, and on the 22nd. of July received information from his spies that several hundred casks of spirits had been shared out to the Russian soldiers, which had led to such scenes of drunkenness and disorder, that it had been found necessary to execute four men, in order to restore discipline. Supposing rightly that this indicated an intended attack on his position, he determined to anticipate it, and on the night of the 23rd. attacked them at Hatvan. The surprise was complete, the Russians still half stupified with liquor, fled in horrible confusion, and Hatvan was taken almost without loss. They however brought forward their reserves and endeavoured to recover their position, but were repulsed with severe loss, and the Hungarian cavalry taking them in flank at the same moment, their overthrow was complete. The contest lasted from two till ten o'clock, on the morning of the 24th., and the whole of their baggage, twelve pieces of cannon, and eight hundred prisoners, fell into the hands of the Hungarians.

This victory would probably have produced important results, had Görgey in accordance with the plan of operations which had been agreed on, marched from Tokay and united himself with Dembinsky at Gyöngyös. As Görgey however, probably for reasons connected with his subsequent surrender to the Russians, failed to do this, Dembinsky found himself compelled after waiting in vain for twenty-four hours, to withdraw in a southernly direction upon Szegedin.

THE RUSSIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA.

No sooner had the thickening dangers in the Banat compelled Bem to abandon Transylvania, and hasten with a part of his troops to oppose Jellachich, than the Russians again assumed the offensive, and

in a short time made themselves masters of the most important places in the country.

The junction of the Russian forces with the Austrian army under L. F. M. Clam-Gallas, took place on the 12th. of July, at Kronstadt; and General Lüders now resolved to make an attempt on Hermanstadt. On the 16th. he advanced on that city with 18,000 men, took the entrenchments by storm one after the other and drove the Hungarians who were greatly inferior in point of numbers, in the direction of the pass of the Red tower. Here they again took up a position, and awaited the attack of the Russians; but after a desperate resistance were compelled to retreat and take refuge in Wallachia, where they were disarmed and conducted into the interior, by a body of Turkish troops stationed for that purpose on the frontier. Two hours later, General Lüders appeared at the head of 6000 men, and demanded that the fugitives and their weapons should be delivered up to him; both which demands were refused by the Turkish commander. He then turned back upon Hermanstadt, and the few Hungarians remaining in that city, perceiving that resistance was useless, surrendered.

During the remainder of the month of July, numerous engagements took place between the scattered columns of the Hungarians, and the overpowering might of the Russians, all of which were to the advantage of the latter. Towards the end of the month Bem again hurried to the scene of his former victories, and with his usual tact and energy proceeded to assemble the broken troops, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. On the 31st. an engagement took place between Bem and Lüders which ended in the retreat of the former.

On the 2nd. of August he had again assembled his broken forces at Maros-Vasarhely, and on the 3rd, marched to Mediasch, where he united himself with Kemény, and at the head of 7000 men, with 14 pieces of cannon, took the road to Hermanstadt, before the Russian commander could obtain the least information as to his movements. On the 5th. he was already before Hermanstadt, having attacked the Russian general Haszford at Vizakna, and driven him back under the walls of the city. A terrible contest took place in the streets of the town, which ended in the Russians being driven out of it, and retiring to Talmács. On the following day Lüders arrived before Hermanstadt, and after a fearful contest, Bem in his turn was driven out of the city and forced to retreat on Szerdahely. The loss in killed and wounded was severe on both sides, and 10 cannon and 1200 prisoners, fell into the hands of the Russians.

On the 11th. of August, Lüders marched from Hermanstadt towards Carlsburg, for the purpose of attacking that place, and Bem who as usual had quickly assembled his forces, resolved to dispute his passage. Between Szerdahely and Mühlbach, the Austrians fell in with the Hungarian outposts, which after a short skirmish fell back on the

latter place, where Lüders attacked them with a threefold force, and at the same time dispatched 500 Kossacks to Száspián in order to harass them in case of a retreat. The excellence of Bem's artillery enabled him to repulse the first attack; but at the second he was forced to retire before the superior force of his enemy, and he withdrew in good order to a new position between Alvincy and Szaszian. The Hussars covered the retreat with great steadiness till they were suddenly fallen upon by the party of Kossacks before mentioned, when they were seized with a panic and fled in great confusion to Boros. Bem now retired in good order to Déva.

During this battle, the garrison of Carlsburg which had defended itself during five months against all the efforts of the corps under General Stein, made a sally on their besiegers; but were driven back to their walls with great loss. On the 14th. of August Lüders entered Mühlbach, and his outposts extended to Piski.

DISSENSIONS AMONG THE HUNGARIAN LEADERS. DEFECTION OF GÖRGEY.

While Bem was thus striving by almost superhuman exertions to uphold the Hungarian cause in Transylvania, it became every day more apparent in other quarters that the long and arduous struggle was drawing to a close. In consequence of the advance of Haynau towards the south, the revolutionary government found themselves compelled to remove from Szegedin to Arad, in which city they arrived on the 30th. of July, and on the 2nd. of August, Szegedin was occupied by the imperialists.

Meanwhile the jealousy which had long existed between Kossuth and Görgey had reached a height which showed it was impossible they could both continue in their present offices, without great disadvantage to the cause they both professed to serve. Kossuth's intrigues were directed to deprive Görgey of the chief command of the army and transfer it to Bem; but he dared take no active measures to effect his purpose, in consequence of Görgey's popularity with the army, and the support he received from a majority of the members of the Landtag. The continual alteration of the place of government and the want of money under which they laboured, tended also to produce the most deplorable confusion in the administration. The troops were frequently without the necessaries of life, and their demoralization consequently increased from day to day. The popularity of the government and even of the former idol of the nation Kossuth, was rapidly on the decline, the people murmured and desertion thinned the ranks of the army.

While the Russian commander remained in a state of uncertainty as to which direction Görgey had taken, that general had abandoned the marshes on the left bank of the Theiss, and marched on the road to

Miskolz, against the Russian columns advancing from the south. Paskiewicz crossed the Theiss at Thysza Füred, and directed General Grabbe to march to Tokay, cross the river at that place, and unite himself with the rest of the army at Debreczin. But the road from Miskolz was already occupied by Görgey, and on the 28th. of July he fell in with the Hungarian army near the village of Onod. Görgey had chosen his position with great judgment, and his cannon were so advantageously placed, that they silenced those of the eneny, and the guns were carried off without great difficulty by the Hungarian Hussars.

The Honvéd battalions now attacked the position of the Russians, and carried it with the bayonet, but Grabbe succeeded in again assembling his troops in a new position between Onod and Miskolz. Görgey now caused the defiles of Miskolz and Gorombola to be strongly occupied in order to prevent the enemy retiring on the Theiss, and then again attacked the position of the Russians, carried it, and drove them back upon Putnock, where they again endeavoured to make a stand, but were beaten back as far as the village of St. Peter.

While Grabbe and his corps were thus driven into the mountains of Putnock, the Russian general Sacken also found himself unable to carry out his orders, and on arriving at the river Hernath, found the bridge destroyed and Görgey in so strong a position on the other side, that the passage was not to be forced. The position of Görgey at this place was indeed one of extraordinary strength. His rear was protected by the great marsh of the Theiss against Paskiewicz, his right by the Taktate islands (a chain of bogs in which are islands of firm ground), and his front by two rivers.

A union between the three Russian armies was thus rendered impossible. Grabbe, driven into the mountains of Tatra, was altogether out of the field. Paskiewicz, who with the main body of his army was hurrying by forced marches to Debreczin, halted when he heard of Grabbe's defeat, and returned to Thysza Füred, in order to open a communication with that general and Sacken. Görgey, who at this time seems to have contemplated the course he afterwards took, and which has covered his name with so much infamy, instead of improving his advantage, remained perfectly inactive; and the consequence was, that Sacken was enabled to send strong reinforcements to Paskiewicz, who now resumed his march on Debreczin, which he occupied after driving out the corps of general Nagy Sandor, which defended the place against an overwhelming force, for upwards of three hours. From Debreczin, Paskiewicz directed his march on Grosswardein, which was occupied by his troops on the 8th. of August.

On the same day, the last great battle of the Hungarian revolution, was fought at Temesvar, between the Austrian forces under Haynau and the corps of Dembinsky, in which the latter were completely defeated. Nothing can show the state of demoralization into which the Hungarian army had fallen during the latter days of the campaign in

a more striking point of view, than the contrast displayed by their conduct on this and former occasions. Instead of the unshakable courage which they invariably displayed in the earlier battles, the Hussars were the first to give the example of flight, and not only left the artillery without protection, but by their cries of "All is lost!" spread the panic to the left wing of the army, which was composed of the best troops under the command of Bem, who as he rode to and fro endeavouring to restore order, was thrown from his horse and injured his arm severely.

The loss of the Hungarians in this battle was but trifling as far as men were concerned, but the greater part of the baggage and several pieces of artillery, were captured by the Austrians. The greater part of the army was completely routed, the only troops which retired in good order were the brigades of Vécsey and Kmety, which however scarcely took part in the action. The immediate result of the battle was the relief of the fortress of Temesvar, which had long been besieged by the Hungarians; but it was speedily followed by others of a more important nature.

Görgey had in the meantime marched on New-Arad, where an engagement took plaee between a part of his troops and those of F. M. Schlick, in which the Hungarians were worsted, and compelled to retire on Old-Arad. A council of war was now held, at which Kossuth and his ministers were present, and a violent scene of mutual recrimination took place between Görgey and Kossuth, which ended in the latter resigning his office of president or dictator, into the hands of the former, who accepted it only for the purpose of laying down his arms, as on the evening of the same day he addressed his famous letter to the Russian general Rüdiger, which we here give entire, as one of the most singular documents of its kind:

"Monsieur le General!"

"You are without doubt acquainted with the melancholy history of my country, and I therefore spare you the tedious repetition of the various occurrences which have involved us deeper and deeper in a desperate struggle, first for our legitimate liberties, and at last for our existence."

"The better, and I dare assert, the greater part of the nation, did not enter thoughtlessly on a struggle, which with the help of men of honour who although foreigners were led to join it by the force of circumstances, it supported honourably, firmly, and victoriously."

"The policy of Europe now commanded his Majesty the emperor of Russia to unite himself with Austria to crush us, and render a further contest for the Hungarian constitution impossible."

"This took place accordingly."

Many of the true and faithful patriots of Hungary foresaw and forewarned us of the event."

"The history of our times will one day relate the reasons, which induced the majority of the provisional government of Hungary, to turn a deaf ear to these warnings."

"This provisional government no longer exists."

"It was found too weak in the day of peril."

I, the man of deeds, but not of useless ones, declare all farther bloodshed to be unnecessary and injurious to Hungary, as I declared at the first commencement of the Russian intervention. I have this day demanded the resignation of the provisional government, as its farther existence could only tend to render the future of my country more dark and comfortless.

"The provisional government have acknowledged this, and have voluntarily placed the supreme power in my hands."

"I avail myself of this circumstance to adopt a course which according to my conviction, is the only one which will serve to avoid the useless shedding of human blood, and preserve the peaceful citizens I am too weak to defend, from the horrors of war. This course is at once to lay down my arms, and thus give an impulse which will probably lead the other commanders of the Hungarian army to admit that this course is the best, and in the end to follow the example."

"In so doing, I rely on the far famed generosity of his Majesty the Czar, that such of my brave comrades as have formerly been in the service of Austria and yet by the force of circumstances have been involved in this unfortunate struggle, shall not be given up to a melancholy and uncertain fate; and that the people of Hungary who depend upon his sense of justice, shall not be delivered up unarmed to the revenge of their enemies. It may perhaps be sufficient if I alone fall a victim."

"I address this letter to you General, because you were the first to give me proofs of that respect which has won my confidence."

"Hasten then, if you would spare the farther effusion of blood, to make arrangements that we may lay down our arms before the troops of His Majesty the emperor of Russia as soon as possible, for I declare solemnly that I will rather suffer my corps to be destroyed in a desperate contest against superior forces, than lay down my arms to the Austrian troops."

"I march to-morrow the 12th. of August to Világos, on the 13th. to Borõs-Jerõ, and on the 14th. to Beel. I inform you of this, in order that you may place your forces between my troops and the Austrians, so as to enclose and separate me from them."

"Should this manoeuvre not succeed, and should the Austrians pursue me, I will beat off their attack and march on Groswardein, in order by this means to reach the imperial Russian army, before which alone, my troops declare themselves willing to lay down their arms."

"I await an immediate answer, and conclude with assurances of the highest respect."

"Alt-Arad, August 11th. 1849. 9 o'clock P. M,"

Arthur Görgey.

On the 12th. of August, Görgey repaired to Szöllös, the place appointed by Rüdiger for receiving the submission of the Hungarian army. On the 13th. the two armies were drawn up opposite each other in order of battle, and Görgey accompanied by his generals, among whom were Kiss, Pöttenburg, Schweidel, Nagy Sándor, Aulich, Leiningen, and Lenkey, went over to Rüdiger, and after a short conversation with that officer, returned to the army.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, commenced the delivery of the weapons. The infantry were in front, the artillery behind them, and the cavalry on the flanks. The whole line presented arms, and the Honvéds then placed their muskets on the ground in the form of pyramids, and laid their cartridge boxes upon them. The cavalry dismounted and hung their sabres on the saddle-bows.

Görgey had at this time 24,000 men, and 144 pieces of cannon.

It would be impossible to describe the feelings of agony and humiliation which were expressed in the countenances of these brave men, at this fearful moment. The rude soldiers wept like children, and many of the Hussars shot their horses, their faithful companions in so many victories, rather than deliver them alive to the enemy. The scene formed a counterpart to the famous surrender at Saratoga in the last century, when the English general Burgoyne, laid down his arms under similar circumstances to the Americans.

The disarmed soldiers were escorted partly to Zarand and partly to Grosswardein. Görgey and the other generals were sent to Arad.

On the following day the fortress of Arad surrendered to the Russians, the commander Damjanich stipulating only for a free passage for his troops. He neglected to make terms for himself and the sick who remained behind, and these were consequently given up with the fortress to the Austrians.

It would be difficult to give an idea of the state of misery, to which the various detached corps of the Hungarian army was reduced during the last days of the contest. For weeks they had received neither pay nor rations, and consequently were forced to live by plunder, and as the country was for the most part exhausted, they deserted in whole companies, and returned to their homes. The last remains of the army of the Theiss, which still amounted to 7000 men, with 42 pieces of cannon, surrendered to the Russians at Boros-Jenö on the 19th. of August. Kossuth, Perczel, Bem, Dembinsky, Casimar, Batthyány, and most of the members of the Landtag, together with a few troops and the Polish and Italian legions, fled into Turkey, where they were hospitably received.

Russia and Austria demanded that these fugitives should be delivered up; and Bem with a large number of his countrymen, supposing the Sultan would be forced to comply, hastened to embrace the Mohommedan religion, thus securing his protection as the chief of the Moslem. This act, which has tended not a little to lower the Polish chieftain in the eyes of Europe, was hasty and unadvised, as the Sublime Porte, supported by the English cabinet, has hitherto stedfastly refused to comply with these demands.

The fortress of Peterwardein surrendered to the Russians on the 7th. of September; but Klapka continued to defend Komorn till the 27th. when he surrendered on condition that a full amnesty should be granted to the whole of the garrison.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable struggles of modern times, a struggle in which an army of peasants, triumphed over the best troops and most experienced generals of one of the most powerful empires in the world, and yielded at length only to the combined force of Austria and Russia, aided by dissension and treachery on the part of their own leaders. The time has however not yet arrived at which a calm and unprejudiced opinion can be formed of the conduct of Görgey. To us it appears that the abuse with which he has been loaded by the republican party, is at least partly unjust, that the contest was hopeless from the moment the Russian army entered Hungary, and that by surrendering to the Russians he merely put an end to the affair a few weeks earlier than would have been the case had he continued a desperate and unavailing resistance, and that by so doing he avoided a vast destruction of human life, and obtained better terms for the soldiers under his command.

THE REPUBLICAN OUTBREAK IN BADEN.

(From September 1848, to July 1849.)

In the first volume of this work we described at some length both the attempts to establish a German republic in the Grand-duchy of Baden, in the year 1848. The first of these attempts ended as our readers will recollect, in the flight of most of the implicated parties into Switzerland, and the emigration of their leader Frederic Hecker, to America; while the second finished with the utter discomfiture of the band which had entered Baden under the command of Struve, the apprehension of that adventurer in the act of flying with the money he had collected by plundering the country, and his committal to prison to take his trial before the ordinary tribunals, the court-martial before which he was placed in the first instance, having decided that they were not competent to deal with his case, in consequence of martial law not having been proclaimed until after his apprehension.

The lamentable failure of both these attempts tended naturally to strengthen the hands of the government, and had the ministry of the Grand-duke acted with firmness and decision, by bringing the guilty leaders at once to trial and punishment, and granting an amnesty to the bulk of their misguided followers; by availing themselves of the depression and weakness prevailing for the moment in the ranks of the democratic party, to set bounds to the licentiousness of the public press and the ceaseless agitation of the clubs, the catastrophy which followed would in all probability have been avoided. Instead of this, the ministry and the chambers proceeded to act as though all fear of a repetition of these acts of violence was at an end.

Instead of having recourse to mild but firm measures of repression against the ultra democratic party, the government proceeded to try the effects of concession and conciliation, and in addition to the laws already existing which secured the freedom of the press, trial by jury, and the right of holding public meetings, other laws were introduced and passed in rapid succession, for abolishing all feudal burdens on the land, securing the independence of the judges, placing persons of all religious persuasions on the same footing, abolishing the punishment of death, and various other measures of a similar tendency.

These measures which were at least sufficient to prove the honest intentions of both the ministry and the chambers, if not to satisfy the wishes of the most ardent admirers of rational freedom, were repaid with the blackest ingratitude on the part of the ultra democratic or red republican party. No sooner had they recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown by the utter failure of Struve's expedition, and observed that the government hesitated to make the expected use of its victory, than they recommenced their agitation with greater activity than ever. The funeral solemnities in honour of Robert Blum offered an opportunity for making a demonstration not to be neglected, and the newspaper writers and club orators raved against the government of Baden, as if it had been the cause of his execution. While the clubs were permitted to form a kind of permanent conspiracy against the existing form of government, any one judging from the tone of their speakers would have supposed that freedom no longer existed in the country. While the newspaper writers indulged with impunity in the coarsest and most virulent abuse, not only of all persons in authority, but of any private individuals obnoxious to them, they declared that all freedom of expression was suppressed by the tyranny of the government. The most horrible stories were daily circulated of the cruelty with which the political prisoners were treated, which had no foundation except in the imagination of the writers, minute details were given of the ill treatment to which Struve and Blind were said to have been subjected, and it was asserted that their persons were consequently swollen from head to foot; yet these men appeared upon their trial in perfect health, without the least appearance of having suffered from their imprisonment.

The machinations of the clubs went hand in hand with those of the debased and licentious press. Branch clubs were organized in every village, and these smaller societies displayed more activity than those in larger towns. They agitated the masses without ceasing, directing their efforts principally to corrupting the minds of young persons, especially those of the conscripts and soldiers on furlough. Lawyers, Apothecaries, Schoolmasters, and of course all the most idle and worthless members of society, were the most active agents. The supplies of money were mostly procured from the larger towns, and large sums were in some instances obtained from rich but weak minded persons who had been seized with the revolutionary mania. In January 1849 the central committee of the Volks-Verein, which held its sittings at Mannheim, issued a circular, which gave the latest ideas of the democratic party to the open day. "The revolution in France", observed the writer of this document, "was prepared by the exertions of the political clubs and the extended circulation of political newspapers, and scarcely was the conflict in Paris at an end, when the men who had been previously pointed out, stood at the head of the movement throughout the whole of France, and carried at once into effect the

decisions of the provisional government. In Germany, and more especially in Baden, affairs would no doubt have taken a very different turn during the agitation of the past year, had the organization existed, which we, now made wise by experience, are at this moment endeavouring to effect. Above all we must endeavour to give our own organs a greater circulation among the people, and that our opinions on all questions likely to become of importance to the rights of the citizens, be rapidly disseminated in pamphlets among all classes of the community."

Nothing could be more clear therefore, than that a new attempt was about to be made to establish a republic; but the government took no steps to prevent it, and the constitutional party but few. The latter indeed formed a club called the Vaterlands-Verein, to oppose the proceedings of the democrats; but its organization was not so compact as that of the other party, and it had not so many idlers, and consequently not so many agents at its disposal, as the Volks-Verein.

The leader of the democratic party at this time was Lorenzo Brentano, an advocate residing at Mannheim. He had been first elected as a member of the chamber 1845, and during the agitation of 1848 had made himself remarkable by the violence and bitterness of his attacks upon the government. He appears to have played the part of an agitator purely from motives of personal aggrandisement, and perhaps no idea was farther from his thoughts than the establishment of a republic in Baden. He wished merely to place himself on the ministerial bench, and in his efforts to effect this, raised a demon over which he had no controul, and which hurried him much farther than he had either desired or intended. The chamber of Baden had formerly been remarkable for the propriety which had prevailed during the discussions. Hecker was the first to introduce the coarse and personal tone common in a student's debating club; but Brentano and his followers conducted themselves in a manner which could excite nothing but disgust in any well regulated mind, and the scenes provoked by their violence were of a character infinitely more suited to a village pot-house than a legislative assembly.

There can be little doubt that these scenes were purposely got up for the purpose of degrading the chamber and the ministry which it supported, in the eyes of the people. Brentano saw clearly that another attempt to establish a republic would fail in the same manner as the preceeding; and he therefore wished if possible to dissolve the chamber, and by a new election on the principle of universal suffrage to place himself and his party peaceably at the head of affairs. Consequently the dissolving the chamber now became the watchword of the party, and for this object they commenced agitating by every means in their power. Printed copies of a petition to this effect were sent to the various branch clubs, and signatures were obtained or forged by thousands. The vast number of these signatures, the

majority of which represented women and children, or persons whose very existence was doubtful, may indeed prove the extent to which the organization of the democratic clubs was carried, but could give little moral weight to the document to which they were attached.

The constitutional party did not remain idle on this occasion. Upwards of 150 petitions against the measure proposed by the democratic party, and representing its agitation in its proper light, were presented to the chamber. This referred the subject to a committee, which decided in its report to the chamber, that the immediate dissolution of the legislative body without providing for its renewal, was contrary to the first principles of a representative form of government; but recommended that the chamber after passing the numerous and important new laws at that moment under discussion, should direct its attention to a thorough reform of the existing constitution, in which the first chamber, consisting of privileged persons, should be altered in form or altogether abolished; and that they should then dissolve themselves, leaving the minor points of the new constitution to be settled by the new chamber. This proposal would certainly seem to be sufficiently liberal to satisfy any but the most violent and unreasonable partizans of the red republic; and it was besides of evident importance that the chamber which since March 1848, had been engaged in the weighty task of revising the laws, should not be dissolved until that important labour was finished.

The discussion of the question took place in the chamber on the 10th. of February, and the debate continued from early in the morning until late in the evening. The radical party were forced to admit by their silence, that the petition dictated by them, demanded that which was impracticable, and that an instant dissolution of the chambers would be illegal, until a law had been passed determining how the future parliament should be called together. They therefore restricted themselves to demanding that the chamber should dissolve itself as soon as the more weighty of their labours were finished. Both parties were consequently agreed on this point, and the discussion simply turned on whether the revision of the electoral law was or was not to take place before the dissolution. The constitutional party maintained this to be above all things necessary, while the democrats demanded that a convention of persons chosen by universal suffrage should be called together to decide on this subject. The discussion on this point was long and violent, and more than once interrupted by the violence of the *claqueurs* of the radical party. It however ended in their utter defeat, their proposal that the electoral law should be referred to a convention, being rejected by a majority of 44 against 3.

Brentano himself was the cause of this ignominious defeat of his party. He on this occasion spoke far less happily than usual, and the main point on which he relied, namely, a furious attack upon the prime minister Bekk, turned out a decided failure. Perceiving the

debate was taking a turn unfavourable to his party, he burst out into a strain of the coarsest abuse upon the minister, whom among other equally absurd charges, he accused of having encouraged the republican outbreak in the previous September. Bekk's reply was terrible in its calm severity, and humbled his coarse and violent assailant to the very dust. The other ministers expressed their regret that Brentano had not been able to spare them a twig from the garland with which he had honoured their colleague; and a fraction of Brentano's own party utterly ashamed of their leader, went over to his opponents; while several others left the chamber without voting. By this defeat Brentano saw his plans of becoming minister by peaceable means completely frustrated, and was compelled to throw himself into the arms of the more violent fraction of his party, who were for carrying their measures by physical force.

The crisis now approached rapidly. Already the power of the state was shaken to its foundations. The press unbridled, the clubs in a state of permanent conspiracy, and the whole system of a constitutional form of government paralysed. Revolutionary clubs were now to usurp the authority of the legal legislative body, demagogues and committees of mob orators, to seize upon the rudder of the state. Even at this the eleventh hour, an energetic course on the part of the ministry might perhaps have averted the catastrophy. They however partly trusted to the moral influence of their late victory in the chamber, and partly hoped that the general arrangement of the affairs of Germany by the central parliament at Frankfort, would have the effect of quieting the rising storm in Baden. Perhaps also they gave their opponents credit for too much understanding and patriotism, to suppose they would a third time appeal to arms. Neither of these premises, none of which appeared to be wanting in probability, proved in the end to be well founded. The defeat of the democratic party in the chamber, produced no moral effect whatever on the masses, because they either remained ignorant of it, or were incapable of understanding the question it involved; nor on the leaders because they were proof against any moral influence whatever. The power of the Frankfort parliament was already on the decline, and any hope which may have been founded on the understanding or patriotism of the democratic leaders, was soon shown to be futile.

Immediately after their defeat on the 10th. of February the struggle on the part of the democrats took a new form. The extreme left, as the democratic party were usually called, now for the most part appeared no more in the chamber, while on the other hand the democratic committee began to arrogate to itself the functions of the government, and the Volks-Verein those of the legislative chamber. The terrorism of the clubs and of the newspapers published under their auspices began now to be felt by all classes, and it became daily more evident that this fearful machinery was becoming utterly

unmanageable, even to the hands which had called it into existence. The newspapers openly announced that the time was at hand in which the property of the rich should be confiscated for the general advantage, and in the rural districts this was the principal argument made use of in soliciting votes for the approaching elections. In the cities, the agitators addressed themselves especially to the working classes who were of course suffering greatly under the consequences of continued agitation, and comforted them with the near approach of a state of things in which all were to be happy and poverty was to cease. At Heidelberg a meeting of workmen was called, and the mask completely thrown off, one of the demagogues having plainly told the meeting, that they were there not to talk of the means of procuring employment, but of how to obtain arms, and tools to open the chests of the wealthy. An honest workman who heard this declaration, replied with admirable simplicity, that he had come there with the hope of hearing some good advice as to bettering the condition of the people, but he now saw that the object was to organise a band of robbers.

A glance at the newspapers published at this time is sufficient to shew how systematically the attempts to demoralise the masses were conducted. Every thing that mankind have been in the habit of considering sacred, became the mark at which the abandoned writers of these publications threw their filth. Articles in praise of Robespierre and the guillotine were common, and these seldom failed to hint that one of the first victims would be the prime minister Bekk, a man whose very considerable ability and spotless integrity, made him naturally obnoxious to these self elected leaders of public opinion. The church, the ducal family, the regent John of Austria, a few months before the idol of the liberals, were treated in the same manner. The Grandduke was usually stiled "Leopold Baden", the regent "the hoary miscreant", the central parliament "the state buffoons". Shortly before the commencement of the political trials, the judges became the main objects of the threats and abuse of the press. "We will impress this text of Scripture on your hard heads and hard hearts 'Judge not lest ye be judged'" is only a slight specimen of the threats held out in case the prisoners should be convicted.

During this state of excitement, the trials of Struve, Blind and others, implicated in the September outbreak, came on at Freiburg. As if utterly to destroy all respect for justice in the masses, and to bring the new institution of trial by Jury into contempt, both the accused and their counsel treated the matter as if the process were a question between monarchy and republicanism. Struve assumed the airs of an innocent victim of despotism; but conducted himself with outward decency of demeanor, while Blind on the other hand, behaved with the rudeness of a man who mistook impudence for greatness of mind. Their counsel, with Brentano at their head, assumed the manner of turbulent club orators, and that not with the earnestness of enthu-

siasts, but with an open and contemptuous disregard of public decency. The hall of justice became an arena for the abuse of the principle of monarchal governments in general, and for that of the government and ministry of Baden in particular; while the audience roared applause to these speeches in exact proportion to their violence, and hooted and hissed at the judges and public accuser. A spectator of this disgraceful scene, must have been at a loss to describe which astonished him most, the counsel who behaved themselves like orators at a barricade, the violence of the audience who assisted in the farce, the weakness of the judges who permitted themselves to be insulted on the bench, or the want of tact displayed by the counsel for the procecution, who allowed themselves to be bullied and put down by their opponents. Brentano and his colleagues were admirably seconded by the radical press, which declared with one voice, that any juror who pronounced a verdict of condemnation, was guilty of high treason. Nor did the party hesitate to have recourse to plans even less reputable; every possible means were taken to influence the jurors singly, and flattery and threats were alternately put into play to induce them to pronounce a verdict of acquittal, without regard to the character of the evidence before them. Under these circumstances it is not wonderful that the jury aquitted Struve of the part he had taken in the April outbreak, on the ground that this occurred "in the course of the revolution;" and although they found it impossible to acquit him of leading the treasonable attempt in September, they sought to neutralize their verdict of "Guilty", by the senseless addition of "but without premeditation, and under extenuating circumstances." The judges therefore found it impossible to inflict the highest punishment awarded to high treason, and he was accordingly sentenced to eight years imprisonment.

Meanwhile the parliament at Frankfort had published their constitution for the whole of Germany, and Prussia, Saxony and Hanover had refused to accept it. The government of Baden however, true to their former principles, did so without hesitation, it was published in the government gazette as the future law of the land on the 10th. of May, and the following Sunday the 13th. was appointed for the burgher guard and military to swear obedience to it. This however the democratic party which was determined to be satisfied with nothing short of the establishment of a social republic, had already taken measures to prevent. In the latter part of the month of April and the first days of May, numerous public meetings were held, at which no means were spared to irritate the people against the government and induce them to provide themselves with arms for the approaching conflict; a general meeting of all the political clubs at Offenbach was announced for the 12th. of May, and a general assembly of the people at the same place on the 13th. At this moment, when it became evident that the government would need all the force at its command, to curb

the evidently hostile intentions of the disaffected, it received the fearful intelligence that the army was in a state of revolt.

The army of Baden had remained true to its duty during both the former outbreaks; but the revolutionary party had gained experience by these failures, and resolved to manage matters better in future. Immediately after the suppression of the September insurrection, the radical organs had openly declared that means must be taken to corrupt the fidelity of the soldiers, or as they expressed it: "To convert them from fratricides into soldiers of the people, who would turn their arms against their officers instead of against their brothers."

Unfortunately the condition of the army was such as rendered the task of seduction but too easy. The officers of the army of Baden before the revolution, were by no means popular either among the citizens or their own soldiers. It had been indeed, the policy of the government to keep the military as far as possible separate from the civilians, from the idea that a too close intimacy between the two classes was injurious to the discipline of the army. The officers, a large proportion of which were old men, conducted the service for the most part according to their recollections of the wars of Napoleon, and too often worried and disgusted the soldiers, by their absurd strictness in petty points of discipline. Among the younger officers, the rude and even brutal behaviour towards the soldiers under their command, common before the revolution, appears to have been but slightly reformed; and these subjects of discontent were adroitly made use of by the revolutionary agents. Pamphlets appealing to their ambition, their love of ease and their love of pleasure, were circulated among them by thousands, they were enticed to attend the radical meetings by the certainly of finding plenty of beer at their disposal gratis, and were there taught that they had no right to obey any officers but those of their own choosing and that the necessary hardships of a soldier's life, arose solely from the cruelty and tyranny of the government.

This bad seed soon brought forth fruit of a corresponding quality. The officers became hated as men that usurped an office to which they had no right. The service became hateful, not merely on account of the pedantry and unnecessary strictness with which it was in some instances conducted; but because of the just and proper restrictions necessary to the maintenance of discipline. Several accidental circumstances tended also to increase the evil. The increase of the contingent ordered by the central government, brought a number of youths into the service who had taken part in the insurrections of the previous year, and these contrasted the strictness of discipline necessary in a body of regular soldiers, with the laxity which prevailed in the volunteer corps, when living at free quarters on the peasantry. Added to this, the law which made military service imperative on all persons

brought into the army a number of half educated youths of the middle classes, whose heads were turned with the revolutionary doctrines of the time, and who from the superior information they possessed, soon obtained considerable influence over the simple and ignorant rustics forming the bulk of the troops. Another cause of the rapid subversion of discipline was, that from motives of economy arising from the crippled state of the finances, the troops were only kept together long enough to learn the mere mechanical elements of their profession, and were consequently utterly wanting in that *esprit de corps*, which constitutes the soul of an army.

The consequence of this lamentable state of affairs was, that a general mutiny was organized throughout the army, without as it should seem, a single officer being aware of the coming storm; for it is not to be supposed that the military revolts which broke out within four days at Rastadt, in the Oberland, at Carlsruhe, Lörrach, and Bruchsal, could be altogether unconnected. The disaffection first shewed itself at Rastadt, the inhabitants of which had formerly been distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to constitutional principles; but had now become pretty generally infected with the revolutionary epidemic. The Volks-Verein at this place seems to have considered it their especial mission to spread disaffection among the soldiers of the garrison, and in this they were admirably assisted by the wife of Struve, who was permitted to reside in the town in order to be near her husband, who was confined in the fortress.

At length on the 11th. of May, the long threatened storm burst forth. A soldier who had been placed in arrest for making inflamatory speeches, being forcibly rescued from the barracks of the 1st. infantry regiment by the mob, the guard positively refusing to make any attempt at resistance. As at noon on the same day, the general march was beaten, in consequence of the increasing tumult in the town, the soldiers sent a deputation to the governor to state that "they held the measure for superfluous!" As little effect was produced by beating the general march in the evening, when an immense concourse of people assembled for the purpose of storming the Leopold's barracks, where a corporal was confined who had been degraded for insubordination. Several companies of infantry were however drawn up in front of the building; but as some of the rioters declared they would disperse if the soldiers were withdrawn, the authorities had the weakness to consent to this demand. Scarcely had the soldiers commenced their retreat, when the officers were assailed with a shower of stones, and the outer gate of the barracks broken to pieces. Several of the officers were wounded, among others, the colonel of the regiment and the governor, who had hastened to the spot with a squadron of dragoons. Towards evening the infuriated mob broke into the house of the wounded colonel, and carried off the flags of the regiment; such soldiers as took no part in the outrage, refusing to offer any

resistance to the others. On the following morning the Minister of War arrived in Rastadt with a few squadrons of dragoons and some pieces of artillery; but found it utterly impossible to restore order. The troops were now lost to all controul and in a continual state of drunkenness. All the exertions of the officers could not prevent a corporal who had offered some opposition to the proceedings of the rioters, being fearfully ill treated and dragged bleeding through the streets by the hair. General Hoffmann repaired to the different barracks and inquired the cause of the mutiny; but could only obtain in reply, fragments from the revolutionary speeches they had picked up in the clubs, such as: "We want our rights!" "We want a constitution! We wish to be united to the burgher guard!" These, and similar phrases, which they had learned from their seducers, were all they could allege in excuse for the greatest fault of which soldiers can be guilty, that of outraging their own officers, and insulting their own flag. The only intelligible demand they preferred was, that they might be permitted to attend the public meetings, and this General Hofmann granted. But while he was endeavouring to bring the rioters back to a sense of duty, the greater part of his escort had made common cause with them, most of the dragoons having joined the mutineers, and the artillerymen refusing any longer to obey their officers. The minister of war finding any further parley useless, now left Rastadt with the rest of his escort, and with some difficulty succeeded in placing the prisoners Struve and Blind in the Pensylvanian prison at Bruchsal.

Such was the aspect of affairs on the morning of the 13th. of May, the day appointed for the great meeting at Offenburg. At the same hour at which the mutiny had broken out at Rastadt, a similar scene took place at Lörrach, on the frontier of Switzerland. Here the disturbance also commenced with a public meeting and the forcible liberation of prisoners; Colonel Von Rottberg who endeavoured to prevent this outrage, being shot through the body. General Von Gayling who endeavoured in vain to restore order, succeeded nevertheless in removing the troops which remained faithful, to Kandern. On the 12th. and 13th. similar excesses took place at Bruchsal, but here the affair seems to have been less of a political character, drunkenness and impatience of discipline having been the causes that induced the soldiers to follow the example of the garrison of Rastadt.

These excesses were only the preliminaries to the public meeting at Offenburg. On the 13th. however, the news of what had occurred at Rastadt, did not reach the assembly. This accounts for the comparative moderation shown in the speeches and resolutions of that day; but in the evening the news arrived, and the demands of the revolutionary party rose in proportion. They first insisted on the dismissal of the ministry, the dissolution of the chambers and the annulling of their acts since the 1st. of January, the calling together of a convention on the principle of universal suffrage, a general amnesty for poli-

tical offenders, including Struve, Blind, etc., and the recall of all political fugitives. A deputation was appointed to convey these demands to the government.

They were received by the minister Bekk, who in vain pointed out the impractibility of these demands. He showed that the government had no power to annul the acts of the legislative assembly, and that the so doing, would be a breach of the constitution. He informed them that the chambers would be dissolved on the 19th. and that the people would then have an opportunity of choosing who they thought fit, and that the existence of the ministry would depend on the result of these elections. To the threats uttered by the deputation, in case their demands were not instantly complied with, he replied that the Volks-Verein aided by the soldiers whom they had seduced from their duty, might possibly succeed in overthrowing the government for the moment, but that the other German states would not look on quietly, and warned them that their present course could only end in giving the eventual triumph to the friends of reaction.

The deputation having received a written answer to the same effect, signed by the whole ministry, departed with threats, the meaning of which was scarcely concealed beneath the ordinary courtesy of conventional discourse. The refusal of the ministry to comply with these demands, produced no effect whatever on the result of the meeting at Offenburg. Before the deputation arrived at that place, the news of the revolt of the garrison of Rastadt had become generally known, and before noon a new series of demands still more unreasonable than the first, had been issued as the will of the assembly. They were as follow:

"1. The government must instantly accept the Frankfort constitution (Reichsverfassung), and enforce its acceptance in the other German states; but first in the Bavarian Palatinate, with all the military force at its disposal. 2. The present ministry is to be dismissed at once, and Citizens Brentano and Peter are to be employed to form a new one. 3. The chambers to be instantly dissolved, and a convention chosen for deciding on the new constitution. The members of this convention to be chosen by universal suffrage. 4. A general arming of the people is to take place at the cost of the state; and all single men between the ages of 18 and 30, are as the first contingent, to be instantly called out for active service. All persons in authority who shall neglect to take instant steps for arming the citizens in their respective districts, to be instantly dismissed. 5. All political fugitives are to be instantly recalled, the political prisoners both civil and military to be set at liberty, all political prosecutions abandoned; and especially all soldiers confined for insubordination and so called breaches of discipline, to be liberated. 6. The military tribunals to be abolished. 7. The army shall in future have the right of electing its own officers. 8. We demand the immediate incorporation of the standing army with

the burgher guard. 9. The various corporations of the duchy are in future to be altogether independent of the government, both with regard to the application of the funds at their command, and the appointment of their officers. A new election of all public officials to take place immediately throughout the country. 10. All burdens on the land to be immediately abolished. 11. All the decisions of the so called legislative chambers in Carlsruhe, since the 17th. of January, to be declared null and void. 12. Trial by jury to be instantly established. 13. A national bank is to be established for the support of of trade, commerce, and agriculture, for protection against the too great power of the capitalists. 14. The abolition of all taxes, and the substitution of a progressive income tax. 15. The establishment of a general pension fund for the support of all citizens incapable of labour. The especial pension fund for the servants of the state to be abolished."

"The committee of the Volks-verein, are empowered to take the necessary steps for carrying these measures into execution, and to communicate the resolutions of the general assembly of this day, to the committee in Rhenish Bavaria, and the other committees in the neighbouring countries."

These resolutions require no comment. They form the complete program of an overthrow of the existing government, by means of a forcible revolution. It is not wonderful that many theoretical republicans who attended the meeting at Offenburg, shrunk from seeing their theories carried into execution, and that the followers of Brentano now trembled before the consequences of their own measures. Brentano himself had excused himself from attending the meeting, on the plea of illness; but such of his friends as were present, shewed more perplexity than joy at their victory. They had now in good earnest the revolution which had been the theme of their speeches and writings for so many months. The gauntlet of defiance was now thrown down to the possessors of the German thrones, and it was scarcely to be expected they would fail to take it up. This it was that made Brentano and his friends tremble; they had called a meeting for the purpose of overthrowing the ministry and placing themselves at the rudder of the state, and instead of this they now found themselves at the head of a revolution, which even if successful, went far beyond anything they ever either wished or intended.

It now became evident, if indeed it had not been sufficiently so before, that the agitation was not intended for the purpose of obtaining the Frankfort constitution, as that had already been granted by the Grand-duke; but for the purpose of establishing a republic on socialist principles, which under the most favourable circumstances could only have extended to the neighbouring countries of Wirtemberg, Hesse and the Bavarian Palatinate, and which could not have existed a single day without foreign aid, which indeed the patriotic principles of the leading demagogues did not prevent them from looking for on the side of

France. This circumstance however, prevented the possibility of the movement being successful, as every German possessing a spark of patriotism, felt justly indignant at the men who to gratity their own personal ambition would dismember their native country, the "unity" of which had been one of the favorite themes in the democratic clubs.

At Carlsruhe, the government saw the danger which threatened them in its true light. In accordance with the resolution of the chambers they had caused the military and burgher guard to take the oath of fidelity to the Frankfort constitution; but they felt that they were on the eve of a struggle in which if help were not speedily afforded them, the country must become a prey to the most frightful anarchy. Messenger after messenger was dispatched to Frankfort, begging that at least a regiment of soldiers whose fidelity could be depended on, should be sent to their assistance; but at Frankfort affairs were already in a state which indicated that the hours of the central parliament were numbered, the ministry had resigned and only continued to fill their offices till their successors were appointed, and this only took place in the course of the ensuing week. Possibly the central government undervalued the danger to which that of Baden was exposed; but certain it is, that even this trifling assistance was refused.

The occurrence of numerous cases of insubordination in the garrison of Carlsruhe, shewed that the contagion had spread to the capital, and that the loosening of the bonds of discipline had become general throughout the army. At noon on the 18th. of May, a company of soldiers burnt their splatterdashes before the gates of the barracks; and on the evening of the same day two companies of the infantry of the guard, which had been removed from Bruchsal in consequence of the excesses of which they had been guilty, arrived by a most unfortunate accident in Carlsruhe, thus bringing the mutiny to the very gates of the palace. Staggering with drunkenness, and roaring a revolutionary song in praise of Hecker, the demoralized rout entered the city. They were received into the barracks, and it was hoped they would quietly sleep off their debauch; but soon a mob of suspicious characters, mostly strangers in Carlsruhe, supported by a part of the native rabble began to assemble about the building, encouraging the drunken and fatigued soldiers to come out and join them. These were soon seen rolling about the neighbourhood of the barracks mostly without their caps and only half armed, drinking at the various beer houses at the expense of their worthy associates. The appearance of the Colonel was the signal for a new tumult, loud complaints of his strictness were heard from many of the soldiers, and after being terribly ill treated, he escaped with difficulty from being murdered while Prince Frederic, the second son of the Grand-duke, who held the rank of Major in the regiment, after several useless attempts to restore order, only saved his life by leaping through a window. The soldiers now proceeded to the house of the colonel, where they amused themselves by destroying the windows and

furniture, till at length the cry of "To the armoury", gave a new direction to the tumult, and the crowd rolled off in the direction of that building. In the courtyard of the armoury stood a detachment of the burgher guard, a few soldiers, and lieutenant of artillery named Fessler; as the crowd approached the building, they found the way stopped by a party of dragoons, under the command of Captain Laroche. The mutineers fired a volley which killed the captain and a corporal, and wounded several others; and the rest consisting mostly of raw recruits, instantly retired. The rioters now held a parley with the party in possession of the arsenal, an artillery soldier acting as spokesman, in order to persuade them to yield possession of the building; but in vain. They then opened their fire against it, and the burgher guard gave them a volley in return. An exchange of shot now took place for upwards of two hours, which ended in the burgher guard retaining possession of the building. A new attack at midnight had no better result, and the burgher guard had the honour of protecting the military stores of the country against the mutinous soldiery; an act which has a very significant meaning, when it is considered that the burgher guard in Carlsruhe, were the first that expressed a wish to be sworn to support the Frankfort constitution.

Already in the evening, when the tumult was at the highest, it had become apparent that all signs of the existence either of a government or of military command had ceased to exist. The officers apparently terrified at the hatred expressed towards them both by the soldiers and the people, had for the most part abandoned their posts in despair, and many had laid aside their uniforms and left the city. It was indeed asserted that General Hoffmann had assembled the remainder of the dragoons at Gottesaue (a barrack near Carlsruhe) and in conjunction with the artillery would endeavour to clear the streets; but the dragoons he had assembled only amounted to forty men, and his communication with the artillery was cut off by the crowd in front of the armoury. In the meantime the Grand-duke had determined to abandon the city, and repair with his ministers by the railway to Manheim, at which place the garrison had remained faithful. A report that the railway had been destroyed by the people, prevented this being carried into execution, and he fled on foot at the dead of night into the forest called the Haardtwald, which commences at the back of the palace garden, and extends to the banks of the Rhine. Here he met with general Hoffmann who seeing it was impossible to restore order in the city, had followed the Duke with his dragoons and a battery of horse artillery. The Grand-duke seated himself on the tumbril of one of the guns, and the melancholy procession took the way to Germersheim.

On the morning of the 14th. of May, the inhabitants of Carlsruhe heard with astonishment and dismay of the flight of their sovereign. The Grand-duke has been much blamed for not at least awaiting the

events of another day, but it is probable that in the confusion of the moment he was unacquainted with the gallant stand made by the burgher guard, and supposing himself forsaken on all sides, preferred any course to remaining to be the puppet of a ministry forced upon him by an armed mob and his own mutinous soldiers. One disadvantageous effect of his flight was, that the burgher guard now lost courage, and fearing the arrival of armed multitudes from the country who might revenge their defence of the armoury, which had cost about a dozen rioters their lives, sent an express to the committee of the Volks-Verein at Rastadt, which now constituted the only semblance of a government existing in the country, entreating them to secure by their presence the security and peace of the capital.

On the afternoon of the same day, the committee made their public entrance into Carlsruhe, surrounded by bodies of armed volunteers and the rebellious soldiers of the Rastadt garrison. In the rural districts, care had been taken to spread the news of the catastrophe, and already on the evening of the Offenburg meeting, the orators who were returning to their homes addressed the people at the various railway stations, charging them to arm themselves, as the Prussians were advancing. This report, which the initiated knew how to take advantage of, had rapidly the intended effect of setting the whole country in an uproar. The rebellious soldiers many of whom had returned to their homes, soon spread the news of the revolution far and wide. The Volks-Verein had their agents in almost every village, who instantly took upon themselves to act as commissaries for the new government, which was consequently generally acknowledged, even in places the inhabitants of which had taken no part in the previous agitation. At Bruchsal the prison was broken open and the political and many other prisoners set at liberty, and at Heidelberg the burgher guard were compelled to make the most laughable expeditions in search of the supposed enemy. Alarm was the order of the day, and the towns throughout the duchy presented a completely revolutionary appearance. Every body was in arms and all peaceful occupations at a standstill. The lower classes full of insolence, the middle classes dejected, and the rebellious soldiers in their dirty and neglected uniforms were mixed with wild and picturesque looking groups of volunteers. The air meanwhile was filled with an incessant uproar, the shouts of the excited populace and the harangues of their leaders being drowned by the beating of drums and the ringing of alarm bells, which often continued for half a day together. Such was the picture presented by the most agitated parts of the country; others however escaped this excitement altogether, and these were precisely the districts which had been the scene of Struve's exploits in the preceeding year.

The dissolution of the army now took place rapidly. After Rastadt had been lost and the garrison of Carlsruhe had dispersed itself,

mutiny soon spread to the troops in the other parts of the country. Many departed to their homes, the majority placed themselves at the disposal of the committee, who promised them less labour, higher pay, and the free choice of their officers; and a few followed General Gayling, who led them through the Höllenthal towards the frontier of Wirtemberg, which they however refused to cross. A party of dragoons which were induced to attempt it, suffered themselves to be driven back by the peasants with stones. In all these circumstances, the army of Baden shewed itself to be utterly wanting in military spirit; a fatiguing march or a hindrance of the most trifling nature, was sufficient to break the discipline of the best of them. One of the worst features of their conduct was the shameful ill treatment to which the officers were subjected, this was especially shown at Kehl, where an excellent officer, captain Von Fick, was treated in such an infamous manner that unable to endure the disgrace, he destroyed himself with a pistol. Several French officers whom curiosity had led to visit Kehl and from whom these wretches probably expected commendation, could not refrain from expressing aloud their contempt and disgust for such a horde of barbarians.

Thus from Bruchsal to the frontier of Switzerland there no longer remained any troops that continued faithful to their sovereign, and in the lower part of the country the revolution extended itself with equal rapidity. The only soldiers who continued firm to their duty were a part of the second dragoon regiment which had been dispatched to Landau, and who persisted in their fidelity during a blockade of six weeks. The remainder of the garrison of Carlsruhe which had accompanied the Grand-duke, and to which several other detachments had joined themselves, arrived on the 14th. of May in sight of Germersheim; but the governor thinking it unadvisable to admit these partially demoralised troops, only opened his gates to the Ducal family. These betook themselves to Lautenburg, to which place a crowd of fugitive officials, including the ministers, had already repaired. The troops under general Hoffmann, meanwhile took their way across the mountains to Einsheim. Parties of burgher soldiers from Manheim, Heidelberg, etc. made a show of pursuing them; but were probably not very earnest in their intentions, as they took especial care to keep out of the range of the guns. After a march of fifteen hours, these troops arrived on the 16th. weary and hungry, at Furfeld and Bonnfeld, two small villages on the territory of Wirtemberg. With great difficulty they obtained quarters for the night, and a portion of them were compelled to bivouac in the open air. This circumstance and the fact that their arrival caused all the democrats to fly to arms, seems to have completely dispirited the soldiers, and the suicide of one of the officers, who shot himself from despair, made them think their position more desperate than was really the case. The revolutionists in Einsheim and its vicinity had not ventured to oppose their passage; but they rang

the alarm bells and called all the burgher soldiers of the neighbourhood together; and a party of the revolted military having joined them, they followed them into Wirtemberg, where they had fancied themselves secure, and surprised them in the night. Worn out with fatigue and want of food, any serious resistance was out of the question; the greater part of the soldiers dispersed themselves, the officers fled or were made prisoners, and the remainder of the soldiers with the cannon were escorted back into the territory of Baden. The officers who fell into the hands of the insurgents were cruelly maltreated, and would probably have been murdered, had not a party of the fire-watch from Heilbronn taken them under their protection, and escorted them to that town.

The committee of the Volks-Verein had thus no enemies to contend with within the duchy of Baden; but the position of the leaders was nevertheless far from an enviable one. We have already stated that Brentano and the chiefs of his party had by no means intended to go so far as they been compelled to do by the force of circumstances; and they had sense enough to perceive that unless the insurrection extended to the whole of southern Germany, their cause was a lost one. Many of the more cautious demagogues such as Itzstein, therefore withdrew from taking any part in the new government, and indeed sounded the feelings of the citizens of Carlsruhe, to see if it were not possible to get up a new movement in behalf of the Frankfort constitution and the appointment of a new provisional government. But the Mayor of the city, a man of liberal opinions but decided character, refused to take any part in these intrigues, he indeed put himself in communication with the committee of the Volks-Verein; but farther than this he could not and would not go. When the committee entered Carlsruhe on the 14th. of May, they found about two millions and a half of Florins in the public treasury; from the army no resistance was to be apprehended, and most of the civil officials showed themselves inclined to adopt a course of passive obedience to the only semblance of a government in existence. The ministers indeed remained part of the day in Carlsruhe, but found it impossible to save any of the public money, and they then retired to Lautenburg, from whence they published a proclamation, stating that in consequence of the late events they had advised the Grand-duke to remove to Frankfort, as the seat of the central government, and cautioning all classes of persons to preserve their fidelity to the legal sovereign and constitution.

Although the committee of the Volks-Verein was now in fact the only government existing in the country, it already bore within itself the seeds of weakness and dissolution. It was impossible that a body composed for the most part of needy adventurers alike without character or experience, and whose whole stock of ability consisted in a certain glibness of tongue acquired by practice in the democratic clubs, could long continue to govern even under the most favourable circum-

stances. Not a single member of the committee possessed the confidence or respect of the more reflecting part of the community, and Brentano who felt this, endeavoured from the moment of his arrival in Carlsruhe, to flatter the citizens and officials in a manner which afforded a striking contrast to the wild revolutionary speeches he had been in the habit of uttering. The want of ability with which he reproached his party in his farewell address, was evident from the first day of their assuming the reins of government, and in order that the machine might not stop, it was necessary to secure the services of the old officials at any price, and even when these refused to swear fidelity to the new rulers, he still permitted them to retain their situations, rather than expose the incapacity of his party to the world. His position was indeed pitiable. He had by exciting mutiny among the troops and the calling together revolutionary meetings, driven away the sovereign in whose name it was his whole and sole ambition to govern.

To recall the grand-duke was however impossible; the presumptous yet incapable men by whom he was surrounded really believed in the possibility of a Baden republic and would have denounced any attempt to enter into negociations with the sovereign, as an act of treason to the people. Adventurers from every country in Europe were already crowding to the standard of the red republic, while Struve with his volunteers, Willich with his corps of desperadoes, Heinzen, Becker, Tzschirner and others, urged him to measures of what they were pleased to call revolutionary energy. Struve, Blind, Bornstein and a writer named Oppenheim, were the supporters of this course of policy, and from the beginning formed an opposition to Brentano. The constitutional press was silenced, but the more violent part of the radical newspapers soon began to blame the new government not less loudly than they had done the old. Brentano was between two fires. Hated by the moderate party, and attacked as a disciple of reaction by the more violent democrats, he found it impossible to originate any measures not bearing the evident marks of weakness, and a desire to conciliate all parties. He indeed opposed the wishes of the more violent democrats, and wisely, as any attempt to establish Struve's favorite idea of a social republic would have caused the fragile structure to fall to pieces ere it was three days old.

The army, which had deserted its sovereign, was the main obstacle to the wishes of the red republicans. When the first intoxication had past, repentance for the step they had taken soon followed, especially with those regiments which had not taken part in the mutiny from the first. The utter want of order and discipline which was apparent from the beginning in the "army of the people", was distasteful to all good soldiers, such expressions as: "If the Grand-duke were only once back", or: "If we had only our old officers again!" were of frequent occurrence; and the discontent and sorrow which filled their minds,

found vent in expressions of hatred and contempt for all the supporters of the red republic, especially Struve and his wife. Another source of discontent was, that the promises by which they had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance, had never been fulfilled, except inasmuch as all discipline and obedience had ceased to exist. The new officers who had been elected by the soldiers, were for the most part men who instead of being able to enforce obedience, were ridiculed for the want of the first elements of the knowledge necessary to their position. Hours sometimes elapsed before a regiment could be properly placed on parade, and under these circumstances it is not wonderful that when the officers ordered the men forwards, they took a contrary direction, and replied to the remonstrances of their former comrades with ridicule and abuse. In vain the new government sought to remedy this state of affairs by proclamations, or to impress on men whom they had taught to look on the discipline necessary to the existence of an army as tyranny, that "obediance is the first duty of a soldier."

All these circumstances tended to make the army a very doubtful ally of the new government, the soldiers turned the lessons of insubordination they had learned from the agitators against themselves, and threatened the provisional government with the same weapons which they had made use of to overthow the legitimate one. Thus, on the 21st. of May the garrison of Carlsruhe was already in a state of mutiny because the money promised them for deserting their sovereign had not been paid, and the government were forced to send for parties of armed volunteers in the middle of the night, in order to be secure themselves from the violence of the soldiery. A few days later they were compelled to send off a detachment of artillery in all haste, as the only means of preventing an open conflict in the streets of the city; and at Heidelberg, Brentano only succeeded with difficulty in appeasing the garrison, which openly demanded the recal of the Grand-duke. A bad understanding also soon became apparent between the volunteers and the military, and as the latter had formerly annoyed the legitimate government by singing the "Heckerlied", so they now appeared to delight in terrifying its successors by drinking the health of the Grand-duke. The cavalry in particular made no secret of their opinions, openly declaring they world rather fight against the provisional government than for it.

No sooner was the committee of the Volks-Verein installed as a provisional government at Carlsruhe, than it hastened to appoint an "executive commission" consisting of Brentano, Peter, Eichfeld and Goegg, and both the committee and the executive commission began their career with a number of proclamations, which were sufficiently characteristic of the party from which they emanated. They were at once weak in style and violent in expression, utterly deficient in the energy which characterizes those of the leaders of the first French

revolution, at which they were bad imitations; and they were stuffed to repletion with the miserable bombast which passed for eloquence at the democratic clubs. Their official newspaper the "Carlsruher Zeitung", edited first by Blind and afterwards by Oppenheim, contained articles which mere childish copies of the French press in the worst days of the reign of terror, having all the coarseness of Marat and Hébert, without the energy of fanaticism. All these men together would not have made a Danton, whose part each was nevertheless ambitious of playing.

The first acts of the government were to depose the fugitive ministry, to dissolve the chambers and call together a "Constituent Assembly" by virtue of an electoral law of their own making; to recall "Citizen Hecker" from America, to declare the press free from all restrictions, and the land free from all burdens. In addition to this a general arming of the people was decreed, and the first levy consisting of all single men from 18 to 30 years of age, was ordered to instantly place itself at the disposal of the government.

Civil and military commissaries appointed from the more active members of the clubs, ruled the smaller towns and villages in the meantime at their pleasure. all the magistrates and officials of the late government were deposed, and their places filled by persons whose only fitness for the offices arose from their political creed. The commissaries in particular seem to have had an extremely agreeable office, they generally established themselves at an inn where they held open table for the good of the country, and "requisitions" for a certain number of bottles of "good wine" and boxes of "good cigars", are among the most numerous of the documents left behind by these officials of the provisional government.

In the meantime the central parliament at Frankfort had come to an end, the attempt of a part of that body (called contemptuously the rump) to excite an insurrection in Wirtemberg failed, and the rest of Germany with the exception of the Bavarian Palatinate, showed no inclination to follow the example of Baden. Blind and Didier were dispatched to Paris to solicit aid from the French republic; but failed in producing any sympathy for their cause either in the government or the nation. Nevertheless the story that 100,000 French soldiers were on their march, was constantly repeated by the official organs of the provisional government, and firmly believed by the majority of the people. According to the same veracious authority, the Prussian army was in a state of mutiny, an insurrection had broken out in Hesse, and a new revolution had taken place in France. Brentano himself did not hesitate to assert the last circumstance in an open assembly, at a moment when he must have known the intelligence to be untrue.

The Grand-duke had in the mean while repaired to Frankfort, where his ministers had assembled, and in the last days of May had come to an understanding with the government of Prussia, by which

that power agreed to replace him on his throne, on condition of his dismissing his ministry and uniting himself to the alliance which had been formed between Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover. The Grand-duke accordingly dismissed his ministers on the 4th. of June, and repaired to Ehrenbreitstein, where he called around him the chiefs of the conservative party, whose policy was more agreeable to Prussia than that of his late advisers.

The time occupied by the negociations with Prussia gave the revolutionary government a short respite; but this did not materially improve its position. No foreign aid was to be procured, and the rising in Baden itself was by no means so general as had been expected. Some districts indeed sent forth bodies of real volunteers, which truly believed they were fighting for the cause of German freedom and unity; but in most cases the levy of soldiers ordered by the government, could only be obtained by threats of military execution. Nevertheless a large number of men were collected in arms; but by far the greater number were but ill fitted to oppose regular soldiers in the field. The pause which ensued before any of the German governments assumed a hostile attitude towards the provisional government determined them to adopt the offensive, and on the 30th. of May, a force consisting of several regiments of infantry, some cavalry and artillery, and a host of volunteers, crossed the frontier of Hesse for the purpose of revolutionizing that state. This force advanced to Heppenheim, where a corps of Hessians was stationed, and arrived within gunshot of its position without being discovered. The resistance was however not less lively on that account. A battalion of infantry, supported by some cavalry and artillery, charged the enemy in spite of his vast superiority in point of numbers, and drove him back in great confusion to Lautenbach, the first village in Baden, then to Heinbach, where he attempted to rally, but was again forced to retire.

The moral influence of this trifling action was of great importance. The Wirtembergers and Nassauers which belonged to the same corps were of very doubtful fidelity, but the example of the Hessians confirmed their wavering faith, and awoke a feeling of emulation among them. The Hessians from this moment, perhaps undervalued the courage of the republicans, who fled in wild confusion to Heidelberg, where they spread such a panic, that eye-witnesses have asserted that a single battalion might have taken possession of the place. The soldiers were terribly embittered against their commander, to whose incapacity they ascribed their defeat, and no sooner had they returned than they broke into open mutiny, loudly demanding the recall of the Grand-duke. Brentano hurried to the spot and with difficulty succeeded in restoring order, by removing the obnoxious officer from his command and promising to form a new government in place of the committee of the Volks-verein. Accordingly on the following day that body resigned its

office, and the names of Fickler and Sigel were added to those of the former triumvirate. Thus, the first attempt at an armed propaganda ended in the overthrow of the committee; nor was a second attempt directed against the neighbouring kingdom of Wirtemberg more successful. Fickler who had repaired to Stuttgard with a large sum of money for the purpose of corrupting the troops, having been arrested in that city on the 2nd. of June. This act of the government of Wirtemberg made a great sensation in Carlsruhe, and the pompous proclamations which Brentano issued to the Wirtembergers calling on them to arise "as one man" against „the crowned rebels", produced no effect.

Affairs at home were in the meantime not more florishing than those abroad. The last events had given courage to the ultra democratic party, which wished to establish what they called an "energetic revolutionary terrorism". A "club of decided progress" was formed at Carlsruhe, at the head of which was Struve, Tzschirner, Becker and Martini. The main support of this club was the so called Swiss legion, consisting of desperate adventurers from every land, whose only hope lay in the establishment of a social republic and the reign of terror which would naturally attend it. Brentano attempted to get rid of this troop by ordering their commanders Becker and the old fantastic adventurer Bonning, to repair with their men to the Hessian frontier. They refused to obey these orders, and on the 6th. of June the provisional government called out the burgher guard and cleared the streets. Every thing sermed to indicate a battle between the two parties. The burgher guard which was terribly embittered, placed itself before the palace with its well appointed artillery loaded with shrapnel shells, while the legion took post opposite them. Struve's appearance and peaceful assurances procured peace for the moment, and both parties withdrew; but in the meantime the government had summoned troops from Rastadt, and Becker having again refused to march and the club having assembled in the Townhall, Brentano caused Struve, Becker, and several of their associates to be arrested. The soldiers and burgher guard seemed now only to await the signal for the contest; while the prisoners who were threatened with death by their captors, displayed neither the dignity of patriots nor the courage of men. Peter who acted as mediator between the parties, at length induced the legion to march, and the provisional government on their side consented to set the prisoners at liberty. Struve who believed himself to be in personal danger, was escorted by Brentano through the ranks of the enraged soldiery to the railway, and the affair ended with many hypocritical expressions of friendship on both sides.

The constituent assembly met on the 10th. of June. The election of the members had taken place under the guidance of the numerous commissaries civil and military appointed by the government, the more respectable classes holding themselves carefully aloof, and on the average less than one third of the voters made use of their privilege.

The 76 government candidates were therefore chosen almost without opposition, and a more singular legislative assembly than they formed when fairly brought together, probably never existed. It consisted of a motley hodge-podge of schoolmasters, physicians, lawyers and divines, among whom it would be hard to point out a single individual whose talents soared above mediocrity. The utter incapacity they displayed to conduct or even understand public business, the negligence they shewed in attending the sittings, the rude and tumultuous manner in which the debates were conducted, and the uproar of their partizans in the galleries, formed a picture which consoled the constitutional party for their defeat, and mortified and surprised their own leaders.

Meanwhile the storm from without was rapidly thickening, the troops of Prussia and several other states of the German confederation were assembling in overwhelming masses on the frontiers, and it was plain that the respite they had hitherto enjoyed was at an end. One member who seems to have had sense enough to perceive the hopelessness of the approaching contest, proposed to avoid it by recalling the Grand-duke. This proposal was received with cries of rage and contempt by the great majority of the assembly, and one of the orators declared that the only motive there could be for the recal of the Grand-duke, was that they might have an opportunity of bringing him to trial as a traitor. Some form of government must however be chosen, and the assembly selected that of a triumvirate, Brentano, Werner and Goegg, being appointed triumvirs.

While the assembly at Carlsruhe were settling the third form of government which had existed in Baden within four weeks, the time had come when the gage of defiance so madly hurled in the faces of the sovereigns of Germany should be taken up in earnest. Since the miscarriage of the attack on Heppenheim, the troops of the German confederation had remained inactive with the exception of an attack on Weinheim (June 5th.), in which the revolutionary forces were driven across the Neckar with some loss, and the population of the place disarmed. But the circle round Baden was drawn closer every day, and on the 13th. of June, General Peuckner who commanded a corps of Hessians and Mecklenburgers to which a Prussian regiment and some troops from Bavaria and Nassau had been united, fixed his head-quarters at Zwingenberg and announced by an order of the day the opening of the campaign. On the same day Prussian divisions had entered the northern and western parts of the Palatinate, while a third corps advancing from Wetzlar had already pushed its advanced posts to the banks of the Main. On the side of Baden some important changes had also taken place. The leaders of the army whose incapacity had become apparent, were removed, and the Polish adventurer Mieroslawsky had been appointed commander in chief. He arrived at Carlsruhe on the 9th. of June, where he examined the military stores, and on the 13th. repaired to Heidelberg, where he reviewed a great part of the army.

Opinions are divided with respect to his military talents; but it is certain he brought more knowledge and capacity to the task he had undertaken, than was possessed by the former leaders. He at least succeeded in partly restoring order and discipline, and inspiring the dispirited troops with confidence in their commander. Some other Polish officers who accompanied him, were also found more useful than the former leaders of the volunteers, and it was owing to their exertions that the greater part of the troops behaved creditably in the field, and the same men who fled in wild confusion at Heppenheim, conducted themselves in the later actions as brave soldiers.

On the 15th. of June the first engagement took place on the line of the Neckar. It consisted rather of a number of skirmishes than a regular action, and ended in the repulse of the army of Baden at Käferthal, and also at Weinheim on the opposite wing. In the centre the Mecklenburger colonel Witzleben, pressed forward indiscreetly with but a small force upon Ladenburg, took the place and attempted to force the bridge; but was attacked in his turn by an overwhelming force, and compelled to retire with a considerable loss in killed and wounded, and the Prussian major Hindersin who had mounted the church tower to observe the enemy, was taken prisoner. In the evening the troops of the confederation took up their quarters about an hour's march from the Neckar, those of Peuckner being at Weinheim.

While this engagement was taking place on the Neckar, the Prussians had advanced along the left bank of the Rhine to Ludwigshafen, a town opposite Mannheim. Here they drove out the Badenese who were in possession of the place, and compelled them to retire under a heavy fire across the bridge to Mannheim. The latter set the bridge on fire to prevent the pursuit of the Prussians, and commenced bombarding Ludwigshafen from the opposite bank of the river. In spite of all the remonstrances of the citizens, they persisted in this useless piece of cruelty, which nevertheless did not prevent the Prussians from occupying the place and sending a few shells in return into Mannheim.

On the 16th. of June, Mieroslawsky attacked the German troops with his whole force near Lautenhauser, and an action of some hours duration took place near the village of Gross-sachsen, which was taken and retaken several times. It ended in the retreat of Mieroslawsky, and on the following day the whole of Peuckners's corps was concencentrated in this neighbourhood. In these actions the troops on both sides fought bravely, and it was evident the Badenese were commanded by men who understood their business. A considerable number of prisoners were made on both sides, and several parties of Baden dragoons deserted to the other side. Any important results on either side were not to be expected, as the only object of Peuckner was to engage the attention and reconnoitre the position of the enemy.

The increase of confidence which the troops had acquired in their leader, was the only advantage which the revolutionary cause gained

by the conflicts of the 15th. and 16th. of June. The boastful bulletins, the accounts published of a great victory, and the illumination which took place at Heidelberg by the command of Mieroslawsky, were at once ridiculous and impolitic, as the falsehoods they asserted or implied must inevitably be dissipated in a few days; and while the people were amused with the accounts of imaginary victories, the toils were being drawn hourly closer around the revolutionary army. Already on the 15th. of June the Prussians had occupied Kaiserslautern, and put to flight the revolutionary government which had been established in the Palatinate. On the morning of the 20th. the Prussian corps of General Hirschfeld had crossed the Rhine without meeting any opposition of consequence, the day previous the corps of Peuckner had taken its way through the Odenwald to the upper Neckar, and after a short but bloody engagement crossed the river at Zwingenberg; while the Prussian corps of General Vandergroben had advanced to supply its place at Weinheim. Mieroslawsky now saw he was on the point of being surrounded, a corps confronted him on the Neckar, and two others threatened him on flank and rear. He therefore determined to attack Hirschfeld's corps, and for this purpose caused his whole disposable force (estimated at from 12 to 15,000 men) to be conveyed by railway to Langenbrücken.

In consequence of this movement an action took place on the 20th. at Waghausel, where Mieroslawsky fell with his whole force on a part of Hirschfeld's corps, consisting of only four battalions of infantry and half a battery of artillery. The Badenese with the exception of a part of the cavalry and burgher guard, which showed a great repugnance to approach the enemy, fought well, and the Prussians were driven back upon Philippsburg, where they were joined by another division and the action was renewed with great fury; but other succours having arrived to the assistance of the Prussians, the Badenese were completely routed and fled in great confusion partly towards Wiesloch, and partly in the direction of Heidelberg; where bulletins announcing a splendid victory were circulated, at the moment the transports of wounded, and crowds of fugitives were entering the town.

Struve, who since the scene of the 6th. of June, had been wandering about with the Swiss legion in the Palatinate, and now happened to be at head-quarters, was the author of this impudent falsehood; and to such an extent had lying become the order of the day, that the first parties of fugitives did not fail to report that the Prussians were in full retreat and that several battalions of Landwehr had gone over to the revolutionists. Their appearance, and the symptoms of disorder and confusion apparent in their ranks, convicted them at once of falsehood, and it soon became known that all was lost. Mieroslawsky and Schlöffel, the chief military commissary (whose son had fallen in the action), now entered the town, and the despair and demoralization of the troops reached the highest point.

In the meantime however, the Prussians did not urge the pursuit with so much energy as might have been expected, and Groben's corps the advanced posts of which were at no great distance from Heidelberg, on the other side of the Neckar, did not arrive in time, so that the fugitives in that city were saved from the apparently inevitable fate of being made prisoners. Mierowslawsky had therefore time to assemble his people and march up the valley of the Neckar. Schlöffel, who perceived that the last days of his authority were at hand accompanied him, as did Struve and his wife. On the 23rd. of June, at daybreak, a shell which flew over the city announced the arrival of the Prussians, and as the fire was not returned, the place was speedily occupied by part of Groben's corps. At Manheim the catastrophe had arrived with even more rapidity. On the 17th. Mieroslawsky had proclaimed martial law and declared his intention of defending it to the last; but on the 22nd. as the news arrived of the defeat of the revolutionists at Waghäusel, the burgher-guard in conjunction with a part of the dragoons who made no secret of their sympathy with the constitutional party, disarmed a part of the revolutionists, arrested the civil commissary Trützschler and surrendered the city to the Prussians.

The revolution had now received its death blow, and the only thing to be considered was the chance of escape. The band which Mieroslawsky led from Heidelberg on the 22nd. of June, took the road to Sinsheim, to which place several other divisions had previously proceeded. The revolutionary army (which eye witnesses have estimated perhaps too highly, at 20,000 men), occupied the whole day in marching through the town, and still had a large quantity of cannon, baggage, and military stores in its possession. Peucker's corps which had made a forced march through the Oberwald, arrived too late to intercept them, and Mieroslawsky was thus permitted to escape between the Prussians and the Neckar corps, in order to appear again in the neighhourhood of Bruchsal. Here, between the villages of Ubstedt and Stattfeld, a sharp engagement took place on the 24th. of June, as also near Durlach. In these actions no decided advantage was obtained on either side; but the affair was already virtually at an end, and the most splendid victory on the part of the insurgents could only have had the effect of prolonging the struggle, without affecting in any degree its ultimate result. On the afternoon of the 25th. the Prussians entered Carlsruhe, and the insurgent army, which together with the bands of volunteers and the succours which had arrived on the previous day from the Rhenish Palatinate, still formed a numerous body, withdrew behind the line of the Murg.

The provisional government and the constituent assembly, had in the meantime taken to flight. Neither one nor the other being capable of affording the slightest support to the falling cause. Dictator Werner, the minister of War, swaggered about the camp, giving himself the airs of a great man without being able to afford the slightest assistance

to the wretched dupes who were daily bleeding in what they believed to be the cause of liberty. Florian Mördes a young man of moderate ability, great volubility, and still greater assumption, was appointed minister of the interior, and was on the whole an admirable specimen of the party which had seized on the reins of government in Baden. Heunisch, an advocate of doubtful integrity, was intrusted with the department of finance. Well may Brentano complain in the pamphlet he has since published: "I stood alone and forsaken in Carlsruhe, during the last fearful days; while the representatives of the people, trembling for their lives and personal security, for the most part dared not to sleep in the city, I was pressed upon on all sides and made answerable for everything; while my fellow dictators played the easy part of heroes at the head of the army. On my part, as can be proved by numerous witnesses, no necessary labour was too insignificant; but I can point to many who avoided the posts of danger under the pretence that the services required were "unworthy" of their talents, and who hastened to join those who lived far from peril at the cost of the state." The feebleness of the whole structure became now strikingly apparent; the Gendarmes who had been dismissed, assembled at Carlsruhe, and the so-called government, trembled at the presence of a few scores of thief-takers. The opposition to the measures of the provisional government, which had always been offered in various parts of the country, now increased, as reports of the defeats of the army became circulated, and even in Carlsruhe, the military and volunteers found themselves unable to disarm the burgher-guard. Yet the government continued their absurd boastings to the end of the chapter, and the Prussians and Bavarians were alternately annihilated in the official journals. On the 23rd. of June, the government and the few members of the chambers that remained together, removed to Offenburg, but finding they had not bettered their position, continued their flight to Freiburg, where they finally dissolved themselves. The dictators had taken to flight in the meantime, not forgetting in their haste the public money and state securities. During the short stay of the constituent assembly at Offenburg, Struve appeared among them and openly renewed his opposition to Brentano. On the 28th. of June, the assembly again met at Freiburg, where Struve brought forward a motion declaring any person who entered into negociations with the enemy, a traitor to his country. In vain Brentano opposed this senseless measure, it was carried by 28 voices against 15, and the latter instantly resigned his office and determined on flight. Early on the morning of the 29th. he proceeded in company with Ziegler and Thiebauth across the frontier. The constituent assembly hereupon declared him to be a traitor, and chose in his stead Kiefer, one of the worst characters which the ferment of the revolution had thrown upon the surface of society. Brentano answered this decree in a pamphlet from his place of refuge in Switzerland, in which he exposed the party with which he had acted,

with merciless severity. In the meantime however, that party had ceased to exist, and within forty-eight hours after they had declared him a traitor on account of his flight, they had followed his example and also sought refuge in Switzerland.

The struggle now approached its termination. The defence of the line of the Murg was no longer tenable. While the Prussians attacked it in front, Peuckner with the Neckar corps had arrived in the valley of the Murg, and threatened it in the rear. But here again the forces of the confederation failed to cut of the retreat of the Badenese. Mierowslawsky was enabled to secure the road to Switzerland perceiving all farther resistance useless, gave up the command, and Rastadt was now completely invested. On the 2nd. of July, Hirschfeld's corps occupied Offenburg, on the 3rd. Kehl, on the 7th. it entered Freiburg, and on the 11th. Lörrach the last town of importance on the Swiss frontier received a Prussian garrison. On the same day Sigel with the last corps of the insurgents entered Switzerland, all the rest having already preceeded him. At this moment Hecker arrived in France, to find that the hopes which had induced him to leave his home in America, were already at an end.

In the meantime Rastadt was closely blockaded. The wiser portion of the insurgents had avoided the trap; but the vain swaggerer Tiedemann, Biedenfeld, and the foolish old enthusiast Bönning, were the leaders of those who allowed themselves to be shut up in the fortress. These consisted of a part of the troops that commenced the mutiny in the first instance, numerous Poles, Swiss, and other foreign adventures, and a part of the volunteers. To describe the state of the city and the sufferings of its inhabitants from the commencement of the blockade to the surrender of the fortress, would far exceed our present limits. Suffice to say, that the whole of the citizens both innocent and guilty, were exposed to the worst license of a desperate soldiery, from among whom all bonds of order and discipline had long since vanished, who were in a constant state of drunkenness, and the majority of whom were covered with filth and vermin, and the prey of the most loathsome diseases. Such is a faint sketch of the garrison which was held up by the democratic journals as an example to the German armies. Noi were still more horrible atrocities wanting to complete the picture, two murders at least, were perpetrated in the open face of day, one on the person of a supposed spy, and the other on an innocent French teacher named Weil; and as a proof of the utter want of discipline which existed, it must be remarked that the last took place while Mieroslawsky and Sigel were still present.

On the 23rd. of July, the garrison of Rastadt laid down their arms unconditionally, exactly ten weeks after the committee of the Volks-Verein entered its walls to assume the functions of a provisional government, and four weeks after the appearance of the Prussians on the Rhine and Neckar. The leaders with many of the more prominent

of their supporters, were executed by sentence of a court-martial which was established in Rastadt immediately after its surrender; many others were condemned to imprisonment for various periods, and the remainder after a confinement of some months, during which their numbers were thinned by the Cholera and a malignant fever, which prevailed at once within the walls, were admitted to the benefit of an amnesty.

We here close our account of the most remarkable episode in the German revolution. A prosperous and happy state has been reduced to the verge of ruin, while the greater part of its inhabitants have been inoculated with the sentiments of a political creed the dogmas of which are as atrocious as they are impracticable, and the adoption of which, shews but too clearly that the population of Baden are incapable of appreciating the blessings of rational freedom. But it must be remembered that the people who thus became the dupes of a cabal of interested and incapable demagogues, have been educated under the old system of German policy, and that such would have been impossible to any people in which the first germs of political knowledge had not been carefully and systematically eradicated by the government.

May the other governments of Germany take warning by the example, and learn in time that the freedom of the people is the surest palladium of the throne. For it does not require the gift of prophesy to foresee, that should they persist in returning to the system which prevailed previous to March 1848, new convulsions will arise of a more extensive character than that which lately agitated Baden, and posterity will pronounce that the German dynasties like that of the Bourbons, were alike incapable of learning or forgetting.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY 1848.

THE REFORM BANQUETS.

The parliamentary session of 1847 had ended in an unusually stormy manner. In vain had the opposition protested against the system of corruption introduced by the ministry; as long as the argument was confined to words, the conservative party were certain of victory. They answered the dark pictures drawn by their opponents of the corruption that pervaded every department of the government, by white ballot balls, and the ministry were triumphant in every division. At the end of the session, it occurred to some of the opposition, that the agitation might be carried on with advantage without the walls of the chambers, and for this purpose it was determined to hold reform banquets throughout France, commencing with one on a colossal scale at the Château Rouge, in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris.

The idea of these banquets does not appear to have arisen from any deeply laid scheme to subvert the existing government, but on the contrary to have been merely adopted as a means of appeal from the "tyrant majority" of the chambers, to the sense of the nation. The idea however produced an effect which its originators in all probability never calculated upon. The nation became agitated without being aware from what cause the agitation arose, and the cry for reform became universal, without the masses having any clear idea of the meaning of the word. Had Louis-Philippe and his ministers permitted the storm to take its course, it would in all probability have soon exhausted itself; but they saw in the proceeding only a miserable intrigue on the part of the defeated opposition, and an impotent attempt at revolution on the part of the republican faction. Their view of the case was not altogether wrong; but their misfortune was that they did not perceive the whole extent of the danger.

At first they professed to laugh at the whole proceeding, and their hired organ the *Journal des débats*, turned the whole affair into ridicule. They then became angry, and their anger found vent in threats and abuse. The king shewed himself more than usually obstinate on

this occasion; as in addition to the dangerous excitement produced by these banquets, he probably found himself to a certain extent personally aggrieved. In most cases the toast of "The King", had been purposely omitted, and in the few instances in which it was given, it was either received in dead silence, or drowned in the chorus of the Marseillaise. To the timid remonstrances of his ministers he opposed an iron obstinacy, which could only be equalled by that with which they clung to the sweets of office. "Is it for me to give you courage?" cried the king to his counsellors; "do you think it so easy to overthrow a throne, the foundations of which have cost us seventeen years of labour?" No, believe me the cabals of these ambitious demagogues and crack-brained orators, will be shattered against the firm front we will present to them." It was at the express command of Lonis Philippe, that the threatening paragraph was inserted in the speech from the throne with which the session of 1848 was opened, and which called forth such violent recriminations between the ministry and their opponents, and led to such violent philippics on the part of the opposition.

This paragraph was to the following effect: "The farther I advance in life, the more zealously I dedicate the strength and energy which God has given and still grants to me, to the service of France, and the protection of its interests, its dignity and its welfare. With regard to the agitation which may be called forth by *malevolent or blind passions*, I am animated and strengthened by the conviction that we possess in a constitutional monarchy, the means of removing all hindranced, and of acquitting ourselves of our duty towards our native land." The commission appointed to draw up an answer to the speech from the throne, confined itself as usual to producing a mere echo to that address, and the sense of the objectionable passage was repeated in the reply, in nearly the same words*).

This passage was adopted by the chamber after a debate which lasted ten days, by 223 voices against 28, the great body of the opposition having refrained from voting. The ministry were thus saved from defeat, but the strife was transferred from the chamber to a more extensive field. The opposition members at first appeared inclined to take leave of Paris in a body, in order to spread the agitation in the provinces; but were induced to abandon this idea until the legality of their proceedings in this respect should be ascertained. As M. Duchatel, the minister of the interior, had declared in the course of the debate on the address, that it was the intention of the government to forbid all Reform banquets for the future, by virtue of a law passed in 1790, the opposition resolved to make an earnest but peaceable

*) The words in the king's speech were: "*Au milieu de l'agitation que formentent des passions ennemies ou aveugles une conviction m' anime*" etc. Those of the address: "*Les agitations que soulèvent des passions ennemies au des entrainements aveugles tomberont devant*" etc.

resistance to this proceeding. The election committee of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris announced a Reform banquet, and when this was forbidden by the Commissary of police, declared their intention of holding it in spite of this prohibition. They accordingly sent invitations to the whole of the opposition members, and 92 deputies signed their names to a letter pledging themselves to attend.

This intelligence set all Paris in a ferment: an unparalleled agitation became visible among all classes of the community, especially in the quarter of the university. Rumour after rumour was circulated through the city, each surpassing the other in absurdity. Now the king was said to have become childish, now mad; troops were reported to be marching on Paris from all sides, and the fortifications to be mounted with cannon for the purpose of firing on the city. An universal feeling of oppression and anxiety possessed every mind, and every man gazed fearfully around him in momentary expectation that the threatened storm would burst forth. In the meantime the committee for conducting the banquet proceeded quietly with their preparations. Ten thousand National guards had volunteered their services to preserve order at the banquet, and the committee had accepted them, on condition they appeared without arms; and the students of the public schools had also determined to take part in the demonstration. On Monday (February 21st.), a kind of order of the day appeared in all the opposition journals, stating the time and manner in which the procession was to take place. The guests were to assemble in the Place de la Magdaleine and proceed from thence between a double row of National guards, through the Rue Royale, over the Place de la Concorde and the Elysian fields to Chaillot, where the banquet was to take place under an immense tent.

The ministry had at first assumed a neutral position. They would make no attempt to prevent the banquet by force; but would confine themselves to causing the purposed infraction of the law to be attested by a commissary of police, in order to take ulterior proceedings against the parties concerned. The opposition had accepted this compromise, and determined that the guests should remain till they were ordered to depart in the name of the law, to obey this order under a protest, and then to bring the question before the public tribunals. But after the publication of the above mentioned order of the day, which indeed could only be considered in the light of a defiance, the ministry changed their tactics, and resolved to forbid the banquet altogether, on the ground of an illegal calling together of the students and the National guard; and caused placards containing a prohibition of the proposed demonstration, to be posted throughout Paris. On the same day, the ministry in reply to a question by Odilon Barrot, declared their intention to the chamber, and the majority of the opposition now resolved to abandon the idea of the banquet, and have recourse to an act of impeachment against the ministry, for exceeding

their constitutional powers. Out of 90 opposition members who were present, only 21, including the three peers De Boissy, Harcourt, and Alton-Shee, voted for persisting in holding the banquet. Lamartine however, declared his determination of attending it, even if he should go alone, "with his shadow behind him", and the rest of the minority announced their resolve to accompany him. The election committee of the second arrondissement, published an address, in which they called upon the whole of the opposition to resign their seats, as affording as the only means of enabling the public to express their opinion of the conduct of the government.

Odilon Barrot, in the meantime shewed himself by no means equal to the situation in which as leader of the opposition he now found himself, and the timidity and vacillation he displayed lost him all consideration with his party. Their complaints and reproaches had no effect in altering the course he had adopted, and the committee consequently resolved to abandon all attempts to hold the banquet, a course which rendered the obstinacy of Lamartine and his friends of no avail, as they learned late in the evening, that the committee had ordered all the preparations to be removed before daybreak.

Meanwhile the government had not been idle. For several days past they had been employed in active preparations to withstand any outbreak that might take place. The barracks were provided with provisions and ammunition, the officers had orders to exercise their men in street fighting; axes, hatchets, etc. were served out to the flank companies of each regiment, and every soldier had two days provision in his havresack, and five packets of ball cartridges in his pouch. The garrisons in the neighbourhood of Paris were ready to march at a moment's notice, and large bodies of troops were already approaching the capital from the provinces. In the midst of these preparations for civil war, the Duke de Montpensier gave a grand ball to the officers of the artillery, at the castle of Vincennes, in order probably to shew the confidence which himself and family felt, and it must be owned not without good grounds, in the result. In every previous contest — at Lyons, at Toulouse, and in the Vendee — the Orleans dynasty had ever been victorious, whatever party had raised its head to oppose it. On the present occasion the garrison of Paris consisted of 27,000 men; 40,000 more lay at the gates, while a large garrison was quartered at Vincennes and another at Mount Valerian. The official account of the troops in Paris, on the 21st. of February was as follows: 37 battalions of infantry and a battalion of Orleans Jagers; three companies of the Engineer corps; 4000 Municipal guards horse and foot; 20 squadrons of cavalry and nine batteries of artillery. The ministers could therefore go to rest in security; but for most of the population of Paris, the night between the 21st. and 22nd. of February was one of fear and anxiety. A foreboding of the bloody scenes which were approaching prevented many from sleeping. A gloomy presentiment

pressed heavily on all hearts, which was heightened in no small degree by the want of confidence felt in Odilon-Barrot and his colleagues.

THE TWENTY-SECOND OF FEBRUARY. ASSEMBLIES IN THE STREETS. OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION.

Such was the state of affairs on the morning of the 22nd. of February. The weather was gloomy, mild and damp, with an evident tendency to rain. This circumstance served to quiet the apprehensions of many persons, who ascribed the previous revolution principally to the sun of July, and like Petion refused to believe in a serious rising in bad weather.

Soon after daybreak, vast crowds composed of all classes of the community were seen making their way towards the parts of the city through which the procession to the Reform banquet was expected to take place. The coffee houses were filled with guests who hastily and greedily devoured the contents of the morning papers, and the sitting in the chamber and the decision of the opposition deputies were eagerly discussed. The shops were opened slowly, the crowds in the streets increased as the day advanced; but still not the slightest signs of an approaching outbreak were perceptible. The feelings of the people seemed to be composed of curiosity, expectation and uncertainty; but none of the gloomy countenances lowering with discontent and hatred against everything superior in rank to themselves, which are usually to be seen on the eve of a great popular convulsion, were yet visible. No patriotic songs were heard pealing from the multitude that passed quietly along arm in arm, and whose conversation merely amounted to a loud murmur, like the hum of a bee-hive or the ripple of a stream.

About 11 o'clock, dense masses of people filled the Place de la Madeleine, the Rue Royale, and the Place de la Concorde. Workmen in blue linen blouses formed the principal proportion of this crowd; among which were however a large number of boys, and not a few women. No Sergents de Ville, the usual attendants on a Parisian crowd, were to be seen at the first glance; but they were in reality not wanting, in obediance to secret orders they were present in civil clothing. but were easy to be distinguished by the thick walking sticks which they carried instead of their usual swords, and the anxious, inquisitive manner with which they listened to the discourse of the by standers. At this moment a strong detachment of the 21st. regiment of the line, appeared on the Place de la Madeleine, and pressing the people back, took up their station in front of the church. The people remained standing in front of the soldiers who listened patiently to the conversation and jests of the multitude. On a sudden a loud shout was heard: this was caused by the arrival of a considerable number of students, who, with other inhabitants of the quartier Latin had

assembled on the Place du Pantheon, and had increased on their way to at least 3000 persons. They came marching in a double row and singing in chorus the Marseillaise, the Chart du départ, and various other patriotic songs, and after marching twice round the church, set off to the residence of Odilon Barrot, to reproach him with his vacillating conduct, and give emphasis to their reproaches by breaking his windows.

At this point the column parted into several branches; but the principal party proceeded through the Rue Royale and over the Place de la Concorde towards the chamber of deputies, where at this time there were no troops, with the exception of a slight guard of soldiers of the line. Orderly soldiers on horseback sprang at a gallop through the crowd; and the Municipal guard which occupied the two guard houses at the entrance to the Elysian fields, stood without arms at the gate and gazed quietly on the multitude. But as the head of the column was in the act of turning to cross the Pont de la Concorde, its passage was barred by about 20 soldiers of the municipal guard with fixed bayonets. The people hesitated for a moment, but a wagon coming up at the instant, some of the crowd took the whip from the hand of the driver and drove the horses over the bridge at a gallop. The Municipal guard sprang aside, and the people thus gained a passage across the river. On arriving at the palace Bourbon they were joined by new crowds composed of the inhabitants of the left side of the Seine, and their first act was to break down the gates of the palace, and the northern portico of the chamber was soon crowded with persons singing the Marseillaise and shouting "*A bas Guizot! A bas les Ministres!*" Others climbed the garden wall and harangued the soldiers on guard, and some had forced their way into the interior of the building, when a company of dragoons from the adjoining barracks appeared on the Quai d'Orsay. They rode forward with drawn swords; but on reaching the people, returned them to their sheaths and contented themselves with riding slowly through the crowd in order to separate them. The people appreciating their good nature, rent the air with the cry of *Vivent les dragons*, and the crowd rapidly dispersed. A battalion of infantry now took its place at the southern entrance to the chamber, headed by a commissary of police, wearing his official scarf and having the riot act in his hand. Reinforcements soon joined them, and in a short time the chamber of deputies was surrounded with troops on all sides. Other bodies of troops now appeared at both ends of the Place de la Concorde, having with them six pieces of cannon, while other bodies placed themselves in reserve between the Hotel des Invalids and the Quai d'Orsay. All these troops were fully appointed as if for a campaign.

The weather now became more gloomy than ever, and heavy clouds driven by a westerly wind threatened a heavy fall of rain. On the Place de la Concorde parties of the mounted municipal guard rode

from time to time through the crowd with their drawn sabres in their hands, but this had not the intended effect of dispersing them. The behaviour of these soldiers was rude and brutal in the extreme, and they were consequently everywhere received with cries of *A bas les municipaux!* which cries were frequently accompanied with showers of stones. By these useless charges upon the people, several persons were ridden over and severely injured, and an old woman killed, while many to save themselves from a similar fate, were compelled to spring over the breastwork into the gardens which bound the Place.

Meanwhile various feeble attempts at insurrection were made in other parts of the city, several gunmaker's shops were broken open and some arms obtained, but in most instances the plunderers were dispersed by the timely arrival of parties of military. A more serious attack on the hotel of M. Guizot was also baffled by the military who surrounded the house, and here a commissary of police read the riot act. This was followed by a dead silence, but the crowd did not disperse, merely retiring step by step before the soldiers, in order to assemble again at the first opportunity.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the boulevards from the Porte St. Denis to the Madeleine, were filled with a dense crowd, but the people seemed to have no idea of creating a disturbance. The multitude consisted for the most part of blousemen, among whom might be seen many national guards in uniform, but without weapons. The circulation was quite free except in the neighbourhood of the hotel of the ministers, where patrols of infantry occupied the trottoirs, leaving room in the centre for passengers, who were however not allowed to remain stationary. No vehicles were to be seen in this neighbourhood, while on the other side of the boulevards everything went on as usual. The shops were open and omnibusses and cabriolets in full activity.

Hitherto no serious collision had taken place between the troops and the people; but the crowds constantly increased in number and intensity, and a more dangerous spirit soon began to be visible in the masses. Between 2 and 3 o'clock a body of workmen about 500 strong, and bearing a flag, proceeded over the Place du Carrousel and through the Rue Rivoli, and joined another crowd on the left side of the Elysian fields, where they commenced collecting boards and other materials, and erected two perfectly useless barricades, which strangely enough was permitted to take place within two hundred yards of a body of soldiers. The rioters afterwards surrounded the guard house opposite the panorama, forced their way into the interior without as it seems meeting any opposition from the soldiers, and endeavoured to set the building on fire. This was however prevented by the arrival of a body of troops which dispersed the rioters. Up to this hour the shops in the Palais Royale had remained open, but at this time a body of blousemen paraded the streets in the neighbourhood, singing the Mar-

seillaise and carrying off weapons from any shops which contained them, without however taking any other articles of value they might contain. All the shops in this quarter were consequently instantly closed.

The preservation of order had hitherto been intrusted solely to the military and the municipal guard. In no instance had the national guards appeared in arms. Orders had indeed been given on the previous evening, that the general march should be beaten throughout Paris on the morning of the 22nd.; but the government having received information that some of the battalions would probably express themselves in favour of reform, the order was countermanded in the course of the night. At half past 4 in the afternoon however, the rappel was beaten in several quarters of the city; but the national guards shewed themselves in no haste to obey the summons. In all probability they wished to shew by their absence, their dissatisfaction with the measures of the ministry; and scarcely a fourth of them appeared at the places of rendevous.

In the meantime the chambers had held their usual sittings. In the upper chamber the Marquis de Boissy put a question to the ministry concerning the state of the city, but the order of the day was moved and it consequently remained unanswered. In the lower chamber a considerable degree of excitement was visible among the members, who conversed constantly with each other concerning the evident agitation of the people. The ministers also spoke frequently with their supporters and Guizot affected an air of unusual gaiety and unconcern. The question before the chamber was the extension of the privileges of the bank of Bourdeaux, but the speakers were scarcely attended to, the desultory conversation between the members continued, many left their seats and paced up and down the adjoining corridor, or assembled in groups at the top of the flight of steps at the entrance, from which they could overlook the whole of the Place de la Concorde. In the middle of the sitting, Duvergier de Hauranne entered the chamber, and delivered a folded paper to the president without speaking a word. As a report had prevailed that the opposition would bring forward a motion for impeaching the ministers, Guizot now rose and approaching the president begged to see the paper, read it hastily through, and burst into a fit of laughter. It was a motion for impeaching the ministry as traitors, signed by eighty members. Odilon Barrot now desired that the motion should be communicated to the chamber, but the president replied that it was contrary to the rules to read motions until they had been submitted to a committee. The sitting continued amid the increasing agitation of the members until 5 o'clock, when it closed for the day.

At this hour the garden gate of the Tuileries was closed, and also the passage through the court yard and the Place du Carrousel, and the whole neighbourhood was occupied by soldiers. Almost the whole garrison of Paris was now under arms, bodies of troops were stationed

at various points of the boulevards, and patrols of cavalry moved to and fro in the principal streets, urging the crowds with good words and without the slightest display of force, to disperse themselves. The troops who evidently disliked the duty imposed on them, acted everywhere with the same moderation, and in many instances shewed their sympathy with the crowd by shaking hands with some of the persons composing it.

Between 8 and 9, in the evening, the agitation in the quarters of the Halle and the Marais became extremely violent. A body of more than 2000 men proceeded from house to house collecting arms, which were for the most part readily given by those who possessed them; when arms were not to be had, they took axes, crow bars, or anything which could be used as a substitute; and on their departure, chalked the words: *On a donné les armes!* on the house door. Having by this means procured a considerable quantity of weapons, the crowd disappeared in the labyrinth of lanes of which these quarters are composed, and where barricades had already been erected in several places. The quarters between the Rue du Temple and the Rue St. Denis, from the Boulevard to the Quay, were occupied during the early part of the night by parties of armed insurgents, who had extinguished the lanthorns, and erected several barricades. Here several collisions took place in the dark between the military and the people, but the resistance made by the latter was not obstinate, and the patrols had little difficulty in taking possession of and destroying these imperfect structures. In the meanwhile the whole quarter was surrounded by soldiers and national guards, so that there appeared every probability that the outbreak would be enclosed and stifled in the quarter in which it first originated.

THE TWENTY-THIRD OF FEBRUARY: PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION. THE BARRICADES. THE NATIONAL GUARD. THE CATASTROPHE.

Although the disturbances which had taken place in various parts of Paris on the 22nd. had been promptly suppressed by the military and municipal guard, the government did not fail to take every precaution against their probable renewal. Upwards of 10,000 soldiers bivouaced on the boulevards and in the streets leading to the Tuileries, Watchfires were lighted, cannon planted at the corners of the streets, and Paris at least in this neighbourhood, resembled rather a besieged city than the peaceful residence of a citizen-king.

The early part of the 23rd. of February passed off quietly, but about ten in the morning crowds began to assemble in the faubourgs of St. Denis and St. Martin, and the renewed attempts to erect barricades led to some sharp conflicts between the people and municipal guard, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. The

first barricade of any importance was erected in the Rue Poissonnière, its foundation being composed of a large wagon and a water-cart; a second was formed across the Rue de Cléry of cabriolets, which were forcibly taken possession of by the crowd. A third barricade blocked up the Rue Neuve-Saint-Eustache, and a fourth was commenced in the Rue du Petit-Carreau. These proceedings took place in the presence of a large number of spectators, and lasted three quarters of an hour before any interruption was offered by the authorities. At half past 10, a picquet of municipal guards entered the Rue de Cléry and drove away the crowd that were employed on the barricade, who instantly took refuge behind that in the Rue Poissonnière. No firing took place at this time from the barricades, although many of the insurgents had arms. The municipal guard hurried forward and fired without any previous warning, and three persons fell, of whom two died on the spot. The remainder fled, and took refuge behind the barricade in the Petit-Carreau. Without pursuing them farther, the municipal guard now took their way through the Rue Nueve-Saint-Eustache. Other barricades began now to appear as if by magic, and all the streets in the neighhourhood of the Rue Montorgueil were blocked up with overturned vehicles of every description.

At this moment large bodies of troops began to appear in the streets, which occupied all the more important points in the city. A party of troops of the line entered the Rue Poissonnière and commenced clearing away the obstructions. They were received with loud shouts of *Vive la ligne!* and the humane manner in which they performed their duty contrasted most favourably with the brutal behaviour of the municipal guard, who were received with hisses and execrations wherever they appeared. Parties of soldiers were in constant motion in the streets in order to prevent the crowds from remaining stationary and larger bodies both of horse and foot, proceeded to any spot where the people attempted to erect barricades and removed them, scarcely any resistance being offered. New barricades were however erected the instant the troops had departed, and the agitation of the masses evidently increased.

In the quarter of St. Denis, the whole of the side streets had been closed by barricades as early as ten o'clock in the morning. The shops were closed and the inhabitants gazed anxiously from the doors and windows Excited crowds paraded the streets clamouring for arms, and some weapons were handed from the houses and eagerly scrambled for by the multitude. One of these crowds carried the body of a young man who had been shot by the municipal guard, on a board, and this horrid exhibition had the effect of exciting the people more than even the speeches of the orators who harangued them without ceasing from the barricades and at the corner of every street. The whole quarter was thus converted into a fortress, and many of them were several times destroyed by the troops, and as often reconstructed

In the Rue Vielle-du-Temple an enormous barricade had been constructed, which reached nearly to the first stories of the houses, and could only be destroyed by artillery. Parties of soldiers of the line advanced against it several times, but always retired, as its defenders received them on each occasion with loud cries of: *Vive la ligne!* For a long time all the exertions of the officers could not induce the soldiers to fire; but at length at the command of a Colonel who led an attack on the rear of the barricade, a few shots were fired. A heavy fire was instantly opened by the insurgents and the troops on their side replied by regular vollies. These ceased for a moment, the heavy sound of artillery rolling over the pavement was heard, and the next moment the cannon opened their fire and the splinters of the barricade were seen flying over the heads of its defenders, who replied by shouts of defiance and redoubling their fire. The cannon ceased, and the column advanced to charge, the insurgents fired a last volley and retired to the next barricade. The moment the firing ceased, the doors of the adjoining houses opened, and men, women, and children appeared, who carried off the wounded.

This may be considered as a specimen of the struggle which was now taking place in a large part of the city, and the enthusiasm of the people and the number of the barricades increased with every moment, while the dislike of the soldiery to the task in which they were engaged became every instant more apparent, and many companies had already fraternised with and gone over to the people. The national guard apppeared but in small numbers, and these few refrained for the most part from using their weapons on either side, but shewed their sympathy with the people, by shouting *Vive la réforme!*

On this day as on the preceeding, the people conducted the contest as it were on the principles of instinct, and although completely without military guidance, shewed considerable skill in the manner in which they carried on the war. Their object was to spread the insurrection as widely as possible, so as to divide and weaken the military force opposed to them. They formed barricades in numerous places, apparently only to abandon them when attacked, but by this means they harassed and fatigued the troops, without exposing themselves to any serious defeat; they attacked and disarmed the weaker posts of the military and emptied the magazines of weapons; but carefully avoided the stronger positions, or exposing themselves to the fire of the artillery. If a crowd was charged by cavalry, they retired behind the nearest barricade, against which they knew horsemen to be powerless; if infantry advanced to clear the way for the cavalry, they gave a volley and retired to the next, from which they opened a murderous fire on the assailants. In the houses everything appeared as still as the grave, and the soldiery marched up and down through a maze of empty streets; the infantry in front and the cavalry in the rear. Suddenly they come upon a barricade from which a heavy fire is opened,

and at this signal a shower of stones, tiles and heavy articles of every description is poured upon their heads. Instinctively they dash forward against the obstacle in front, the barricade is taken; but its defenders have retired to another at no great distance. Every lane which the column passes is blocked up, and every one of these smaller barricades opens in turn its murderous fire. Nothing is left for them but to retire; but the houses which lately appeared so empty, are now crowded with enemies, stones and tiles are poured upon them without a chance of retaliation; the retreat speedily becomes a flight, but in the meantime new barricades have sprung up in their rear, and the streets have been rendered impassible to the cavalry by strewing them with the fragments of broken bottles. Such is a faint picture of the contest in the head quarters of the insurrection, viz. in the labyrinth of narrow, crooked lanes that extend from the boulevards of St. Denis, St. Martin, and the Temple, to the banks of the Seine.

A resistance at once so general and so obstinate, was not to be suppressed even by the large amount of military force at the disposal of the government; while the advantages which had been gained at many points by the insurgents, had given them confidence in their strength, and produced a corresponding depression in the minds of the soldiery, who from the first had fought rather from a sense of duty than any enthusiasm for the cause in which they were engaged; and the only power which could turn the still wavering scale in favour of either the government or the people, had as yet taken no part in the contest. This power was the national guard of Paris. On the 22nd. of February the rappel had only been beaten in a few quarters, and produced but little effect, on the 23rd. they appeared in greater numbers, but the majority were still absent, either because they would not appear in arms to support the ministry, or because they had already given up their weapons to the insurgents. In all previous attempts at insurrection since the accession of Louis Philippe, the national guard of Paris had ever shewn themselves as the firmest supporters of the new dynasty, and in the numerous riots which followed the July revolution, they had always fought either in advance of, or side by side with the troops of the line. The case was now altered, the policy pursued by the King especially during the latter years of his reign, had estranged him from his best supporters, and the time was now come when their long pent up dissatisfaction should find vent.

About 400 national guards having assembled in the Rue du Dragon, their colonel Viscount Lemercier, addressed them, and among other things informed them they were called upon to restore public confidence; upon which one of their number stepped out of the ranks and replied: that they were ready to restore peace and confidence; but that they were by no means inclined to sympathise with the ministry. The colonel alighted from his horse in order to reason with them on the subject, when a youth beside him raised the cry of "*Vive la*

réforme!" The colonel endeavoured to seize him by the collar; but several of the national guards interfered, with the remark: That they could not arrest any one for raising a cry in which they were all disposed to join. The mortified colonel instantly remounted his horse and rode from the spot, while behind him pealed the cry of *Vive la réforme!* in full chorus.

A battalion of the second legion having assembled under the portico of the Opera-house, urged their Colonel to write to their general, that he was not to mistake their appearance in arms as a mark of sympathy for the ministry, and that they were there not only to support order but to protect freedom. The Lieutenant-Colonel also remarked they were not there to support the ministry. The Colonel, to whom this proposal was by no means agreeable, replied: "We are not here to talk politics." To which the chief of the battalion rejoined: "I think differently!" and all the national guards present instantly raised the cry of *Vive la réforme.* The national guards of the fourth legion which had assembled in the Rue du Chevalier-du-Guet, signed their names to a petition which demanded electoral reform and the resignation of the ministry, which was conveyed to the chamber of deputies by upwards of 500 men including 25 officers, all in uniform but without weapons. The military which surrounded the chamber refused to let the procession pass; but the petition was fetched by a deputation of members of the opposition, and thus reached the chamber.

All the legions of the national guard, with the exception of the first, united themselves by these or similar demonstrations to the cause of the people; and some part of them went farther, and resolved to join the ranks of the insurgents. A company of the third legion greeted the troops of the line that were stationed on the Place des Victoires, with the cry of *Vive la réforme,* and the soldiers suffered them to pass through their ranks, although they were followed by a large crowd, which shouted "*A bas Guizot!*" and sang the Marseillaise.

It may readily be imagined that such conduct on the part of the national guard produced the most important effects upon the result of the contest. The troops were by this means morally disarmed, and the insurgents physically strengthened. In every case where the national guards passed the troops of the line with their double cry of, *Vive la réforme! A bas Guizot!* the soldiers remained standing with their arms at rest, and although they did not join in the cry, it was evident they sympathised with the feelings it expressed.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the colonels of the national guard sent a deputation to the king, assuring him they could no longer answer for the peace of the capital, unless some measures were taken to satisfy the demands of the people. The greater part of these colonels undoubtedly belonged to the conservative party; but the evidence they saw around them opened their eyes to the danger, which was not perceived until too late by the king and his advisers.

In the chamber of deputies the proceedings were nearly as stormy as in the streets of Paris. Guizot did not appear till near five in the evening, when in answer to a question by Bavin the deputy for the eleventh arrondissement of Paris, he informed the assembly that the king had commissioned Count Molé to form a new ministry, an announcement which was received with loud applause by the opposition and almost frantic expressions of disapprobation by the conservatives. The news of the fall of the ministry was spread rapidly through the capital by means of mounted adjutants from the palace, and caused the most lively satisfaction to all parties. Even the military called out to the insurgents in many cases to cease firing, as all was now at an end. All hostilities between the troops and the people ceased; but either from a suspicion of the sincerity of the king, or from some other cause, a considerable number of the barricades still remained in the possession of the people, who seemed but little inclined to give up their posts until something more was known of the intentions of the new ministry.

In the meantime Count Molé had been admitted to the presence of the king, and consulted with him respecting the formation of a new cabinet. Singularly enough, he found that Louis Philippe was perhaps the only man in Paris, who could not, or would not perceive the danger that threatened the Orleans dynasty. He was indeed ready to change his ministers, but was not prepared to give up a single iota of his policy, and was resolved to remain firm to his former system. In vain Count Molé endeavoured to point out to him that this was insufficient; he was not to be convinced, and the meeting ended without anything having been decided on, except that a new appointment was made for the same evening. But by this time the news of the change of ministry had become generally known, and was too much in accordance with the hopes of the people not to be instantly believed. The funds immediately rose 40 centimes, the shops were again opened, and at 6. in the evening the boulevards had assumed the aspect they wear upon a fete day. The pavements and even the central thoroughfares were crowded with people, among whom were numerous females, and everything seemed to indicate that the conflict was at an end.

No sooner had evening set in than the city began to blaze with illuminations. Numerous bands both of men and boys paraded the streets with torches, and at their clamorous shouts of: "*Des Lampions! Des Lampions!*" the hotels of the wealthy became illuminated as if by a magic spell. At about 10 o'clock, an immense crowd composed principally of workmen, but mixed with numerous national guards in uniform, appeared on the boulevard des Italiens, singing in full chorus the Marseillaise and the songs of the Girondists; they carried an enormous number of torches and were for the most part without weapons. On arriving at the Rue Lepelletier they turned to the right

and halted before a house illuminated with red transparences, on the first floor of which was the office of the "National". Armand Marrast, the editor of this journal, appeared on the balcony and addressed them to the following effect: "Citizens, this has been a glorious day; but the victory of the people must not be pilfered from them on this occasion, as on so many others. The people have the right to demand guarantees for the future." (Bravo! Bravo!) "What do you demand?" "The dismissal of the municipal guard;" cried a voice. "The municipal guard shall be dismissed, we pledge ourselves not to rest till this has taken place. What else do you demand?" "New ministers; but more liberal ones than M. Molé." You shall have new ministers, and more liberal ones than M. Molé, we pledge ourselves that Odilon Barrot and Duvergier de Hauranne shall be members of the new ministry. Is that all you demand? (Yes! Yes!) "We congratulate you on your victory and on your generous moderation, and we must not forget that our victory is not only a triumph for France, but also for Italy, for Switzerland, and for the whole world." A tremendous burst of applause followed this speech, the crowd again commenced their favorite chorus and proceeded in excellent order along the boulevards, towards the Madelaine. It will be perceived from this incident, that up to this time not the slightest idea of overthrowing the existing form of government and establishing a republic, had entered the minds of the people. But an event was about to occur which changed the aspect of affairs in an instant.

At the corner of the Rue de la Paix, the procession was joined by another, consisting of the combatants from the barricades of the faubourg St. Martin, who were consequently for the most part armed, and carried a red flag. They consisted entirely of blousemen, whose hands and faces were blackened with gunpowder and the smoke of the torches they carried. This party placed themselves at the head of the former procession, which thus assumed a wild and warlike appearance which it had not previously possessed. On arriving before the residence of M. Guizot, the head of the column came upon a battalion of the 14th. regiment of the line, which was drawn up in a square, and stopped the passage. The man who carried the red flag, attended by several torch bearers now advanced towards the officer in command, who sat on horseback in front of his men. The torches and flag were seen waving to and fro for a moment, and the horse of the officer began to prance. The foremost ranks of the soldiers were thrown into disorder, and the next moment the square opened and the officer retired within it. Suddenly the soldiers lowered their weapons, a single shot was heard, which the next moment was followed by a volley. The crowd immediately before the battalion fell to the earth as if struck by lightning. Some in consequence of being killed or wounded, others from terror, and others from the instinct of self-preservation. The rest, after remaining silent and motionless for

a moment with surprise and horror, rushed wildly from the spot with cries of rage and terror, involving all they met in their flight.

The cause of this fatal event is still involved in obscurity, no warning was given to the people, nor was any order to fire heard; it is possible that the whole affair was the result of accident, and that the involuntary discharge of a single musket induced the rest of the soldiers to mechanically follow the example. Be this as it may, the event cost Louis Philippe his throne. In a moment the boulevards were empty, and the crowd who an instant before were gazing peacefully at the illuminations and congratulating each other on the change of ministry, were now hastening to their respective quarters to arm themselves anew for the strife. In the neighbourhood of the place where the slaughter occurred, arose a cry which echoed through the whole of Paris. *Aux armes! Aux armes! Nous sommes trahis! On nous assassine!* pealed from a thousand throats. The men who had formed the head of the column and who had fled from the fire of the soldiers, now returned to the spot shouting "Vengeance! Vengeance!" in a tone which might have appalled an army. A dozen dead bodies were placed upon a car and paraded through the streets, surrounded by a host of torch bearers. "Arms, arms, to revenge our murdered brothers!" was the incessant cry of the multitude, which at length halted before the office of the "National". Armand Marrast and Garnier Pagès stood on the balcony, the latter took the word, promised the people satisfaction, and endeavoured but in vain to moderate the fury which possessed them.

The procession again set itself in motion, and proceeded slowly through the crowd which reverendly made way for it, to the Place de la Bastille, where it stopped for a time beneath the column of July, and then proceeded on its way through the red uncertain light of the torches, followed everywhere by cries of vengeance, and the dull noise occasioned by tearing up the pavement, which as if at the command of an enchanter was seen towering into barricades at the corner of every street. At intervals this noise was varied by the reports of fire arms, as the insurgents exchanged shots with the military patrols, and the sound of the tocsin, which now began to toll from the towers of the churches.

At the Tuileries little seems to have been known of the fearful state of affairs in the city. The king waited in vain for the return of Count Molé, and at length sent a messenger to him recalling the commission he had given him to form a ministry, and another to M. Thiers to whom he now resolved to intrust that office. Guizot was still at the palace, and by his advice the king appointed Marshal Bugeaud to the double command of the troops of the line and the national guard. On the arrival of M. Thiers, he approved of this appointment; but would not consent to the troops attacking the barricades. He merely demanded that Odilon Barrot should be associated with him in the

ministry, and then taking the pen from the hand of the king's secretary, he wrote a proclamation announcing the change of ministry to the people. This proclamation was ordered to be printed as soon as possible, in order to be posted throughout Paris before daybreak. It was the opinion of Thiers that this would cause the insurgents at once to lay down their arms, and the king who appears to have shared his confidence, retired to rest about four in the morning.

The population of Paris far from following the example of the king, remained the whole night in a state of activity. While the majority of the people busied themselves in tearing up the pavement and erecting barricades, others searched the houses and theatres for arms and ammunition, while others visited the apothecaries and compelled them to pass the night in preparing Gun-cotton. The students of the quartier Latin, and the workmen of the faubourgs came in troops to the centre of the city, accompanied by their mistresses, their wives and their daughters, who animated them to the combat and promised to assist them by throwing stones from the windows and housetops, on the heads of their assailants. Old soldiers and students of the polytechnic school, superintended the construction of the barricades and directed the labours of the workmen. At their suggestion different gangs were formed for the more systematic performance of the labour, some broke up the pavement, others carried the stones either to the barricades or to the house tops, where they were to serve as missiles; others were employed in casting bullets from any articles of lead or pewter that could be obtained; and others in tearing down the railings of the public buildings to serve as pikes or crowbars.

In the midst of all this apparent confusion, the warlike genius of the French people served like the unseen hand of a master, to give order and effect to the wild chaos of a popular outbreak. A species of military instinct supplied the place of engineers, and served to convert the city in the space of a few hours into a fortress of wonderful strength and completeness. To the astonishment of the insurgents, all these preparations were allowed to take place, without any attempt on the part of the troops to prevent them. Large bodies of soldiers bivouaced at various points of the boulevards, and in the open spaces of the city; but notwithstanding this, the people were permitted quietly to complete their arrangements for the coming struggle.

THE TWENTY-TOURTH OF FEBRUARY. RENEWAL OF THE CONFLICT. ABDICATION AND FLIGHT OF THE KING. PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

Nothing could be more deplorable thau the aspect presented by the French capital on the morning of the momentous 24th. of February. The boulevards which the day before appeared so beautiful, were now stripped of their ornaments, and had again become the bulwarks of the city.

From the Hôtel des Capucines to the Place de la Bastille, all the trees had been cut down, the seats and pillars removed, and the materials thus obtained converted into 18 barricades, some of which were 12 feet high. The entrance to every street had its redoubt. The fashionable quarters of the Chaussés d'Antin, Notre-Dame de Lorette, Breda and Boule-Rouge, were now for the first time studded with barricades, while the neighbourhood of the Rue Poissonnière presented an assemblage of several hundreds.

The Quays from the Pont-Neuf to the Pont d'Austerlitz, on the right bank of the Seine, and from the Poultry market to the Halle aux Vins, on the left, had also lost the rows of young trees, iron seats and stone columns, with which they were decorated, and which now blocked up the mouth of every street leading to the river. A part of the faubourg St. Germain, the quartier Latin, the suburbs of Saint Marceau and Saint Antoine, presented a complete series of fortifications, the strength of which may be conceived from the circumstance, that the number of barricades erected in the night between the 23rd. and 24th. of February, was estimated in one of the Paris journals, at 1512.

At break of day new bodies of recruits swelled the ranks of the insurgents. New barricades were erected, so as to draw the circle closer around the Tuileries, and the tocsin again commenced sounding from the churches. At 7 o'clock the general march, for assembling the national guard was beaten, and the drummers were loudly applauded by the people wherever they appeared. At half past 8, strong patrols of national guards moved up and down the streets, partly escorted by detachments of the Vincennes Jagers, who appeared to have just arrived, as their uniforms were splashed with mud. They were every-where received with cries of: *Vive la ligne! Vive la garde national!* and the people seemed uncertain what course to pursue. The troops appeared to be equally undecided, the officers gave no orders, probably because they had received none, and neither men nor officers appeared at all eager to recommence the contest. The crowd employed this pause in pulling down the signs of the tradesmen who supplied the king and royal family. These were trampled in the mud amidst loud cries of: *A bas Louis Philippe et son auguste famille!* In the meantime the rattling of the drums, the pealing of the tocsin, and the occasional reports of fire arms, were heard on all sides. At about 8 o'clock, a heavy fire was heard in the direction of the Halle, and soon afterwards a large mass of troops entered the boulevards from the Rue Montmartre. A company of infantry of the line and another of Vincennes Jägers, opened their fire upon the barricade at the entrance of the faubourg Montmartre, in order to prevent the insurgents annoying the column, which now marched along the boulevards towards the Port St. Denis.

At nine o'clock a report prevailed that negociations had been

commenced between the king and the opposition party, and half an hour later the troops received orders to retire from the public places to their barracks. The soldiers marched with their arms reversed, while the national guard followed them carrying their caps on the muzzles of their guns. They were greeted from all the barricades with loud cries of *Vive la ligne! Vive la garde national!* Refreshments of all kinds were handed to the soldiers as they passed, and they were followed by a large crowd who gave vent to their pleasure in loud songs and outcries. At the same moment that the troops marched from the Rue Poissonnière towards the Madelaine, another procession started from the same neighbourhood and took the opposite direction. At its head was to be seen Odilon Barrot on horseback, accompanied by Horace Vernet in the uniform of the national guard, Oscar Lafayette, Quinette, and several other opposition deputies; and they were followed by a large and noisy crowd. On arriving at the great barricade which closed the Rue Saint Denis, a party of insurgents opposed their farther progress. Odilon Barrot attempted to address them but only the following words were heard: "Dear Friends, our common labours have been crowned with success. Freedom and what is still better probity, are again ours —". His voice was here drowned in the universal outcry of: "That is not enough, we have been too often betrayed already!" and an armed man now stepped forward, and declared all farther negociations to be useless. Odillon Barrot was therefore compelled to retire without effecting his purpose, but was accompanied by a crowd which cheered him loudly, to the Hotel of the minister of the interior.

At half past ten o'clock, the following proclamation was posted at the corners of the streets. "Citizens of Paris! Orders have been given that the firing shall cease. We have received the commands of the king to form a ministry. The chambers will be dissolved and an appeal made to the people. General Lamoricière is appointed commander of the national guard. Odilon Barrot, Thiers, Lamoricière and Duvergier de Hauranne are ministers. Freedom! Order! Union! Reform! (Signed) Odilon Barrot and Thiers." This proclamation which had been printed in all haste at the offices of the "Constitutionel" and the "Presse", was scarcely posted when it was torn down by the crowd, amidst loud cries of: *Vive la nation! A bas Louis Philippe!* Yet at this time the great mass of the people were unprovided with arms. Those which had been obtained from the shops and houses scarcely served to supply a tenth part of the multitude, who were for the most part only armed with sticks, iron bars, or rude pikes. Suddenly a crowd appeared in the Rue Cadet which were all provided with muskets and cartridge boxes, and it became known that the 45th. regiment of the line had voluntarily surrendered their arms to the people. About the same period, the soldiers withdrew from the Hotel of the minister for foreign affairs, and a national guard and a blouse-

man were placed as sentinels before the building, to protect the valuable archives it contained.

At the same time a crowd of workmen and national guards made themselves masters of several powder wagons and pieces of artillery on the boulevard des Italiens. In a moment the wagons were emptied, the cartridges shared, and the cannon placed on the barricades at the faubourg Montmartre. In other places the soldiers had given up their weapons to the people, and the insurrection now became general, a large portion of the crowd being well armed and supplied with ammunition. The streets of Paris presented at this time a most singular spectacle. Armed crowds marching to the various barricades with wild songs and outcries, women gazing at them from the windows, and encouraging them by voice and gesture. Boys shouting and singing amidst the fire of the contending parties, and the spectators clapping their hands and applauding the combatants, as though the contest were not one of life and death, but merely the scene in a theatre. About midday, some bloody collisions took place between the people and the municipal guard in the streets between the Halle and the Cité, to which quarter the order to discontinue the contest had probably never reached. The municipal guard still displayed the same ferocity which had distinguished them on the preceeding days and their ardour in some instances led the troops of the line to follow their example. The national guard in the meantime extended their patrols on all sides, and took possession of all the posts abandoned by the military; and it now became evident that all hopes of suppressing the insurrection by force were at an end.

In the meantime the inhabitants of the Tuileries seem to have been still ignorant of the danger which threatened them. The queen considered the "Riot" as she called it, as an affair produced by the intrigues of the ex-minister Thiers, while the king held it to be a mere trick of the opposition; he consequently disputed over every concession to which his new ministers advised him, and refused to consent to any reforms whatever. A fruitless debate of two hours failed to convince the king, who now proposed a pause, and the council was adjourned. At about half past 10, the royal family went to breakfast, and shortly afterwards Rémusat appeared at the door and solicited an audience with the Duke of Montpensier. The king invited him to take a seat at the table, which he declined. The Duke stood up and Rémusat spoke with him in a low tone. The king now rose, the queen followed him, and the whole party left the table and gathered round Rémusat, from whom they heard for the first time the dangerous state of affairs. Louis Philippe appeared petrified, and instant orders were given for the departure of the royal family from Paris.

The place du Caroussel was still occupied by an imposing force of cavalry, infantry and artillery, and M. de Chabonnes the master of the horse, pointed out to the king that the public departure of the

royal family, would have the probable effect of demoralizing these troops. This representation seemed to restore the confidence of the king, especially as the queen urged him to resist to the last, rather than fly from his capital. Various means of defence were now canvassed, and some of the officers proposed to barricade the streets leading to the place du Carrousel, and defend themselves till their last cartridge was exhausted. The king seemed for a moment to consent to this plan, and mounting his horse reviewed the troops assembled before the palace. The soldiers of the line received him with shouts of *Vive le Roi!* but two battalions of national guards which were present, answered this cry with shouts of *Vive la réforme!* After the review the king retired to his study, in order to await fresh intelligence from the scene of hostilities.

Meanwhile the insurrection extended itself on all sides. The troops perplexed by the contradictory orders they received from their commanders and from the ministry, gave up post after post to the national guard, and reversing their muskets retired to their barracks. As the soldiers retired the insurgents advanced, and soon immense crowds were seen pouring on all sides towards the Tuileries. These troops of insurgents presented the most motley appearance that can be conceived. Beside a well dressed young man who wore a sabre by his side and a pair of pistols in his girdle, might be seen a workman of the suburbs in a tattered jacket and worn-out hat, who wielded an axe, hatchet, or any other tool that had first come to hand, as a weapon. Next to him perhaps a national guard in full uniform, with musket and bayonet, and beside him an artizan in blue linen blouse and trowsers, armed with an ancient halbert. Before one of these columns, which consisted partly of workmen and partly of students, rode a well dressed young woman astride on a grey poney, and florishing a huge horse pistol, to the great admiration of her followers. Most of these columns were ordered and commanded by students of the polytechnic school, they occupied the whole of the streets leading to the place du Carrousel and commenced throwing up barricades for the purpose of more closely investing the palace.

The king was still seated at the writing desk in his study, the Duke of Nemours was beside him, and by the stove stood Thiers in deep conversation with Rémusat; when the door was suddenly opened and Emil de Girardin entered with the terrible intelligence that the people had torn down the proclamations of Thiers and Barrot, and that armed crowds were advancing from every side upon the Tuileries. Meruau, the editor of the "Constitutionnel" confirmed this news. "What shall I do?" asked the king. "Abdicate, Sire," replied Girardin. "Abdicate?" repeated the king and let the pen fall from his hand. "Yes, Sire, immediately and without hesitation, or all is lost. Here is the proclamation which I have caused to be printed in order to spare the precious moments," and he laid a copy on the king's desk. This

proclamation was as follows: "Citizens of Paris! The king has abdicated in favour of the Count de Paris, with the Duchess of Orleans as regent. General Amnesty! Dissolution of the chamber! Appeal to the people!" At this moment the windows of the apartment shook from the vollies of musketry fired at the Palais Royal. Several deputies of the left rushed unto the room. "Sire," exclaimed Jules de Lasteyrie, "it is a serious *Emeute*, but no revolution; the monarchy is still to be saved by timely concessions." The Duke of Montpensier now urged the king to abdicate; but he remained some moments silent and apparently stunned. The increasing noise of the musketry roused him from his insensibility, and he replied "Well, I abdicate," and several deputies hastened from the apartment to bear the intelligence to the nearest barricades, and thus put an end to the combat. Many of the combatants declared themselves willing to lay down their arms, if a paper to that effect signed by the king were brought to them. Intelligence of this demand was sent to the palace. The king turned towards his desk, when the queen threw herself on his neck, exclaiming: "Do not write Sire, do not yield to an *Emeute;* they are alarming you unnecessarily!" Terribly agitated Louis Philippe seated himself, took the pen and wrote slowly the following words:

"I abdicate the crown, which I was called upon to wear by the voice of the nation, in favour of my grandson the Count de Paris.

"May he succeed in fulfilling the great task which has this day fallen to his share."

February 24th. 1848. Louis Philippe.

The king now handed the paper to one of the deputies, with the request he would communicate its contents tothe chamber. The queen in a state of great excitement snatched it from his hand and for some moments persisted in retaining possession of it, but at length threw it on the table. General Lamoricière now took it up and hastened with it to the barricades, as the last hope of the dynasty, and the talisman of monarchy.

The king had now only to think of his departure, and orders were given for the cavalry on the place du Carrousel, to withdraw into the courtyard, and to bring out the carriages; but the insurgents had already taken possession of the immediate neighbourhood of the palace, and as the carriages were brought from the royal stables in the Rue St. Thomas du Louvre, one of the servants was killed by a musket ball, as were also two horses, and the carriages were consequently taken back to the stables. This occurrence caused the utmost consternation in the palace; and it was indeed high time to provide for the safety of the royal family. The king laid aside his uniform, and while this took place, the queen overwhelmed M. Thiers with reproaches, accusing him of being the cause of the insurrection.

When the king had changed his dress, he turned to the Duchess of Orleans, and said: "You will remain, Helene!" The Duchess held

her hands before her face and sobbed aloud. The deputy Lacrosse approached her and said: "Madame let me advise you to go with your children to the chamber of deputies; I am convinced the people will make way for you; you are dressed in mourning! "The Count de Paris gazed with wonder from one person to the other, his brother the Duke de Chartres, wept bitterly. The king bowed to the bystanders, took the arm of the queen, and left the palace by the subterranean passage leading to the garden. From the Rue Rivoli the melancholy procession was visible through the leafless trees. Louis Philippe in a black surtout coat and round hat, leaned on the arm of the queen, who was also dressed in black. Behind followed several princesses, and a number of national guards mixed with adjutants and officers, closed the train, which passed through the small garden door into the Place de la Concorde.

The crowd which were rushing to and fro on the Place de la Concorde instantly threw the party, which probably intended to proceed to the chamber of deputies, into confusion. The king pressed upon on all sides and already recognised by many, let go the arm of the queen, and waved his hat as a sign that he wished to speak. But the tumult increased every moment, the horses of the national guards and cuirassiers who endeavoured to make way for the party began to prance, and by the constantly increasing pressure of the crowd became rather a new source of danger than a defence. "Mercy for the king!" cried an officer who believed the lives of the royal family to be in danger. A voice from the crowd answered: "We are no Murderers; but away with him quickly!" "Yes, yes, away with him, away with him!" was shouted on all sides. The queen, who now seemed dreadfully alarmed, took the king by the arm and led him towards two small carriages *à la Daunon*, each drawn by one horse, that were standing near. In the first which was the property of M. de Graves, sat two boys who looked with great curiosity out of the windows. The king took his place to the left and the queen to the right; the other carriage should have received the princess Clementine, the Duchess of Nemours, the royal children and their attendants; but while in the act of entering the carriage, the cuirassiers and dragoons set themselves in motion and galloped down the Quai de la Conférence, which the next moment was filled by a dense crowd and the royal family found themselves thus cut off from their escort. The driver of the first carriage becoming alarmed, drove hastily over the Pont de la Concorde, along the Quai d'Orsay on the left bank of the Seine, and over the Port des Invalides again to the right bank. The second carriage followed the first, without being able to overtake the escort, which, was by this time considerably in advance. On the Quai de Billy, the king's carriage was stopped by a party of workmen, who at first seemed inclined to open the carriage door and remove the horse; but were persuaded from this proceeding by an officer of the mounted national guard, who

represented to them that the king had abdicated, and was now only an unfortunate man departing into exile. *Eh bien! qu'il parte!* cried the man who held the horse, and the carriage was allowed to pass on.

While a part of the royal family thus hastened towards St. Cloud, a young woman helpless and alone was hurried to and fro in the crowd that filled the Place de la Concorde. This was the Princess Clementine, Duchess of Coburg, who had been left behind by the hasty departure of the second carriage. By great good fortune she met General Thierry in her wanderings, who conducted her to the house of M. Lasteyrie, where she found her sister in law the Duchess of Montpensier. This princess had remained in the palace after the departure of the rest of the royal family, till M. Lasteyrie had removed her to his residence. Her cheerful and careless demeanor under the fearful circumstances in which she was placed, astonished her companion not a little. She laughed like a child at all that befel her by the way, and remarked she had heard quite as great a noise from the windows of her palace at Madrid.

The tumult which had occasioned so much alarm to the royal family on the Place de la Concorde, arose from the following circumstance. As soon as the news of the king's abdication became known, several officers of the national guard carried the information to the troops who had been on duty there since the morning, informing them that all was now over and that they could return to their barracks. Meanwhile a party of the municipal guard who had barricaded themselves in the guard-house at the western corner of the square, opened a fire upon the people from the windows and loop-holes. Several unarmed persons who were observing the negociations between the troops and the national guards, were the victims of this unnecessary piece of cruelty. The fury of the people now rose to madness, the guard-house was stormed and set on fire; twelve municipal guards were massacred, and most of the rest perished in the burning ruins. Three however fought their way through their assailants and ran across the whole space of the Place de la Concorde pursued by the crowd, without the soldiers who were drawn up there in line, opening their ranks to shelter them. They fortunately contrived to reach the gate of the Tuileries, which was opened to receive them and instantly closed, and they were thus saved from an otherwise certain death. Almost at the moment that this excess was committed, a column of people and national guards were fired on from the terrace of the Tuileries, at the corner of the Rue St. Florentin. Three national guards and several citizens were killed, and this wanton piece of barbarity irritated the people if possible more than the former. Everyone who had a weapon now hastened to the Palais-Royal where the people were engaged in storming the guard-house of the Château d'Eau.

General Lamoricière had ridden at a gallop from the Tuileries, to carry the insurgents the written abdication of the king. But scarcely

had he reached the barricade at the Rue St. Honoré, when a young man seized the bridle of his horse, took the paper from his hand, read it, and exclaimed: "Turn back General; the abdication is not sufficient, we will have no more kings." The general endeavoured to make his way to the Palais-Royal by force, and in so doing came within the range of fire, at the moment a volley was discharged. His horse was killed under him, and he was himself wounded in the arm. This volley came from the guard house of the Hotel d'Eau which had been for some time hotly attacked by the insurgents. This building is situated on the south side of the Palais-Royal, opposite the main entrance to that building, and as it was a most important post in a military point of view, had been carefully fortified by the government. The windows of the first and second floors were strongly barred with iron, and provided with musket proof shutters pierced with loop-holes. It was consequently almost impregnable without the aid of artillery, and from this post a murderous fire was kept up upon the people who manned the barricades at the corner of the Rue de Valois and Rue St. Honoré. In vain the people poured a storm of bullets against the building; scarcely a ball told, while those of the soldiers rarely missed their mark. An attempt was made to set fire to the doors, but this failed, and the persons attempting it were all killed or wounded.

At this time the stables of the king had been taken possession of by the crowd, and several of the royal carriages were brought out and set fire to on the Place du Carrousel. Some desperate fellows drew these carriages under the windows of the guard house, a soldier of Algerine Zuaves threw a barrel of spirits on this burning focus, and furniture from the Palais-Royal and any other combustible materials that came to hand were added to the mass. The wind carried the flames against the facade of the building, which now began to take fire; but the courage of the little garrison did not fail them even under these horrid circuumstances. They still continued their fire, but it became slacker every moment, and at length ceased altogether; either because their ammunition was exhausted or because they were busied in endeavouring to extinguish the flames, which had now reached the interior of the building. The horrible drama now approached its end, suddenly a column of flame rose high above the roof, which the next moment fell with a tremendous crash into the interior. Of 184 men, not more than half a dozen saved themselves through a back door.

No sooner was the conflict at the guard house at an end, than the cry of: *Aux Tuileries! Aux Tuileries!* arose from the crowd, and the whole mass set themselves in motion towards the palace, but that building was already in the hands of the people. While the crowd were engaged at the Château d'Eau, a lieutenant of the fifth legion of the national guard, took upon himself to appear at the gates of the palace and demand an interview with the Duke of Nemours. On

being admitted to his presence, he addressed him thus: "I come to propose to you the means of avoiding the farther effusion of blood." "What are they?" asked the Duke. "You must immediately surrender the palace to the national guard, or you are lost." Six legions already encircle the palace, and the people who are now attacking the Château d'Eau will soon join them: let the troops withdraw before these people arrive, or the consequences will be dreadful." The Duke saw that all was at an end, and gave orders for the troops to withdraw. The artillery retired over the Pont Royal, with the cavalry and infantry, headed by the Duke and his staff through the centre pavilion, the cavalry dismounting and leading their horses down the garden steps. The retreat took place in such haste, that the officers forgot to withdraw the sentinels before the palace.

When about a quarter of an hour afterwards, the people arrived before the Tuileries, they found the doors open; and the populace drunk with excitement poured into the interior of the palace, from which in the space of one man's life three dynasties have been driven. The crowd burst into the apartments like a torrent that has broken its banks, and in a moment the funiture, the mirrors, the chandeliers, and every other article that was moveable was broken to pieces and thrown out of the windows, where they were piled in heaps and committed to the flames. The crimson hangings of the throne were torn to tatters, and each one strove to procure a fragment, which they wore like orders in their button holes, or cockades in their caps. In the chapel they destroyed the seats of the royal family; but spared the decorations of the altar. The articles of value, including the consecrated plate, were carried by a party of workmen to the church of St. Roch, where they were laid before the altar amidst cries of *Vive Jésus Christ! Vive la nation!* In the gallery of the Marshals public judgment was pronounced upon the portraits. "Soult!" cried a voice. "Down with him, down with the old sinner!" roared the multitude. "Suchet!" 'honour to the brave!' cried a hundred voices. "Grouchy!" 'down with the traitor!' and in a moment the portrait was pierced by a dozen bayonets.

In the private apartments of the royal family the scene was still more wild and grotesque. Rude blousemen threw themselves on the beds of the princesses, while others danced and played the most absurd antics. At all the windows of the palace stood groups of workmen, their hands and faces smeared with blood and gunpowder, the greater part of them already intoxicated with the wine from the royal cellars and more or less disguised in articles from the royal wardrobes. A young *gamin* in the hat and silken dressing gown of the Count de Paris, played the fiddle and sang the Marseillaise; while another with a white silk waistcoat belonging to the king, over his linen blouse, and the red band of the legion of honour round his neck, blew a French horn out of Louis Philippe's bed room window. Meanwhile the in-

describable uproar, the incessant discharge of fire-arms as signs of rejoicing, the smoke and flame from the burning furniture in the court-yard, and the wild destruction proceeding on all sides, rendered the scene worthy of pandemonium.

At the moment the people entered one door of the palace, a young woman clad in deep mourning left it by another; she led a child by the hand, while another was borne behind her by an officer. This was the Duchess of Orleans, who accompanied by the Duke of Nemours and attended by several officers and national guards, proceeded to the chamber of deputies to claim the vacant throne for her son.

The sitting of the chamber was to have commenced at three o'clock; but as early as twelve, numerous members were present, who collected in groups in the corridor called the *Pas-perdus,* discussed with agitated countenances the news of the day. At half past one the sitting was opened, and shortly afterwards an officer entered and spoke a few words to the president, who instantly rang his bell and announced the approach of the Duchess of Orleans. Three chairs were hastily placed by the attendants before the tribune, and the next moment the Duchess leading her two sons by the hand entered the chamber. Her veil was thrown back, her countenance pale and her eyes full of tears; but her bearing was calm and dignified. By her side was the Duke of Nemours, in a general's uniform and wearing all his orders, and a number of generals, officers, and national guards formed her suite. She seated herself in the arm chair in the centre, with the children on either side, they were dressed alike, in black, and their countenances expressed infantine astonishment rather than apprehension.

M. Dupin informed the chamber of the abdication of the king in favour of his grandson the Count de Paris, under the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, which was received with loud cheers by the centre, but in silence by the right and left. A voice from the public gallery exclaimed: "It is too late!" which called forth a tremendous burst of excitement, and several of the members began to close round the Duchess and her children. At this moment a large number of national guards with fixed bayonets, mixed with armed workmen, forced their way into the chamber, and an indescribable tumult followed, above which the clear voice of Lamartine, was heard begging the president to suspend the sitting, which request he instantly complied with. All the members now left their seats and crowded into the space before the tribune. The Princess thus pressed upon by the crowd, stood up, and several members urged her to leave the chamber. She hesitated, probably perceiving that by so doing she would abandon the last hope of securing the crown for her son; but at length yielding to their entreaties endeavoured to retire; but the crowd which was now pouring into the chamber, prevented all possibility of egress and the group remained standing, surrounded by a crowd of deputies.

After a time the sitting recommenced, and the deputy Marie ad-

dressed a short speech to the chamber, which ended with the following words: "I demand that a provisional government be instantly appointed." This was the first blow aimed at the principle of monarchy in the chamber. Odilon Barrot spoke warmly in favour of the Duchess of Orleans, and called upon the persons present to rally around the young prince. But his voice was drowned in the murmurs of the galleries, the ominous words: "It is too late!" were heard on all sides, and the uproar increased every moment. La Roche Jaqueline declared that an appeal must be made to the people, and that the present deputies were no longer the representatives of the nation. A roar of disapprobation from the centre interrupted him, but at this moment a new crowd of armed men entered the chamber and took possession of the tribune, on which they planted a tri-coloured flag. In the midst of the uproar occasioned by these new arrivals, Ledru Rollin ascended the tribune and demanded silence in the name of the people, upon which many of the deputies withdrew, and their places were taken by the crowd. Supported by the applause of the people he protested against the proposed regency, and concluded with the words: "I demand a provisional government, not appointed by the chambers, but by the people, and the immediate calling together of a national convention." A tremendous peal of applause followed, the weapons were swung, caps tossed in the air, and the uproar became greater than ever.

It was not till Lamartine mounted the tribune that order was in some degree restored. He spoke in favour of a provisional government which should restore order and permit an appeal to be made to the people; but ere he had concluded, the report of fire arms was heard in the adjoining corridor, the doors of the upper galleries were beaten in by blows from the butts of muskets and a crowd of drunken workmen fresh from the cellars of the Tuileries, poured into the chamber. The pressure of the crowd now became frightful, the greater part of the deputies strove to escape into the open air, and in the midst of this confusion the Duchess of Orleans and the rest of the royal party were hustled out of the chamber. The Duchess fell to the earth half insensible, at the door leading to the garden of the President's Hotel. The door was opened, the Duchess and the Count de Paris hurried through it, and it was then hastily closed. The little Duke of Chartres was thrown down in the crowd and separated from his mother; he was however rescued from his dangerous position by one of the ushers of the chambers, who took him to his house and the next day restored him to the Duchess, who had found a refuge at the Hotel des Invalids. The Duke of Nemours was very roughly handled by the populace, but after losing his hat and epaulets, escaped by the aid of some National guards into one of the committee rooms, where he changed his general's uniform for that of a national guard, and thus retired unnoticed.

Few of the deputies remained in the chamber, which was now filled by a crowd of the most motley description. In the midst of the most unearthly confusion, Dupont de l'Eure took the chair of the president, and Lamartine who had retained possession of the tribune, announced that the names of the members of the provisional government were about to be read over. As however the uproar rather increased than diminished, the names were written on pieces of paper and handed about on the points of bayonets from one place to another. The names of Thiers and Barrot were received with shouts of derision and cries of "*A bas Thiers! A bas Barrot! Vive la République!*" At length it was announced that the election, if such a word can be applied to the proceeding, had fallen on the following persons: Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Marie, Garnier-Pages, and Crémieux. Immediately afterwards Ledru-Rollin declared the meeting dissolved, and the new rulers of France hastened to the Hotel de Ville, to commence their first acts of authority.

On arriving at the Hotel de Ville they found it already in possession of the people. The Place de Grève was surrounded by barricades and strewed with dead horses. Biers with dead bodies were incessantly borne with their ghastly burdens into the interior, the bearers forcing their way through a crowd which danced, raved, sung and shouted in front of the building. The double staircase was crowded with an enormous mass of people who were struggling to reach the first floor, while other crowds were forcing their way in a contrary direction. All these people were armed, and in the greatest possible state of excitement. After forcing their way through this feverish mass into the principal saloon, they found it filled to suffocation by a crowd which was also engaged in the choice of a provisional government. Orators standing on a table with pistols in their hands, threw pieces of paper inscribed with names among the people, which were scrambled for amid an uproar that was truly diabolical; in fact the scene presented a counterpart in every respect to that already enacted in the chamber of deputies. No less than four provisional governments had been formed in different parts of Paris; besides the two already mentioned, a third was formed at the office of the "National," and a fourth at the Prefecture of Police.

All these four governments met at the Hotel de Ville, and after much haggling and speechifying, an amalgamation of them was arranged. To the seven deputies already chosen in the chamber, were added the names of Ferdinand Flacon, editor of the "Reforme;" Louis Blanc, formerly editor of a paper called the "Revue de progrès;" and Albert a machinist and editor of the "Atelier." This arrangement at length completed, the members of the government wished to retire, in order to take measures of defence against a possible attack on the capital, by the adherents of the monarchy; but in the next saloon another assembly of the people was engaged in forming another govern-

ment, which seemed, judging from the number and violence of the persons in consultation, likely enough to swallow up the first. Lamartine undertook to address this stormy assembly, which threatened to set all attempts to restore order at defiance. He entered the Hall, and borne upon the shoulders of his followers was able to overlook the scene. His eye glanced over a crowd of strange wild looking figures, many of whom carried red flags and torches, among which glittered the blades of swords and the barrels of muskets. A horrible crater, from which arose clouds of smoke and a chorus of oaths, curses and maledictions. He waited long for silence, which at length having been partially restored, he addressed them in a speech which lasted at least half an hour, and which had the effect of completely taming the excited multitude, who bore him in triumph on their shoulders to the apartment in which the other members of the new government were assembled.

But scarcely a quarter of an hour had passed, when the doors of the apartment yielded to a new crowd; they broke up the sitting and retired from one chamber to another followed by the people, who seemed determined to be present at the first consultation. At length they reached a small dark room at the end of a gloomy passage, where they at length found seats at a mean table, and were permitted to exercise their first act of power. Meanwhille the Place de Grève and all the adjoining streets were filled by a countless multitude impatient to learn the first decision of the new government. Ledru Rollin, attended by several pupils of the polytechnic school, was sent out to them and announced amid a roar of applause and the discharge of hundreds of muskets, that the provisional government had decided in favour of a republic. Shortly afterwards the two following proclamations were posted on all the walls of Paris:

"In the name of the French people."

"Proclamation of the Provisional Government to the people of France."

"A retrogade and oligarchical government has just been overthrown by the heroism of the Parisian people. This government has taken to flight and left behind a trace of blood which forbids it ever to return. The blood of the people has flowed as in July; but on this occasion this noble blood has not flowed in vain. It has acquired a national and popular government, in accordance with the rights, progress, and desires of a great and heroic people. A provisional government called forth by the pressure of circumstances, the acclamations of the people and those of the deputies of the departments, in the sitting of the 24th. of February, is at present charged with the care of securing and organizing the national victory. It consists of the Citizens Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Garnier Pages, and Marie. The secretaries of this government, are the Citizens Armand Marrast, Louis Blanc, Ferdinand Flocon and Albert. These Citizens have not hesitated

for an instant to accept the patriotic mission which the force of circumstances has rendered necessary. When the capital of France is in flames, the mandate of the provisional government is that of the common welfare. All France will understand this, and give them the support of its patriotism. Under the rule of the people, thus proclaimed by the provisional government, every Citizen is a Magistrate. Frenchmen, give to the world the same example that Paris has given to France; prepare yourselves by order and self-confidence for the noble institutions for which you are destined. The provisional government wishes a Republic with the assent of the people, which will be immediately asked; the union of the nation, and the government of the people by themselves. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, are the principles which are the devise and parole of the democratic government which France owes to herself."

(Here follow the Signatures.)

"In the name of the French people."

"The provisional government decrees: Dupont (de l'Eure) to be president of the council without a portfolio; Lamartine, minister for foreign affairs; Crémieux, minister of justice; Ledru Rollin, minister of the interior, Michael Goudechaux, minister of finance; Arago, minister of the marine; General Bedeau, minister of war; Carnot, minister of education; Bethmont, minister of commerce; Marie, minister of the public works; General Cavaignac, governor of Algiers. The Municipal guard is dismissed. Garnier Pages, is Major of Paris. Flotard is chief secretary of the provisional government. Etienne Arago is Postmaster general. The security of Paris is confided to the patriotism of the National guard, under the command of Colonel Courtais."

(Here follow the Signatures.)

These proclamations sufficed in a great measure to allay the excitement which prevailed in all classes of the community. In the evening Paris was again illuminated, and a stranger who had entered the city at this time, would scarcely have believed that only a few hours before it had been the scene of so desperate a conflict. In the streets which but a short time before had exhibited the dreadful spectacle of civil war, the people and soldiers now strolled arm in arm, all feelings of enmity being apparently forgotten as rapidly as they had been developed. In the midst of these joyous crowds however, might be seen many an anxious wife, sister, or father, seeking with heavy hearts their missing relatives, too often to find nothing but their mangled remains. All this passed in the midst of the wildest chaos. The streets were stripped of their pavement and encumbered by barricades, pools of blood and dead horses still marked the spots where the strife had been most deadly, and many of the houses were spotted to the very roof with the marks of bullets. The chronicles of the different feelings which had prevailed during the contest, were still to be seen written in short but impressive sentences on the walls and doors. Here: *Vive*

la réforme! there: *Vive la république!* farther on: *Les armes sont données*, and perhaps opposite: *Ambulance des blessées.* It was late at night ere the excited people, worn out at length with the toils of a three day's combat, sought their homes, to dream at leisure of the fruits of their victory.

Three days had sufficed to establish the throne of July, and three days were sufficient to overthrow it. The dynasty of Orleans has been sent to join its predecessor in exile, and the last phases of the rule of Louis Philippe, were exactly the same as those of Charles X.: Change of Ministers, Abdication, Deposal. But the bastard monarchy of the July barricades, unlike that of the legitimate Bourbons, passed without either regret or sympathy from any portion of the nation, and has left behind it scarcely the semblance of a party. No attempt was made to appeal from the sentence of Paris to the loyalty of the rest of France, probably because Louis Philippe felt in his heart that the appeal would have been in vain. He fled with part of his family in the first instance to St. Cloud, afterwards to Versailles, from thence to the Château d'Eu, and finally shipped himself on board a steamboat for England. The Duchess of Orleans remained two days at the Hotel des Invalids, when perceiving that all hopes of securing the crown for her son were at an end, she took her departure. The Duke de Nemours remained in Paris some days, at the house of a friend, and afterwards joined his father in England.

The revolution in France fell like a thunder-clap upon the rest of Europe, and almost every throne trembled with the shock. The convulsions produced by the example seem at least for the present to have subsided; but the future must decide if the great experiment of a democratic republic, will be found ultimately successful in a state of society so artificial as that of France.

THE PARISIAN INSURRECTION OF JUNE 1848.

THE TWENTY THIRD OF JUNE.

Many weeks had not elapsed since the fall of Louis Philippe and the overthrow of the French monarchy, before the leaders of the revolution became painfully aware, that it was a far easier task to overthrow the old edifice of a state, than to construct a new one which should answer the extravagant expectations of the multitude which had raised them to power. A large portion of the men who had fought upon the barricades, seem to have looked upon the word Republic, as a spell before which all social evils and disparities were at once to disappear; which was to give bread to the hungry, competence to the needy, and render the social condition of all classes as equal as their political rights.

The conduct of the provisional government during the early part of its career, was well calculated to strengthen the people in this delusion. Although possessed of almost unlimited power and the unbounded confidence of a large majority of the nation, they shewed themselves utterly incapable of originating any great measure for meeting the difficulties which beset them on all sides, and which were the natural consequences of the sudden and violent overthrow of the former government. The thousands of wealthy foreigners residing in Paris, had of course fled in dismay at the first outbreak of the revolution; and this circumstance alone, had the effect of depriving a considerable portion of the inhabitants of their ordinary means of existence. Commerce and manufactures were for the moment paralysed; and the government instead of taking measures to restore public confidence, seemed to take a childish pleasure in increasing the confusion. By the abolition of titles they mortally offended the aristocracy, who withdrew from the capital, thus leaving thousands who lived by their expenditure breadless; by rash and ill considered measures of finance, they destroyed the little confidence which the wealthy classes may have had in the new state of affairs, and Paris soon reckoned 100,000 unemployed workmen within its walls.

But instead of removing this dangerous element from the metropolis, and employing this vast body in constructing railways, canals or other public works at a distance from Paris, they expended enormous sums in maintaining public workshops, which had no other fruits than accustoming nearly 150,000 men to live in idleness, and forming so many nurseries of tumult and sedition. The government although frequently warned of the consequences of this measure, persisted in their course, till the great and increasing expense and the evident demoralizing effects of these workshops, the inmates of which spent the greater part of their time in drinking and gaming, at length opened their eyes to the evil.

That the existence of these establishments would lead to scenes of excess and tumult, had been foreseen and foretold by many; but that the event would occur so speedily, or that the outbreak would be of so formidable a character, seems to have been suspected by few. It was hastened by the measures of the government, which after hesitating a considerable time, at length felt itself compelled to attempt some modifications of the terms granted to the workmen, and the removal of a portion of them from the metropolis. This led to disturbances and riots in various quarters of Paris, which lasted four days, and during which, the insurgents completed their preparations for the contemplated attempt to overthrow the provisional committee.

The leaders of the insurrection consisted of the foremen and under foremen of the government workshops, of the officers of the republican guard, who had been dismissed on the reorganization of that body, of a part of the most desperate and violent members of the clubs, and lastly of the boldest and most audacious liberated convicts. Many old soldiers of desperate fortune and some persons of a higher rank, were also among the chiefs of this new Jacquerie. In the revolution of February immense numbers of students, clerks, and others of the educated classes, joined the movement; but on this occasion, the insurgent army which consisted of between 30 and 40,000 men was composed almost entirely of the people from the government workshops, which were known to contain nearly 20,000 persons who had been in the hands of the police, for greater or lesser infractions of the law; and it is to this class that the horrible cruelties inflicted on the wounded during the contest, is in all probability to be ascribed.

When it is considered to what class of persons the leaders of the insurrection belonged, it is not surprizing that the plan of operations was of a far more complete and perfect character than that of any former occasion, and that the system of barricade fighting, here reached the highest perfection of which it is capable. The part of the city chosen for the operations of the insurgents, was the eastern quarters of Paris, which notwithstanding the numerous improvements of late years, still presents a labyrinth of narrow crooked lanes, courts and alleys, which when fortified by barricades, assumed the character

of a fortress, impregnable to the assaults of an army, unless recourse were had to means which would have the propable effect of converting the whole district into a heap of ruins. Besides this, these quarters of the city contain two buildings, the possession of which is in the highest degree important to any party endeavouring to overthrow the existing government in Paris. These are the Hotel de Ville, and the Prefecture of Police, which may be said to be to Paris, what Paris itself is to the rest of France, as according to all precedents any change of government must be proclaimed at the first of these buildings, while the loss of the second, would in some degree have had the effect of paralysing the movements of the party in power.

Divided into four great masses, the insurgents strove in the first place to obtain possession of the neighbourhood of the Hotel de Ville, from which point, they could then extend their line of operations along the quays on both sides of the river, towards the palace of the national assembly. On the left bank of the Seine, a party fixed their head-quarters at the Pantheon, and occupied the whole of the Rue St. Jaques, the Rue de la Cité, and the bridges of Saint Michel and the Petit Pont; while at some distance on the same bank, another column took possession of the Rue St. Victor, the Place Maubert and the bridge of the Hotel Dieu. A third column had their head-quarters in the Close of St. Lazare, on the right bank of the river, and strove to advance in the direction of the Halle and the Hotel de Ville; while the fourth supported their operations on a colossal Barricade which they had erected at the entrance of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and extended them to the church of St. Gervais, which is situated immediately behind the Hotel de Ville. Their object was as above stated, to gain possession of that building, while at the same time they drew the half circle thus formed, and which inclosed the half of Paris, gradually closer. The crookedness of the streets chosen for their operations, rendered their retreat easy in case of defeat, and if fortune favoured them, they could seize on the main streets, and the Hotel de Ville must fall into their hands.

The insurrection broke out on the 23rd. of June, at 7. in the morning. At this hour a large crowd of unarmed workmen appeared near the Porte St. Martin, bearing the flags of the government workshops and those of the various clubs and unions. In a moment vehicles, boards, tubs, and all other materials that came to hand, were formed into three barricades, and the men were suddenly provided with arms, without any one appearing to know where they came from. The knowledge that an outbreak would take place, seems to have been pretty generally disseminated throughout Paris on the preceding evening, when 3000 men had assembled on the Place du Pantheon, and received their last instructions for the following day; but the Executive commission at the Luxembourg appears to have been ignorant of the danger, or to have purposely overlooked it, as at this moment there

were not more than 10,000 soldiers in Paris. A 8 o'clock the general march was beaten throughout the city; but the national guard did not appear in great numbers, so that only a few weak battalions could be sent against the first barricades, and these were consequently repulsed by the insurgents with great loss. Troops of the line and parties of the mobile guard were now sent out, and the barricades at the Porte St. Denis and Porte St. Martin, were taken without much difficulty; but those of the Faubourg St. Denis and Faubourg St. Martin were defended with great obstinacy, and their defenders were admirably supported by the sharp shooters they had placed at the windows and on the housetops of the adjoining houses. The attack on these barricades was made by the combined force of the troops of the line, the mobile guard, the national guard, and the artillery; and was directed by General Lamoricière. In the Faubourg Poissonnière, the resistance was so violent that General Lafontaine had great difficulty in driving them behind their barricades, and General Cavaignac was compelled to leave the Chamber of deputies and the Place de la Concorde almost without troops, in order to lead them against the mutineers, who were not driven from their position till towards evening.

During the engagement on the right bank of the river, the insurrection was fully organized on the left. In the Faubourg St. Jacques, at the Pantheon, in the Rue des Mathurius, on the Pont St. Michel, in the Cité, and on the Place Châtelot, barricades were erected; some were taken in the course of the day, but the greater number of which still remained in possession of the insurgents. At midday two companies of the line which advanced against a barricade were surrounded, and could only effect a retreat by promising not to fight again during the day. The barracks of a battalion of the mobile guard which had not received orders to act, was blockaded, and a battalion of the line was compelled to capitulate in the Place Royale, after shooting away its last cartridge. A battalion of the mobile guard which attacked the barricade at the Rue St. Severin, lost 300 of their number in the attempt, and was compelled to fall back to the Pont St. Michel in the most miserable condition; and at the barricade in the Rue St. Jacques, the deputy Vedeau was shot through the body at the head of a company of troops of the line. At 11 at night the general march was again beaten in all the quarters of Paris, the national guard appeared more numerously, and Paris was occupied by the military during the whole of the night. This did not however put an end to the combat, which continued with short intervals till morning, especially in the quarters of St. Jacques and the Marais, and the roar of the musketry was mingled with the dismal sound of the tocsin, which sounded incessantly from the towers of that part of the city occupied by the insurgents. Such was the state of affairs at the dawn of the eventful 24th. of June.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH OF JUNE.

The dawn of day found the insurgents in a much better state of organization than before, and in possession of the following positions. On the right bank of the Seine the Close of St. Lazare was almost impregnably fortified. The insurgents, sheltered by a series of formidable barricades, had also entrenched themselves in the walls of the new hospital, which they had strengthened with regular trenches and breast works, which although hastily executed were tolerably strong, and extended to the quarters of St. Denis, St. Martin, La Chapelle, La Villette, Du Temple, and the Faubourg St. Antoine. On the left bank of the river, the head quarters of the insurrection were at the Pantheon. The streets of St. Jacques, La Harpe, des Mathurius, and the Place Maubert were all furnished at the distance of every ten paces with enormous barricades. The leaders of the insurrection held their sittings in the church of St. Severin, from whence their messengers carried their orders on all sides. Not content with confining their operations to the banks of the river, they had also fortified themselves in the Cité, where the centre of their position was the Hotel Dieu. Their plans had evidently been carefully considered and skilfully carried out. The Pantheon, the Cité, and the Clos St. Lazare, formed the centre and wings of a truly formidable offensive line of operations, which inclosed the whole east side of the French capital. Masters of the church of St. Severin, the Pont St. Michel, and the neighbourhood of Pont Notre-Dame, they extended their operations to the other side of the Seine, where they had taken up a strong position at the church of St. Gervais. It was therefore evident that if they succeeded in pressing forward to the river from the points they held in the Faubourg du Temple, they would place the Hotel de Ville, and the troops surrounding it, between two fires, and in a very dangerous position.

Fortunately the national assembly had on the evening before confided all the powers of the state both civil and military, to General Cavaignac; and from that moment the defence of the city and the operations for suppressing the outbreak, were conducted with an energy and precision which is without example in the annals of Parisian insurrections. At 4. in the morning the general march was beaten throughout Paris, and at the same time the roar of musketry and artillery was heard at almost all the points of attack, and which continued almost without intermission till evening. The national guard were employed in guarding the interior of the city and preventing the spreading of the insurrection. At 10. o'clock the proclamation of the national assembly was posted at the corners of the streets, declaring their sittings permanent, Paris in a state of siege, and investing General Cavaignac, with the executive power. From this moment all the thoroughfares were closed and no one was allowed to pass through the streets without a written permission from the authorities, all shops

were closed and the inhabitants were forbidden to open their windows. This strong system of watchfulness, which the national guard exercised for three whole days, prevented effectually the increase of the outbreak; but for this, barricades would have been erected at the corner of every street, and the insurrection would only have been suppressed in one part of the city, to break out in another. The remainder of the national guard, not required for this purpose, were employed as reserves of the line and mobile guard.

These measures were absolutely necessary, for the combinations of the insurgent leaders developed themselves with startling effect. The centre advanced through the Rue St. Antoine, and endeavoured to gain possession of the Place de Grève. The left wing operated in two columns along the streets of St. Jacques and St. Victor, and endeavoured to pass the river by the Pont St. Michel and the Pont au Change. But the plan of defence adopted by General Cavaignac, baffled this bold plan, the line, the mobile guard and the national guard, repulsed these attacks at a great expense of blood, and were soon able to assume the offensive in their turn. An immense barricade had been erected in the Faubourg St. Denis, and the position of the insurgents had been chosen with great skill. Their rear was protected by the town-wall, and the elbow formed by the Rue Poissonnière rendered the use of artillery extremely difficult. This difficulty delayed the attack some time, but at length about 3. in the afternoon, large masses of troops were assembled in the neighbourhood and the assault commenced. The conflict in consequence of the strength of the position, was attended by a terrible loss to the assailants, who literally purchased every step of ground with their blood. Here General Bourgon, who conducted the attack, was mortally wounded, and General Korte and a Colonel of the national guard, were also severely injured. After two hours hard fighting, the barricade was taken and the insurgents retired to the Clos St. Lazare and the new hospital, where the cavalry could not follow them.

In the mean time the mutineers had been driven from the barricade in the Rue Faubourg du Temple. They retired to another in the Rue Corbeau and a slighter one not far from the Hospital of St. Louis, and many of their balls entered the windows of this building, but fortunately did no mischief. All these barricades were at last taken, and the Rue Faubourg du Temple taken possession of, by a mingled force of national guards, dragoons and cuirassiers. At 6. in the evening, the Faubourg St. Martin and the banks of the canal were in the hands of the troops, and the barricades in the Rue d'Angoulême, the Rue des Filles du Calvaire, the Rue Boucherat and the Vendome were stormed by the national and mobile guards. A battalion of the mobile guard and several companies of the line, supported by artillery, made themselves masters of the Quartier du Temple, where the insurgents fought with the most desperate resolution; and the communications between

the Clos St. Lazare and the Faubourg St. Antoine, where the insurrection was still in full force, were thus cut off, and the safety of the Hotel de Ville in a great measure secured. But in order to render it free from the danger of a sudden assault on the part of the insurgents, it was necessary they should be expelled from the opposite part of the Cité. Here they had taken possession of the houses and broken openings from one to the other, so as to form covered communications, extending the whole length of a street. Here too in consequence of the narrowness of the lanes of which this part of Paris is composed, the troops could do nothing without the most unsparing use of their artillery. The cannon soon cleared a road over the Pont Notre-Dame, and the battle began on the Quai des Fleurs. Many of the houses were completely riddled with cannon shot and reduced to heaps of ruins, and the insurgents at length finding the affair becoming too hot, withdrew over the Ponts Hotel Dieu, and St. Martin, to the neighbourhood of the Place St. Michel.

The whole of the Cité thus fell into the hands of the troops who were now enabled to reach the left bank of the river opposite to the Church of St. Severin, which was known to be the headquarters of the leaders of the insurrection. This position had been happily chosen, as it lies at an equal distance from the Rue La Harpe, and the Rue Jacques, the one leading to the Pont St. Michel, and the other to the Petit Pont.

Enormous barricades closed the roads over these bridges, and these were at length demolished by artillery, as others were seen at the corners of both these streets, while all the adjacent houses were occupied by sharp shooters. Here the roar of musketry continued without intermission for upwards of ten hours, drowned every two minutes by the thunder of the heavy artillery. The reason why the resistance was so desperate at this point was, that if these two bridges were taken and occupied by the military, the insurgents on the different sides of the river would no longer have any means of communicating with each other. This resistance was only to be overcome by artillery, and at half past 3. in the afternoon, the troops were masters of the Place St. Michel, the Hotel Dieu, and the neighbouring houses in which the insurgents had fortified themselves. They retired more and more embittered over their increasing losses, to the Place Maubert, where the resistance became more desperate than ever.

After a battle which lasted upwards of two hours, they were also driven from this position, and fell back to the Rue Victor, near the Halle aux Vins, where they again stood their ground and exchanged shots with the soldiery. In the Faubourg St. Marceau, the engagement was not less bloody, the iusurgents defending all their barricades with great bravery; but at length about half past 3 o'clock, they were driven from the main positions in this quarter. In this part of the city, which is inhabited by the lowest and most desperate part of the Pari-

sian population, the rancour was so great that the women threw boiling oil and matter on the troops, other women assisted in defending the barricades, or armed with pikes and sabres, attacked at once the retreating advancing combatants, the first as deserters and the last as enemies. Maddened with rage and drink they sometimes endeavoured to wrench the weapons from the hands of the soldiers, and many of these furies fired from the houses on the troops. Here the failing courage of the insurgents was stimulated by immense quantities of spirits, which were supplied to them with an unsparing hand, and it is asserted that these spirits were adulterated with drugs which had the effect of producing an excitement little short of madness.

At no great distance from this horrid scene of drunken fury, another desperate contest ensued with the insurgents who had fortified themselves in the church of St. Severin, which was stormed by the Mobile guard under the command of General Damesme, who however paid for his victory with the loss of a leg. But the most bloody conflict of this dreadful day, took place in the upper part of the Quartier St. Jacques. Here the firing scarcely ceased during the whole day, and the 11th. legion of the National guard which first advanced to the attack was received with so terrible a discharge of musketry from the colonnade of the Pantheon, that they were compelled to fall back to the Rue St. Jacques. Two hours afterwards, a battalion of the Mobile guard attempted to storm the position; but the fire of the insurgents was so heavy and well sustained, that they were compelled to take shelter in the College of Law, leaving upwards of 1000 of their number killed or wounded on the spot. The troops of the line hurried to the help of the distressed Mobile guard, when a body of men were perceived who were taken for National guards, as they indeed were. They were a part of the 12th. Legion, who together with several of their officers had joined the insurgents, and now availing themselves of the error of the troops who mistook them for friends, gave them a tremendous volley, and in the confusion which followed made themselves masters of a piece of artillery. The shattered column however speedily rallied, retook the gun, and drove their treacherous enemies from the spot. They took refuge within the walls of the Pantheon, where they found every means of resistance already prepared. To drive the insurgents from this building it was necessary to force open the doors with cannon shot, and a breach once effected, the Mobile guard rushed through a shower of bullets into the interior and succeeded in conquering the insurgents, whose defence in a better cause, would have been justly deemed heroic.

The taking of the Pantheon by no means put an end to the conflict in this quarter. Around lay the barricades of the Rue de la Viestle Estrapade, the Rue Neuve St. Geneviève, the Rue de Fourcy, and several others. For upwards of four hours the roar of musketry and the thunder of cannon continued to resound in this neighbourhood, and

it was not till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, that the streets in this quarter were in the possession of the troops. The appearance of a part of the National guard in uniform on the side of the insurgents, contributed not a little to the desperate resistance offered, and which could only be overcome at the expense of a fearful loss of life on the side of the troops. The Faubourg St. Antoine was however still in possession of the insurgents, and the noise of the firing which continued till late in the night, shewed that the conflict was still raging and the result still undecided.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH OF JUNE.

During the whole of the night between the 24th. and 25th. of June, from Saturday till Sunday, the thunder of cannon mingled with the incessant clatter of small arms, continued to fill the minds of the inhabitants of Paris with fear and anxiety. The information conveyed to the chamber on the evening of the 24th. certainly stated that the insurgents had been driven from the city, and severely checked on both banks of the Seine; that the suburbs of St. Jacques, St. Victor, Saint Marcel, St. Denis, St. Martin and the Poissonnière, were in the power of the troops as far as the neighbourhood of the barriers, and that the outbreak was now confined to three points, viz. the Clos St. Lazare, the Faubourg du Temple, and the suburb of St. Antoine, which places had not yet been seriously attacked. But not alone at these places, but also in several others, and even in the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville, in the Quartier St. Antoine and in the Marais, single groups of barricades were still standing, which rendered the victory of the previous day imperfect, and against which the cannon still continued their work of destruction. The president of the National assembly and even General Cavaignac, were by no means so confident of victory as they endeavoured to appear, and the obstinate resistance of the insurgents the long continuance of the outbreak, and the extensive means evidently at the disposal of the leaders, determined them in the event of the success of the insurrection, to remove the geat of government to some other city. In that case, General Cavaignac would make his last effort in the neighbourhood of the chamber of deputies, and should this fail, retire with the army and the National guard to St. Cloud or Versailles. In the meantime the heavy losses sustained by the insurgents, had the effect of greatly diminishing their audacity, though not their obstinacy. The insurrection had passed its culminating point, and from this time the efforts of its supporters, were solely confined to the defensive.

Before commencing a detail of the operations of the 25th. of June, it is necessary to recapitulate an account of the state of the affairs during the two preceeding days. During the whole of the night between the 23rd. and 24th. of June, the insurgents had employed themselves in

the erection of barricades, each of which became the centre around which others arose, and it was therefore to be apprehended, that the insurrection radiating in every direction from the quarters in which it had firmly established itself, would in the end extend to the whole city and enclose the national assembly. Under such circumstances it was absolutely necessary in the first instance to repel the insurgents to their head quarters, and confine them to certain points, as the force they at present possessed was infinitely less to be feared than the possible extension of the outbreak to other quarters of the city, in which case, a much larger force than that at the disposal of the government would have been required to hold it in check. The object of Cavaignac therefore during the whole of the 24th. was merely to confine the insurgents to the quarters they already possessed. and to cut off the communications between these various points. On the evening of the 24th. he had so far succeeded in this attempt, that the communications between the Clos St. Lazare and the Faubourg St. Antoine, as well as those between this suburb and the Quartier Latin, were completely broken, at the same time the last barricade in the Quartier St. Martin was taken, and order was restored at least in a great degree in the neighbourhood of the Rue St. Jacques, the Place de la Sorbone, and the Pantheon.

On the same evening General Bréa undertook the command in the place of General Damesme, who had been seriously wounded at the corner of the Rue St. Génevieve, where the insurgents had possession of the terrace of the college of Henri IV., and of a tremendous barricade. On the 25th. General Bréa caused the Rue Mouffetard to be reconnoitered and all suspected houses to be searched for weapons, and also took possession of the barracks de l'Oursine, which had been partially burnt on the previous day by the insurgents. He then marched at the head of two battalions of infantry of the line, two heavy pieces of artillery and several detachments of the mobile guard, to the barrier of Fontainebleau, which was occupied by a party of upwards of 2000 insurgents. Here he commanded a halt, and at the same moment 4 blousemen appeared from a side door of the barrier, approached the general, assured him of their devotion to the republic and invited "their brothers" the soldiers to ascend the barricade and fraternise with them. The general in the hope of prevailing on the insurgents to lay down their arms, approached the barricade accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas of the mobile guard, Major Theil of the national guard, the Staff officer de Mangin and M de Ludre. The insurgents opened the gate of the barrier, and invited them to enter. Thomas and de Ludre refused, but Bréa, Dupont, Mangin and the infantry major did so, when the gate was instantly closed, the insurgents appeared in great numbers on the barricade, and threatened their prisoners as well as Thomas and de Ludre, who stood defenceless before the barrier, with instant death if the whole column did not lay down their arms. After a long

negociation, a half hour's truce was agreed to by Thomas, and General Cavaignac was informed of this unfortunate circumstance. During this half hour General Bréa and Captain Mangin were murdered by the insurgents under circumstances of almost unparalleled cruelty, and their bodies were afterwards discovered, mutilated in the most horrible manner. The other two managed to escape in the confusion. When Lieutenant Colonel Thomas returned, he was fired on from the barricade, and he then ordered the position to be attacked: the barricade was first battered by the artillery and then carried with the bayonet, without the troops suffering any very considerable loss. The barrier from this time remained in the power of the soldiers, and in the quarters of St. Jacques and Mouffetard, the outbreak was stifled in the blood of the insurgents.

On the right bank of the Seine the rioters were still in possession of several barricades, which the troops had not hitherto attacked, because they were completely isolated and from their position could not easily be used as a central point for new erections. These were stormed in the course of this day; but the insurgents still held themselves bravely in the Clos St. Lazare, the Faubourg Poissonnière, and in the whole extent of the outer boulevards, extending from the Chapelle St. Denis to the Faubourg St. Antoine, which was still entirely in their possession. In this last named suburb they had time during the last two days to strengthen their position to the utmost; as a first line of defence they had here the canal and the Seine, which limited the points of attack to a few places. Besides this, all the foremost rows of houses were occupied by the insurgents, the opening of every street blocked up by a barricade, and the whole district transformed into a fortress; but the neighbourhood of Vincennes and the want of populous quarters in the vicinity, fortunately prevented the insurrection from spreading still farther in this direction. From various eminences which overlook the faubourg, it was easy to perceive that certain persons exercised a degree of authority over the insurgents, that other persons delivered them reports, and that orders were then given, which were immediately executed by the armed multitude.

At each end of the bridge of Austerlitz rose an enormous barricade. The Place Valhubert at the northern entrance to the garden of plants, was also barricaded and turned into a kind of outwork, which was intended to prevent the troops from passing the river and attacking the faubourg on its weakest side. On the other side of the canal the insurgents had taken possession of the barracks of the Celestines, which also served as an outwork. They were also masters of the bridge of Damietta, which unites the quay of the Celestines with the island of St. Louis; at the same time their position leaned on the Place Royale, which was also in their possession, and extended along the quays and the lanes running parallel with them, to the Rue Geoffroy-Lanier, only a few paces from the Hotel de Ville. Their po-

sition was thus in the form of a triangle of which the river formed the base. The Clos St. Lazare was also transformed into a complete fortress, to which the church of St. Vincent de Paule on the right and the warehouse of the customs to the left, formed complete outworks. The insurgents however no longer sought to reach the boulevards, and from thence to penetrate the interior of the city, but chose the line of the town wall for that of their operations, and every part of this wall in their possession, was pierced with loop-holes from which they could fire on their assailants. They were also masters of several barriers, by which they were in communication with La Voilette, La Chapelle, and Montmartre, where a part of the national guard were in their favour, and they were thus able to cut off the rest from Paris.

The insurgents being thus driven from the interior of the city, and having fortified themselves in the suburbs, the mobile and national guard could now make way for the artillery and the sappers and miners, whose peculiar business it is to deal with cases like the present. While therefore the artillery battered the barricades in front, the sappers broke their way through the houses on either side and attacked the insurgents from the walls and roofs. This mode of proceeding certainly occupied more time than would have been required for taking the barricades from the front; but by this means the victory was more certain, and was obtained at a less amount of blood shed to the assailants. At 1. o'clock General Lamorcière took possesson of the custom house, after the doors had been broken open by means of shells. By means of howitzers the Clos St. Lazare was cleared of the insurgents, and the place taken by storm, and here 6000 muskets and a large quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of the troops. By these means they continued to advance till they completely cut the insurrection into two parts, driving the insurgents on the one hand towards Montmartre, and on the other towards the Faubourg du Temple. Soon the barriers were cleared, and the communications opened with Montmartre and La Chapelle St. Denis, thus allowing the well disposed part of the national guard of those places, to march to the assistance of their Parisian brethren.

The conflict on these points was however slight, compared with that which awaited the assailants at the Faubourg St. Antoine. Here the barricades were perfect masterpieces of their kind, and these edifices occurred in the main streets at the distance of every 40 or 50 paces. All the side streets were also closed by similar structures, and the houses looking on the streets were all occupied by the insurgents who blocked up the windows with mattresses and articles of furniture, so as to transform them into loop holes, from which the best marksmen fired with deadly effect upon the troops, while their comrades behind loaded their muskets. On the Place de la Bastille, the preparations were of a not less formidable nature. The barricades were here constructed of squared stones, and in the regular form of a glacis, so that

the cannon shot on striking them, bounded over the heads of the defenders; others not so scientifically constructed were nevertheless built with the solidity of the walls of an ancient castle, while others were constructed of planks and squared timber, which had been brought from the establishments of the dealers in those articles.

These tremendous fortifications defended by thousands of desperate men, presented obstacles which could only be overcome by the military at an enormous expenditure of human life. The first barricade in the Rue St. Antoine was attacked and defended with a degree of desperation which was extraordinary even in this embittered contest. It lay nearly opposite the Hotel de Ville, and in consequence of its important position was an object for the possession of which both parties strove with equal eagerness. To obtain possession of it, the soldiers were compelled to storm the whole vicinity, house by house, and it was not taken till after a series of engagements in which the line and mobile guard lost an immense number both of men and officers, and almost the whole of the artillery-men who served the cannon, were wounded.

At 7. in the morning the troops entered the Rue St. Antoine, and shortly afterwards General Duvivier who commanded them, was wounded in the foot; General Perrot took his place and continued during the whole day to force his way towards the Place de la Bastille, while General Négrier at the head of a detachment of the line and the artillery of the national guard, pressed forward along the quays which were still in the possession of the insurgents, taking numerous barricades and at length making himself master of the barracks of the Celestines and the Granary. His column now marched back over the Boulevard Bourbon to the Place de la Bastille, and he had just despatched an officer for reinforcements in order to clear the after part of the Rue St. Antoine, when he was struck by a bullet from the barricade which closed the entrance to the Faubourg, and fell mortally wounded to the earth; and the deputy Charbonnet who rode by his side, met a similar fate. In the mean time General Lamoricière occupied the Faubourg du Temple and the line of the boulevards as far as the Rue des Filles du Calvaire. Here some unfinished houses were occupied by the insurgents; but they were soon driven from thence by the artillery, so that towards evening General Lamoricière was able to unite his column with those of Generals Perrot and Négrier on the Place de la Bastille; and the whole of the forces of the government at length stood before the Faubourg St. Antoine, which had been bombarded during the greater part of the day.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH OF JUNE.

The insurrection which had been curbed and repressed on all sides on the 24th. and 25th. of June was completely annihilated on

the 26th. On the left bank of the Seine, the Cité and the island of St. Louis, were completely cleared; while on the right, the faubourgs Montmartre, Poissonnière, St. Denis and St. Martin, were also in possession of the troops. This was also the case with the line of the boulevards, the Quartier du Temple and the Quartier St. Antoine; but the insurgents still held their ground in two districts, viz. in the Faubourg du Temple, where the troops had only partially obtained the upper hand, and in the Faubourg St. Antoine, of which only the part near the bridge of Austerlitz, and along the bank of the river had been conquered. General Lamoricière, after taking on the evening of the 25th. the fearful positions on the heights of the Faubourgs Poissonnière, Montmartre and La Chapelle St. Denis, adopted measures during the night, for storming the Faubourg du Temple, and afterwards operating on the left side of the Faubourg St. Antoine. Early on the morning of the 26th. he attacked the barricades at the entrance of the faubourg on this side the canal, and after battering them with shot and shells caused them to be carried with the bayonet. The insurgents driven from this bank of the canal were thrown back towards the Faubourgs of Ménilmontart and Popincourt, and the troops of the line and mobile guard now crossed the canal by the Rue St. Sebastian and directed their march towards the Quartier Popincourt, and the Faubourg St. Antoine, where the insurgents had four days to complete their fortifications.

The main street of the Faubourg St. Antoine, was entirely in the possession of the insurgents, who had fortified it at intervals with enormous barricades. Between the Place de la Bastille and the Barrière du Throne there were no less than 65 of these erections, the foremost of which being constructed of hewn stone and other building materials, were nearly bomb proof, and were furnished with covered ways and embrasures, like the bastions of a regular fortress. These formidable redoubts must have been constructed under the superintendence of an officer of engineers. All the side streets leading to the river on to the canal, were also barricaded. Three enormous barricades defended the entrance of the faubourg from the Place de la Bastille, and from the centre one, waved the red flag of the social republic. Behind the barricades a kind of foundries were constructed, where bullets were cast by means of an ingenious apparatus for making a number at a time, and the gun cotton which they used as a substitute for gunpowder, was manufactured by a pastrycook. Some attempts had been made to form cannon out of gas-pipes, and they did contrive to form a kind of mortar, from which they could fire long range shot upon their assailants. Two small brass cannon had also been discovered at an old iron shop, and these were also used during the conflict. All articles they required and which could be furnished by the inhabitants, were paid for in "bons," which were made payable at the Hotel de Ville.

So convinced were the insurgents of the final triumph of their cause, notwithstanding their defeats during the last two days, that they rejected all the mediations which were offered by several members of the national assembly, who were rewarded for their humanity by being detained as hostages. And even the heroic step of the Archbishop of Paris, whose evangelic zeal led to a death which well deserves the name of martyrdom, failed in its effect. The conviction that a part of the heavy artillery they heard rumbling around them, was in the hands of their "brothers," under "Friend Caussidière," seems to have strengthened them in this delusion, and rendered them deaf to any proposal of negociation; and as all means of inducing them to listen to reason failed, no other course was left but an appeal to arms. On the side of the insurgents the three main streets which diverge from the Place de la Bastille and traverse the whole length of the faubourg, were strongly entrenched. The Boulevard Beaumarchais, the Rue St. Antoine and the Boulevard Bourbon, on the side of the city, were in possession of the troops. Three redoubts mounted with cannon covered these three fronts of attack. The Place de la Bastille and the canal which runs through the centre divided the positions of the hostile parties.

General Perrot had undertaken the direction of the operations against the faubourg. Recurt, ex-minister of the interior and Adam, adjunct of the Mayor of Paris, were with him. The first hours of the morning were devoted to the labour of the trenches, and General Cavaignac had placed a corps of engineers and the necessary heavy artillery at his disposal. Soon a tremendous redoubt arose at the end of the Rue St. Antoine, which commanded the opposite street of the faubourg; while the wood yard at the corner of the Rue Bourbon, was transformed into a complete casemate, in which the troops sheltered themselves. The insurgents on their side occupied all the houses facing the side of the expected attack and they could be distinctly seen blocking up the windows with mattresses and placing themselves on their posts. While both sides thus prepared for the conflict, envoys were announced who brought proposals of accommodation from the insurgents, and at 8. in the morning these envoys, four in number, advanced and took their places beside the column of July, where they were joined by the deputy Recurt, who appeared on the part of the government. The insurgents offered to remove their barricades on condition that they were allowed to retain their arms, and that the prisoners of Vincennes should be set at liberty. Recurt pointed out to them the absurdity of this proposal, and assured them that nothing but unconditional surrender could be accepted; but this they refused to hear of, and were consequently dismissed. At 9 o'clock new negociations were opened by the insurgents, who offered to lay down their arms on condition that the existence of the "social and democratic republic," was guaranteed to them; and at the same time presented a

program of what they understood under these words. This consisted of a wild chaos of socialist and jacobinical principles, being a mere echo of the doctrines which Barbes, Sobrier and others, had proclaimed on the 15th. of May. Recurt refused to read the program, and again demanded unconditional submission, but on this being refused by the envoys, offered to accompany them to the faubourg, where he was well known as a medical practitioner, and greatly respected as a friend of the poor: and it was necessary to prevent him by force from putting this dangerous but philanthropical scheme into execution.

In the meantime the noise of firing was heard on the side of the Faubourg du Temple, which increased from minute to minute, and was occasioned by the advance of General Lamoricière to attack the insurgents on that side, in accordance with the plan of military operations. At half past 9, an aid-de-camp from General Cavaignac brought orders to open the fire on the faubourg at 10, if it had not surrendered before that time. This order was communicated to the insurgents, and produced a scene of the most touching and affecting character. A number of the peaceful inhabitants made their way to the spot where the negociations were still pending, protesting that they were compelled to take part in the insurrection by force, and imploring that at least the women and children might be permitted to retire. This request was granted, and soon a column of these unfortunates were seen flying towards the yuays; this soon ceased however, either because they feared to be exposed to the firing, which was expected to commence every moment, or because their departure was prevented by the insurgents.

The negociations had now lasted nearly two hours, and the time fixed for the surrender of the place or the recommencement of hostilities was fast approaching. A dreadful feeling of anxiety oppressed every heart, and a deep silence prevailed as the eventful moment approached. The clock struck, and the insurgents stood to their arms. At the last stroke, a single cannon shot gave the signal, and the firing commenced. The whole suburb now shook beneath the thunder of the cannonade, and the insurgents on their part replied with equal energy. Soon the shells set fire to a house at the corner of the Rue de la Roquette, and a dense smoke which poured down upon the neighbouring houses, compelled the insurgents to evacuate them. The firing now became slacker, and the impatient soldiers of the Mobile guard without waiting for orders, rushed towards the faubourg in order to have the honour of capturing the first flag. In vain General Perrot called them back, and threatened to order the artillery to fire on them if they did not obey, they still continued their course. The General therefore resolved to make the best possible use of the circumstance, ordered the charge to be sounded, and the 48th. regiment of the line and a number of National guards to advance and divide into three columns to attack the barricades which closed the faubourg. A heavy fire was opened

upon them as they advanced, but nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the troops; the first barricades were carried in an instant, the soldiers dashed into the streets and without giving the insurgents time to recover from their first panic, pursued them from barricade to barricade, till the whole faubourg was in their possession.

This unfortunate piece of haste on the part of the Mobile guard, had the effect of rendering the plan of the general to cut off the retreat of the insurgents nugatory. General Lamoricière, whose troops were to have extended themselves from the canal to the Barriere du Throne, not having had time to take up his position. This is greatly to be regretted, as the delay of a single half hour would have been sufficient to render the escape of the chiefs of the insurrection impossible. While the contest was raging on the Place de la Bastille and in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the insurgents who had been driven from the Faubourg du Temple and the boulevard, entrenched themselves on the other side of the canal, which as the chiefs had justly reckoned, served as an enormous trench to their new position. They had succeeded in the population of Belleville, which consequently served them not only as a point of support, but also to cover their last retreat. Driven at length to the barrier, they for a time defended themselves at the town-wall, which they had pierced with loop-holes, and on the other side of which they had erected barricades. One of the largest of these was directly opposite the Barrière de Belleville, another arose before the Mairie of the same place, but not being strongly built, could not long be defended. Numerous other barricades which studded the whole length of the Rue de Paris as far as the fortifications at Romainville, were intended to protect them from the assaults of cavalry or from those of light infantry which might march towards them from the side of Bondy or Vincennes. The possibility of an attack from this side seemed to give them much anxiety, as they were in evident danger of being surrounded on all sides. They remained in this position from the Friday till the following Monday, when the news of the fall of the Faubourg St. Antoine having reached them, many were seen retreating into the open country in hopes of finding a hiding place, or to bury their arms in the fields. The inhabitants of Belliville, Ménil montant and Les Trois Couronnes, abandoned their houses at the same time and hastened loaded with their property and provisions into the fields in order to avoid the expected bombardment by the military. This was however not necessary; between 5, and 6, in the evening, columns of the Mobile and National guard, supported by artillery, removed the whole of the barricades, and compelled the remainder of the insurgents to seek for refuge in the open country.

The skirmishes at Belliville were the last scenes of the bloody drama which had occupied the citizens of Paris during four entire days. The number of the insurgents has generally been estimated at from 40 to 45,000 men, and many of their companies were commanded

by individuals in the uniform of officers of the National gaard, or by persons in civil clothing, who wore the red ribbon of the legion of honour at their breasts. All these bands acted with the greatest unanimity; the precision of their manoeuvres, the construction of their barricades, the order and combination of their stratagetic operations, caused the astonishment of the most experienced military officers. With such leaders, and with the enormous resources they possessed, the confidence they shewed of ultimate success is not surprising; nor is to be wondered at, that the conquest could only be purchased at so fearful an expense of toil and bloodshed. The amount of loss on both sides has never been ascertained, and has been variously estimated at from 5, to 10,000. The Mobile guard, consisting almost entirely of youths from fifteen to twenty years of age, fought with a courage which could not have been surpassed even by the iron veterans of Napoleon, and suffered more than either the troops of the line or the National guard. To their energetic conduct in the cause of order, the victory of the government is mainly to be attributed; but however praiseworthy their behaviour may have been, it is not to be denied that the side they took in the affair was almost entirely the effect of accident, and it is a frightful thought, that the fate of France and perhaps the peace of Europe, hung upon the chance of which side these youths might take in the quarrel. The first column of the Mobile guard that was ordered against a barricade, was evidently uncertain what course to pursue. The step with which they advanced was wavering, and on approaching the barricade they halted and remained standing, their muskets under the arm, with the muzzles pointed to the earth. The workmen who occupied the barricade now poured a volley into their ranks, and this decided the matter. The story was soon spread among their comrades, and from this moment they fought heart and soul on the side of the government. They lost upwards of 1000 men, of whom 750 were killed or wounded, and about 250 disappeared, without it ever having been discovered what became of them. Some may certainly have gone over to the insurgents and there have found their end; but the most of them in all probability fell into their hands as prisoners, and were murdered and their remains made away with.

The army and National guard also suffered severely, and to form an estimate of their loss, it will be sufficient to count the number of generals wounded. Of fourteen who held command, eleven were more or less injured. Two, Generals Négrier and Bréa, were killed on the spot; and four afterwards died of their wounds. Generals Lebreton, Perrot and Lemoricière escaped unhurt; but the latter had two horses killed under him, and according to the statement of old soldiers, the loss of generals was greater than in any of the battles of Napoleon, and that of men and officers greater than of any siege during the last war.

The insurrection of June had nothing in common with the other political conflicts which have so often stained the streets of Paris with the blood of its citizens. On previous occasions the contest was between the adherents of different political systems. The state as a whole was to remain unchanged, whichever party were the victors, and the struggle was principally as to who was to be intrusted with its guidance. These conflicts were often bloody, and carried on with great bitterness on both sides; but they were for the most part decided by an open appeal to arms, unstained by treachery, useless cruelty, or unnecessary murders. With the display of the red flag however, a new and fearful principle was developed; the cry was no longer *Vive la charte! Vive la nation!* or *Vive la liberté!* but the watchword of the insurgents in this case was: *Vive la republique democratique et sociale!* and as a commentary on this demand, many inscribed on their flags the words: *Le pillage et le viol!* One of the prisoners on being interrogated, declared: "All possessors of property are scoundrels, that is my opinion, and in support of that opinion I have taken arms! The acts of these men were in perfect accordance with their theories, and posterity will hesitate to credit the records of the enormities practised on the prisoners who fell into their hands, in the middle of the 19th. century, and in a city which aspires to be considered the capital of European civilization.

It would be difficult to point out in the history of any other nation, a conflict carried on with equal ferocity and cruelty. The barbarities practised on the unfortunate soldiers who fell into their hands, almost exceeds belief, and reminds of the stories told of the North American Indians. On the insurgents being compelled to retire from the Place Maubert, five officers of the mobile guard who had been captured were decapitated with a knife, by a man disguised in woman's clothing. In the Quartier St. Marceau several soldiers of the mobile guard were found hanging by their wrists, with their bodies horribly mangled, and an old woman who was taken by the mobile guard, boasted that she had cut off the noses and ears of three of their comrades. On one of the principal barricades in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the body of a soldier in uniform with the abdomen ripped open, was suspended from a pole, and on many others human heads were displayed as trophies. These are only a few of the horrors which were proved to have been perpetrated by these monsters in human shape; but others were related which will scarcely bear repetition, and which it is to be hoped for the credit of human nature are exaggerations.

Behind the Barrière Rochechouart a garden engine was found, the cistern of which was filled with vitriol, which was intended to be discharged upon the soldiers. The doors and furniture of many of the houses were found smeared with pitch, in order to set them on fire in case of retreat, but the rapid advance of the military, and the solid construction of the Parisian houses, in most cases prevented this

atrocity succeeding. On the persons of many of the prisoners were found horrid proofs of the malignity which animated the party. Plain or even notched bullets were looked upon as missiles not sufficiently deadly; pieces of copper covered with verdegris and small shells constructed so as to burst in the wound, were in many instances discovered. A more favorite missile was a bullet pierced with a piece of wire, which projected on either side, and which in most cases it was impossible to extract, so that the person wounded was almost certain to die a lingering death.

The number of prisoners taken by the military was enormous; during the first days they amounted to 6500, and shortly afterwards to not less than 14,000. They were for the most part confined in the forts recently constructed round Paris, but others were placed in the various prisons within the city, and the military school, and even the subterranean passage in the Tuileries through which Louis Philippe escaped on the 24th. of February, were used as temporary places of confinement. Specimens of every class of society were to be found amongst them, many were pensioned officers and dismissed soldiers, about 100 were students, a large number were numbers of the dismissed republican guard, but the majority were workmen, including a large proportion of tailors.

Nothing could be more remarkable than the appearance of the French metropolis during the continuance of the conflict, and Paris resembled a city, the inhabitants of which had been suddenly swept away by a pestilence. The streets, quays and boulevards, usually so crowded, were still and empty, neither carriages nor foot passengers were to be seen. All the shops and windows were closed and no smoke was to be observed rising from the chimneys; and the thunder of artillery, the roar of musketry, the roll of the drums and the blast of the trumpets, alone broke the deathlike silence that prevailed. Soldiers, citizens in uniform, cavalry and artillery men, were the only persons visible out of the million inhabitants of Paris; the rest awaited in the interior of their houses, with anxious hearts the result of the combat. The picture presented by the quays and boulevards was rendered peculiar by the vast numbers of national guards from the provinces who occupied them, and who had left their business, their wives and families, to support the government in its struggle against the modern anabaptists.

Not less extraordinary was the appearance of the city for some days after the conclusion of the battle. On the 27th. the previous regulations were enforced with regard to the public thoroughfares, and now and then shots were heard from the sentinels, fired at persons who endeavoured to evade these measures. Parties of military were employed in searching suspected houses, and in parts of the city to which the insurrection had not extended, large stores of arms, ammunition and tools of various kinds were discovered, proving that

nothing but the prompt vigilance of the government had prevented the erection of barricades in the very heart of the city. But few shops were opened on the morning of the 27th. but in the course of the day their number increased considerably. In the evening some foot passengers began to appear, and a few fiacres and other vehicles became visible. In the quarters where the conflict had raged most furiously, the appearance of the streets and houses was melancholy in the extreme, and the Pantheon, the Quartier St. Jacques, the Cité and the Faubourg St. Antoine, appeared like fortresses which had been taken by storm after being reduced to ruins by a bombardment. Nothing was wanting to complete the picture. Troops encamped, bivouac fires and suttlers, met the eye at every turn. The inhabitants with gloomy and haggard countenances wandered about their half ruined homes, and evidently had not yet recovered from the dreadful state of fear and anxiety in which they had passed the last four days. At every thirty or forty paces appeared the ruins of barricades, many of which were of enormous size, and still stained with the blood of their defenders. The gates of the Pantheon were broken down, the doors shattered with cannon shot, the fluted pillars and the sculptured pediment spotted with the marks of bullets, and the colossal statues on either side of the entrance, broken to pieces. The church of St. Etienne du Mont, had also suffered from the effects of artillery and among other injuries the top of one of its steeples had been shot away. The Rue St. Jacques presented a most deplorable spectacle, the houses being for the most part riddled with cannon shot, and spotted from top to bottom with the marks of grape and musket balls.

In the Cité and in the narrow streets near the Hotel de Ville, where it is impossible for the eye to take in a large space at a time, the appearance of the devastated houses was truly horrible. These lanes and alleys had been defended step by step, many of the houses had been set on fire by the shells, and when the district first fell into the hands of the troops it was so strewed with dead and wounded, that according to the statement of an eye witness, it was scarcely possible to walk five paces without stumbling over some object of this description; now however nothing was to be seen but smoking ruins, shattered barricades, and desolated houses. But the aspect of the Rue St. Antoine exceeded if possible even this part of the city, in the picture it exhibited of the horrors of civil war. Many of the houses were so shattered that they threatened every moment to fall on the heads of the passengers. Every window was broken and many had disappeared altogether. The mirrors of the coffee houses and the goods in the shops were broken to pieces by the grape shot, the iron balconies bent or broken, the golden letters on the signboards half obliterated, and the acacia trees at the entrance of the street half shot away. The Faubourg St. Antoine presented a similar spectacle; the houses on the Place de la Bastille were mere heaps of ruins, on

the left hand a whole clump of houses had been fired by the shells, the house at the right hand corner had been razed to the ground with the exception of one wall, on which still hung a looking glass, which strangely enough had escaped injury while all around was in ruin. Large bodies of troops still held possession of all the streets in the suburbs and large parties of prisoners with their hands bound behind them were constantly seen on their way to the different prisons.

Long before the end of the conflict the number of wounded had increased to such an extent, that the ordinary hospitals were insufficient for their accommodation. Temporary hospitals and dead houses were therefore constructed in the churches of St. Severin, St. Gervais, Saint Paul and St. Mercy, in the Pantheon, in the Hôtel de Ville, in the Bazaar, Bonne Nouvelle, and in a part of the Tuileries and the Louvre. Beneath the dome of the Pantheon, lay the bodies of General Bréa and Captain Mangin who were so atrociously murdered at the barrier of Fontainebleau. In the great saloon of the Tuileries and the adjoining state apartments, were placed 77 beds filled with wounded, belonging to the troops of the line and the mobile and national guard. Another apartment which was guarded by soldiers, contained ten of the most badly wounded insurgents. In the splendid saloon of Louis XIV. before the statue of that monarch, lay on the one side six dead bodies, and on the other two coffins containing the embalmed remains of the two generals who had fallen. The great terrace overlooking the garden on which Louis Philippe and his family were in the habit of walking on summer evenings, was covered with bloody cloths and mattresses on which the wounded had been carried, and the palace of the former kings of France was now filled with all the horrid sights, sounds and smells peculiar to a hospital. The court yard and garden were filled with soldiers; and on the Place de la Concorde, the assembly of troops was with the exception of artillery, as numerous as during the insurrection; and no person was allowed to pass without an order. On that part of the Place which is paved with asphalte, the cavalry had formed mangers for their horses, which were tied to the balustrades and there furnished with their rations. Behind them lay the helmets and cuirasses of their riders, and farther on heaps of fodder, baggage wagons, tents, watch fires, and all the other accessories of a bivouac. The Place du Pantheon, the flower market, the Place de la Bastille, and many other open spaces were occupied in the same manner.

A most lively and picturesque scene was to be observed on the boulevards, especially that of Bonne Novelle which was crowded with troops. At the Porte St. Denis lancers were encamped, at the Porte St. Martin dragoons, and at the Chateau d'Eau, were to be seen the tents of an infantry regiment, in the centre of which was a park of artillery. On the boulevards columns of national guards from the provinces were constantly passing, in the most various and sometimes the most grotesque uniforms conceiveable. These were not unfrequently

followed by wagons conveying the dead to their last resting places, and others loaded with weapons, which had been seized by the military. Women were seen hurrying to the hospitals with linen and bandages for the wounded, and porters with huge bundles of lint on their backs, for the same purpose. Parties of the mobile guard were also to be seen bearing the flags they had taken from the barricades; and wherever these heroes of the day appeared, handkerchiefs were waved and flowers showered from the windows, while the people, the troops and the national guard, rent the air with shouts of: *Vive la brave garde mobile!*

The End.

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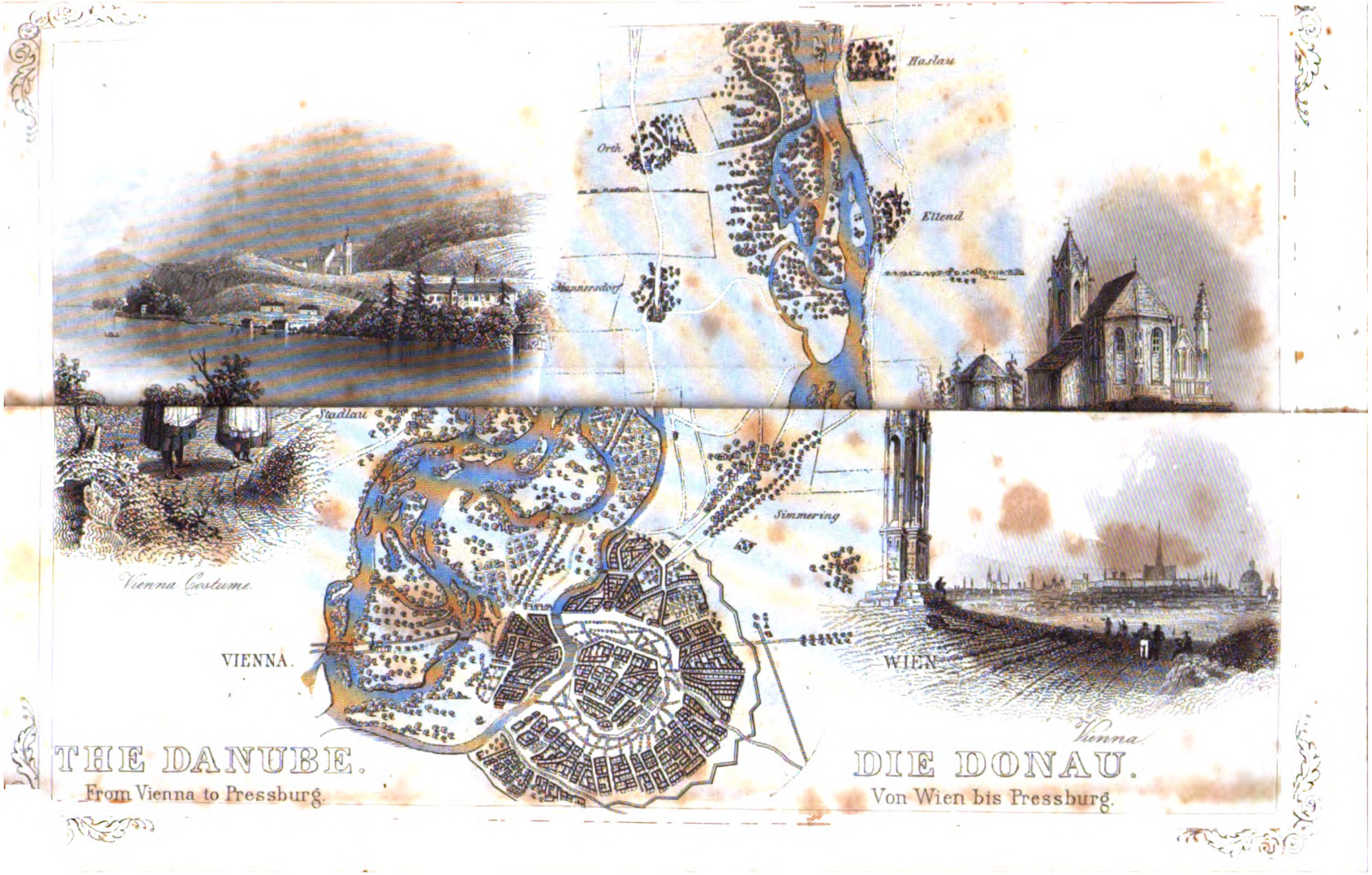
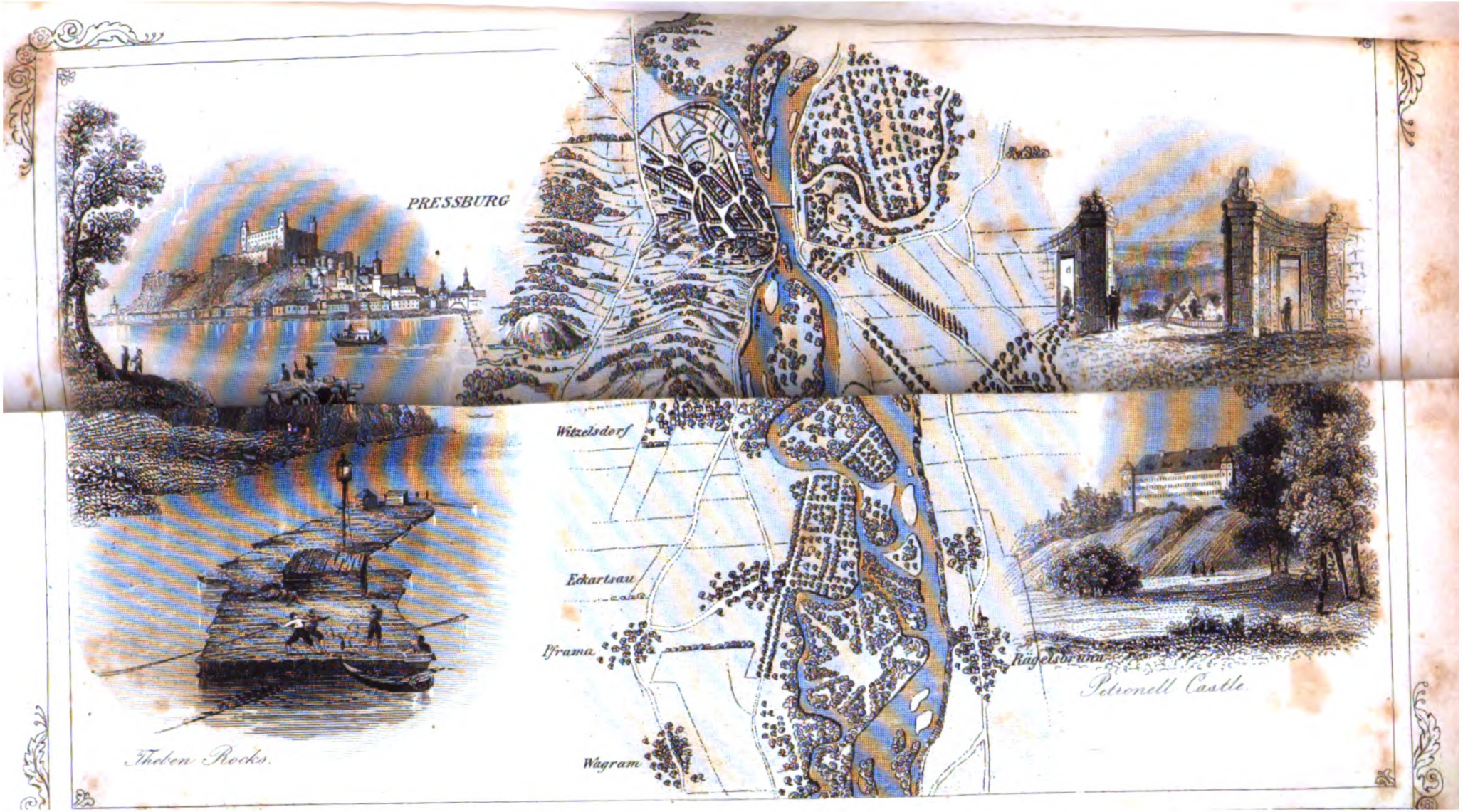


THE DANUBE.

From Vienna to Pressburg.

DIE DONAU.

Von Wien bis Pressburg.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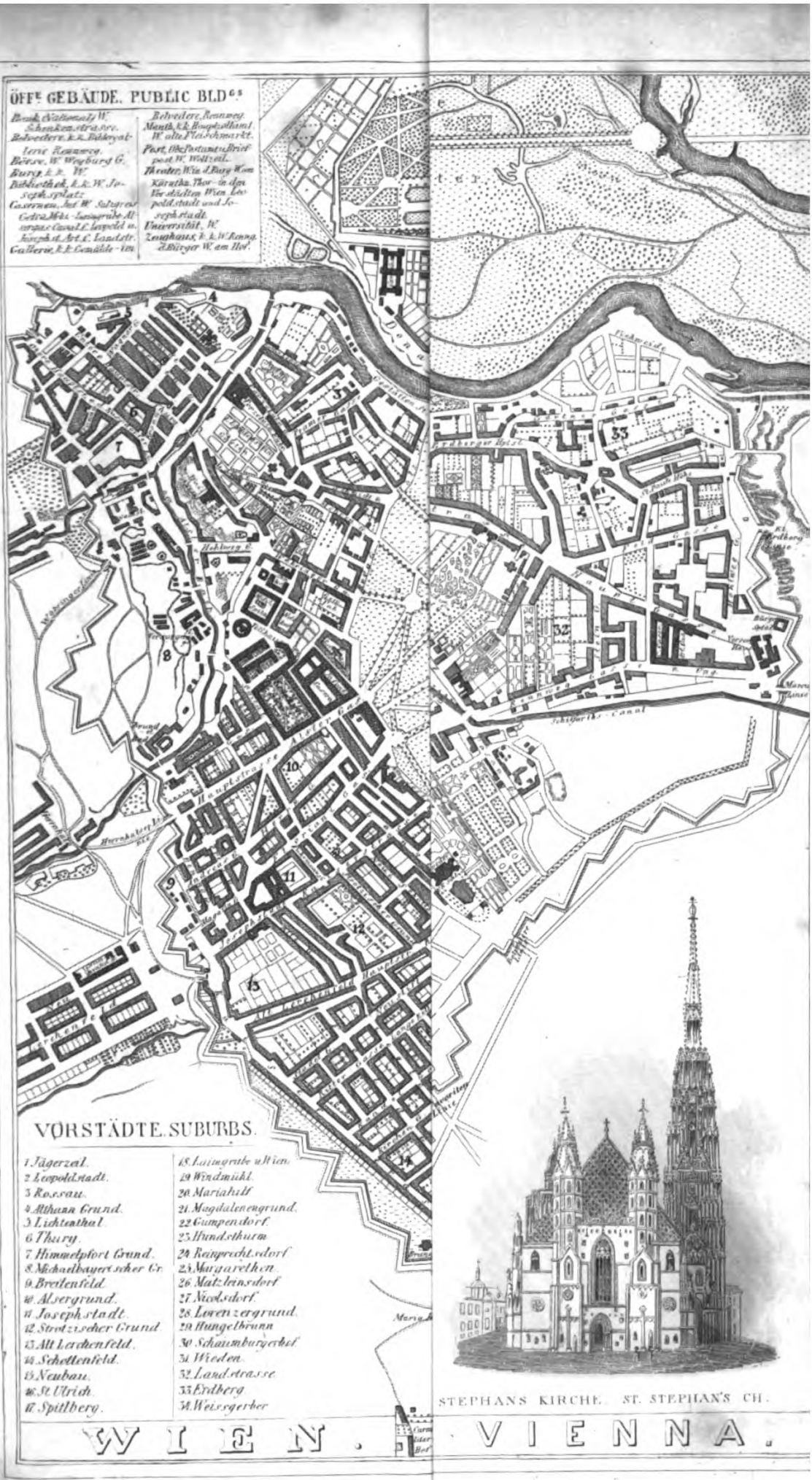
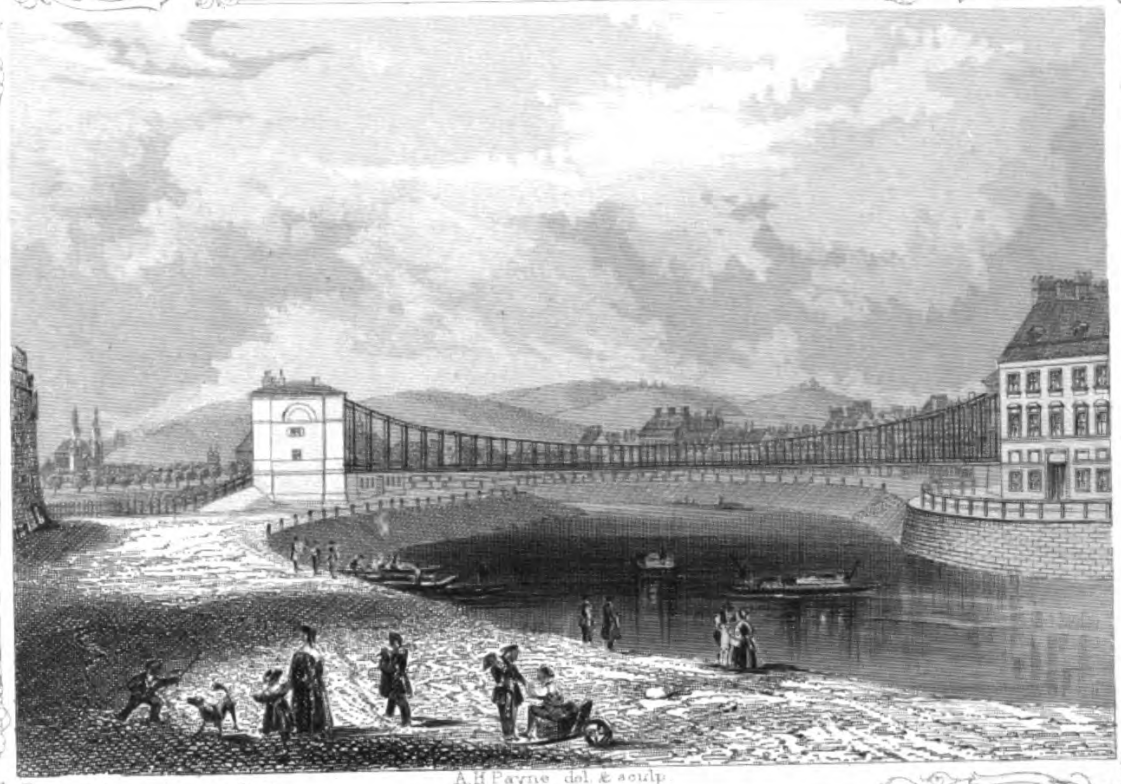
Witzelsdorf
Eckartsau
Pframa
Wagram
Rägelsbrunn
Petronell Castle
Theben Rocks.


ÖFFe GEBÄUDE. PUBLIC BLDGS
Bank, Nationalb. W.
Schenken-strasse.
Belvedere, k.k. Bildergal-
lerie Rennweg.
Börse, W. Wipplingerstr.
Burg, k.k. W.
Bibliothek, k.k. W. Jo-
sephsplatz.
Casernen, bei W. Salzgries
Getr. Mkt. Lazarethe Al-
lerheil. Gasse L. Leopold u.
Joseph st. Art. C. Landstr.
Gallerie, k.k. Gemälde-
Belvedere, Rennweg.
Mauth, k.k. Hauptzollamt.
W. alte Fleischmarkt.
Post, Obe Postamts-Brief
post W. Wollzeil.
Theater, Wie. d. Burg Wien
Kärnthn. Thor- in den
Vorstädten Wien Leo-
poldstadt und Jo-
sephstadt.
Universität, W.
Zeughaus, k.k. W. Renng.
d. Bürger W. am Hof.
VORSTÄDTE. SUBURBS.
1 Jägerzeil.
2 Leopoldstadt.
3 Roßau.
4 Althan Grund.
5 Lichtenthal.
6 Thury.
7 Himmelpfort Grund.
8 Michaelbayerischer Gr.
9 Breitenfeld.
10 Alsergrund.
11 Josephstadt.
12 Strotzischer Grund.
13 Alt Lerchenfeld.
14 Schottenfeld.
15 Neubau.
16 St. Ulrich.
17 Spittelberg.
18 Laimgrube u. Wien.
19 Windmühl.
20 Mariahilf.
21 Magdalenengrund.
22 Gumpendorf.
23 Hundsthurm
24 Reinprechtsdorf
25 Margarethen.
26 Matzleinsdorf.
27 Nicolsdorf.
28 Lorenzergrund.
29 Hungelbrunn
30 Schaumburgerhof
31 Wieden.
32 Landstrasse.
33 Erdberg.
34 Weissgerber
STEPHANS KIRCHE. ST. STEPHAN'S CH.
WIEN. VIENNA.

Belvidere.

The Burg Gate. Das Burgthor.



Union Bridge. Cork Ireland

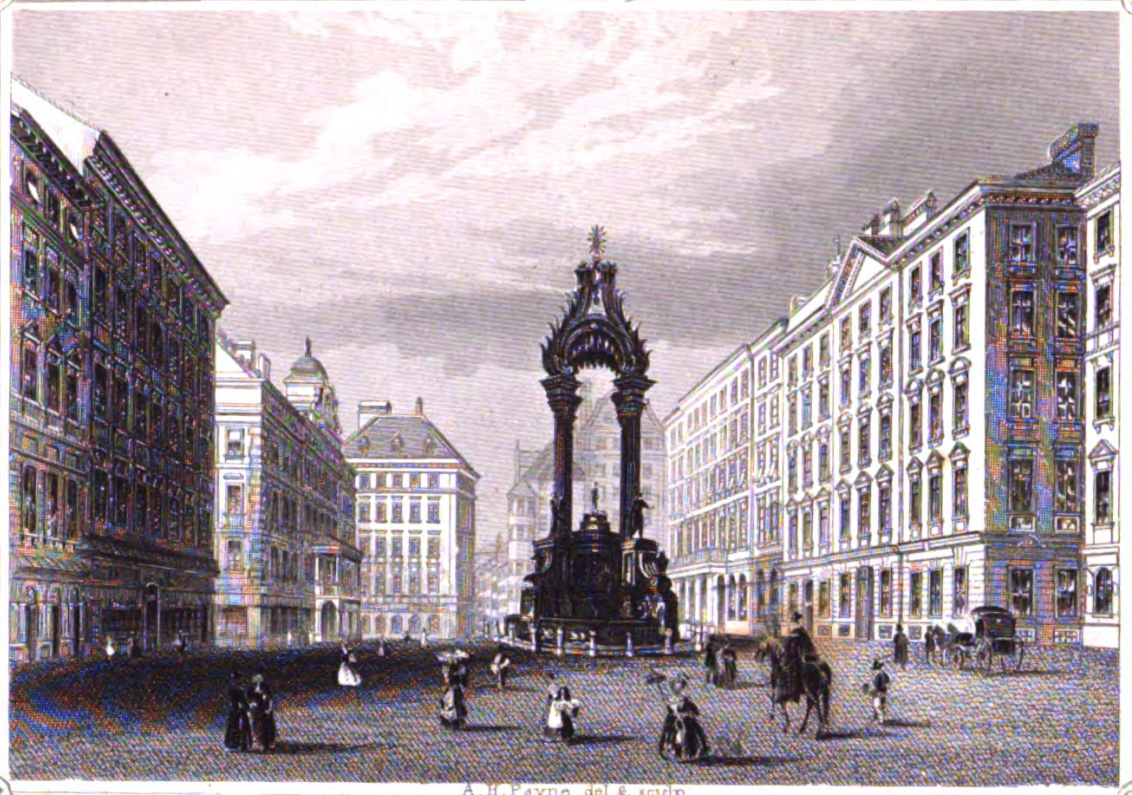
The Charles Church. Die Carls. Kirche.

Döbling.

A. H. Payne del & sculp.

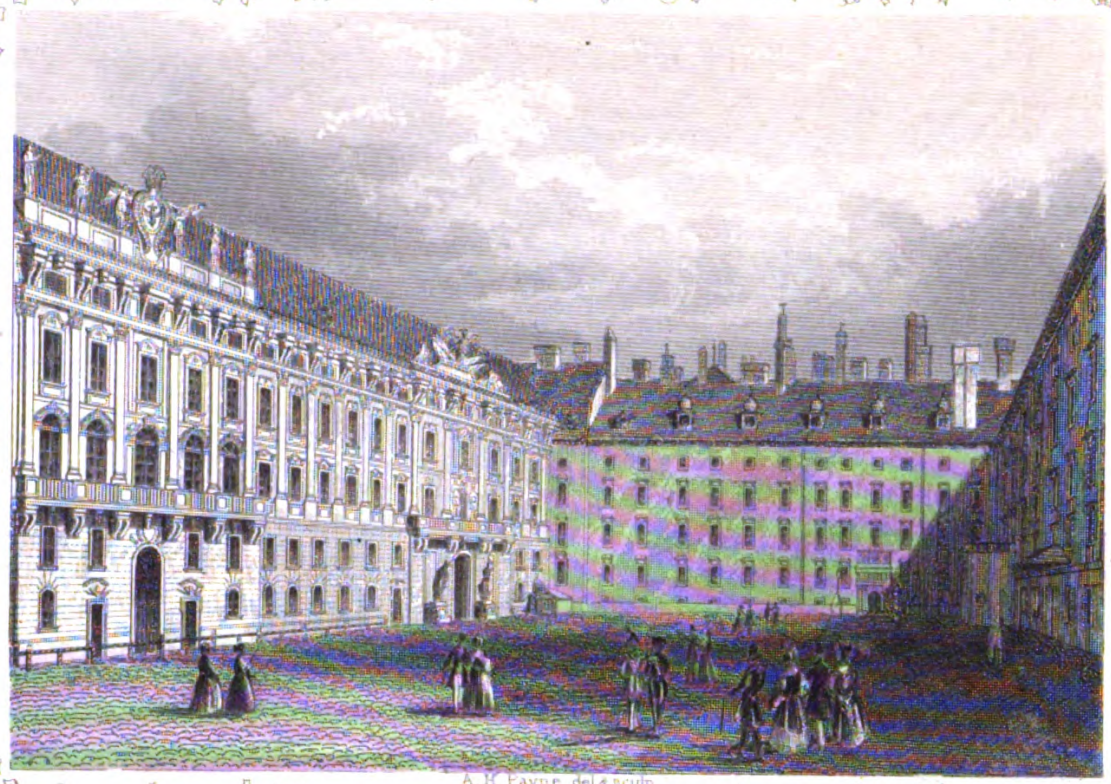
Ferdinands Bridge. Ferdinands Brücke.

A.H Payne del. & sc.
Kutzing



A. H. Payne del & sculp.

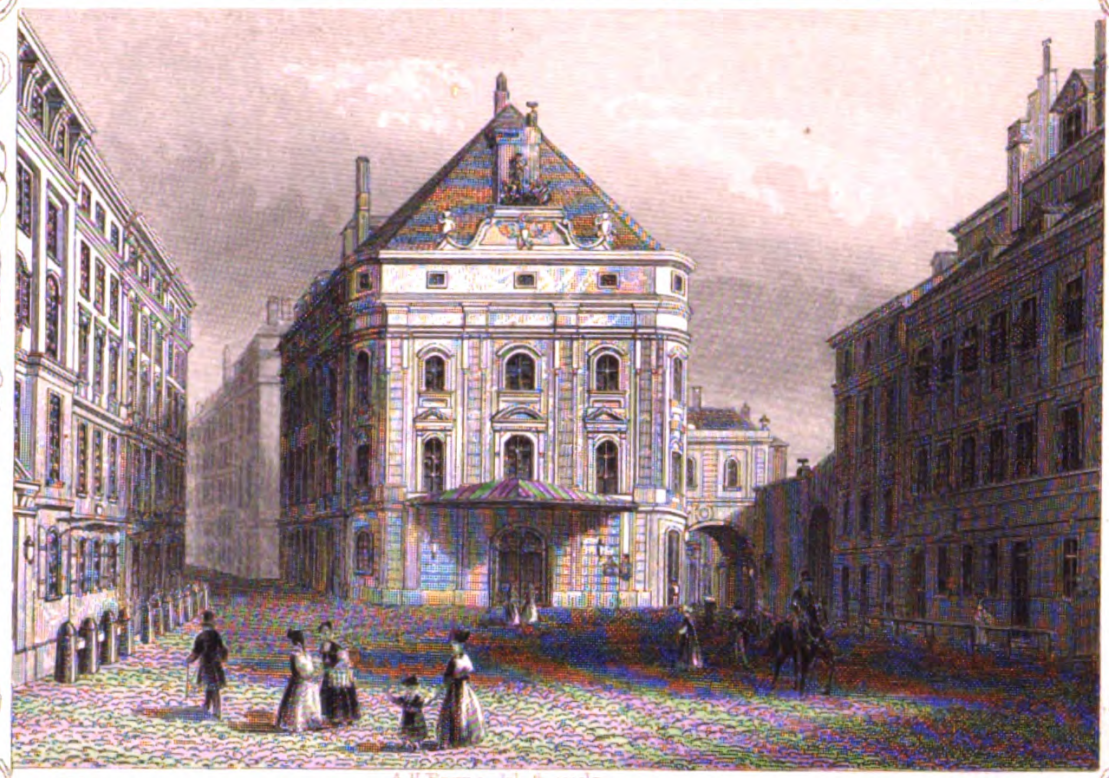
The Fish Market. Der Fisch Markt



A. H. Payne del. & sculp.

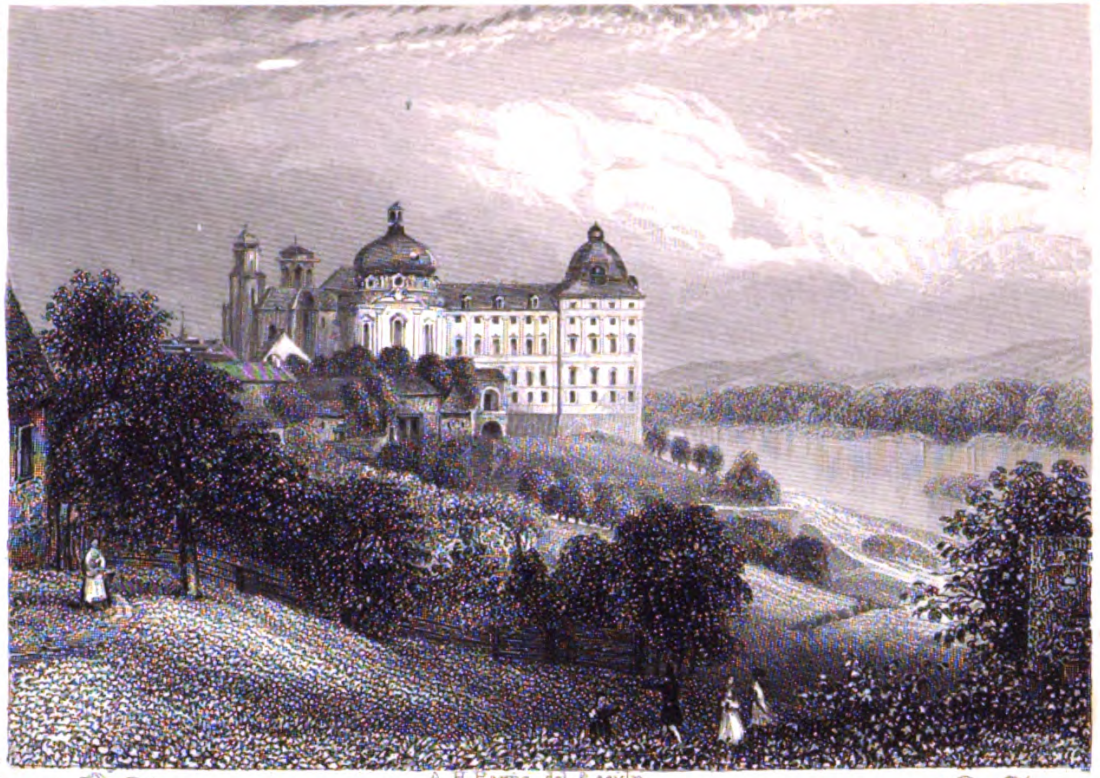
Inner Castle Court. Der innere Burgplatz.

A.H. Payne del & sculp.

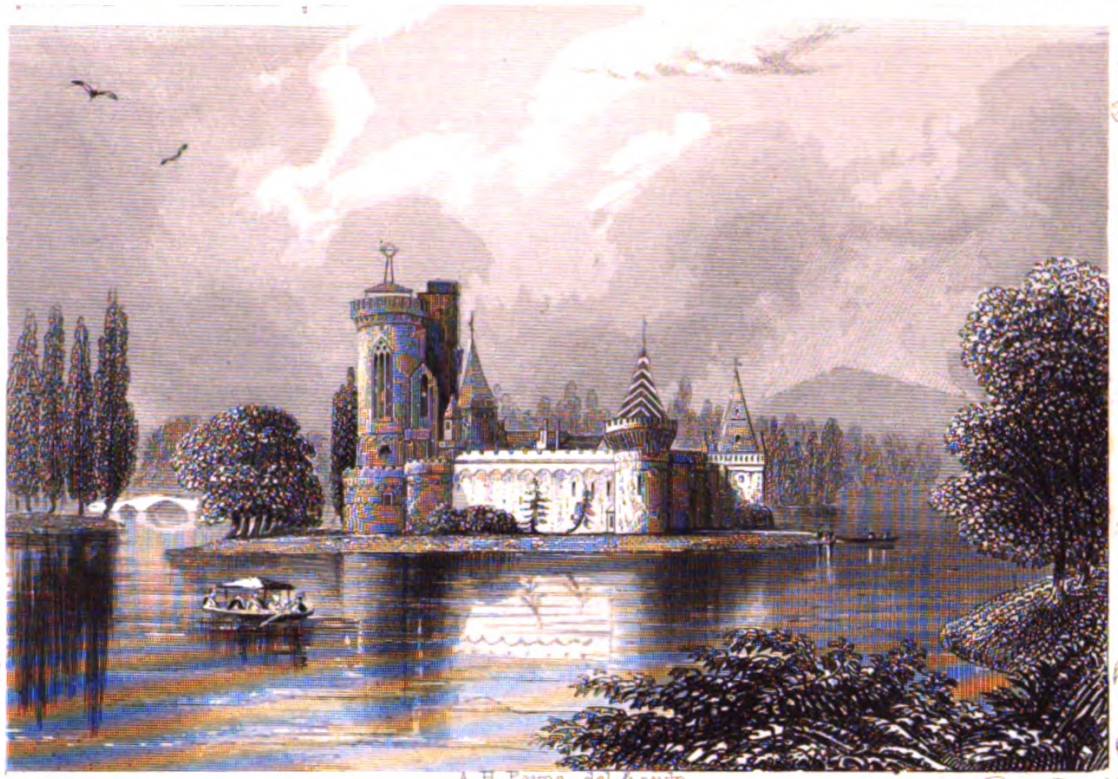


A.H. Payne del. & sculp.

Kärnther Gate Theatre Das Kärnthnerthortheater.



Klosterneuburg.



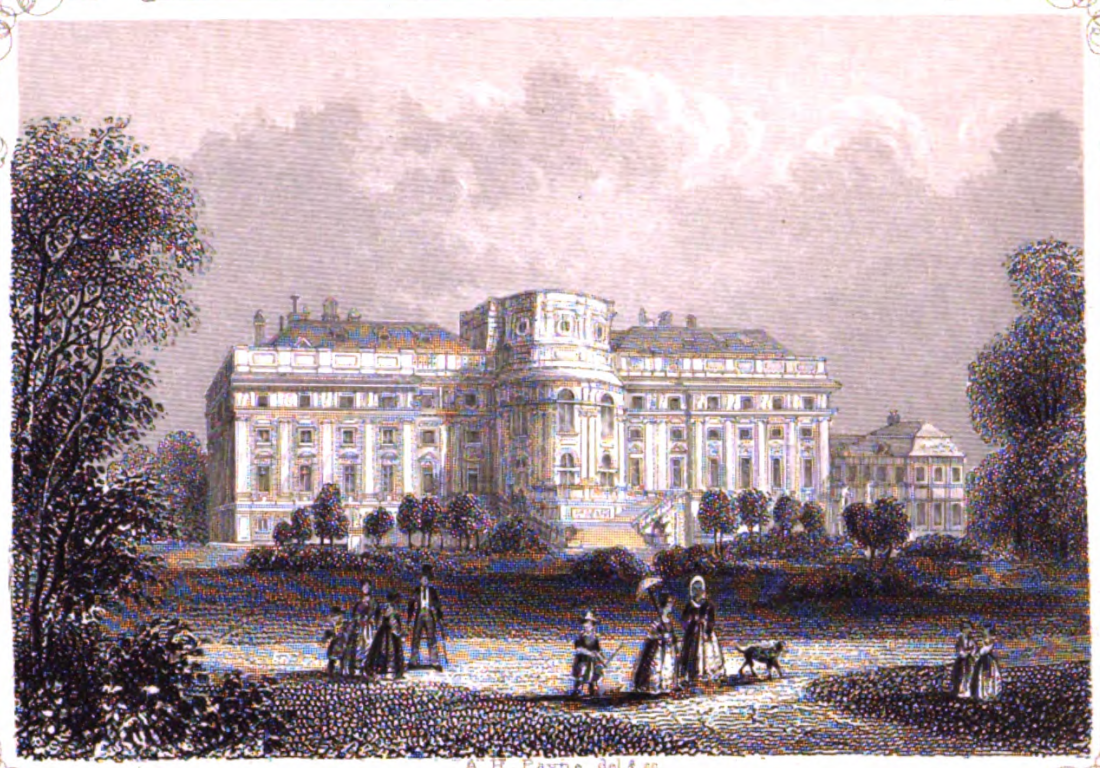
A.H. Payne del. & sculp.

Laurenburg!

A. H. Payne del. & sc.

Nussdorf.

A. H. Payne del. & sculp.

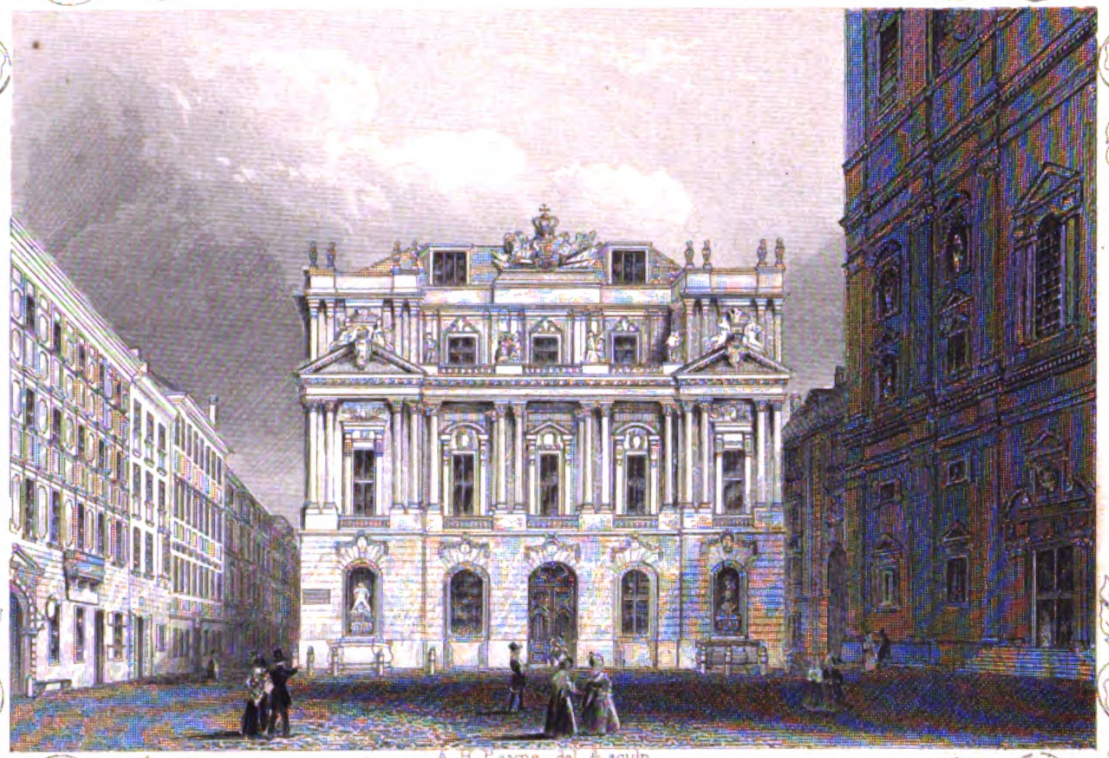


A. H. Payne del & sc

Palace of (Palast von) Pr. Schwarzenberg.

The St. Stephan's Ch. Die Stephans Kirche

Isaacshof bei Bärin.

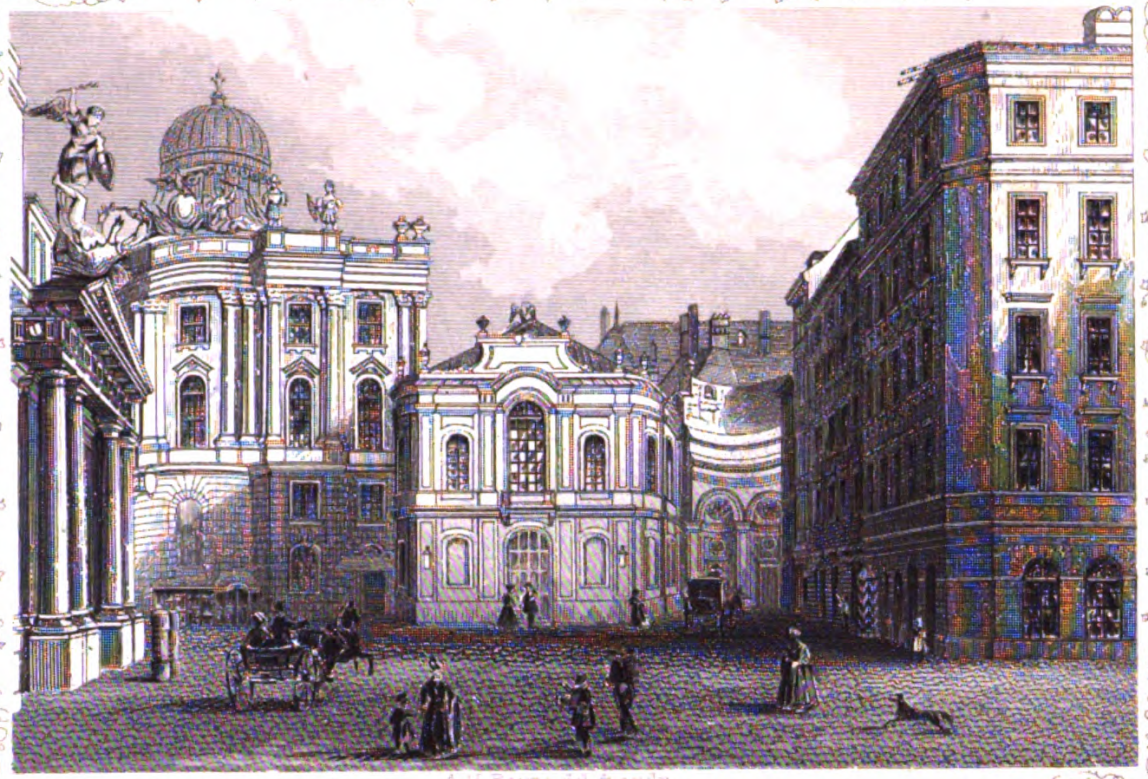


The University. Die Universität.

Schlesischer Bahnh.
Potsdam. Magdeb. Eisenb.
Schlesische Str.
Schlesisches T.
Ober baum
Stralauer T.
Oppenstr.
Mühle
Frankfurter Eisenb. Str.
Hallesches Thor
Thiergarten
Thiergarten Str.
Tiergarten
Allee
Schlesisches
Frankfurt. T.
Gr Frankfurter
Communications
Friedrichs - H
Baum
Lehrter Bahnh.
Marien Str.
Schumann Str.
Charité Krankh.
Wall
Exercir Pl.
Kaserne
Stadtbahn Eisenb.
Hamburg Eisenb.

Die Königswache und das Zeughaus.

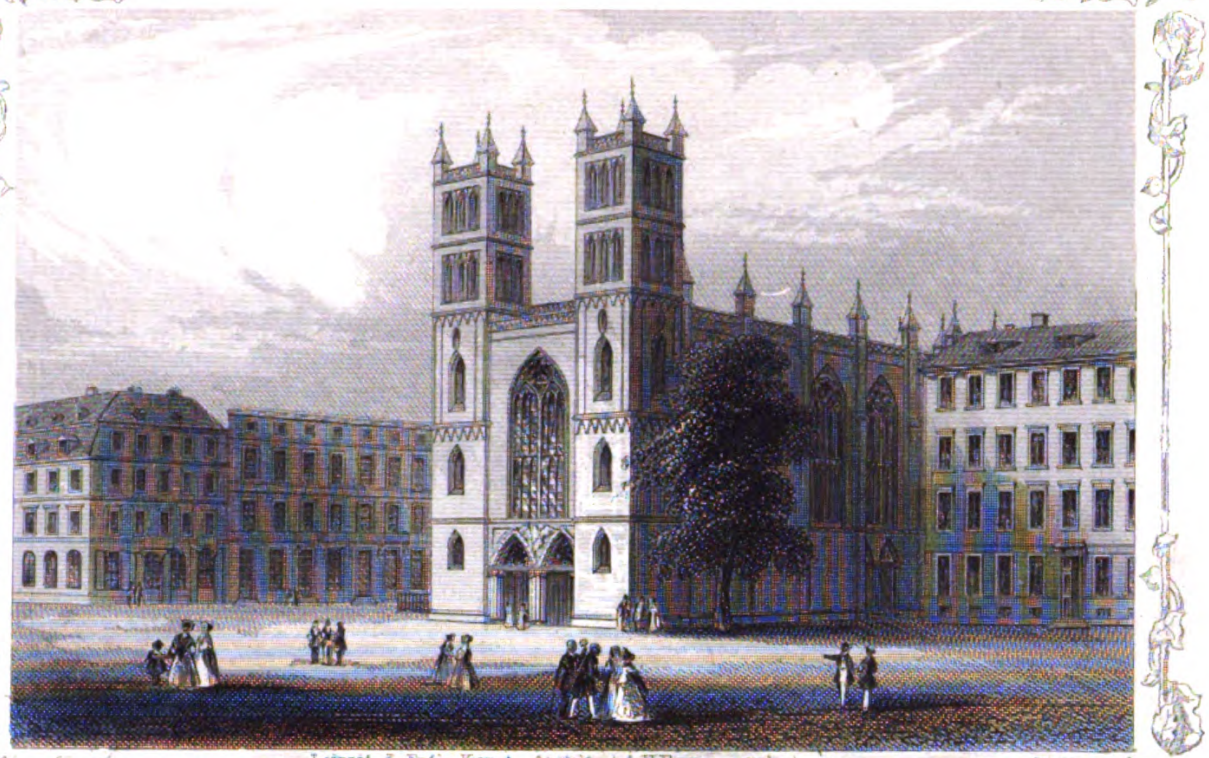
The Brandenburg Gate. Das Brandenburger Thor.



A. H. Payne del. & sculp.

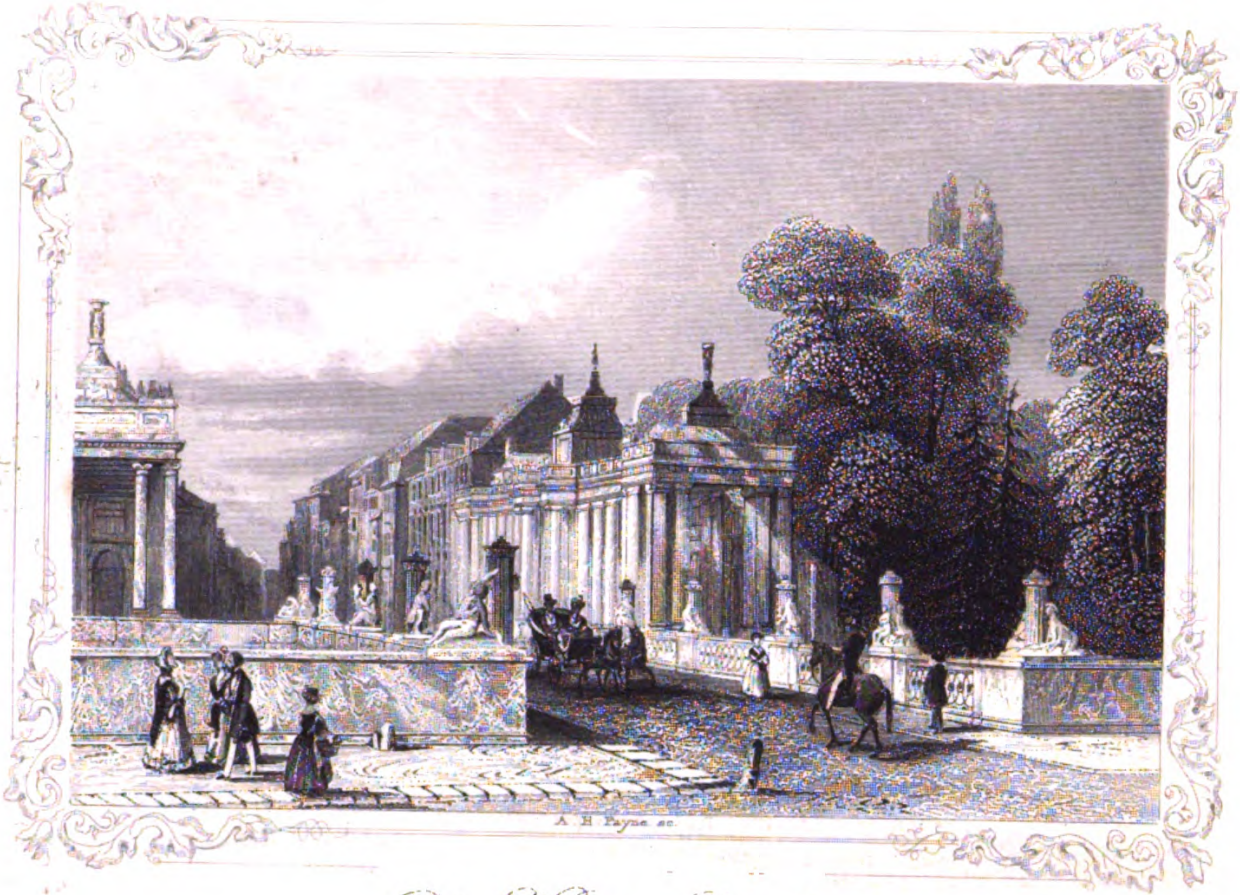
The Portico - Pte. St. Petersburg

The Cathedral Der Dom.

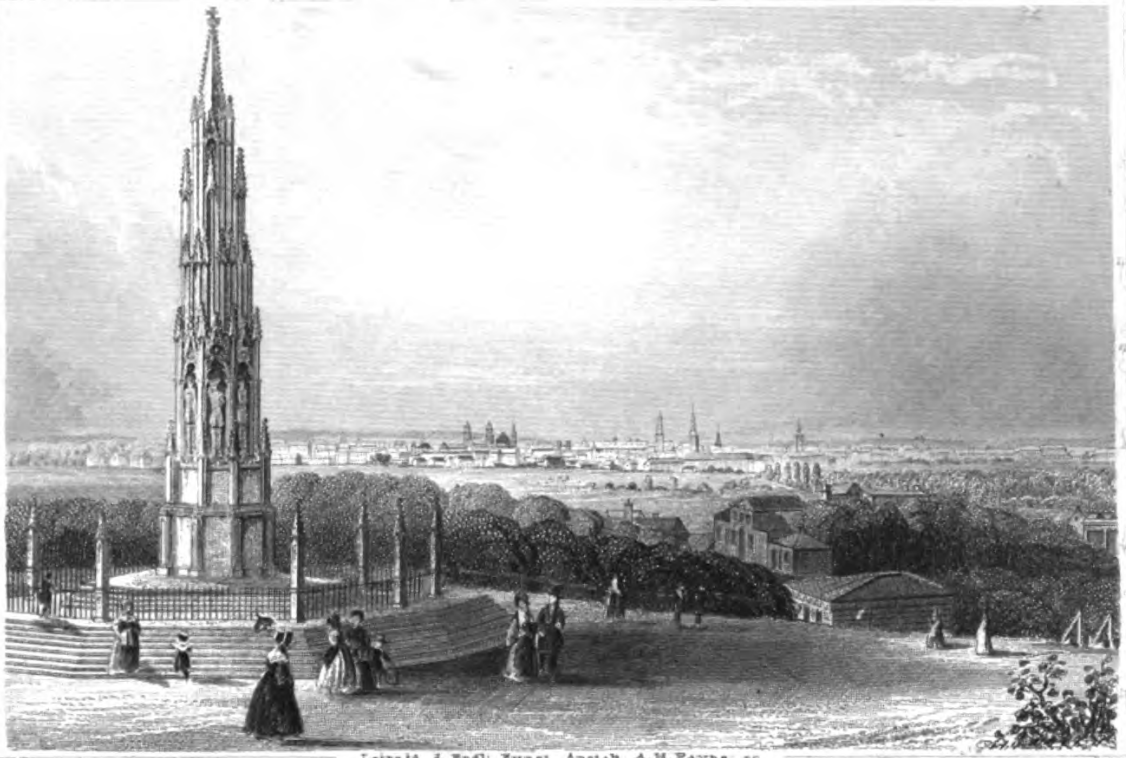


Leipzig & Engl. Kunst Anstalt. (A.H.Payne sculp.)

The New Friedrichs Werder Ch. Die neuer Friedrichs Werder Kirche.



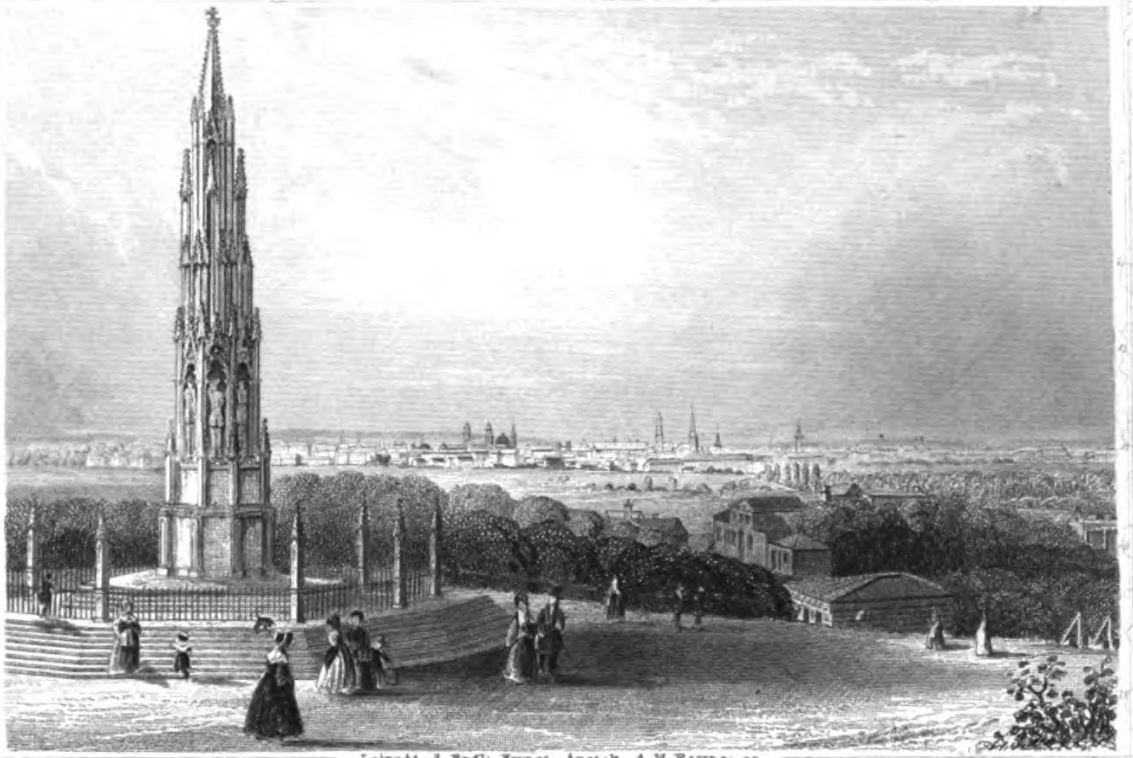
Die Königs Brücke.



Leipzig, d. Engl. Kunst. Anstalt. A.M. Payne sc

The Monument. Das Monument.

on the (auf dem) Kreuzberge

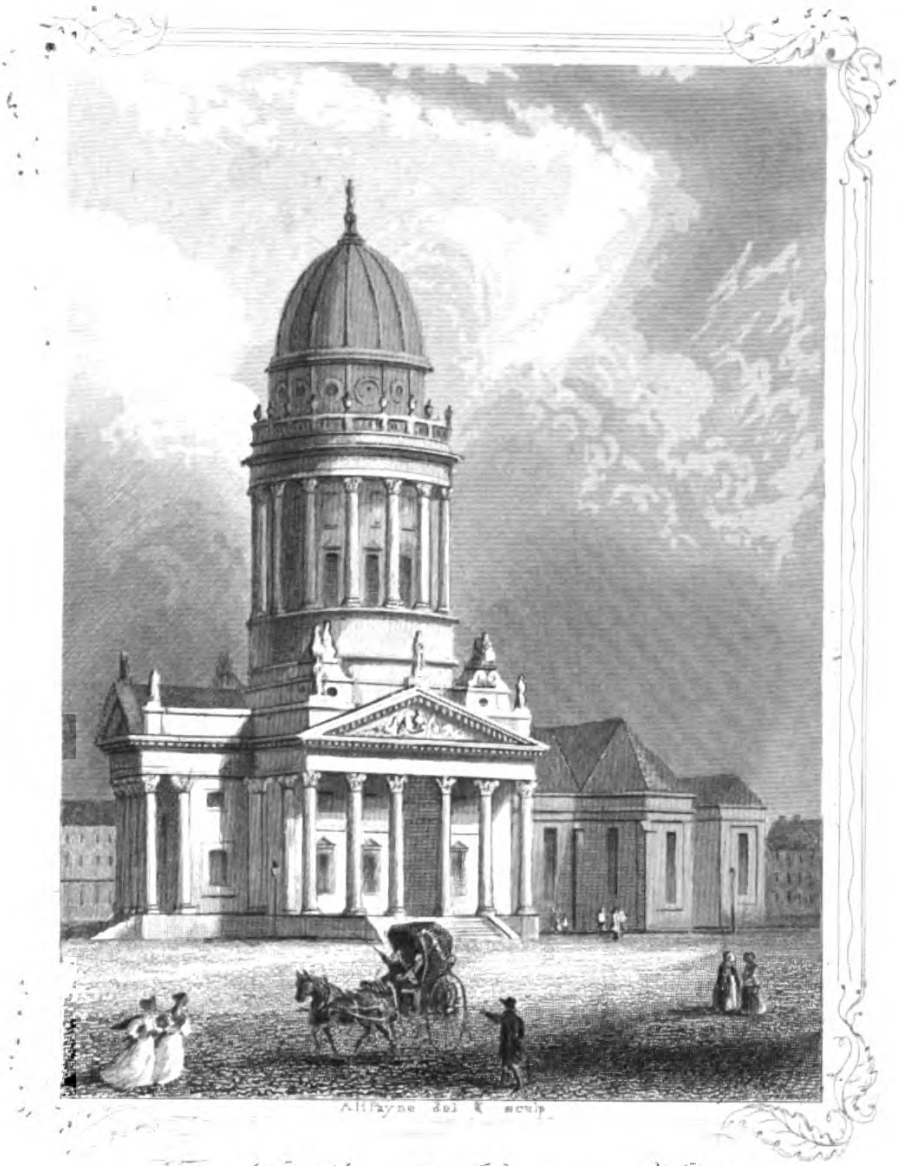


The Monument. Das Monument.

on the (auf dem) Kreuzberge

Leipzig. d. Engl. Kunst Anstalt. A. H. Payne &c

The Museum. *Das Museum.*

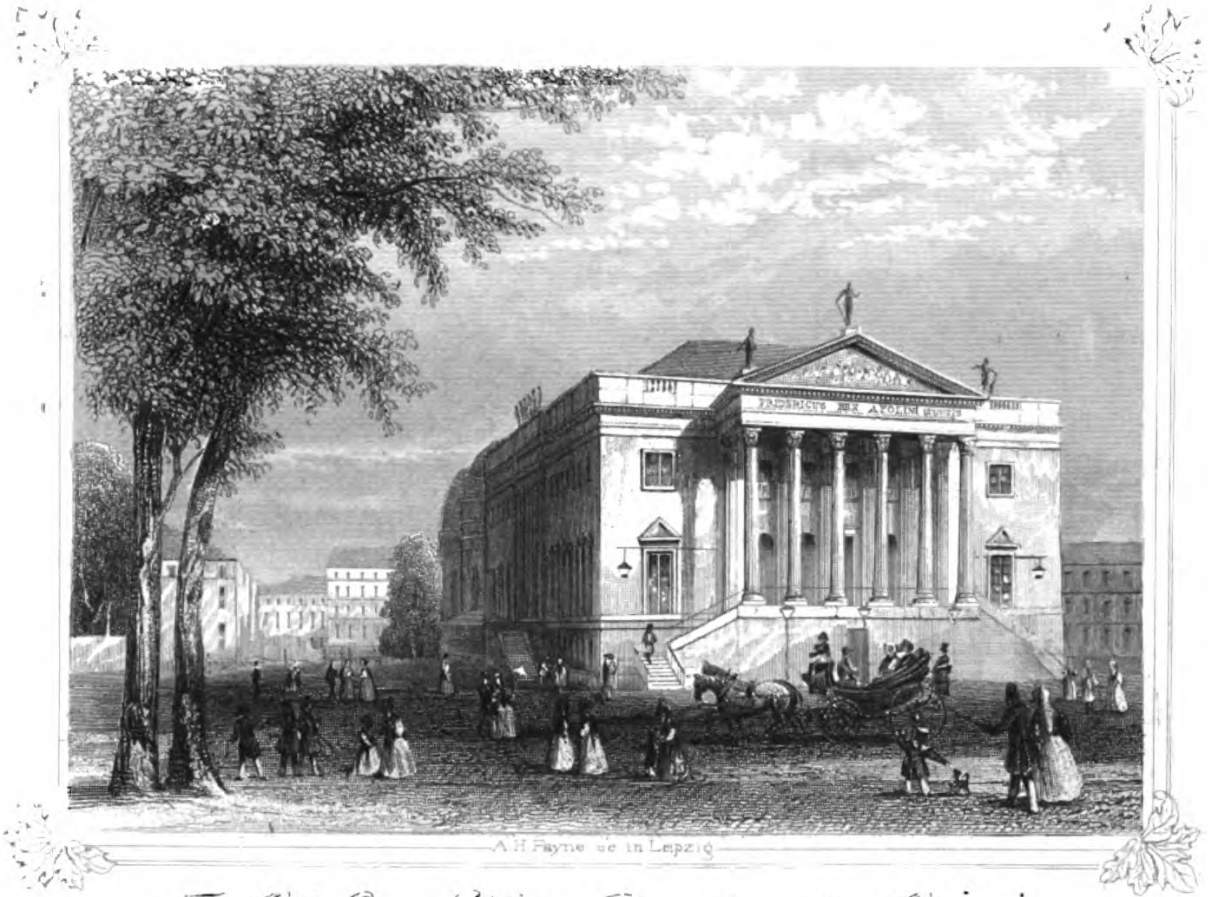


The New Church. Die neue Kirche.

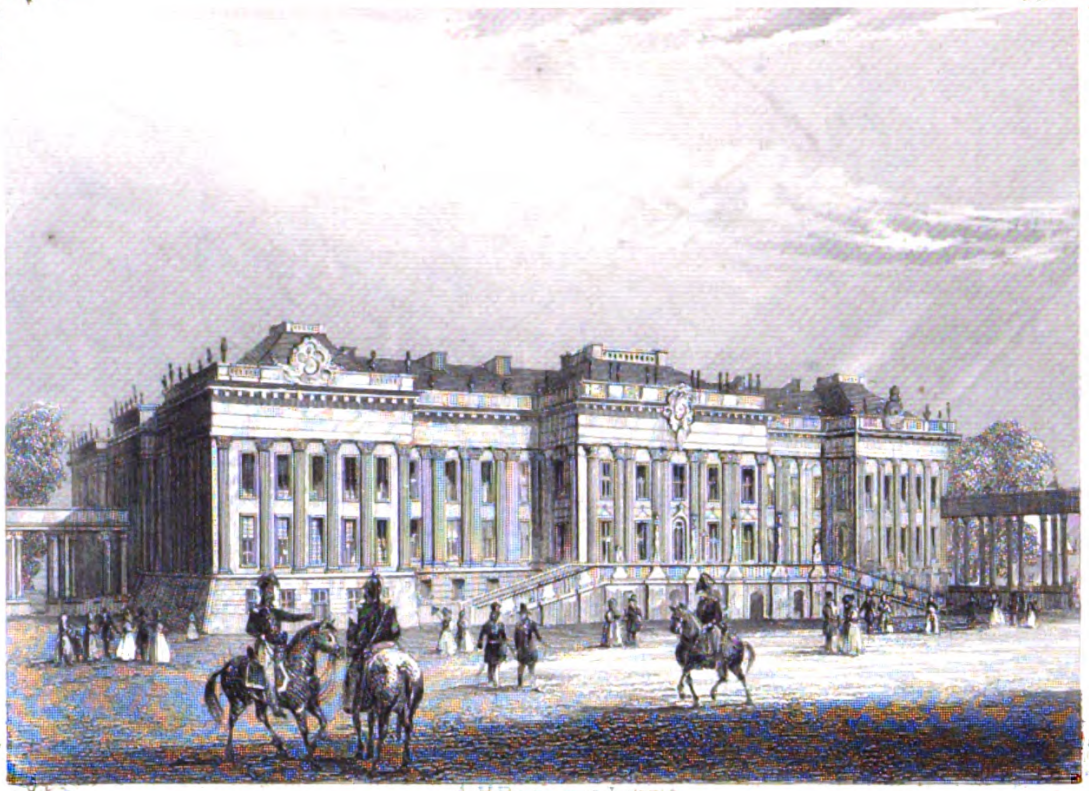
Leipzig d. Engl. Kunst Anstalt. (AHPayne sculp.)

St. Nicholas Ch. Die Nicolai-Kirche.

in Potsdam.



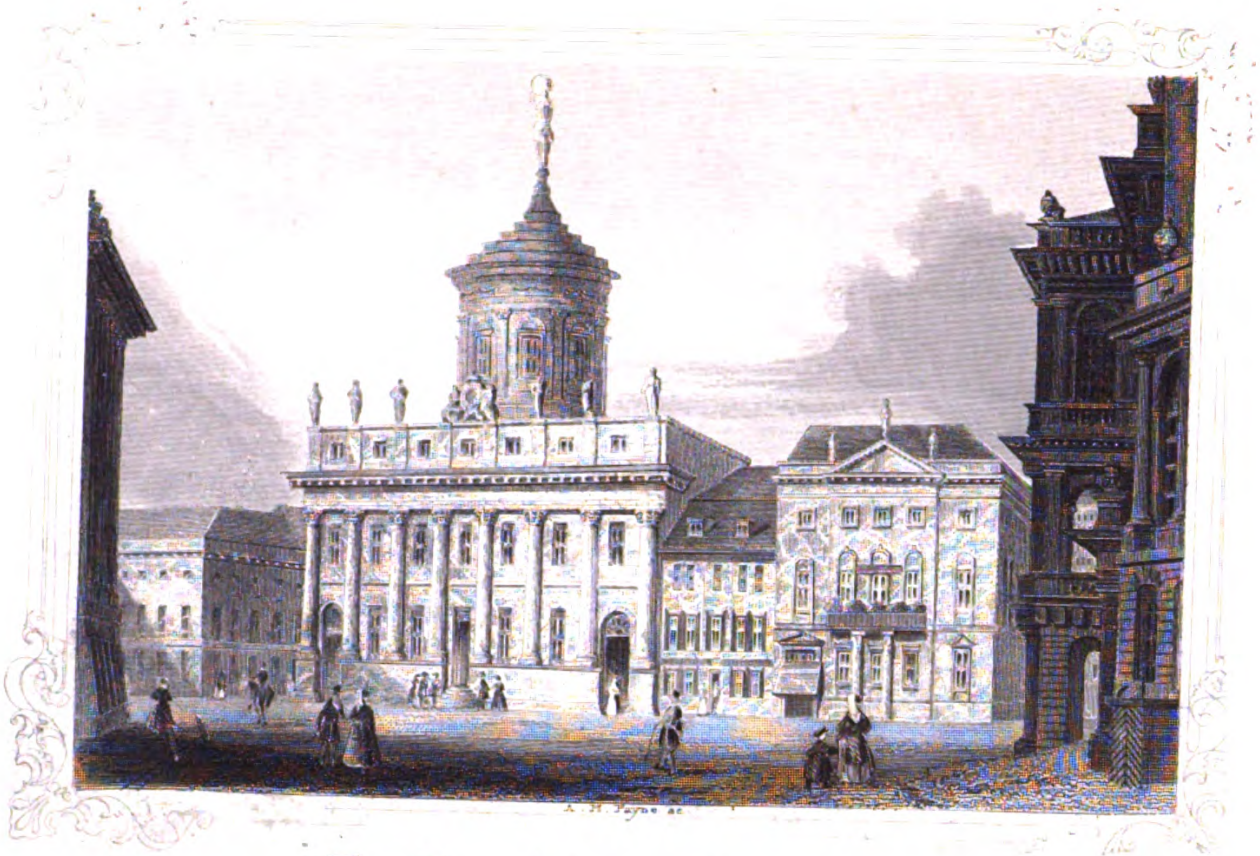
The Old Opera House: Das ehemalige Opernhaus.



A.H.Payne sc. in Leipzig

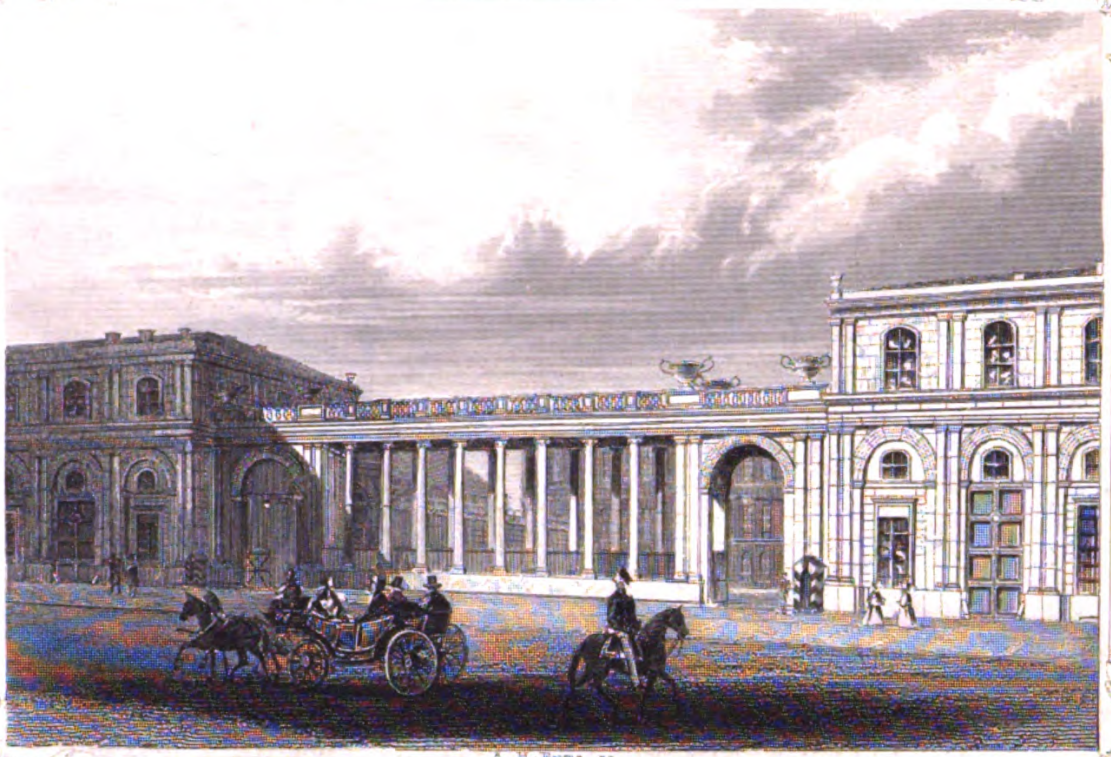
The Royal Palace. Das Königl. Schloss.

in Potsdam.



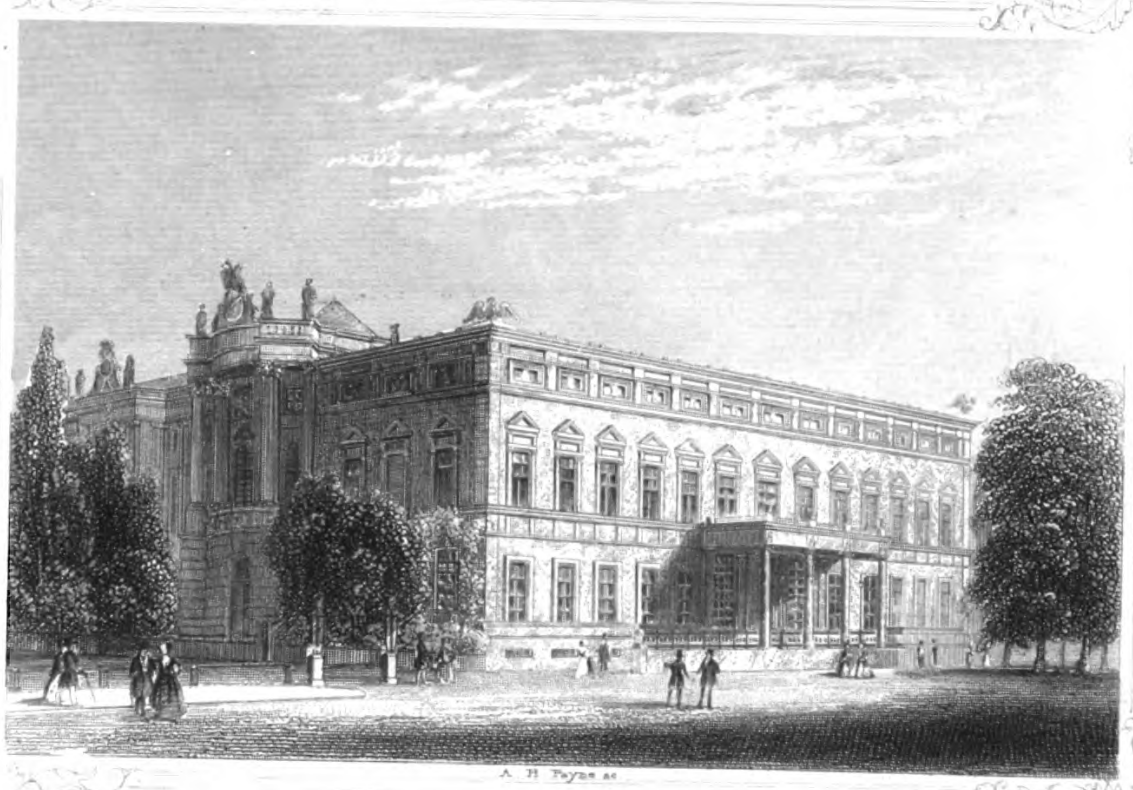
The Town Hall. Das Rathhaus.

in Potsdam.



H. Payne sc.

H. Albrechts Palace. Palais des H. Albrecht.

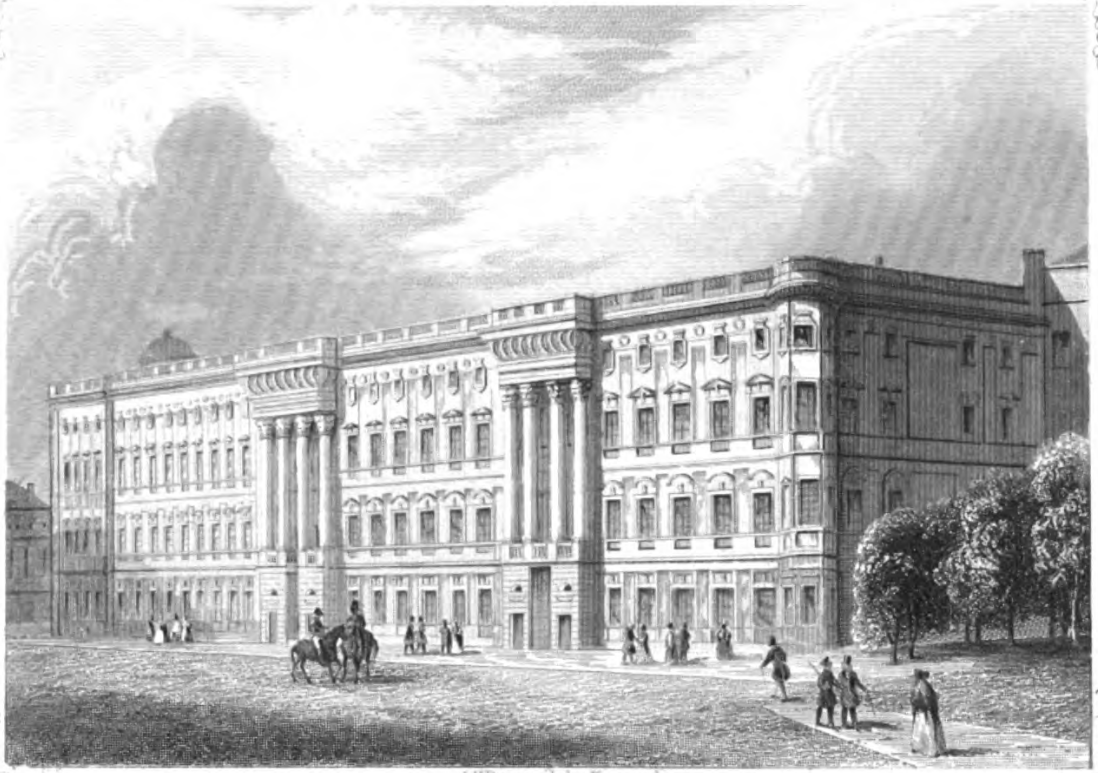


A. H. Payne sc.

K. Williams Palace. Palais des K. Wilhelm.

A.H. Payne sc. in Leipzig

The Royal Library. Die Königl. Bibliothek.



The Royal Palace. Das Königl. Schloss.

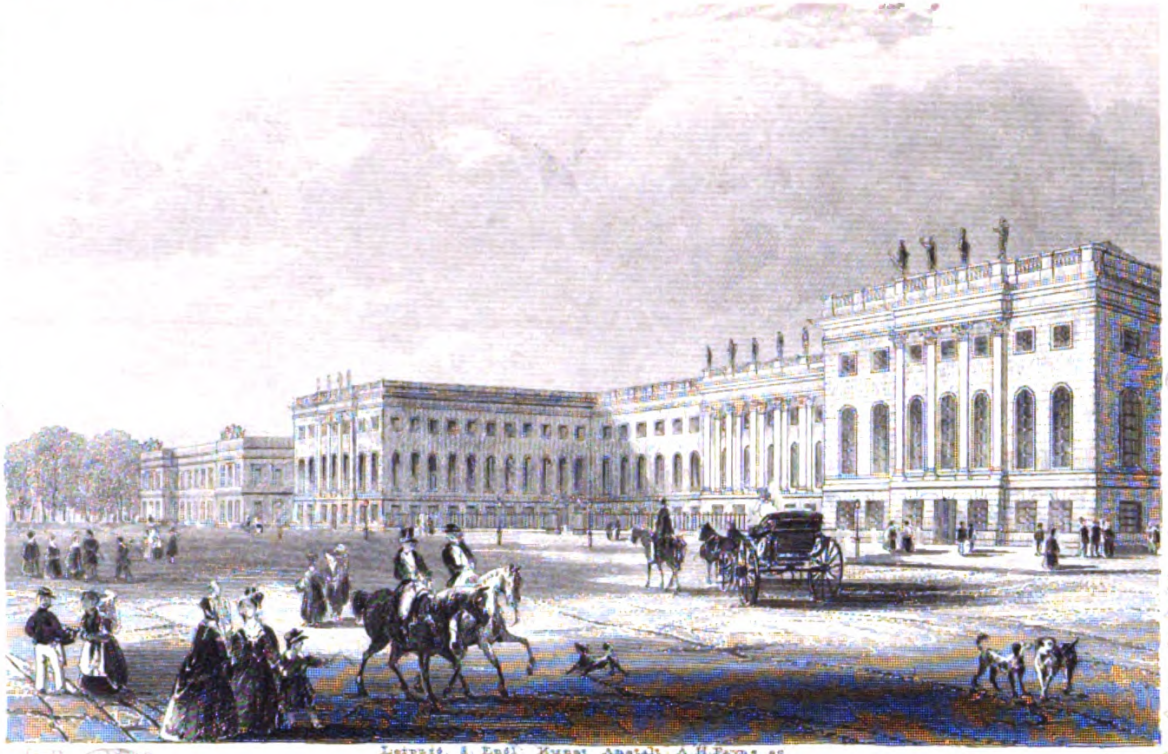
Leipzig, d. Engl. Kunst Anstalt. (A.H.Payne sculp.)

The Royal Palace. Das Königl. Palais.

Leipzig, b. Engl. Kunst Anstalt. A.H. Payne &c.

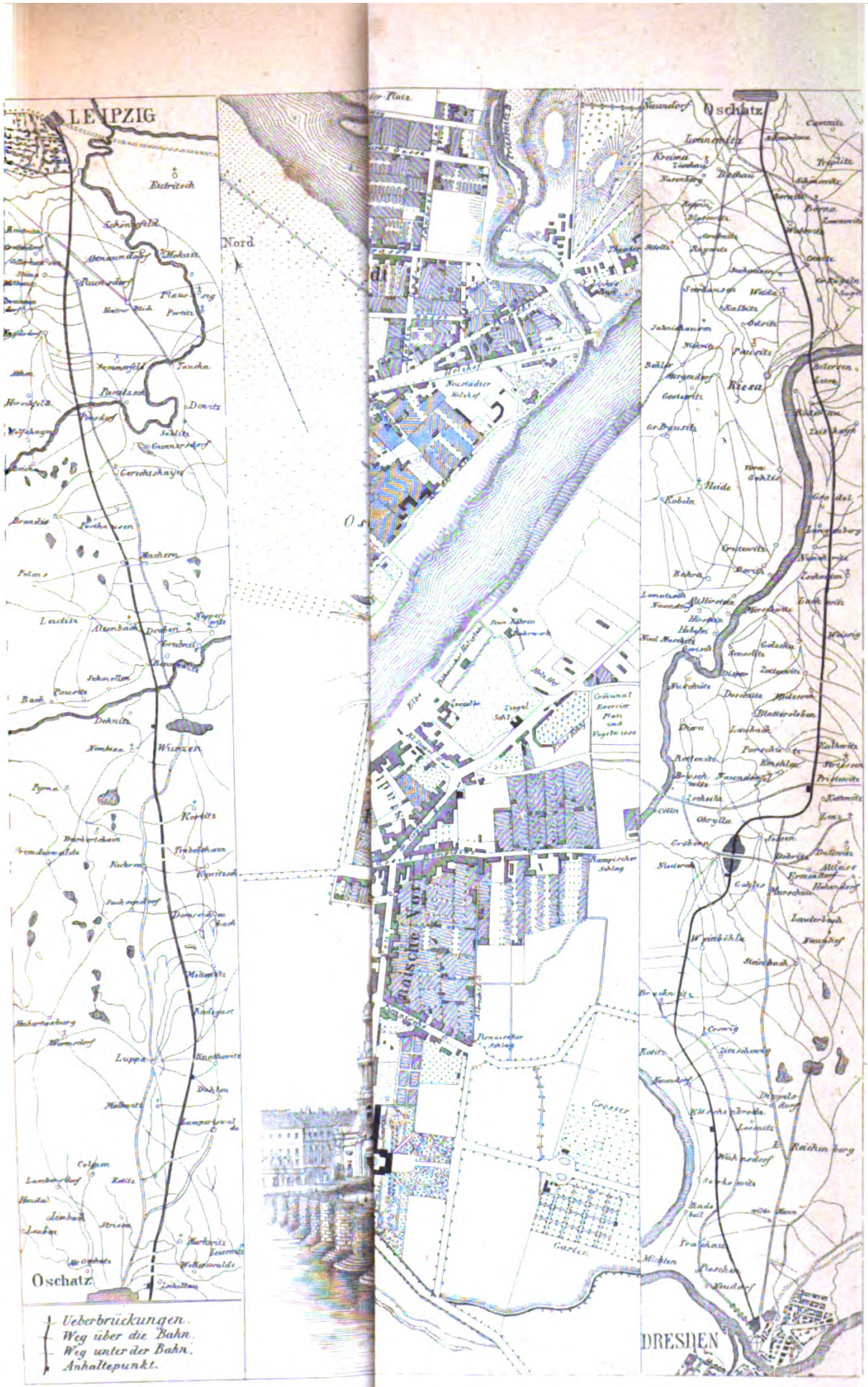
The Russian Church. Die Russische Kirche.

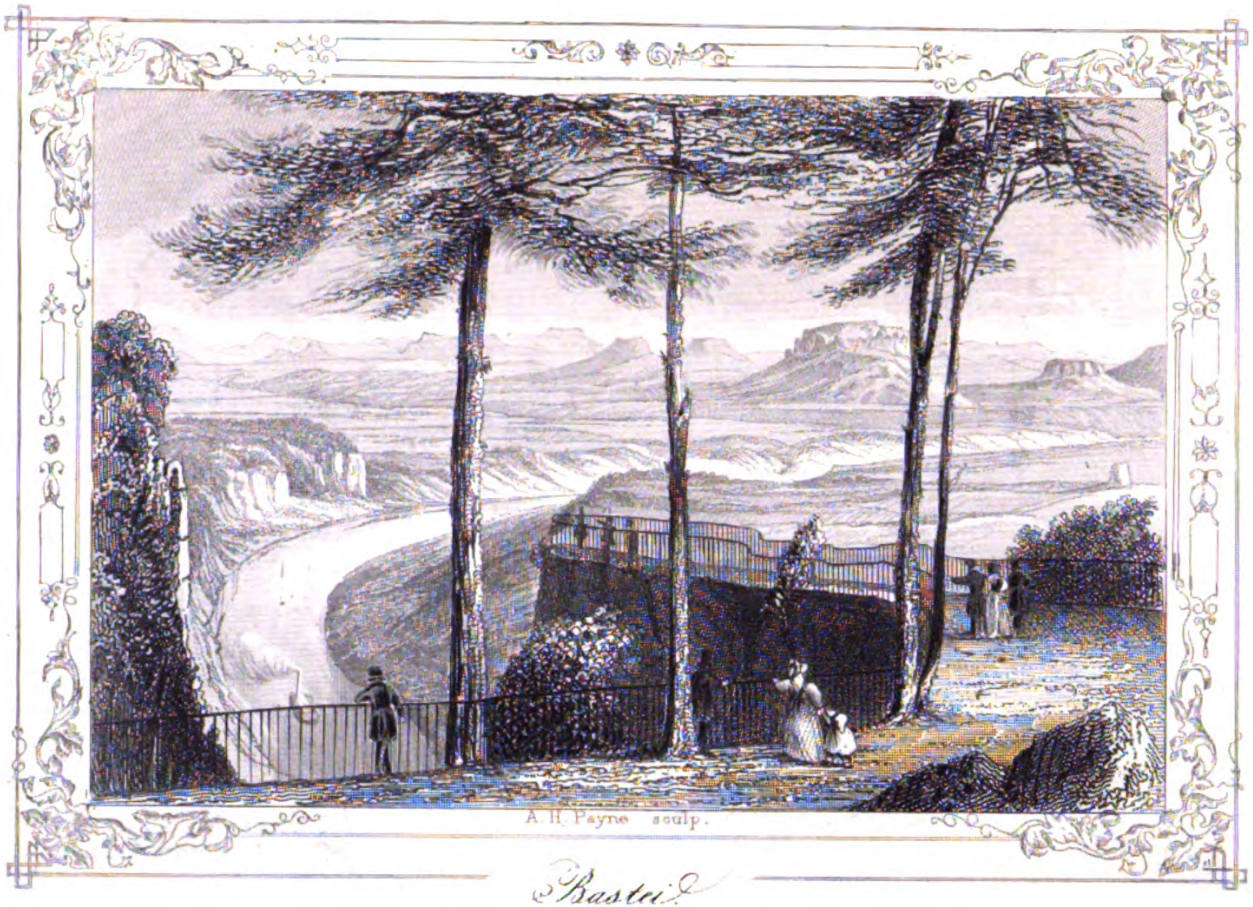
Amsterdam.



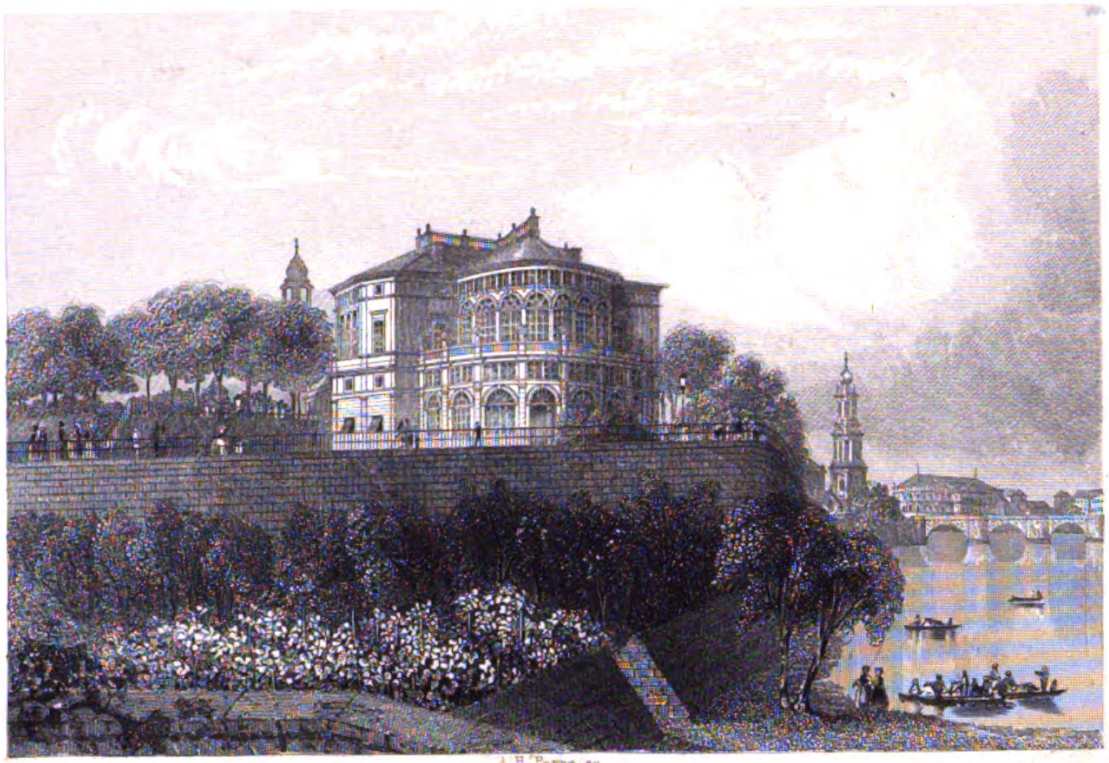
Leipzig, d. Engl. Kunst Anstalt. A. H. Payne &c

The University. Die Universität


LEIPZIG
Nord
Oschatz
DRESDEN
Ueberbrückungen.
Weg über die Bahn.
Weg unter der Bahn.
Anhaltepunkt.

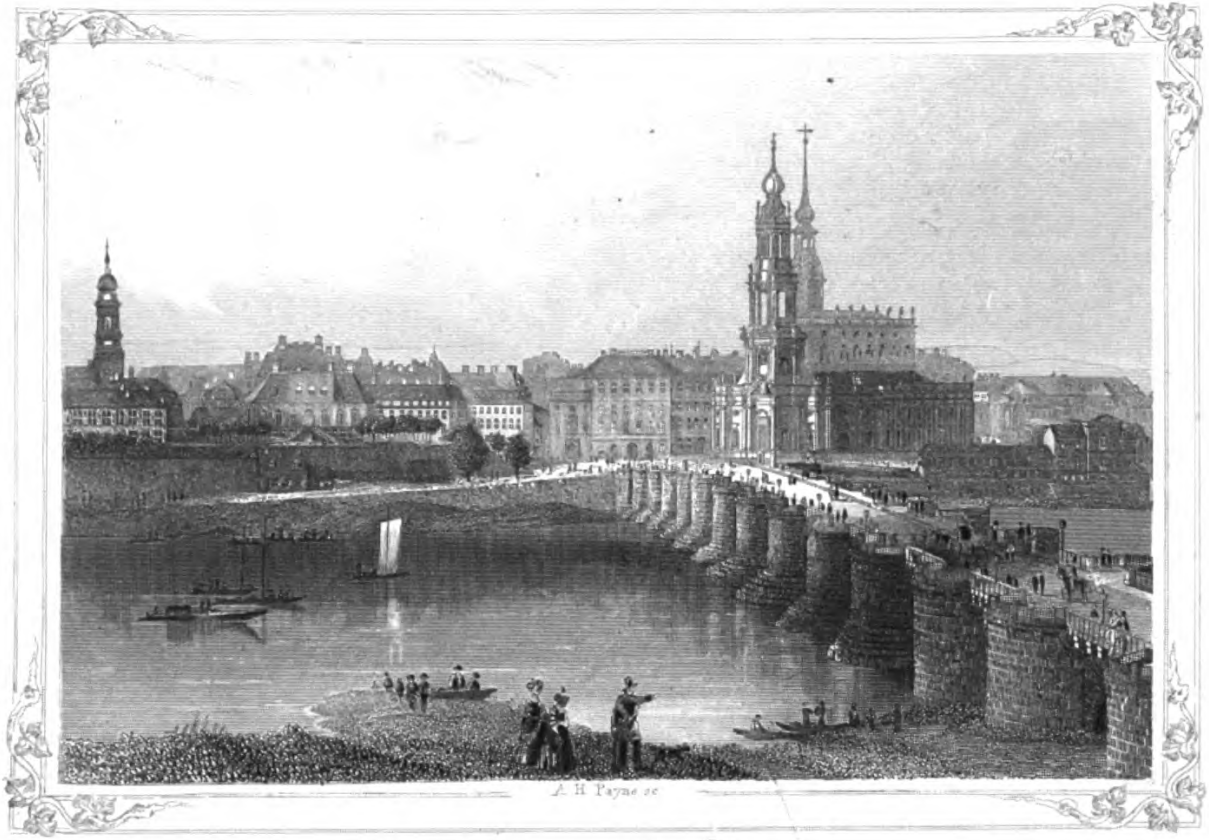


Bastei

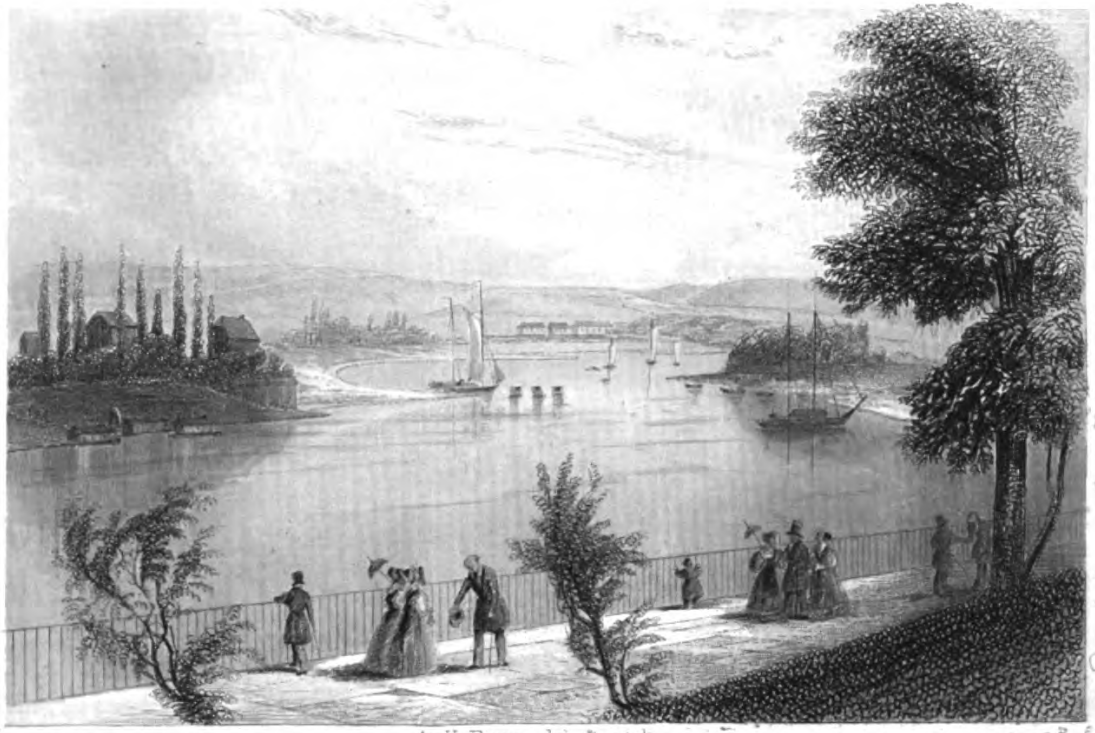


A. H. Payne sc

Belvedere.



The Bridge. Die Brücke.



A. H. Payne del. & sculp.

View from the Brühl'schen Terrasse.

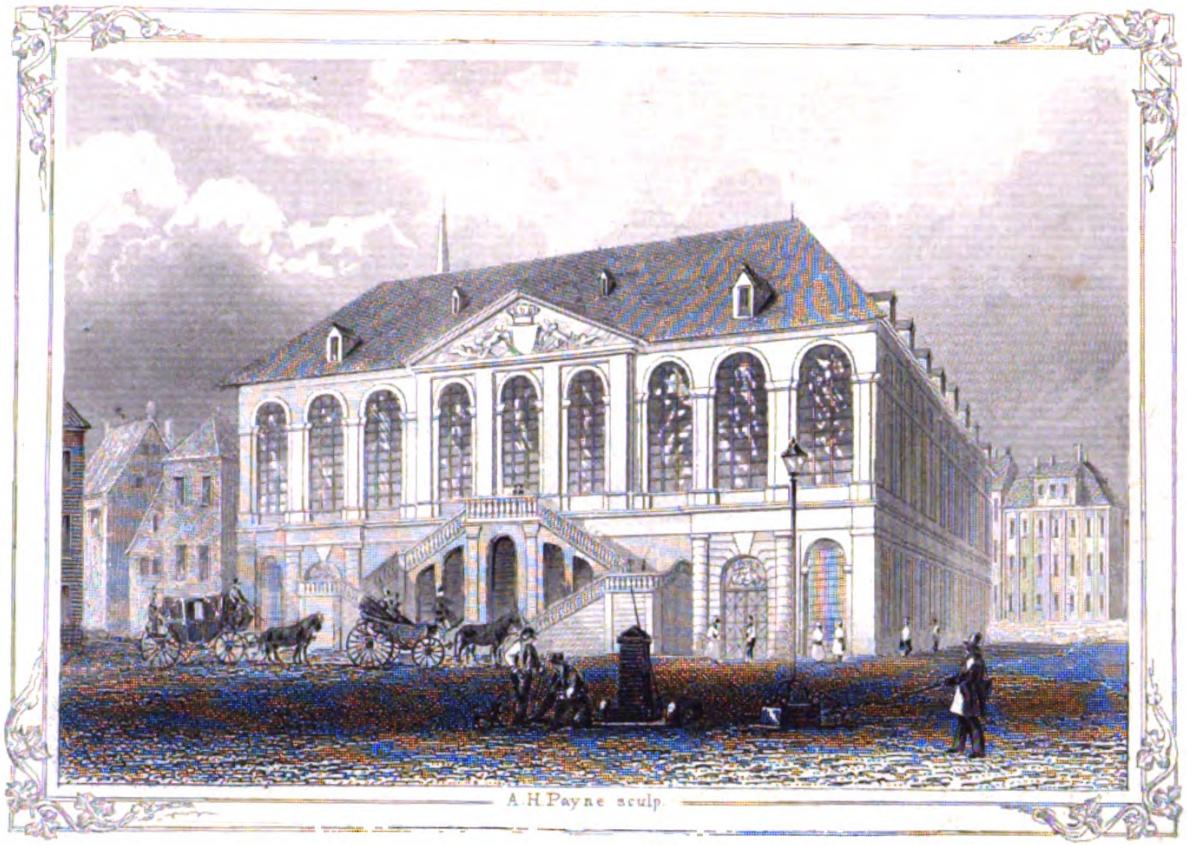
Aussicht von der

A. H. Payne del. & sculp.

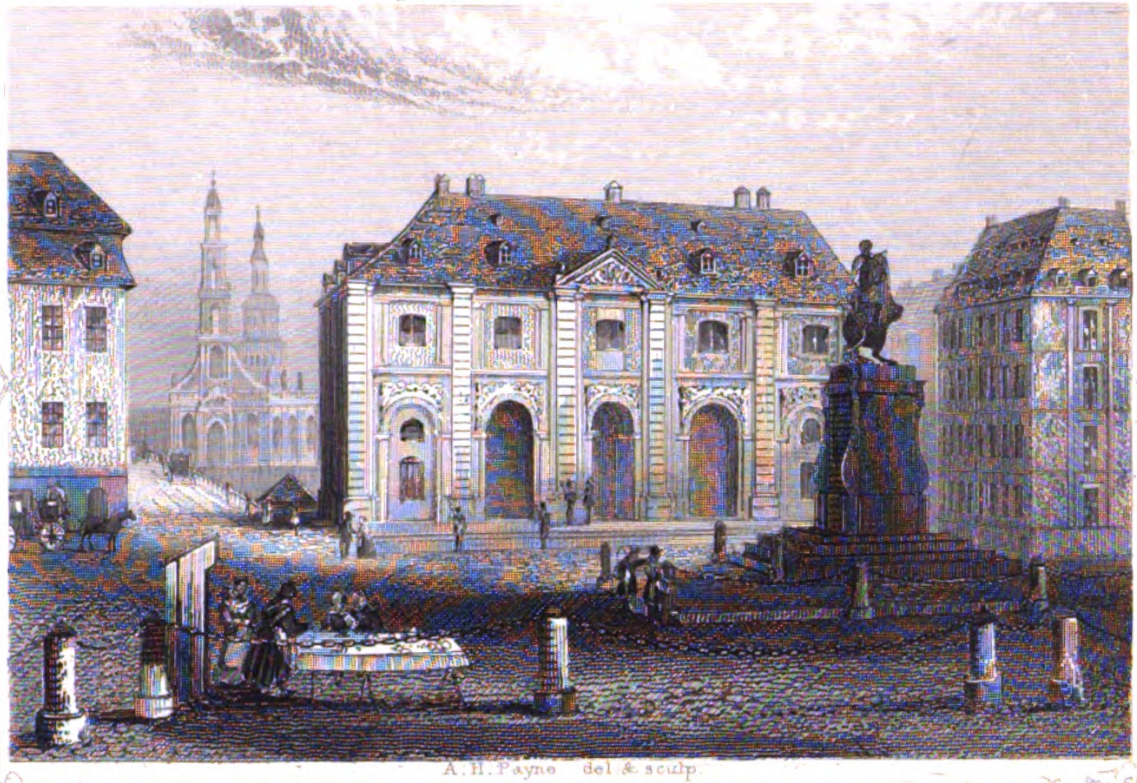
Ascent to the Aufgang zur

Brühl'schen Terrasse.

The Catholic Ch. Die Katholische Kirche.



The Gallery. Die Gallerie.



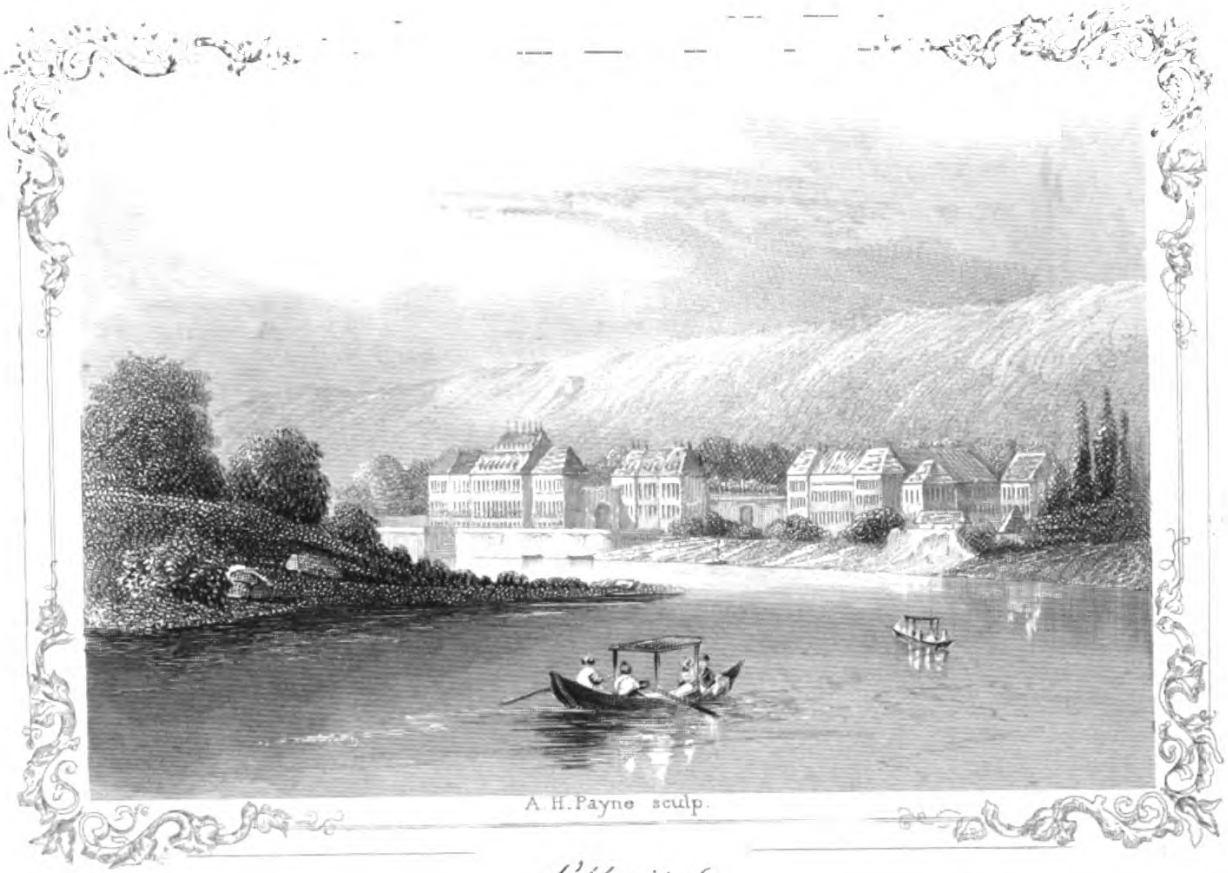
A. H. Payne del & sculp.

The Guard House. Die Hauptwache.

New Town. in der Neustadt.

A. H. Payne sculp

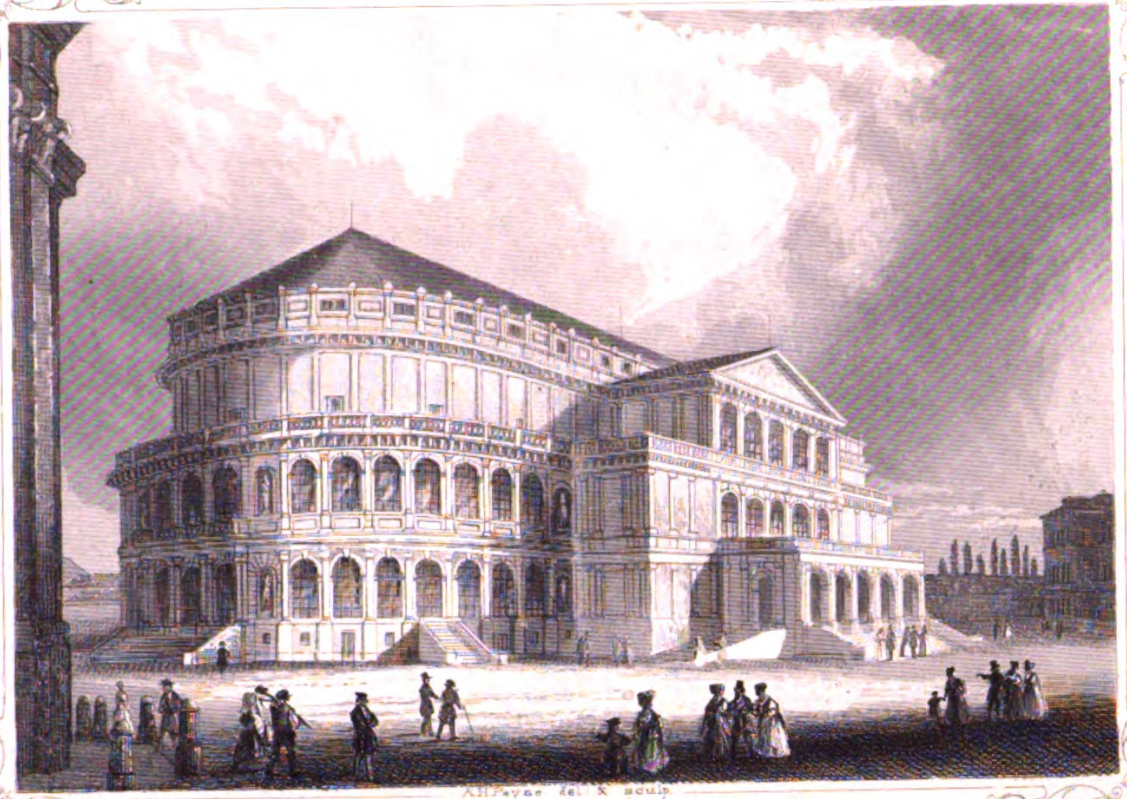
Königstein.



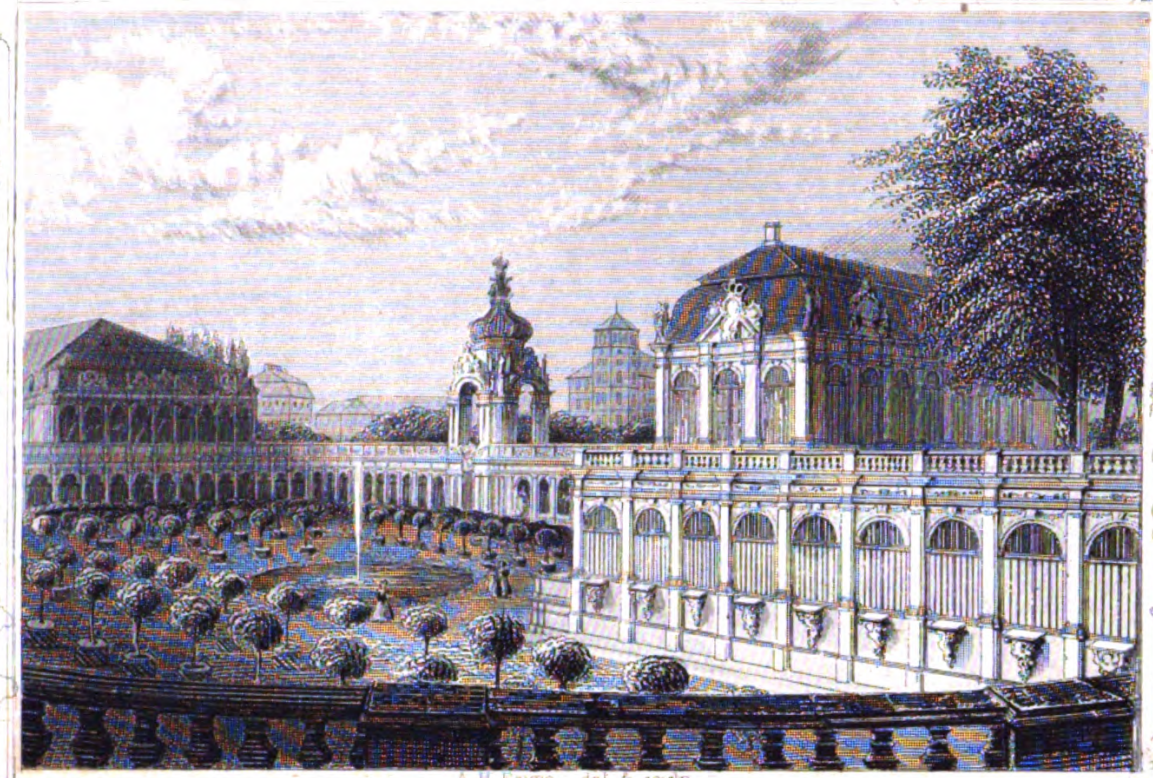
A. H. Payne sculp.

Pillnitz.

A.H.Payne del. & sculp.



The Theatre Das Theater



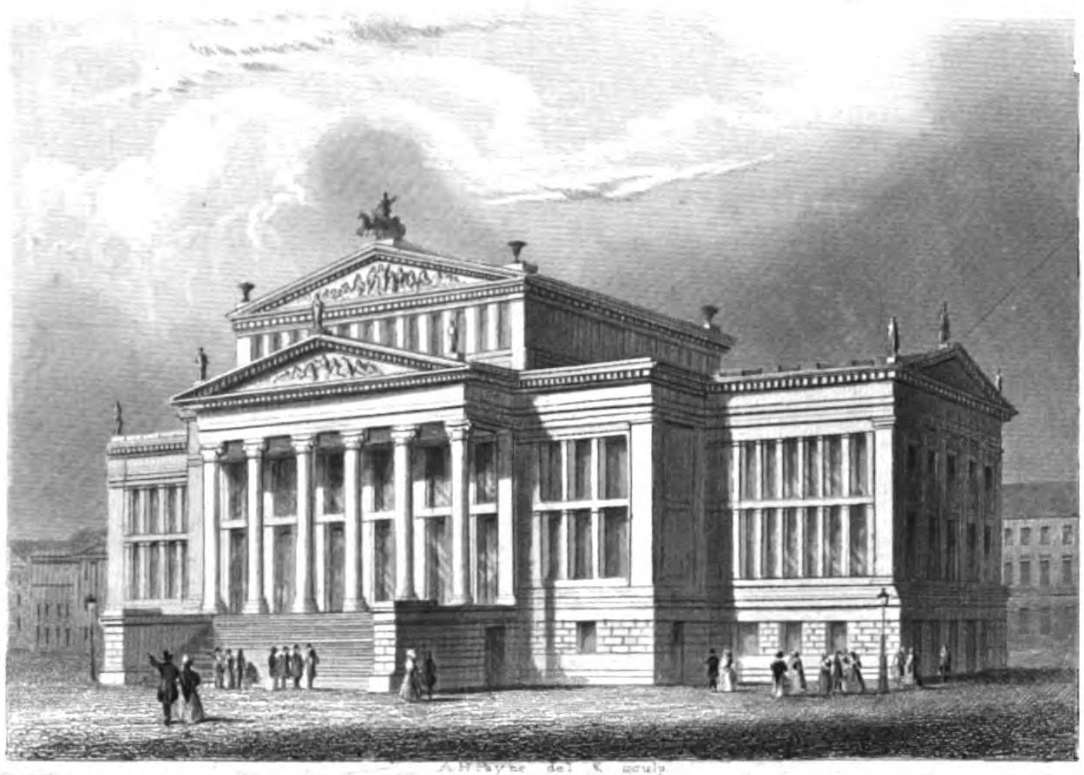
A. H. Payne del. & sculp.

The Zwinger. *Da Zwinger.*

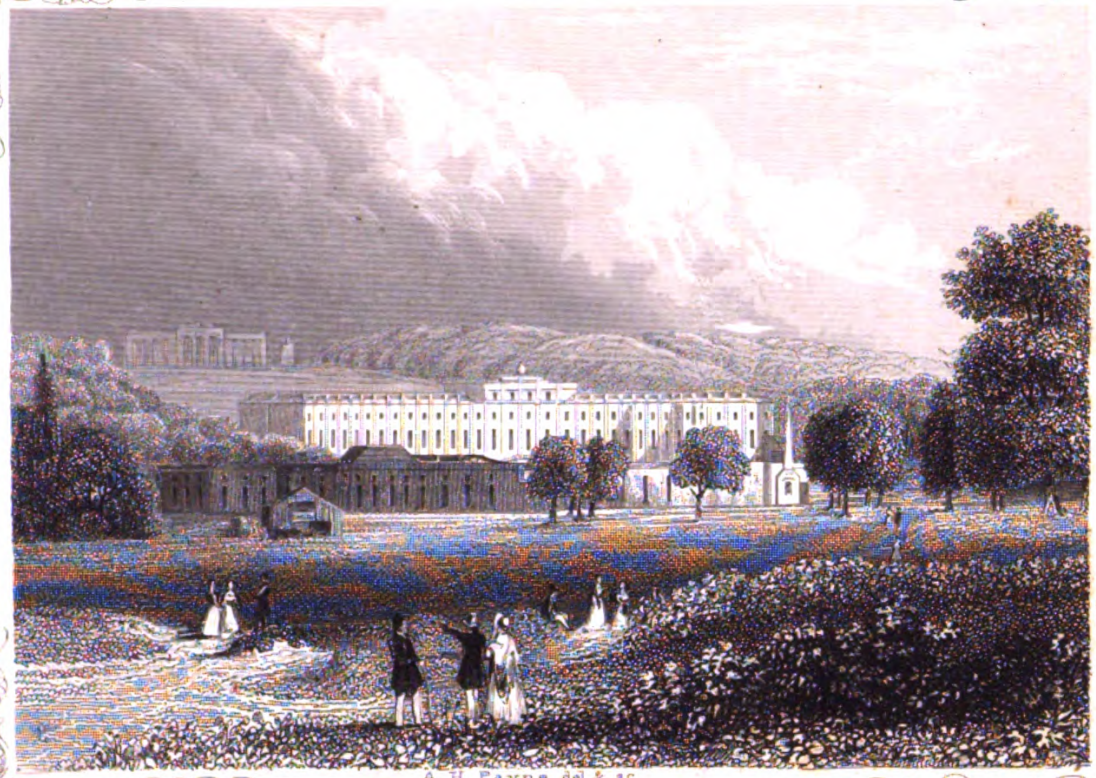
A. H. Payne del. & sculp.

DAS CASINO-GEBÄUDE. FÜRST SCHWARZENBERG'S PAL:

The Casino Club House. Pr. Schwarzenberg's Palace.



The Royal Theatre. Das Königl. Schauspielhaus.



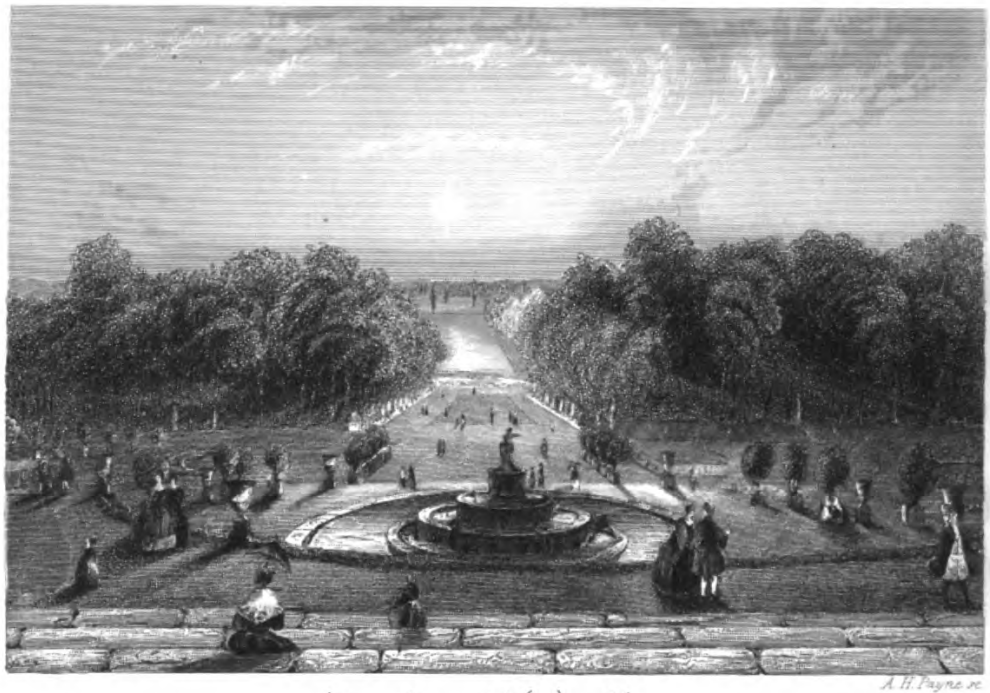
A H Payne del. & sc.

Schönbrunn.

Kossuth

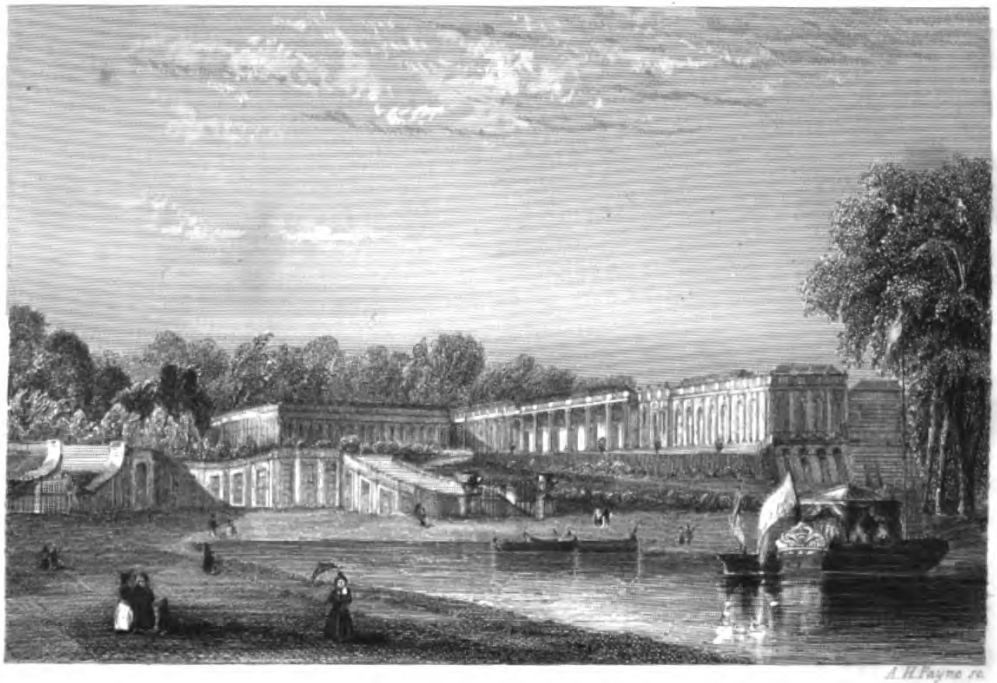
Gérard

Invalides



J. H. Payne sc.

Gardens of Versailles.

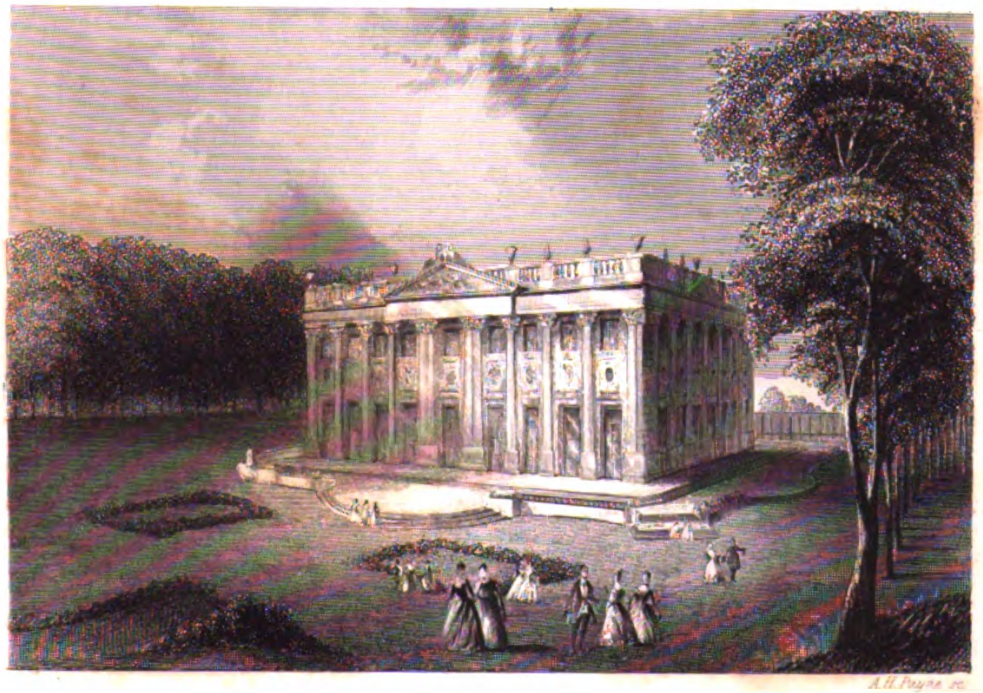


J. H. Payne sc.

The Grand Trianon

A. H. Payne sc.

Palace of Versailles.

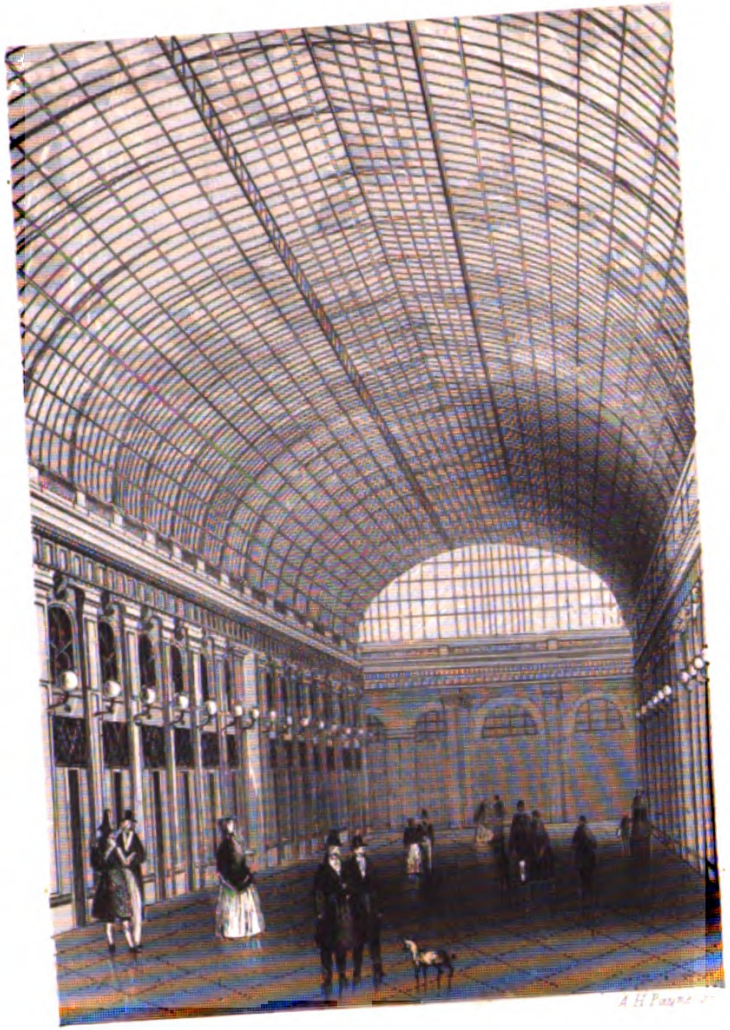


A. H. Payne sc.

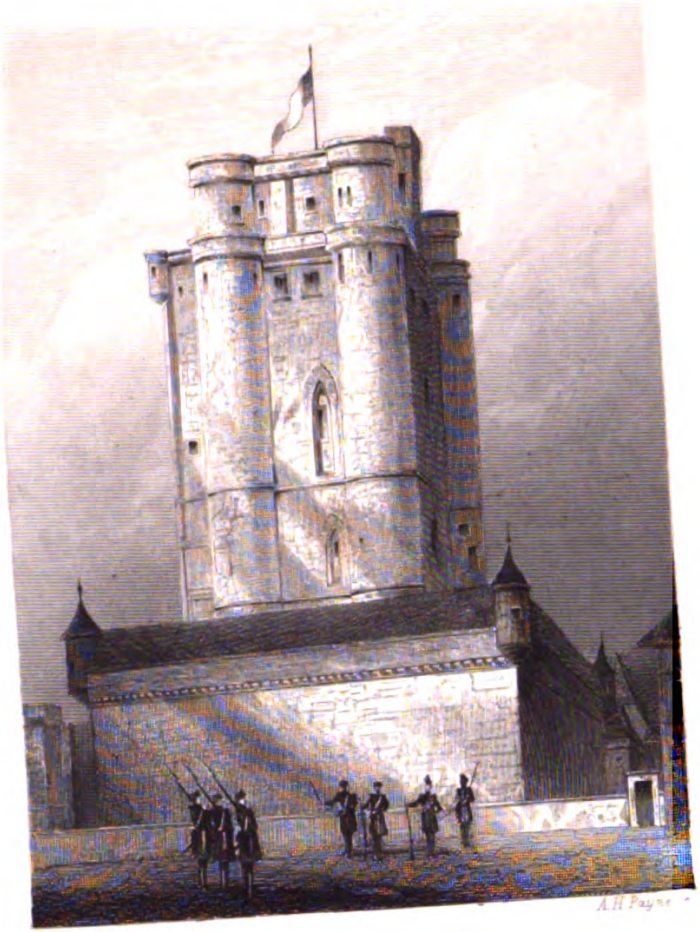
The Petit Trianon

Porte St. Denis

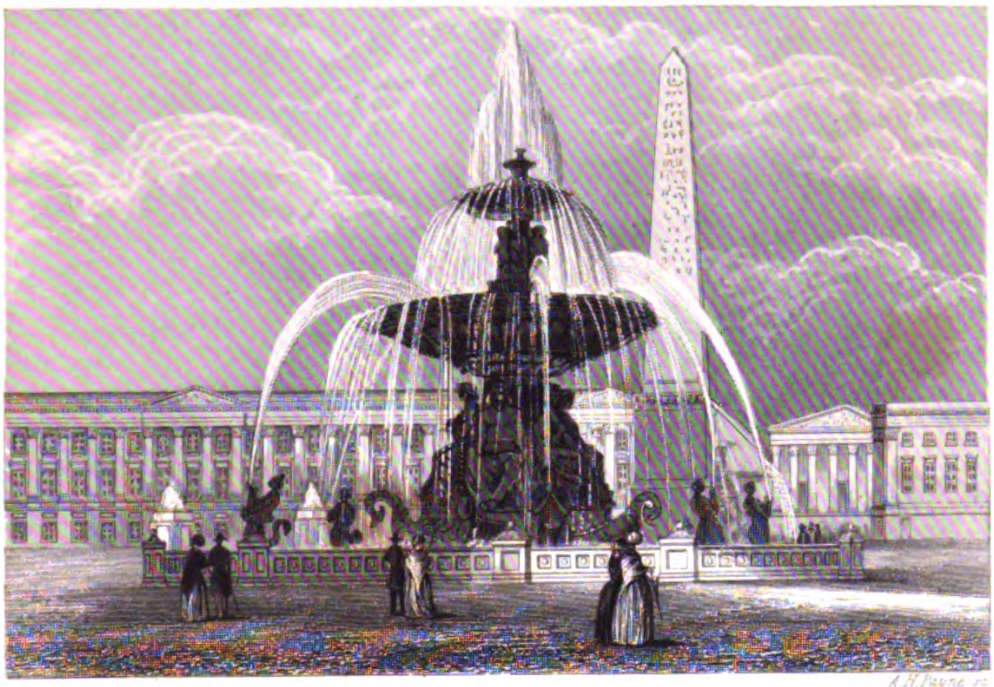
Arc du Carrousel



Palais Royal

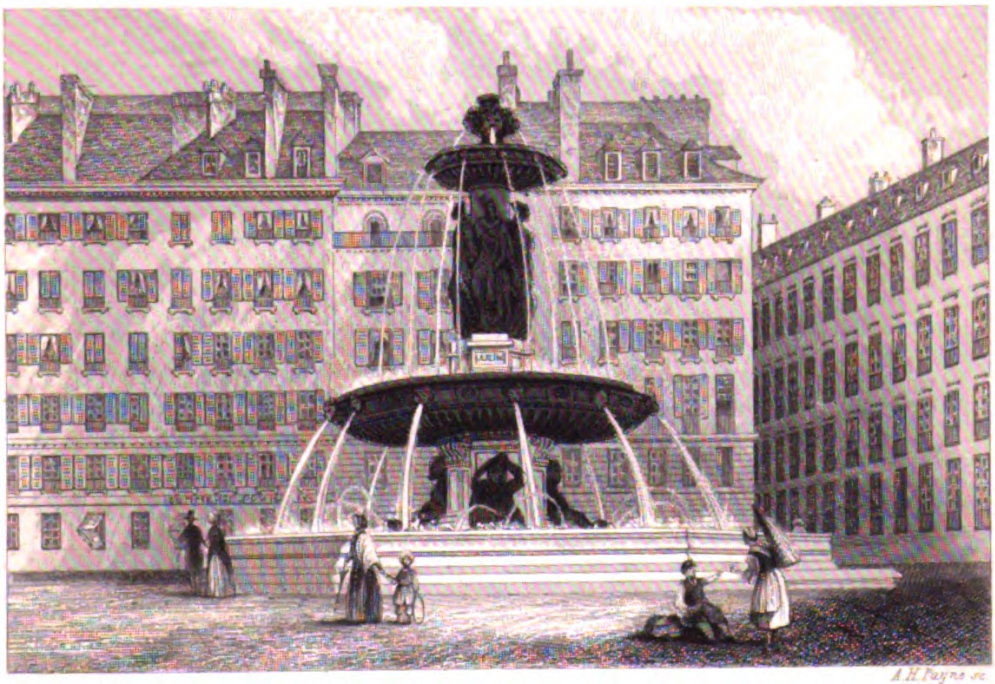


Vincennes



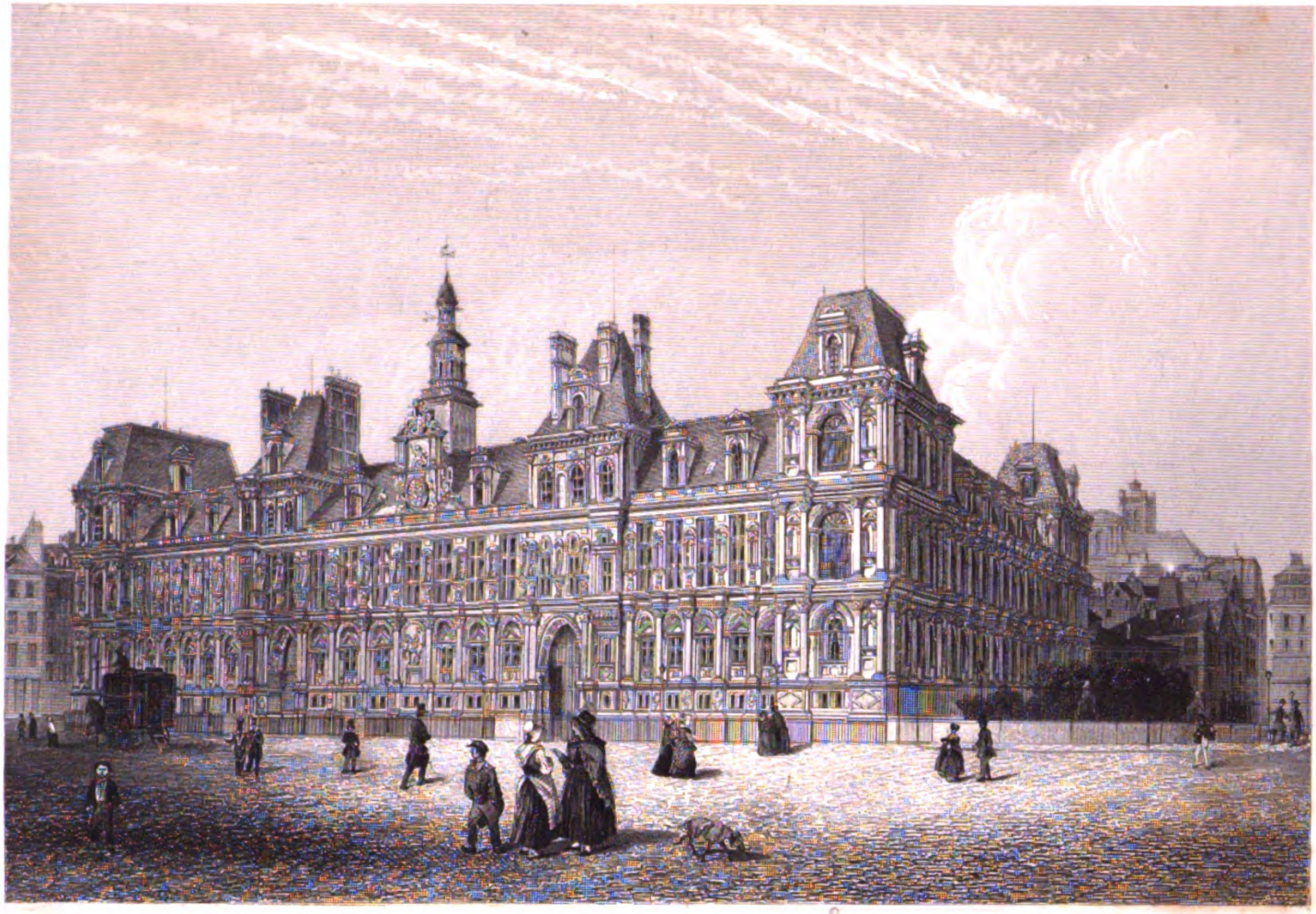
A.H.Payne sc.

Fontaine Place Louis XV.

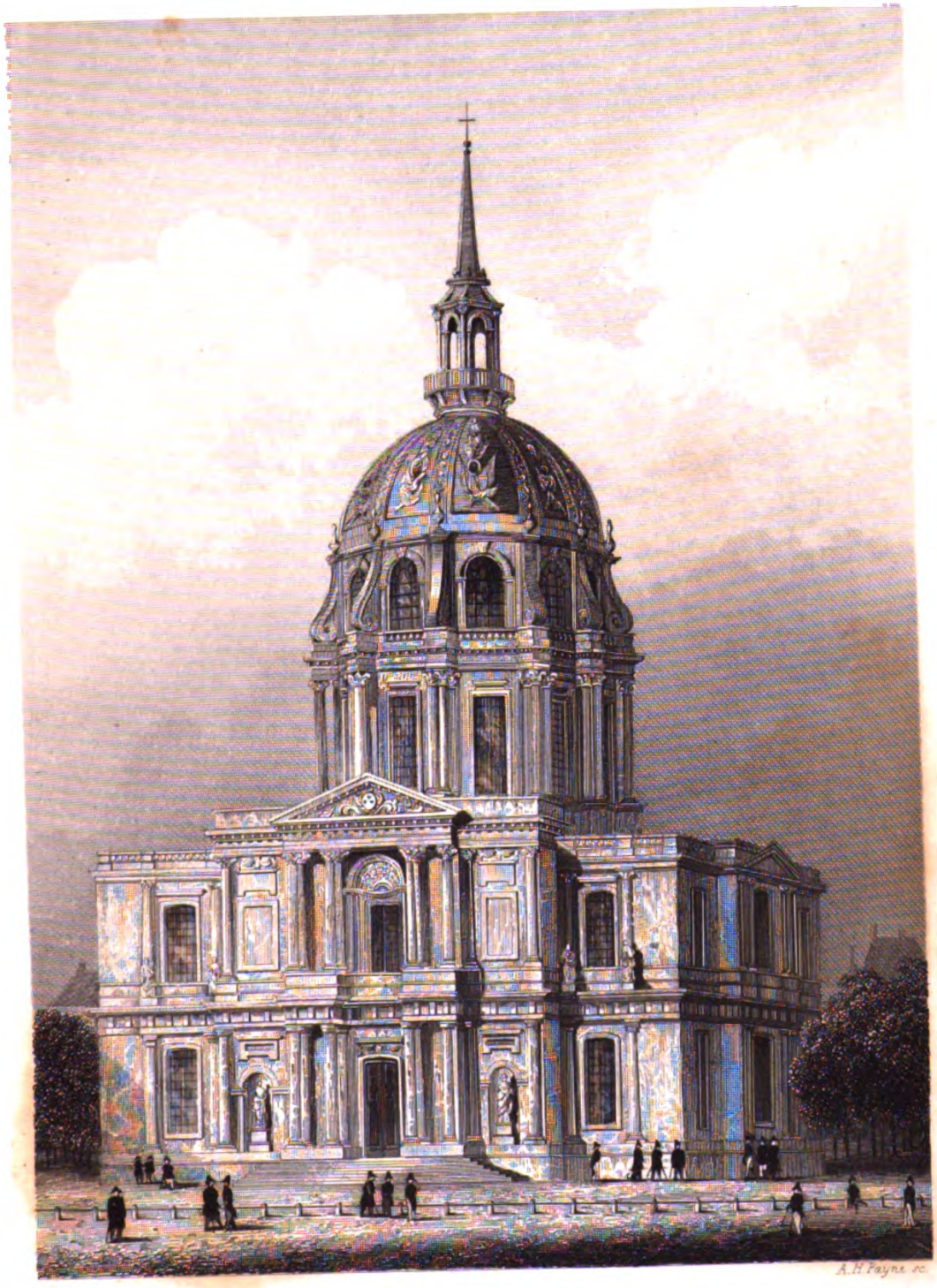


A.H.Payne sc.

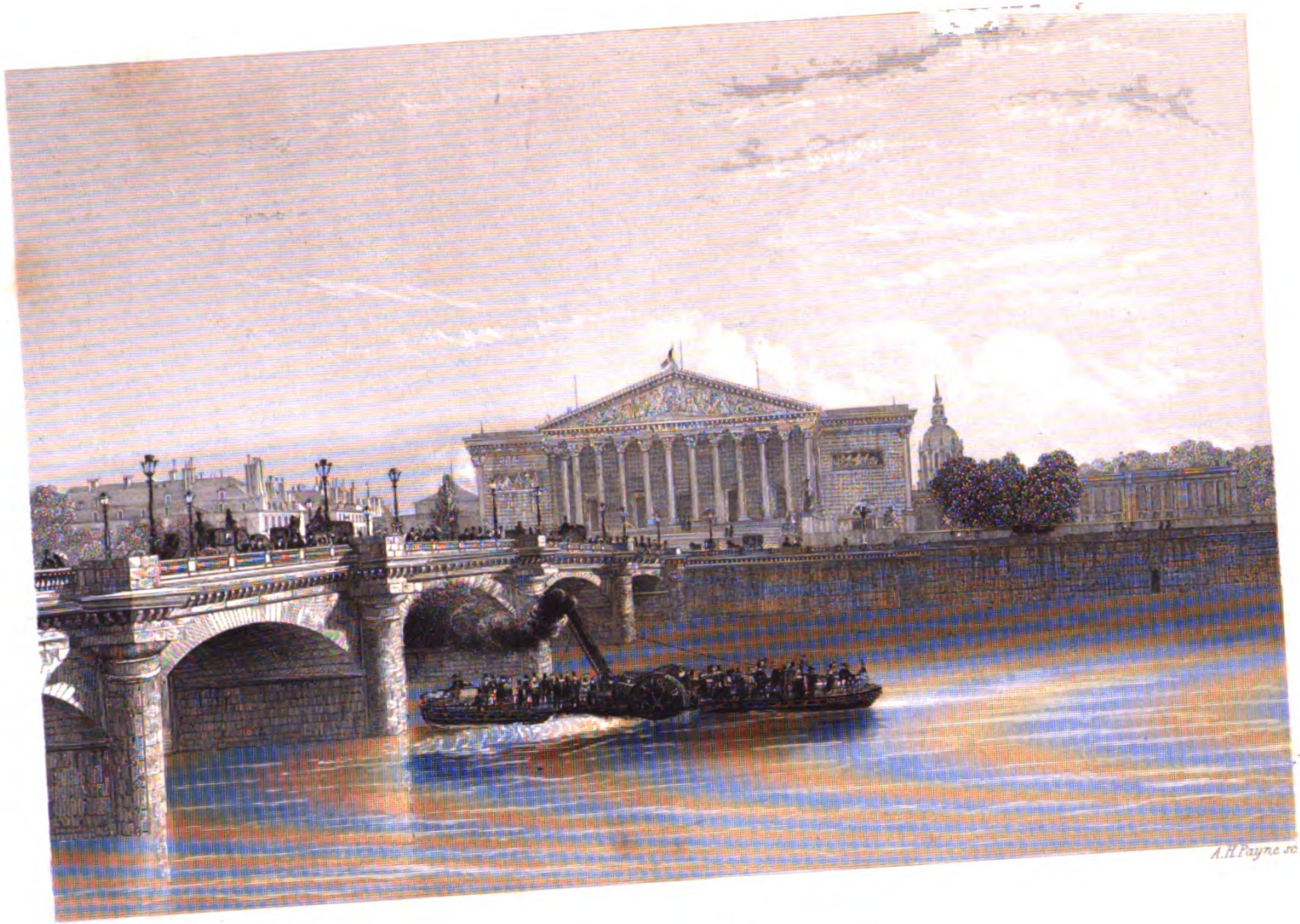
Fontaine Rue Richelieu



Hôtel de Ville



Hôtel des Invalides.



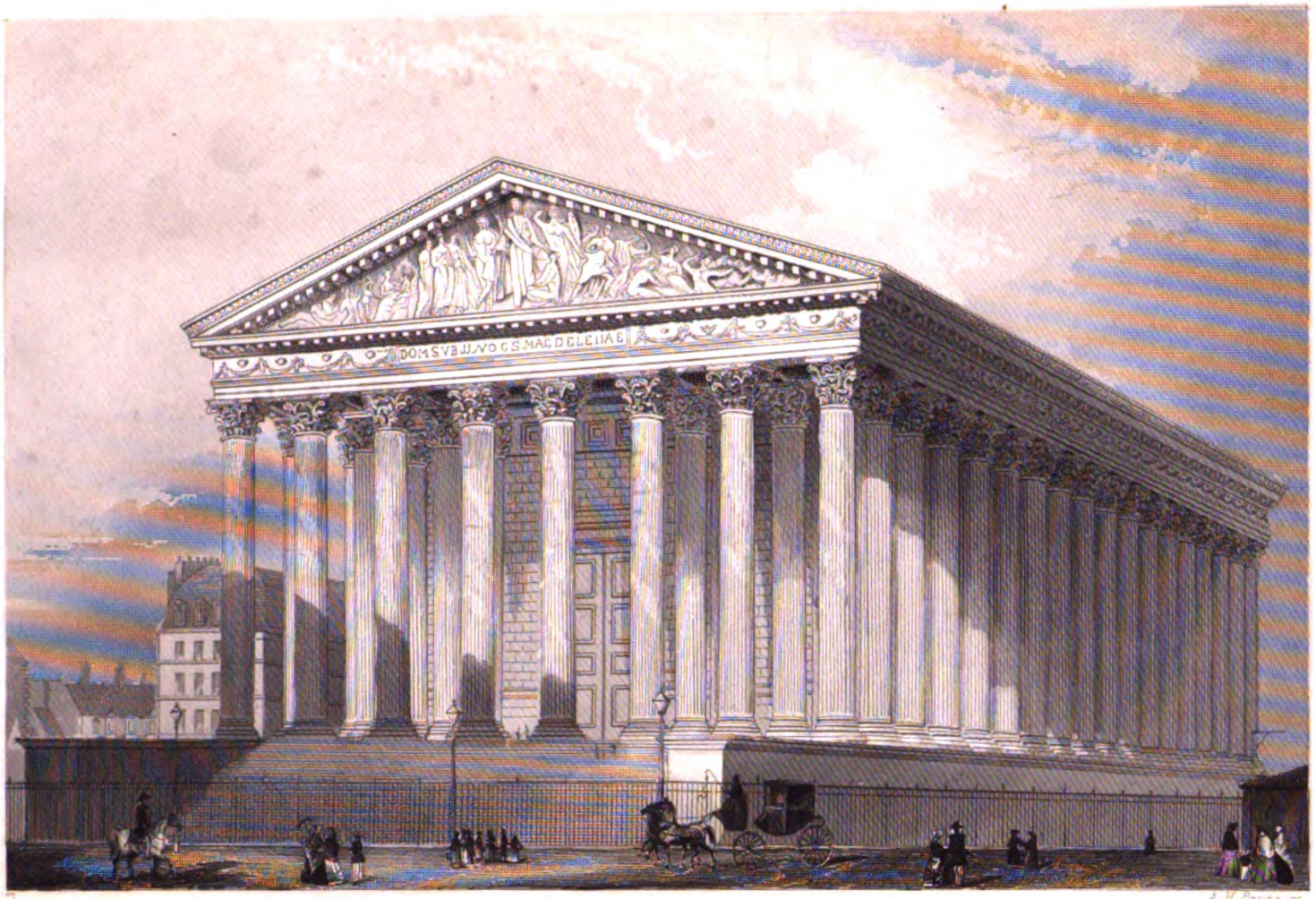
Pont de la Concorde.

(and Entrance to Deputies)

Louvre.

Dresden.

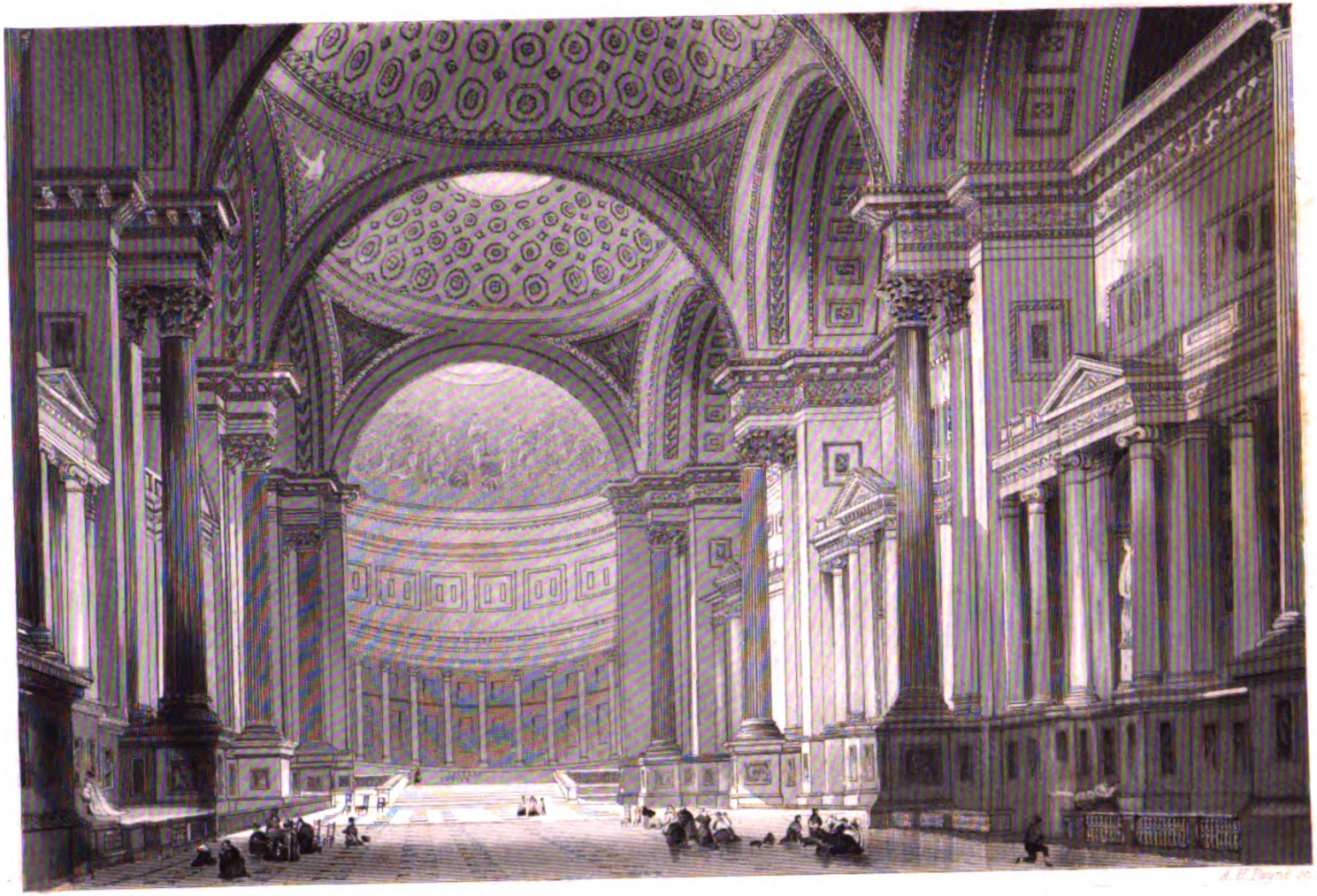
Louvre



A.H. Payne sc

La Madeleine.

Published for the Proprietors by A. Hall Jun. 51 Paternoster Row.



Interior of St. Mariaeine