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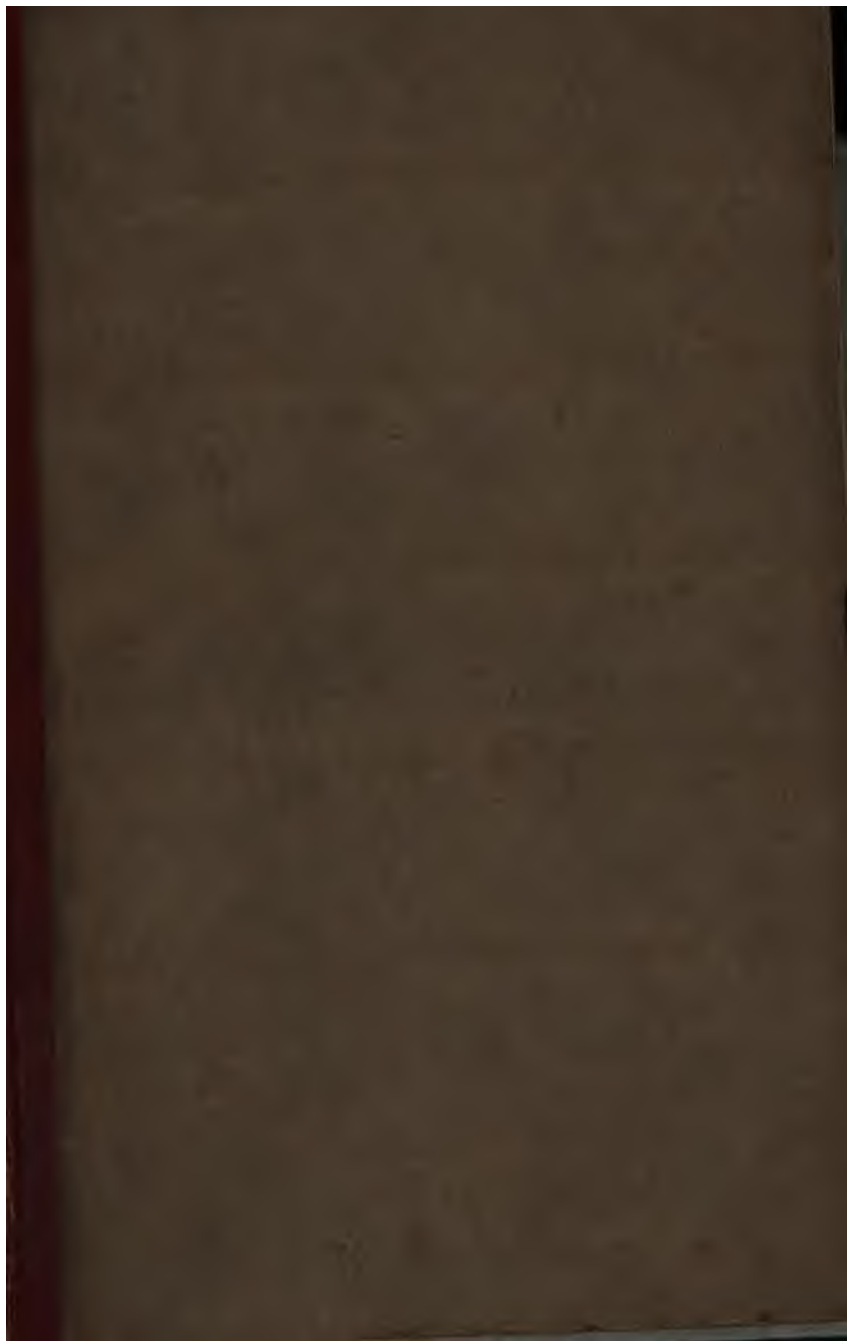
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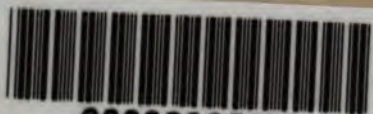
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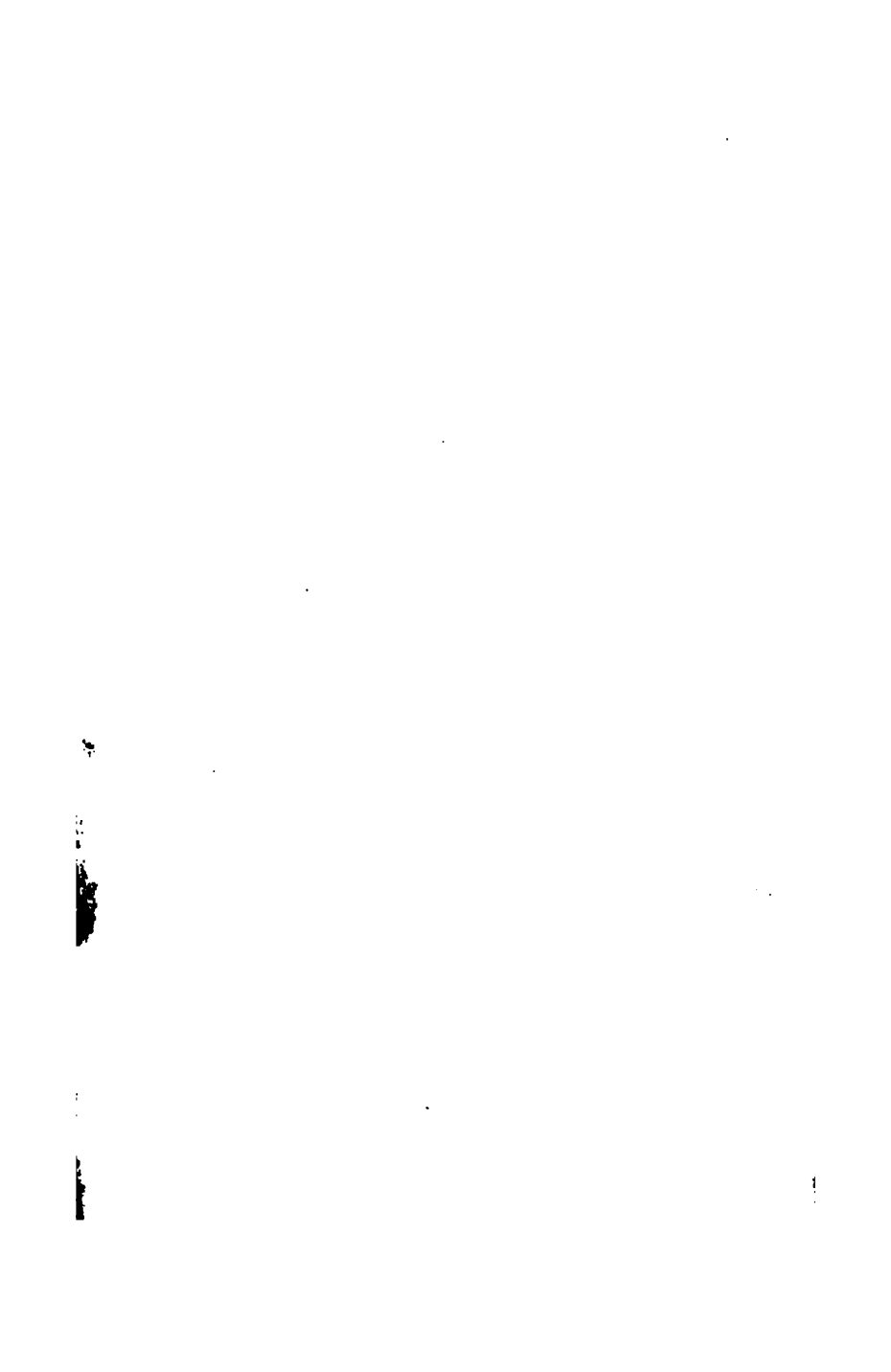
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A TRUE ACCOUNT
OF THE
HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION;
ITS PURPOSES AND PRETENCES.



A TRUE ACCOUNT
OF
THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION;

ITS PURPOSES AND PRETENCES:

BY
AN AMERICAN DEMOCRAT.

WITH PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS, RESPECTING THE LIBERALS
ABROAD AND THE LIBERAL PARTY AT HOME.

ESPECIALLY INTENDED FOR THE
PERUSAL OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

BY WILLIAM BERNARD MACCABE.

AUTHOR OF "A CATHOLIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND."

"If this will not suffice, it must appear
That malice bears down truth."

Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, Act. iv. S. 1.

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CONTENTS.

PART I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE.

Truth as opposed to popular prejudices. The Roman Catholics suffering from prejudices that they know to be founded on falsehoods. Appeal, therefore, made with confidence to them to hear what can be alleged in disproof of the erroneous notions now prevalent with reference to the late Hungarian Revolution. Various classes in the British Empire sympathise with the Magyars. Specification of those classes. The cause of "the Liberals" and the Magyars the same—both oppressors of the poor. The origin of "a Liberal party:" its main principle, spoliation of property devoted to the sustentation of the poor. Traces of a Liberal party in Anglo-Saxon times. The purposes of the Liberal party at the Reformation and in modern times the same; the *pretences* different. Proofs in falsification of the Reformation-pretence "religious liberty." Social and Political results of the "Liberal" Reformation in Germany and in England—spoliation of the Church—oppression of the poor—tyranny of princes—proofs taken from Protestant writers 1

CHAPTER II.

The "Liberals" in modern times—to them attributable all the horrors of the French revolution—prevent necessary reforms—maltreatment of the working classes. Similarity of the Girondins and Magyars. Reasons why "the Liberal party," in England, sympathised with the French Revolutionists. Two classes of revolutionists, "the genteel" the Girondins, "and the vulgar" the Red Republicans and Communists. Definition of the tests of a *good* and *bad* government. The form or name of

a government immaterial—reasons why the Austrians merit the designation of a <i>good</i> government. William Cobbett's definition of "despotism" and "tyranny" adopted. Proofs that "the Liberals" established "despotic" governments in France under Louis Philippe. Proofs adduced from "Liberal" writers. Results—the misery of the working classes	12
---	----

CHAPTER III.

The <i>purpose</i> and <i>pretence</i> of the Liberal party in Spain and Portugal—its success in both countries. Usurpers crowned in Madrid and Lisbon. Massacre of the Religious Orders in various parts of Spain—aid given by England to the Spanish "Liberals." The assassin of Cabrera's mother feted in London. Spoliation of the Church—impoverishment of the Clergy—misery of the poor and working classes. The despotism of Espartero, and the Progresistas—the despotism of the Moderados. Portugal the victim of <i>the policy</i> of the Liberals—spoliation and misgovernment of the many for the profit of the few. D. Miguel the popular king of Portugal—declared king by the Cortes—made the object of systematic calumny—his defeat. A victory over the national will and independence of Portugal. Vindication of D. Miguel—proofs of his virtues. The results of a liberal government in Portugal. Spoliation of the Church. Misery of the poor. Establishment of despotism, its result— <i>anarchy</i> . The nation desirous of the restoration of D. Miguel.	23
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Reasons why "the Liberal party" sympathise with Continental "Liberals." Tyranny, hypocrisy, and cruelty of the English "Liberal party." It is divided into two classes: its nobility and <i>bourgeoisie</i> . Spoliation of the Church by the nobility—destruction of monasteries, followed by erection of workhouses and <i>barracks</i> . The enlistment system of England appreciated by the Magyars. The liberal <i>bourgeoisie</i> of England represented by the London Corporation—the misdeeds of the London Corporation—represents a minority misgoverning the majority. Kossuth's admirers in the London Corporation. Hypocrisy of the Liberal party in pretending to sympathise with others when fighting in defence of nationality. Conduct towards insurgent nationalities against its own supreme power—in Ceylon—in Cephalonia—and in Ireland	39
--	----

CHAPTER V.

Boasted results of the "Liberal Reformation," and "Liberal Revolution" in England. Condition of the working classes—test of good government—not the riches of a nobility, or the wealth of the middle classes. "Liberalised" England tried by that test. The English Poor Laws—regard the unfortunate as criminals—the poor treated as slaves under the old Poor Law. Proofs—declared to be slaves under the New Poor Law, and treated with heathen cruelty. Treatment of the poor in Scotland—their misery contrasted with one bearing the spoils of a Pope. Maltreatment of poor women in England. Misery and irreligion of the neglected poor in England. Proofs. Treatment of the poor in Ireland—pauper women beaten with sticks in Irish work-houses. Proofs. Reproach to the calumniators of Marshal Haynau. Charge against the Irish government preferred by the Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne 52

CHAPTER VI.

The Austrian system of government the very opposite of that which influences "the Liberals." The Austrian desires to protect the poor against their oppressors, whether those oppressors be "nobles," or members of the middle class. The Austrian, unlike the Liberals, discountenances the formation of an *Orange faction* in any portion of its dominions. Attachment of the peasantry to the Austrian proved by the revolt in the Tyrol—in the Galician insurrection. Proofs justifying that attachment. The rebellions of 1848—in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Concessions made to Italians and Hungarians previous to their rebellion. The peasants attached to Austria in Lombardy. Justification of that attachment. The rebels desired to perpetuate entails, and maintain large landed properties—the Austrians to augment the number of small proprietors. Wretchedness of the poor in England, and misery of the peasantry in Ireland attributed to the Austrian system of government not being adopted. Proofs. Atrocities of the Revolutionists in Venice. Attachment of the peasantry facilitate the victories of the Austrian Generals 63

CHAPTER VII.

The Hungarian Revolution. The author states his reasons for sympathising with the Croatians. Ireland treated like Croatia. A witness to the persecution, in Vienna, of Nuns and

Redemptorists by "the Liberals"—the allies of the Hungarians. The author encouraged to defend the Austrians against popular prejudice by the example of America. The views of the "American Democrats" referred to. The justification of a war to be sought in its causes, not in its success. The condition of the poor, and their treatment, the test instituted to decide between the Austrians and the Hungarians. The Magyars a minority of the population. Absolute power of the Magyars in their respective counties. Condition of the peasantry under the Magyars—the numerous oppressions practised on them by the Magyars. Efforts made by the House of Austria to improve the condition of the poor in Hungary—counteracted by the nobles. Opening of the Diet in 1847. Proposition of the Austrian government for relieving the peasantry of the burdens to which they were then subject—for municipal reform—for facilitating the sale of landed property—for the improvement of commerce, opening railroads, &c. Rejected by the Magyars. Ambitious demands of the Magyars—refuse to aid the poor of Hungary, though suffering from fever and famine. Kossuth's tyrannical bill for preventing the Croats from using their own language. The Magyars defend it by the treatment of Ireland and Wales by England. The Magyars imitate the English Liberals in the spoliation of the Church, and in the system of education which they establish. Austria saved from destruction by the confidence she reposes in the poorer classes of society. Conclusion 72

PART II.

The Hungarian Revolution, by an American Democrat ... 93

A TRUE ACCOUNT
OF THE
HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION.

PART I.
PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

To assert the truth : by its assertion and its proof to vindicate the cause of those who are wrongfully maligned, and to expose the misdeeds of those who are unjustly praised. Such are the objects contemplated in the publication of the following pages.

The task is here undertaken of battling with a popular political prejudice ; of seeking to counteract it ; of endeavouring to destroy it.

Truth wears not the garb of a peculiar sect : it speaks in the language of every country. It is the birth-right of the honest : the test of virtue. Let it be but told and listened to, and the tyrant will be denounced, the hypocrite exposed, the knave scorned. There is but one foe that for any length of time can contend against it with success, and that is deeply-rooted prejudice ; for "prejudice is a deadly enemy to fair investigation : it has neither eyes nor ears for justice : it hears and sees everything on one side, and to refute is to exasperate it. When it predominates, accusation is received as evidence, and calumny produces conviction."

The writer of these pages belongs to a religion that is, at this moment, the object of violent persecution. He is conscious that persecution is envenomed by the virulence of popular prejudices. He is aware that those prejudices are attributable solely to the falsehoods that have been

circulated against his religion, and that have been so constantly repeated against it, that they are supposed at last to be truths. He believes, that, few instances have occurred in which the false statements having been detected by the sincere enquirer into truth, that not only were the pre-conceived prejudices removed, but he who had previously cherished them, was changed from a persecutor into a convert. Hence, even in the midst of persecution, there is hope: hope that the creed so persecuted shall yet be triumphant.

Those who are suffering by the propagation of what they know to be falsehoods, and the maintenance of what they feel to be unjust prejudices, will, it is supposed, be the most willing to listen to an appeal made to their reason, and their justice, against prejudices in which they themselves participate. The endeavour is therefore made to induce *them at least* to hear patiently what can be said respecting that Hungarian Revolution, in which they, in common with the vast majority of the British empire, have sympathised. In the course of the investigation to which they are invited, they may, perchance, discover that the same elaborate machinery of falsehood which crushes them as victims, has contrived to present to the world the chieftains of the Hungarian Revolution as "heroes!" and as "patriots!"

Various classes in this empire have regarded, and still consider, the defeat of the Hungarians in their rebellion against the Emperor of Austria, as a great calamity. Amongst those classes entertaining such a conviction, may be reckoned the Roman Catholics in England, and the Roman Catholics in Ireland.

First, the Roman Catholics in England who have fancied that the Magyars were fighting in defence of a constitution (like to the ancient constitution of England), which had been destroyed by the Austrian emperor, and in its place a pure despotism substituted: that the Hungarians were fighting for liberty, and the Austrians against liberty.

Second: the Roman Catholics in Ireland, who have, for centuries, been subjected to a small dominant race of invaders, "aliens in blood, in language, and in religion;" they who have ever been treated as conquered enemies, and who have been doomed to endure a state of serfdom:

they, whose ancient language has been nearly obliterated, by the persecuting efforts of a hostile race, and whose religious freedom, won after a struggle of centuries, is again placed in peril—even men, so situated, have sympathised with Kossuth and the Hungarians; because they have believed, and still believe, that in the Magyars were to be recognized the personification of the ancient Irish race, and in the Austrian the representatives of a small imperial, domineering and centralizing faction, to whose misgovernment they are still subject; and hence, they have lamented the defeat of the Hungarians, and the fall of Kossuth, as the defeat of the cause, and the rights of a brave liberty-loving race, when opposed to an oppressive tyrant and a griping oligarchy!

There are other classes in England and in Ireland who have sympathised with the Hungarian Revolution, and have lamented over its failure; but few amongst such classes require information upon this subject, for they are perfectly correct (according to their own notions of what is right) in sympathising with the Magyars, and they have every reason to wail for the defeat of Kossuth, because in his defeat they lose a becoming associate and a powerful ally.

We comprise, amongst those classes who appropriately lament the defeat of Kossuth and the Hungarians:—

First; “the Liberals,”

Second; “the Red Republicans,”

Third; “the Communists,”

Fourth; “the Anti-Catholic Bigots.”

The names of these four distinct classes sufficiently typify their principles with one exception, that of “the Liberals,” which, sometimes, comprises them all; although at other times at deadly feud with the second and third; but never to be dissociated from the fourth, although the fourth in *this country*, has repudiated of late years the designation of “a Liberal.” In specifying, however, those four classes, we afford to the English, as well as to the Irish Roman Catholics, just reason to pause, and ask themselves this question:—“How comes it that *we* should lament as a misfortune that, which *our foes* and *our persecutors* regard as a calamity? If they are consistent in their conduct, we cannot be consistent in ours; for ours is the cause of peace, of true charity, of genuine liberty;

and, beyond all things, of fair dealing, of kindness, tenderness, and consideration for those, who are the most helpless of all God's creatures—the *poor*—the industrious, hard-working poor—the sick, the aged, and the orphan poor."

Desiring, then, to avoid all unnecessary political, and polemical discussions, we shall not again revert, as classes deserving of particular consideration, either to "the Communists," "the Red Republicans," or "the Anti-Catholic Bigots." We shall confine our attention alone to those who avow themselves to be "Liberals," in the modern acceptance of the phrase, and whose sympathy with the Hungarian Revolutionists is proclaimed in every newspaper and pamphlet published by them.

In tracing the history, of "the Liberals," that is, of "the Liberal party," and in defining its course of action at all times, we shall find *the cause* for its sympathy with the Magyars, and *the motive* for its hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. When both Cause and Motive are laid bare, we hope to render "Magyars" and "Liberals" alike objects of contempt, to all who love liberty, who hate tyranny, and who desire to promote the welfare, happiness, ease, and contentment of the poor.

"Consideration for the poor," it is truly observed by Mr. Newman, in his "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine," is "a doctrine of the Church, considered as a religious body, and a principle, when she is viewed as a political power."*

Centuries have passed away since that doctrine was recognised, and that principle invariably acted upon. The nature of man has been as unchanged as the Church; and accordingly we find, previous to the Reformation, that there existed the same class of persons who are now to be discovered in almost every country in Europe: that is, persons desirous to appropriate to themselves every species of property specially devoted to the use and benefit of the poor. With the successful progress of Christianity, began the establishment of Charitable Institutions. In the code of Justinian, under the names of "Hospitalium," "Orphanotrophium," "Gerontocomorium," "Ptochotrophium," and "Nosocomorium," (Justin. l. Leg. 46.) to which may be added the "Brephotrophi," are specified

* Chap. 1. § 4. p. 73.

all those establishments in which the poor, whether old or young, sick or well, received sustenance and relief. "There was no monastery with abundant means," says Muratori of Italy, (and what he says of Italy is true of every country, in which Christianity was established), "to which there was not attached an hospital, where travellers and the poor were housed and fed."* The property of the Church was the patrimony of the poor—"patrimonia pauperum."

From the moment that a property of the Church was so established—and a patrimony for the poor so allocated, there has been "a *Liberal party*," that is, there have been persons who were either born to power, or who sought for power, in order that they might convert "the patrimony of the poor" to their own private uses.

This "*Liberal party*" existed in the East, and profited by the plunder of the Church, with the name of the "*Charisticarii*." Under false pretences, possession was obtained of monasteries and hospitals, and the revenues applied to their own purposes, by laymen, by married men, by females, and sometimes even by Pagans. We cite the manner in which *they* discharged their trust, because its parallel is to be found in modern times:—"Les donataires, que l'on nommait charistiaires, jouissaient de tous les revenus sans en rendre compte, et souvent négligeaient les réparations des églises et des bâtiments, l'entretien du service divin, les aumônes accoutumées, et même la subsistance des moines, qui faute du nécessaire, tombaient dans le relâchement.†

This "*Liberal party*" existed in the West, and traces of its mischief are to be found in the annals of every country. To specify them all would be to fill a volume.

In England, we discover "a liberal party" springing up in the reign of Aldfrid, king of Northumbria, and establishing "secular monasteries," flourishing, despite the denunciation of Bede, the censures of monks, and the condemnation of the synod of Cloveshoe. We discover it in the occupation of monasteries by persons, who were no

* "Non v'era quali alcun Monistero pingue, a cui non fosse unito qualche spedale, in cui si desse ricetto e vitto a i Pellegrini, e a i poveri." *Dissertationi sopra le Antichità Italiani*.—Diss. xxxii. vol. ii. p. 459.

† Rohrbacher *Histoire Universelle de L'Eglise Catholique*. Liv. 63. vol. xiii. p. 575.

more priests, or monks, in manners, in morals, in purity, or in religion, than the Duke, of Bedford is "*an Abbot*," because he happens to be the legalised possessor of *Woburn Abbey*. We find remarkable instances of the doings of the same party in the reign of Edwy the Fair, who seized upon the monasteries of St. Dunstan, expelled the monks, and assigned their property to his wife and his mistress. We observe also, the glorious reign of Edgar illustrated by repeated efforts to render nugatory the machinations of those who would convert the property of the poor into private estates for bad nobles, and worse clerics; and, we may trace the utter prostration of England beneath the Danish yoke, and its subsequent fall under the sway of the Normans, to the transactions that took place during the brief reign of St. Edward the Martyr, and the long reign of Ethelred the Unready—to the anarchy, the misery, the poverty, brought upon the land by the success of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, or "*liberal party*," in enriching themselves through the spoliation of monasteries. Let us look closely to the causes of the events that occurred subsequent to the Norman Conquest, and to which such frequent reference has been made in the discussions on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and we shall find that what are alluded to as proofs of "*the national spirit in opposition to the Church of Rome*," were, in point of fact, but too many of them, an obstinate struggle on the part of despotic kings and griping nobles, to appropriate to their own uses, the wealth of the Church—the property of the poor.

We come, then, to the Reformation: to that epoch in the history of mankind, when the "*Liberal party*" was first constituted, although it had not yet received the name, by which we now designate it. Its future career was, however, indicated in its past proceedings, for that which Shakspeare says of man, generally, may be applied to a party appropriately:

" There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceas'd ;
The which observ'd, a man may prophecy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life ; which in their seeds,
And weak beginnings, lie intreasur'd."

The *purpose* of "*the Liberal party*" at the Reformation

was the same as that which "the Liberal party" has now: its *pretence* was different.

The *purpose* of "the Liberal party" at the Reformation was the robbery of the poor, in the appropriation of the wealth and estates of the Church to private uses: its *pretence* was the extension of religious liberty.

The *purpose* of the modern Liberal party is, and has been the robbery of the poor, in the appropriation of the wealth and estates of the Church to private uses: its *pretence* has been and is, the extension of civil liberty.

The Liberal party at the Reformation, succeeded in its *purpose* in many places; but in what manner was its *pretence* carried into operation? It did not promote religious liberty; for if it did Servetus would not have been burned by Calvin, nor would our own Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, James, and Charles, have signed so many death-warrants for those who preferred their conscientious convictions to existence. It did not add to the happiness of the human race, or we should never have heard of that "peasant war" of Germany, in which one hundred thousand men were slain in battle, seven cities dismantled, a thousand monasteries destroyed, and three hundred Churches burned.*

It is in its social and political, and not in its religious consequences, that we desire to regard the Reformation, fomented in the sixteenth century by the Liberal party, for the *purpose* of securing to its members the Church property it caused to be confiscated. We desire to do this, because we may readily admit, for the sake of argument, as regards *some* who sanctioned the Reformation in its origin, that which we conscientiously believe to be true of *many* who are now Protestants, viz.: that the first were as

* AUDIN, *Histoire de Luther*, vol. iii. p. 44. When the miserable peasantry, smarting under the oppressions practised upon them, and misled by the wild doctrines preached by Luther, rose in insurrection against their tyrants, it was thus that Luther incited the princes and nobles to massacre them: "Mirabile tempus, nimirum ut principes multo facilius trucidandis rusticis et sanguine fundendo, quam alii fundendis ad Deum precibus cœlum mereantur."—*Opera Luth.* t. ii. fol. 130. Wittemb. t. ii. fol. 48. The result of his exhortations to massacre is afterwards thus told by him: "Rusticorum res quievit ubique, cœsis ad centum millia, tot orphanis factis, reliquis vero in vita sic spoliatis, ad Germaniæ facies miserior nunquam fuerit." *Epistola Lutheri ad Briesmann in Arch. Boruss.* t. i. p. 800, as quoted by ~~Audin~~, vol. iii. pp. 32—55.

truly persuaded that "a Reformation" was required, as that the latter are fully convinced that the doctrines they have been taught from their infancy are alone those that can secure to them salvation. Paying respect to the opinions of such persons, we desire to avoid every thing that may bear the semblance of the asperity of religious controversy. We wish, therefore, alone to dwell on the political and social consequences of the Reformation; and we desire to do so the more, from this additional consideration, that though the Liberal party may be considered as fairly chargeable with all the crimes of the Reformation, it would be unjust to charge Protestants with all the crimes of the Liberal party. The difference between the two is, the difference not merely between a Lord Shaftesbury who employs a Titus Oates, knowing him to be a villain, a perjurer, and a wilful murderer, and the sanguinary bigotry of a Lord William Russell, who in his besotted hatred of Popery, is willing to believe that the best men are ready to commit the worst crimes, because they are Papists, and therefore cries out against the slightest mitigation in the cruel sentence passed upon an innocent Catholic peer: * the difference between "a Liberal" and a sincere, honest, generous Protestant, is far greater; for whilst the former is fomenting the worst passions of our nature, the latter guiding his conduct by the gospel, will sanction no cruelty, practise no oppression, and do no wrong to those from

* See LORD JOHN RUSSELL, *Life of Lord William Russell*, vol. i. pp. 235, 236, 237, (London, 1820.) where a feeble attempt is first made to deny, and then to palliate this instance of brutal cruelty, towards a brother peer, who with his last breath thus spoke of the persecution, even unto death, to which he had been subjected.

"Since my long imprisonment, I have considered often what could be the original cause of my being thus accused, since I knew myself not culpable so much as in thought, and I cannot believe it to be upon any other account, than *my being of the Church of Rome*." Speech of Viscount Stafford at the place of execution. *State Trials*, vol. v. p. 1564.

Perhaps the strongest condemnation of the inhuman persecution against the Roman Catholics, by Lord William Russell and others, is to be found in the following sentence of a Spanish writer, when commenting upon the Titus Oates plot, and its "noble" and "honourable" abettors.

"Como es posible, que gente tan entendida, tan politica, tan estudiosa, deje de conocer la verdad! Atiendase à los *Acusadores*, à los *Testigos*; i, sin atender a otros meritos de *Proceso*, ni admiter descargos, se daran los *Catolicos* por justamente sentenciados."—*Manifiesto de la injusta persecucion que padecen los Catolicos Romanos en Inglaterra*. (Madrid 1630.)

whom he differs in faith, and that he believes to be in error, but whose conscientious convictions he respects.

Let us see then what were the social and political results of the Reformation. We have pointed to "the peasant war in Germany" as first springing from it; and now shall quote two Protestant writers, whose works alone are sufficient to prove what have been the permanent, social, and political consequences of that great event.

"In no place," says the first of the writers we refer to, "do we find that the condition of the peasants was in any respects improved; forced labour, inordinate taxation, all these old grievances remained in full force;—where it was possible, they were then increased. The success of the Reformation had done little for the common people: no voice was raised in their favour; but as we have seen the great heralds of Evangelical freedom, Luther and Melancthon, had done their best to rivet the fetters of the unfortunate peasants; everywhere the social fabric seemed held together only by the iron bands of force or fear."*

"Even during the life-time of Luther and Melancthon, we hear bitter complaints from them of the decay of morals and religion amongst all classes: in the next age the new Church fell under the rule of a little knot of self-sufficient court-preachers; *Lutheran-Popes, who ruled their flocks with rods of iron*, and disturbed and confused all religious feelings with their perpetual wrangling, on what they called points of doctrine. These preachers also, so imperious towards the people, were *humble and passive enough to their masters, the princes, who had, in most cases, appropriated to themselves the power and the revenues formerly belonging to the Church*, so that THE PEOPLE GAINED NOTHING BY THE CHANGE. Of the character of many of these sovereigns who had thus gained supreme spiritual, as well as temporal, authority, though it was, at that time, kept hushed up as much as possible, the world has since gained a pretty clear idea, and from the period subsequent to the 'religious peace of Augsburg,' German writers date the springing up of the many-headed Hydra of Bureaucracy, which has been ever since the curse of their country, and tended more, perhaps, to deteriorate national character,

* MRS. SINNETT, *Byways of History*, vol. ii. pp. 289, 290.

than all the oppressions and grindings of the feudal lords of old."*

We turn from the writings of one well read in German history, to an author of established reputation in Germany, Dr. Gfroerer, not less remarkable for his ultra-Protestantism† than for his great research. In a work written by him, entitled, "*Gustav Adolph König von Schweden*," we find many facts respecting the working of the Reformation, upon the liberties of mankind, from which we make a few extracts.

"This new right," remarks Dr. Gfroerer, alluding to the notion that subjects were bound to adhere to the religion of their sovereign, "was laid down in the formula, *cujus regio, ejus religio*; a most wrong principle, which struck out with one stroke of the pen the religious freedom of the German nation, and degraded it to the rank of Helots. But it is not at all surprising that things should have taken this turn. Instead of *religion*, write down the word *Church lands*, and the sense becomes clear enough. It will then run thus: the Church lands shall belong to him who is the master of them. The more serious question, concerning the faith of the subjects, becomes then a secondary one, such as it really was; and must be answered by the decision of the first. *If a prince be desirous of usurping the lands lying within his own possession, it stands to reason that he must needs unfurl the standard of the new doctrines to justify his robbery.*

"We once more repeat, what we asserted before: *Lutheranism* threatened the futurity of Europe with the most serious dangers, not only because, within its own pale, it laid at the feet of princes all civil and ecclesiastical power, but likewise it obliged its opponents, the Catholic clergy, to purchase the assistance of kings at the price of a *blind submission unknown to the middle ages*. Had Lutheranism remained with the old Church, according to all probabilities, the western world would have witnessed a system of servitude, paralleled only in the Byzantine empire and the Levant.

* Mrs. SINNETT's *Byways of History*, vol. ii. pp. 292, 293. For a proof of the Anti-Catholic prejudices of this truly able writer, see vol. ii. p. 13.

† See his work, "*Geschichte der Ost-und-Westfränkischen Carlinger vom Tode Ludwigs des Frommen bis zum Ende Conrads I.* Freiburg, 1848.

"The Reformed" (Calvinistic) "preachers showed themselves no less zealous courtiers than their Lutheran contemporaries, whom they, however, pretended to look upon as creatures of an inferior caste. Ever breaking forth into revilings against the Römish Anti-christ and the Pope; into the most odious accusations against the German emperor, and the constitution of the state which they were impudent enough to call a miracle of the devil; *they nevertheless found all the encroachments which their gracious lords, the petty Calvinist princes, made on the clergy and people, dispensations of a most equitable and national character.*

"In fact, the political heads of German Calvinism dreamt of nothing else but Church robbery and destruction."*

We refer not to facts so well known as the social consequences of the Reformation in these countries, to the sufferings and starvation of the poor, and the merciless executions of them in the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, and coincident with these the enforcement of the same despotic principles which found such favour amongst the petty princes of Germany.† It is sufficient to say, that as the monasteries were closed against the poor, gibbets were erected for vagrants; and to secure "the patrimony of the poor" in the possession of private individuals, Penal laws against the profession of the Roman Catholic faith, began to crowd the statute book.

And thus closed the labours of the Liberal party in the working of the Reformation. Its *purpose* was the spoliation of the Church: in that purpose it succeeded: its *pretence* was the extension of "religious liberty;" and in place of religious liberty, it gave to the people Penal laws, laws that punished alike Roman Catholics and Protestant

* The passages here quoted are adopted from the translations of portions of Dr. Gfrörer's work, in the *Dublin Review*, No. lix., pp. 91, 92, 93. April, 1851. For a specification of the monstrous political doctrines of despotism enforced by Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, see ADDIN, *Histoire de Luther*, vol. iii. pp. 105, 106, 107.

† "She (the Established Church) continued to be, for more than a hundred and fifty years, the servile handmaid of monarchy, the steady enemy of public liberty. The divine right of kings, and the duty of passively obeying all their commands, were her favourite tenets. She held them firmly through times of oppression, persecution, and licentiousness, while law was trampled down, while judgment was perverted, while the people were eaten as though they were bread." MACAULAY, *Historical Essays in Edinburgh Review*, xlviii. p. 110.

Dissenters for their conscientious convictions.* The *pretence* was abandoned as soon as the *purpose* had been accomplished.

CHAPTER II.

We pass from the Reformation to the next great event in modern history, the French Revolution: and again we find "the Liberal party," in their desire to have Church property confiscated, marring the wishes of a reforming king, and blighting the hopes of a long suffering people. Never was any thing more true in the midst of the libraries of books, that have been written upon the French Revolution, than that which the late Charles Buller has affirmed respecting it, when he remarked:—

"We repeat, and we insist upon the truth, that the movement had only to abstain from violence, in order to have carried reform to the highest point which the liberty and enlightenment of the age could have desired: the moment that movement passed into revolution; the moment *law*, instead of being *corrected*, was *resisted*; the moment the populace were permitted to indulge passion, and to taste blood; the moment, in fact, Force began—Reform ceased. * * * * What hopes would such a king (as Louis XVI.) have afforded to a people, wise to ask, and patient to abide? What better chief has been gained for liberty—in Robespierre, in Napoleon, in Louis XVIII., in Charles X., in Louis Philippe? Without a Revolution unless the mere assembling of the Tiers-Etat is so to be called, without, in short, (and to avoid misconception), violence and convulsion; France, under Louis XVI., and his noble son (tortured to death by the cobbler, Simon), would have had a Representative Assembly on the broadest basis, a government managed with the severest economy, a press carried on by the finest regulations,—and, more than all, the hearty sympathy and love of every land, where civilization can free the limbs, or elevate the mind. Has she ever had them since?—*has she got them now?*"†

* See that valuable and accurate work, MADDEN'S *History of the Penal Laws on Roman Catholics in England*. London, 1847.

† *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. lviii. p. 304. (July, 1842.) See *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxiii. p. 376.

Reform was but the *pretence* with the French Revolutionists, but their *purpose* was plunder, and to secure themselves in the possession of that plunder there were massacres, guillotines, regicides, a reign of terror, atheism, as a national religion; and, for the destruction of the last vestige of human liberty, a Revolutionary Tribunal. They abolished the Catholic Church, they martyred its priests, they confiscated its property, they expunged the name of the Deity, and whilst professing a "ferocious philanthropy" for the whole of the human race, they thus dealt with the natural right to existence, even amongst the poorest of the poor. In the records of the Revolutionary Tribunal, are to be found the following:—

"18th April, 1794, Joan Clerc, a cook-maid for saying, 'Vive le Roi!' when drunk, *guillotined!*"

"27th April, 1794, Charles Mingot, a hackney coachman, when drunk, resisted the city watch, and used offensive language, condemned and *executed the same evening.*"*

Such was the treatment of the poor, by those who claimed for themselves the character of being lovers of liberty, because they included in the same sentence of death, kings, priests, and nobles!

If "phrases" were "facts," and "declarations" the "proofs" of the virtues of a party, a faction, or a sect, then were the first French Republicans the best friends of the human race! but examining them by their deeds, and judging of them by their crimes, we are bound to say, that never was the earth cursed with the presence of more ruthless despots, or more remorseless, and (at the same time), more hypocritical persecutors of the poor and humble: "Illud grave ac peracerbum est, quod hac lege tueri pauperes videntur, ut spolient; hac lege defendunt miseros, ut miseriores faciant defendendo."†

This is not the time, the place, nor the opportunity to dilate upon the crimes of the first French Republicans;

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxiii. pp. 384, 385. We are apprised by the same authority, that Thouret, who suggested the confiscation of Church property, was guillotined 21st April, 1792, and Chaumette, who proposed the worship of "the Goddess of Reason," was guillotined eight days previously. *Ibid.* pp. 385—408. This was the murder of a *liberal* "and a *communist*" by a *Red Republican*.

† SALVIANUS GALLUS.

nor to dwell upon such a theme as the first French Revolution; but one remark we cannot avoid making respecting it, in which the general reader might find as little force as originality, if there were not the light of the February Revolution to help in determining upon its applicability to past and present circumstances. It is too much the habit, in referring to the first Revolution in France, to regard it all as one consecutive piece of action, and to look upon every one of those, who took part in it, as animated by the same principle, and actuated by the same motive. It was no such thing. That Revolution was born of the Encyclopædists and the deistical philosophers: it began in "liberalism," and was fostered by infidelity: its theories were fashionable with the leading, accomplished and aspiring classes, whilst the working-classes—the really oppressed classes—were indifferent to them. When "the Liberal party," the genteel Girondists! fomented the passions of the multitude, they did so in the hope that they might be able to hold in their own hands the kingly power, whilst they degraded the monarch into a slave; and, if they had succeeded they would have parcelled out the ancient kingdom of France, into so many petty little aristocratic provinces, in which they, as the Magyars, should be the supreme and undisputed masters. Defeated in their selfish projects, they in their despair and their revenge, evoked the masses as their subordinates; and, doing so, they placed themselves in the power of the Red Republicans and the Communists; and as they had decapitated the king, the Red Republicans and Communists speedily made short work with them. The cannon of Bonaparte, when it swept the streets of Paris with grape-shot, restored to the bourgeoisie the semblance of that power, the reality of which they had lost in the fall of the Girondins. And from that day to this, there never has been any thing more than a hollow and a deceitful truce, interrupted by more than one battle and massacre between the "Liberal" *bourgeoisie*, and the Red-Republican Communistic populace.*

* The plan and the policy of the Girondins is thus clearly indicated by Mr. Charles Buller:

"If France could be divided into districts, each district a republic—if out of the provinces of the defunct monarchy a republican federacy could be formed—each state thus constituted, would obtain submis-

Outside of France, "the Liberal party" has not so learned to look upon the French Revolution. For that party it was sufficient to know that those who, under whatever name, promoted or participated in the Revolution, had enriched themselves by the plunder of "the patrimony of the poor," and had reddened their hands in the heart's blood of priests. These were "the merits," and these "the virtues" of the French Republicans, in the eyes of "the Liberal party," and hence it has palliated their excesses, apologized for their crimes, and sympathised with their victories, as it did lately with the victories of the Swiss infidel democracy, in the war against the Sonderbund.

In approaching then to the doings of "the Liberal party," in our own times—to its sympathies and successes, we must bear in mind, that there are two classes of revolutionists, which, from want of a more accurate nomenclature, we must designate "the genteel" and "the vulgar." The "vulgar," the Red Republicans, and the Communists. The "genteel," who may be a pure oligarchy, contending for the possession of Church plunder, and the monopoly of political power, such as succeeded here at the Reformation, and completed its triumph by "the glorious revolution!" or, that failed in France, in its attempt at a so-called "religious Reformation;"* or, it may be a middle-class effort, to destroy king, Church, and nobility, such as succeeded for a time with the Girondins, but was subsequently over-ridden by the still more fearful triumph of the Red Republicans, and that subsequently revived, and won for itself a king—most worthy of it in every respect—Louis Philippe; and that at a later period achieved a double victory in the conjoined usurpations of Isabella II. and Donna Maria da Gloria! or, it may have met with a signal check, such as was encountered by the Hungarian

sion for the laws it enacted. The power in each, now that aristocracy was extinguished, must gradually and quietly settle in the middle classes—the mob of Paris would cease to command the destinies of the nation, one republic would counterbalance the other. No scheme could be better for the restraint of pure democracy, none better suited for the domination of the middle classes."—*Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. lviii. p. 295.

* For an admission that the Protestant Reformation in France, was an "aristocratical" movement, see the "Liberal" and "anti-Catholic" *Athenæum*. No. 1017, pp. 429, 430. (April 24th, 1847.)

Magyars, whose boast of themselves, and whose claim for sympathy upon the British government has been, that they were too "genteel" to be Red Republicans or Communists; * and who, we shall prove to be worthy confederates of the "liberal" *bourgeoisie* in France, and of their "liberal" middle-class admirers in this country, by their wilful neglect of the sufferings of the poor, and gross injustice towards those deemed to be their inferiors.

The true, and the only proof of the *goodness* or the *badness* of "a government," is to be found in the *fact*—its *conformity* with, or its *departure* from, those two great social principles, first developed in human society by the promulgation of Christianity, viz.: charity towards the destitute poor; protection in all their natural rights to the able-bodied poor: the establishment of the *Xenodochium*, the destruction of the *Ergastulum*: humanity to the poor who are suffering; enfranchisement to the poor who are enslaved. No such grand and philanthropic thought as *the Hospital* could occur to heathen philosophers; and whilst *slavery* was considered by them as a *necessity* that never could be dispensed with, † the most humane amongst them—the almost divine Plato, in planning his Cretan Colony, considered it right, in order that he might make a *free* youth hardy, courageous, and skilful in military exercises, to continue the Spartan *Crypteia*, that is an annual, unpunished, and cruel massacre of the slave population. ‡ A barbarous practice, for which we can find nothing similar in modern times, but in Ireland, where "Spartan" orangemen, under the pretence of celebrating

* "— c'est la Hongrie seule qui est restée en-dehors du tourbillon ultra Democratique." Letter of the Hungarian envoy to Lord Palmerston. *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*, p. 108.

† See BIOT, *De l'abolition de L'Esclavage Ancien*. Part 1, c. 3, pp. 28, 29.

‡ The Ephors, at intervals, selected from among the young Spartans, those who appeared to be best qualified for the task, and sent them in various directions all over the country, provided with daggers and their necessary food. During the day time these young men concealed themselves, but at night they broke forth into the high roads, and massacred those of the Helots whom they met, or whom they thought proper. Sometimes, also, they ranged over the fields, (in the day time,) and dispatched the strongest and best of the Helots. See SMITH'S *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, in verb *Crypteia*, pp. 371, 372. DONNEGAN'S *Greek and English Lexicon*, in verb *αφύρτιος*, *αφύρτιον*, p. 943.

"the victory of the Boyne," by an armed procession, contrived to close the day's festivities with the murder of some Roman Catholic *Helots*.*

The *form* of government, the *name* of a government, whether it be "an autocracy," "a limited monarchy," "a constitutional monarchy," "a liberal government," "an oligarchy," or "a republic," is, in our estimation, a matter of very little importance to the people, who live under it, provided they be *well-governed*; that is, governed in accordance with those two great social principles which we have indicated. If the government takes care that affairs shall be so administered, that the industrial classes shall be saved from the worst ills of inevitable destitution, and that no one person or class above them, shall so interfere with their personal liberty as to deprive them, under any pretence, of the just fruits of their honest labour: then, we affirm that any government, so acting, is a *good government*; and, if it fail in either respect, or act in opposition to either principle, it is a *bad government*. The reason why the writer of these pages feels respect for the Austrian government is, that, as far as his enquiries extend, he has found that government endeavouring, despite in some places of a strong aristocracy, and in other places of petty, shabby, beggarly, and numerous "nobles," to secure the happiness, comfort, prosperity, and enfranchisement of its poorer subjects. And, for the self-same reason, he does not respect any one of those revolutionary governments that have been so much lauded by "the Liberal party" in this country.

The "Liberal party" calls the government of Austria "a despotism;" that is, one in which the kingly power predominates over all others, and on that account a government in the resistance to which, its subjects are justified. We differ from "the Liberal party" in their definition of "a despotism" that justifies resistance. We

* "This strange confusion of peace and war, the profession of Christianity with the practice of the Koran, the bible with the battle of the Boyne, was a prominent feature in the religion of a minority in Ireland. There was a class whose religious solemnities were not unapt to begin with drums and fifes, to proceed with bottles and glasses, to develope themselves into brickbats and bludgeons, to conclude with discharges of fowling pieces, lists of killed and wounded, and ultimately to result in packed juries, and a party verdict."—*Times*, (Monday, July 29, 1844.)

adopt William Cobbett's accurate definition of " a despotism," as it was applied by him to " the Liberal," " Constitutional," " limited monarchy " government of France under Louis Philippe, the crowned monarch of Revolutionists, the sceptred scion of the Jacobin club!* the king of the Barricades!

By Cobbett's definition of despotism, we are prepared to test the revolutionary governments, which of late years have sprung up in France, Spain, and Portugal.

Cobbett thus wrote on the 26th of April, in the year 1834.

" What is despotism ? It is a mere sound, unless you explain it. It means the taking from a people, at the pleasure of the government, their property, their personal liberty, or their lives. And does not this villainous government of France do this ? But what does any tyrant want of any people, but their property, that they have acquired, or their labour without giving them anything adequate in exchange ? This is tyranny. It is not your blood that the tyrant wants ; he cannot drink your blood ; it does him no good, that you should rot in " a prison ; " he does not want that : what he wants is to take your property or your earnings for nothing. This is the true definition of tyranny ; he will imprison you, stab you, hang you, if necessary, to get at your labour or your property for nothing ; if necessary to make you live upon garbage, or soupe-aux-herbes, or haricots, or lentils, while he lives in idleness, and has all the butchers' meat, poultry, game, and eggs and fish ; part of which he gives to his cut-throats, that they may come with their bayonets, when necessary, and compel you to work for him, or kill you. This is simply the state of things in France, where the tyranny is more severe than any ever before experienced in the world."†

Here, then, was a citizen-king ; the creation of " the Liberals " in France : the idol of " the Liberals " in all parts of Europe ; the especial object of admiration with " the Liberal party " in England. To place such a king as that upon the throne, the legitimate sovereign of France

* The Quarterly Review, vol. lxxiii. p. 280, stated of Louis Philippe that he was then the " sole surviving member of the Jacobin club."

† Cobbett's Weekly Register, vol. lxxxiv. p. 195.

was driven into exile, and a deluded nation was promised all those advantages which "Liberals" affirm must ever follow from the adoption of *their* principles. There was to be amongst other good things, "a monarchy surrounded with republican institutions;" perfect freedom of speech, unrestrained liberty of the press, a bona-fide enlarged elective franchise, a complete and a genuine representation of the people, and in the hands of the popular representatives, a complete controul over the public expenditure: there was to be peace, and with peace, prosperity at home: there was to be economy in all the departments, and with economy the power of the people to administer their own local affairs!

Such were the *pretences*, such the *promises* on which the July revolution of 1830, was justified! for France was then said to have obtained for the first time the blessings of "*a Constitution!*"

We have seen what Cobbett thought of that "liberal" king, and of that "Constitutional" government.

Let us now see what other parties thought of that *government*. We shall quote authorities that can neither be disputed nor denied.

In 1842, Mr. Charles Buller, in a truly prophetic spirit, thus described the working of "the Liberal" government of Louis Philippe:—

"At this moment France has scarcely one guarantee, either for permanent government, or liberal institutions. The *representative chamber* is so confined, that it *never represents public opinion*; and the *Electoral Chamber*, from its *Constitution*, is *tainted with the servility of courtiers*, and has never that interest against despotism which belongs to aristocracy. Even the press, to which the French have, from the instinct of weakness elsewhere, attached such affectionate importance, is so feebly guarded by harmonizing institutions, that, while in a popular crisis it can inflame passions better appeased; in ordinary times it is *exposed to persecutions, the virulence and impunity of which are a scandal both to the people and the Crown*. If we compare the real safeguards for liberty, the real strata and foundations for good government possessed now by the French, with those at their disposal in 1789, far from having gained, they have incalculably lost. And at this

moment no man can foresee whether, *ten years hence*, France may not again be a DEMOCRACY without education, or a DESPOTISM under a conqueror.*

We have seen that, in the opinion of so acute an observer as Mr. Charles Buller, France had not improved under the "Constitutional" regime of Louis Philippe, from the time that Cobbett had declared it to be a "despotism" and a "tyranny." Let us now refer to another high authority, regarding it in 1846.

"France is still a country where *twenty persons cannot form an association, or hold a meeting without permission from the police*; where the personal freedom of the citizen is hardly better secured than in the most despotic monarchies on the Continent; where *no agent of government can be legally prosecuted for the most enormous offence*, without permission from the government, by whose directions that offence was committed, and where the election of the representative branch of the legislature for a population of thirty-four millions resides in about two hundred thousand persons; distributed mostly in bodies of from one to three hundred each, enabling the separate interests of particular localities and of influential electors to decide the fortunes of cabinets, and the course of the legislation.

"*Constitutional government*—government in which the support of a majority in a representative assembly is necessary to office—*has only had a real existence in France since 1830*; and in this short period it has *rivalled the worst corruptions of the English rotten boroughs*. Bribery, indeed, in its coarser forms is comparatively unknown; because the elections are in a rank of life, which commands hypocrisy. But a majority of the electors in a majority of the electoral colleges, is not too numerous a body to be bought; and bought it is, by distributing all public employments among the electors and their *protégés*; and by succumbing to the pretensions of every locally influential class interest; or, rather the nominal government is but their instrument—they are as much bought, as they are themselves the governing body, and claim to themselves in this shape, the profits of power. Their position is not that of the voters in our small boroughs: it more resembles

* *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. lviii. pp. 307, 308. (July, 1842.)

that of the borough-holders. The gratification of their cupidity is the condition they are able to impose on any set of men, whom they permit to be a ministry."*

We pass from 1846 to 1847, and at the moment when it was hoped that the long-coveted crown of Spain was to be made an apanage of the reigning sovereignty in France, the progress in "Constitutional" government of a "liberal" monarch, was thus pourtrayed.

"The government of Louis Philippe in 1847, actually receives in the public treasury about one million of francs per diem more than the government of Charles X., collected in 1830; but no part of that sum has been appropriated to the burdens of the people, whose industry is thus augmenting the national wealth." And the same organ of public opinion in England, truly adds, as to the government of Louis Philippe: "suspicion, fear, and falsehood, are ill dissembled under an affectation of luxury, profusion, and effrontery."†

Thus pointing to the opinions expressed at various times respecting the "Constitutional" government of Louis Philippe, we shew that it was a rank "despotism," and a most flagrant "tyranny," alike corrupting, coercing and debasing the people who were subjected to it. If we would, however, know in detail, some amongst the many horrors, the numerous atrocities, and the multiplied crimes of the reign of Louis Philippe, we must look to one of the historians of France—to Louis Blanc, who described it when it was in the vigour of its strength. We refer in a note to the passages in the first "ten years" of the reign of Louis Philippe, particularly deserving of study; ‡

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 457. (April 1846.)

† *Times* newspaper. (June 21st, 1847.)

‡ For a specimen of the atrocities perpetrated by the government, See *Louis Blanc's History of the Ten Years*; book iv. c. 5, vol. ii. pp. 268—271. Book iv. c. 5, pp. 276—278. Book iv. c. 8, pp. 299—303. Book v. c. 7, vol. ii, p. 498. Louis Philippe's laws against the press. Book iv. c. 11, vol. ii, pp. 377, 378. Louis Philippe's meanness and avarice, in seeking, at a time of public distress, and when the poor were starving, fortunes from the State for his younger children. Book v. c. 7, vol. ii. p. 503. Book v. c. 8, vol. ii. p. 513. Book v. c. 14, vol. ii, pp. 645—646. Louis Philippe's system of jobbing, and corrupting the middle classes, vol. ii, p. 651. Louis Philippe's destruction of the last vestige of real domestic popular government—the Communes, which Bonaparte respected; book ii. c. 8, vol. i. pp. 391—393. (London Edition of the English Translation.)

whilst we fasten upon this circumstance — the condition of the poor under the government of Louis Philippe — as the true test of its intrinsic vileness and wickedness. It was then, whilst there was the false glare of luxury to be seen on every side in Paris, as there is now to be seen in London, that Louis Blanc gave this terrible and true picture of the state of the poor man in the midst of all such seeming wealth and happiness.

“ In great cities, the poor man is a being buried alive, and struggling at the bottom of a tomb ; men pass backwards and forwards over his head, without hearing his cries ; they trample on him, and know not of his existence : only from time to time society seems to open its close-pressed surface for an instant, to allow the prosperous man to catch, with dismay, a glimpse of its secret depths.”*

As we proceed further in our enquiries, we shall discover that the state of the poor man in the cities of France, during the time that an usurper sat upon its throne, is perfectly applicable to other lands in which a “ Constitutional,” as well as “ a liberal ” government had been established.

The throne of the usurper was shattered ; and out of its ruins arose a Republic. The first French revolution appears to be revived ! Let us now ascertain, what the poor in France have gained by being deprived of their legitimate race of sovereigns. This is the testimony of a Republican, exiled by other Republicans :

“ The situation of France is deplorable ; who will dare to contend ? Undermined by the disastrous system of the division of property, which is opposed to the improvement of cattle, diminishes every day the treasure of fecundating matter, and exhausts by the exclusive cultivation of corn the soil reduced to dust, agriculture in France is evidently perishing. Out of those millions of wretches, to whom is given the derisive name of landed proprietors, most of them have only to call their own a wretched morsel of ground, upon which they can only bestow one day’s labour out of seven, obliged as they are to work the remainder of their time upon other’s property, to earn an indispensable salary. The less unfortunate can

* History of the Ten Years, book v. c. 7, vol. ii, p. 502.

only support themselves by borrowing at a high interest, happy when they do not sink under despair, between expropriation and taxes, between the country usurer, who is there lurking for his prey; and the tax-collector, who knocks at their door.

“Industry, that arena resounding with the stifled sobs of so many families struggling under ruins—that bloody field upon which capital executes its evolutions; industry shows us below a half-ruined and frightened *bourgeoise*, the gloomy hordes of breadless labourers; it displays before us the triumph of an oligarchy of bankers, and leads us through a path encumbered with corpses to the dictatorship of a Rothschild.”*

Such, then, is the climax, as far as the people are concerned, of a massacre of the clergy, of the spoliation of the Church, the executions of a king, queen, and virtuous nobility in the first French revolution; of the exile of a king, the persecution of the religious orders, and the establishment of a citizen king, a “Liberal” administration, and a “Constitutional” government in the second French revolution!

CHAPTER III.

Before we refer to the occurrences in Spain and Portugal, we desire to repeat that proposition, previously laid down by us, viz., that

The *purpose* of the modern Liberal party is, and has been, the robbery of the poor, in the appropriation of the wealth and estates of the Church to private uses: its *pretence* has been, and is, the extension of civil liberty.

We have looked at France, and we have seen how the purpose was fulfilled, and the pretence falsified. We have now to turn to Spain and Portugal, where, it may be said, that at the same moment, the *same pretence* was put forward, in order that the *same purpose* might be effected. To succeed in both objects, it was necessary that in Spain the due succession to the throne should be broken, and that in

* LOUIS BLANC, *Le Nouveau Monde*, No. iii. pp. 6—7. (15th Sect. 1849.) Trehonnais's Translation.

Portugal the king should be deprived of his legitimate rights, and the people of the monarch whom they preferred. In the one a "Constitution" was to be established, and in the other "a Charter" to be concocted. The watchwords were "liberty," "elective franchise," "Constitution," "free press," "a popular parliament," "a liberal Government:" these were equally applied to both countries; whilst the intentions of "the Liberals," and "Constitutionalists," and "Chartists," who employed them were civil war, and massacre, in order that the Church might be spoliated, and the people—the industrial population—oppressed, and robbed, and, according to Cobbett's definition, subjected to a *real* "despotism," and a *substantial* "tyranny."

Although so similar, in many respects, we must, in order that the doings of "the Liberals" may be the more fully appreciated, separate the cases of Spain and of Portugal.

In Spain, as in Portugal, the revolutionary party succeeded. Two usurpers were crowned, and the rightful monarchs driven into exile. Let us see, then, how the Liberals rewarded themselves in Spain. Up to the month of January, 1845, the value of the Church property sold in that country in ten years, was estimated at £36,845,678,* and in order that the reader may appreciate the principles and conduct of those by whom this spoliation was accomplished, we shall give an account of some of their transactions, as recorded by one of their admirers—Don Joseph Presas—in a work published by him at Madrid, entitled, "Cronologia de los sucesos mas memorables ocurridos en todo el ambito de la monarquia Espanola; desde el ano de 1759 hasta 1836."

The first date in these annals of persecution of priests and monks by "the Liberals," is the 17th of July, 1834.

"In the evening and night of this day, various individuals, influenced by a false rumour that had been circulated to the effect that the monks had poisoned the waters in the fountains of Madrid, collected together in groups at the convents of the Jesuits, Franciscans, the friars of the Order of Mercy, and the Dominicans, and

* *Dublin Review*, No. xxxvi. p. 465. (June, 1845.)

slew a great many of the religious in those establishments."*

We now pass to other dates :

3rd April, 1835, a riot in Zaragoza, in which some religious were killed, and the bishop compelled to fly to Barcelona.

6th April, 1835, a riot in Murcia, in which some persons were killed, and the bishop compelled to leave the place.†

4th July, 1835, the Society of Jesus suppressed by Queen Christina in the name of the usurper.‡

On the same day, the monasteries of St. Dominick, St. Augustin, and St. Lazarus, were pillaged and burned in Zaragoza, and several priests and friars slain.§

22nd July, two monasteries burned in Reus, and several religious massacred.||

25th July. The burning down of a great many monasteries.¶

31st July. The liberals of Murcia, in imitation of those of Reus and Barcelona, set fire to the monasteries of the Dominicans, the Trinitarians, the Franciscans, and of the Order of Mercy.**

August 9th. Extinction by decree of Montenegro of the religious brotherhoods in his province. This example imitated in Cadiz and Malaga, on 15th August, and in Salamanca on 20th August.††

* "— y en ellos mataron muchos religiosos." *PRESAS Cronologia*, p. 123. (Madrid, 1836.)

† *PRESAS Chronologia*, pp. 127, 128, 129.

‡ In order that the reader may have no doubt of the political principles, as well as religious feelings of the author we are quoting from, we give his words in the original. It reads like a translation into Spanish of a speech made by the present House of Commons Sergeant-at-arms, that migratory lordling missionary of the Convent-Garden-confiscating house of Russell. "La compañía de Jesus, que en 27 de Febrero de 1767, habia sido estinguida por el inmortal Carlos III., restablecida por su nieto Fernando en 1815, y suprimida por las cortes en 1820, por decreto de la Reina Gobernadora, espedido en este dia quedo disuelta y suprimida por ultima vez en todo territorio de la monarquía Española."—*PRESAS, Cronologia*, p. 131.

§ *Ibid.* p. 132.

|| *Ibid.* p. 134.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 135.

** *Ibid.* p. 135.

†† *Ibid.* pp. 139, 140, 141. The manner in which the last act of tyranny was justified is worthy of the liberal party from whom it emanated: "Por disposicion de la autoridad local se cerraron en Salamanca *todos los conventos*, para evitar los disturbios que en ellos podian maquinan los frailes." *PRESAS*.

August 23rd. Expulsion of Monks from Malaga.*

November 16th. Under this date, in reference to the past transactions of the year, it is mentioned (p. 146) that several priests and friars had been put to death, because taken prisoners, as Carlists.

4th of January, 1836. The Liberals in Barcelona murder all political prisoners, without any form of trial whatsoever.†

No words but those of a "liberal" author could do justice to the following incident.

17th January, 1836. "At twelve o'clock in the night of this day, various public functionaries appeared at all the convents of religious persons. These functionaries, in accordance with the commands of the government, collected together and sealed all the papers and documents, belonging to such establishments, and closing up the interior doors, informed the religious that their Orders were henceforth extinguished, and warning them at a suitable time, that was on the day following—the 18th—they should go out with all the effects, that as private property belonged to them, and that for the future they should wear the garb of laymen."‡

A monk—a friar—a priest—the member of a religious order, has no private property, and to say to him, that he and his pious brethren should leave their monasteries: "Saliesen con los efectos de su particular pertenencia,"—was to tell them they should leave their homes, their subsistence, and their means of livelihood, without having as much as could purchase them a single dinner, or procure a night's lodging!

Here then was a spectacle, becoming in a "liberal" of Spain to originate, and of "a liberal" in England, whether in the House of Commons, or the Common Council, to approve of, to admire, and to applaud! And it was to maintain in power the cruel, and rapacious villains who did this wrong, that an auxiliary British legion was formed by an English liberal government. It is with an account of the victory gained by that Legion over the Spanish people, fighting in defence of their rightful king and of their own *fueros*—that is their ancient, and truly popular

* Ibid. p. 141. † Ibid. p. 147.

‡ *PRESAS, Cronologia*, pp. 147, 148.

rights and privileges—that “the chronology,” from which we quote, fitly terminates.*

It will be perceived that we have cited but facts occurring in the first few months’ history of the enthroned Liberals in Spain. We have not space to dwell upon their manifold crimes—their massacres in civil strife—their brutal slaughter of women, and amongst the rest, the murder of Cabrerias’ mother by a liberal General, who was afterwards feted in “liberal” London! with his great patron, Espartero. We pass by, then, the long civil war, and we point to the results: to the mutual murders of the two shades of Spanish liberals—the Progresistas and the Moderados, until at last we come to the utter beggary of the clergy; the annihilation of the semblance of all political and personal liberty; the frightful misery, and impoverishment of the Spanish people; the enrichment of the liberal tyrants, and the barefaced spoliation of the foreign creditors of Spain.

The great Churches, aqueducts, schools, &c., in Spain, had been founded out of the revenues of the Spanish bishops.† The Church property was confiscated; the Catholic bishops were persecuted and banished;‡ one of these bishops—the bishop of Minorca, when elevated to the mitre, had distributed all his property to the poor, and yet was forced, a few days before his death, to beg a small sum of money to pay for his funeral expenses;§—and another—the bishop of Alcala—though upwards of eighty years of age, was transported to a prison-fort in Africa. || “Hundreds of ecclesiastics under Espartero’s liberal government were banished from their dioceses.”¶ The religious orders in the meanwhile were exposed to the most frightful destitution; the scanty pittance promised to them remained so long unpaid, that we find it stated that it was not until 1844 and 1845, a single quarter’s

* The Chronologist, under date of 5th May, 1836, states that “el General Laci Evans con siete batallones Ingleses y cuatro Espanoles,” defeated the troops of Don Carlos, and then truly adds: “Las fuerzas maritimas de S. M. B. mandadas por el comodoro Lord John Hay contribueron a esta memorable victoria.”—p. 151.

† *Dublin Review*, vol. xviii. pp. 415, 416.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 332.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 333, 338.

|| *Ibid.* p. 333.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 411.

salary of what should have been given in 1837, was distributed.* But, mark! what is said of the condition of the Spanish clergy, by one who sympathised not with them in their religion. In reference to the Spanish monks, the author to whom we refer, observes: "The government has treated them most cruelly and dishonestly."† "As for the Nuns," it is said, "their funds have been very generally taken away, and, as in the former case, on the pledge too often broken, to pay them a small allowance."‡ The same writer says of the secular clergy of Spain: "very many of them indeed are most justly respected and beloved."§

As the Church was spoliated, so was the condition of the working and poorer classes deteriorated; and the same writer from which we quote, gives the following statement as to the results of civil war, and a liberal government upon Spain. The extract will be found to contain a moral even for those who love to dwell upon "the blessings of the British Constitution," and *the happiness!* of having one's affairs administered by a *liberal government* at home!

"But alas!—the people!—the poor!—they are but too evidently in a state to excite the deepest indignation against their governors; the deepest commiseration for themselves. From Irun, most of the villages showed symptoms of filth and poverty, truly lamentable. The rags on some of the women and children were painful to behold, and their wild faces absolutely startling. The houses have a ruined appearance about them which is most sad. I looked into several, and the interiors seemed black and almost destitute of comforts, or even necessaries, cooking utensils, furniture, &c. The lower apartment is held in common with the mule, whose stable it is; and the upper (for the houses are generally two-storied) is reached by a sort of ladder from below.

"I noted it all—thought of Ireland—and sighed. *There*, the poor cabin never has even this gloomy second story. Alas! poor Ireland! Why is it, that whenever

* Ibid. p. 445.

† Spain, Tangier, &c. visited in 1841, by X. Y. Z. p. 49.

‡ Ibid. p. 50.

§ Ibid. p. 51.

any superlative wretchedness is apparent, it is to *your* unhappy land the mind always turns back? Why is it, that no comparison with other lands, even with the most unfortunate and most ill-used, ever tells in *your* favour? Alas! alas! that a native of wealthy England should be forced to confess that this most comfortless and destitute part of Spain, still is less comfortless and less destitute than Ireland. Yet the district I have been describing is the most arid and unproductive in this kingdom—and Ireland is rich and fertile! The first shoots of spring are here in a month burnt up to powder—and Ireland is ever green and blooming! This tract has neither rivers in the centre, nor ports on its boundary—and Ireland has both in plenty! This country has been crushed under rulers openly professing the worst principles of despotism and bigotry—and Ireland has been governed by a nation which calls itself—which *is*—the freest and most enlightened!!Oh!! it makes the heart bleed, and the cheek redden with shame, to think of this."

It is as well to note here, that the reference to Ireland (to which we shall again have to allude), was made *five* years before the great famine. With this passing remark we return to Spain.

The author (X. Y. Z.) truly observes as the result of the working of a "liberal Constitutional" government, that the poor there were "evidently in a state to excite the deepest indignation against their governors—the deepest commiseration for themselves." How much deeper must have been the indignation of the Spanish people, who were well aware that when "liberalism" was unknown, and the Church was in full possession of all her property, the poor, so far from being slighted by the rich, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, were at all times designated: "our lords and masters—the poor."* What a world of charity is expressed in such a phrase!

But we pass to the political results. Look at Spain in 1843, under the Government of citizen Baldomero Espar-

* "Nuestros amos y Senores, los pobres." *Dublin Review*, vol. xviii. p. 480. For a proof that the condition of the poor had not improved between 1840, and 1845, see Debate in the Congress of Deputies, 1st March, 1845. "Proyecto de ley sobre vagos," as reported in "*El Clamor Publico*," March 2, 1845.

tero! The author is describing the condition of Barcelona:

"The journals had been suppressed by military authority; offences were tried by a military commission and without written indictments: an assemblage of more than three persons was pronounced illegal, and was to be dispersed at the point of the bayonet; patrols paraded the town in all directions during the night, and a display of military parade was kept before the people's eyes, day, as well as night; sentinels, at some of the corners, insolently compelled the men who passed, to throw open their cloaks lest arms might be concealed beneath: commerce was utterly stagnant; the people walked about in sullen and gloomy silence, and the canoniers of Monjuich held their matches in readiness to throw more bombs among the stores and factories of the devoted city, should it dare further to dispute the autocratic authority of Espartero."*

This brave citizen Espartero, fled and fell without striking a blow! He made way for Christina, whom he had exiled, and Narvaez; and how these "liberals" managed the affairs of Spain—for their own benefit!—the following facts will suffice to shew:—

"To say nothing of the queen mother," (Christina) "who has *exploited* the Spanish Peninsula for her private ends; there is General Narvaez, President of the Council, who landed at Valencia, in the year 1843, with scarcely the price of a dinner in his pocket. Common report says now of him, that he is worth something like a quarter of a million in money, besides possessing an enormous quantity of land, in the shape of *confiscated Church property*. Mon, the minister of Finance, and Sartorius, the minister of the Interior, are in a similar, or, perhaps, even in a more favourable position. Their poverty was deep as the poverty of Narvaez, and their wealth is now as enormous as his wealth!"

The journal from which we quote, adds in the same article, that "for the last eight years" the British bondholders, whose money had served to place the "Constitutional," "liberal," Queen Isabella II. on the throne,

* M. HAVERTY, *Wanderings in Spain, in 1843*, vol. i. pp. 45, 46, see also p. 50. In vol. ii. pp. 12—20, will be found some important facts, and valuable information respecting the plunder of Church property in Spain, by "the liberal" Jew, Mendizabal, and his confederates.

had "not received one sixpence in the shape of dividend."*

This was written in the year 1848, and at the time we write, (May, 1851.) not one sixpence has yet been paid : but let us see how "the Liberals" ruled in Spain, and what was the advantage gained by "a Constitution." Thus writes a correspondent of the *Times* :—

"For the second time, within a few months, we have been treated to the farcical, and yet melancholy spectacle, of a Spanish General Election. Europe might be ransacked for examples of corruption, and none found more flagrant and scandalous. In most constitutional countries, a dissolution of the popular chamber is an appeal to the will of the nation ; in Spain when a defeated ministry resorts to a general election, the appeal is to shameless bribery, open intimidation, and brutal coercion."

It was thus the successors to Narvaez acted, for he who had expelled "the liberal Espartero, was himself expelled by other liberals :—

"The expulsion of those officials and employés who scrupled to place their votes at the disposal of government, the daily seizure of newspapers, with scarcely the shadow of a pretext, violent and bare-faced coercion, both of candidates and electors, are some of the means they have employed to secure a majority."†

* *Times*, November 29th, 1848. As a contrast to the conduct of such persons, we refer for proofs of the virtue, the valour, and the disinterestedness of those who fought in defence of the rights of their king, the liberties of the church, and the ancient privileges of their people, to an interesting work recently published: "*Aus Spaniens Bauerkrieg, von W. Baron von Rahden.*"—(Berlin, 1851.)

† *Times*, May 26th, 1851. As to "the liberty of the press" in Spain the following extract from a letter dated Madrid, May 21st, 1851, will suffice to shew in what sense it is understood and applied by Spanish liberals.

"The prosecutions against the press are now carried on with greater rigour than ever. The *Clamor Público* was yesterday fined £200, besides the legal charges, for having censured with very great asperity the manner in which nine men, said to be *Carlists*, were recently put to death on the high road by the troops escorting them, without any form of trial." *Times* newspaper, June 3rd, 1851. These "Liberal" soldiers in Spain, had, it seems, acted in a manner towards their prisoners, which a "Liberal" British officer, during the insurrection in Ceylon, in 1848, had recommended for adoption by his subordinates, and of whom the following mention is made in the *Quarterly Review* :

"One officer, Lieutenant Henderson, he (Captain Watson) directed

In the midst of all these iniquities—of this corruption, this spoliation, this jobbing, and this tyranny, the voice of patriotism is raised in vain : it is without effect that the true, free-spirited, independent and generous Spaniard, calls for the formation of a truly national party :* he will not be listened to ; for selfishness has stifled patriotism in Spain : Liberalism has banished patriotism from the soil of Spain.

We come now to Portugal—the victim of the real, but always unavowed policy of the Liberals—that is, the policy of giving to the speculating and tyrannical *few*, the government over, and the controul of the rights and property of the industrious *many*. There, in order that the Church might be spoliated, it was determined that the wishes of the minority should over-ride the open, avowed, and declared will of the majority.† To carry these fell purposes into effect, a system was adopted, which was worthy of the members of the same “Liberal party,” who, to justify their persecution of the Roman Catholics, and to palliate their plunder of the Church, have stuffed every species of literature, from the most grave history, to the smallest school book—from the sabbath sermon to the daily newspaper, with infamous inventions, and a thousand times refuted assertions against the Catholic Church, its tenets, its practices, its doctrines, its priests, its nuns, and all its holy orders.

To destroy the king, Don Miguel, and to annihilate the national independence of Portugal, the Liberals acted on the maxim of Voltaire : “*mentez mes amis, mentez, non pas timidement, non pas pour un temps, mais hardi-*

to escort forty-five prisoners to Kandy, informing him that he must expect to be attacked on his way thither, and commanding him to put every one of them to instant death, if a shot was fired at his party en route, by any person whatever.” *Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxv. p. 112, Art. “The Mysteries of Ceylon.”

* See “La Situacion contra el deséo nacional por Don Vicente M. de Pereda,” and by the same author, “La Nacion y Los Partidos, o sea Necesidad de formar el Partido Nacional.”—(London, 1843.)

† “Don Miguel avait pour lui deux millions cinq-cent mille habitans, sur une population de trois millions ; tandis que Don Pedro, quand même on voudrait lui accorder la majorité de la population des villes et du pays qu’il occupe, n’aurait que cinq-cent mille habitans de son côté.”—SARATVA, *Memorandum d’une conference avec Lord Grey*, le 20 Decembre, 1833. p. 2. (London, 1847.)

ment et toujours."* He who was the legitimate, the accepted sovereign of Portugal, whom its people had joyfully hailed as their king, and its truly popular, truly national Cortes had pronounced to be its sovereign, and by that Decree determined every disputed claim,† was assailed by "the Liberal press" in every land. Calumny attacked him in his public capacity: slander beset him in every action of his private life, and the foulest falsehoods portrayed him as a monster, not only as unfitted to reign, but even to live. The literary drudges of the Liberal party in this country canvassed public opinion against him, and, alas! they succeeded in their efforts. They actually popularised, as if it were a glorious achievement, an invasion by foreign *condottieri* of the free soil of Portugal; whilst a buccaneering expedition which destroyed the navy of a sovereign prince, at peace with England, was

* Letter of Voltaire to Thiriot, dated 21st October, 1736.

† That we are perfectly justified in making this assertion, the following extract will suffice to prove:—

"L'autorité de ces Cortès ne saurait être disputée, et en effet ne l'a jamais été, dès le commencement de la Monarchie Portugaise; et cela par des raisons les plus solides, fondées dans le Droit Public, soit universel, soit particulier du Portugal. Pour s'en convaincre il suffit de réfléchir, que cette autorité est fondée dans le Pacte Social de la Nation, sous lequel tous les Portugais étaient nés, et qui avait été accepté par eux tous ou expressément ou tacitement. Cette autorité, suprême en ce qui concernait les questions sur la succession à la couronne, ou que l'on regardait comme touchant à la loi fondamentale, n'avait jamais été disputée ou méconnue; et, au contraire, avait toujours imposé silence, mis un terme aux disputes et aux dissensions civiles dans le royaume, dès qu'elle prononçait sur les doutes et les questions qui donnaient lieu à ces disputes; en rétablissant ainsi l'unité sociale et l'harmonie politique dans la communauté. On trouve le plus bel exemple de cette déférence, de cette soumission entière à l'arrêt de ce suprême tribunal et pouvoir national, dans ce qui arriva aux Cortès de Coimbre de 1385, lors de l'élévation de Jean I au trône. Ceux qui, avant la décision des Cortès, croyaient et soutenaient dans la discussion, de la manière la plus vigoureuse et indépendante, que la couronne appartenait à l'Infant Jean, fils d'Inez de Castro, dès que l'assemblée prononça son arrêt en faveur de Jean, le Maître d'Armes, furent les premiers à porter les hommages de leur obéissance et leur loyauté aux pieds de ce roi, lui disant avec la plus noble franchise. 'Sire, tandis que notre opinion était libre, et la question ouverte, nous avons fermement soutenu ce que nous croyions être vrai et juste; maintenant que le tribunal légitime a prononcé, nous ne pouvons plus avoir de doute, nous ne reconnaissons plus de droit à occuper le trône Portugais que dans la personne de Votre Altesse. Et le Roi en fit ses amis les plus honorés, et leur confia les charges les plus importantes.'" — SARAIVA, *Memorandum d'une Conférence avec Lord Grey*, pp. 35, 36. n 11.

regarded by mistaken enthusiasts, as "a naval triumph of Great Britain," when, in point of fact, the circumstance was as little to her honour as the victory of any English pirate on record.

The hypocrites, who now weep over what they call "the destruction of the national independence of Hungary," then chaunted hymns of triumph and of joy, over what was, in reality, "the destruction of the national independence of Portugal."

Cæsar fell stabbed by the *styli* of assassins in the Senate-house. Don Miguel fell stabbed by the poisoned styli of the hireling bravoës of the Liberal press. Those remorseless men, worse, in their vocation, than the Sardinian *Accibaduri* of the middle ages, calumniated the rightful king of Portugal, in order that their employers might tyrannise over the Portuguese nation, despoil its Church, and exhaust its national treasures. The fallen have few flatterers; but virtue still can always command the testimony of the candid and the disinterested. In justice to an unfortunate prince and a good man, we refer to the words of one, who witnessing the life led by the royal exile, could not refrain from placing his impressions respecting the calumniated monarch before the world. From the work we allude to—the work not of a Portuguese but of a German, we shall make a single extract, and that extract will aid the reader in determining between the value of a "Constitutional," "liberal," king, and a "legitimate," "generous," and "Catholic" king.

The German author having specified the revenues possessed by Don Miguel as a king, and having noticed the many acts of Christian charity performed by him, as an exile, proceeds thus:

"But what use could a sovereign make of such large revenues? The unhappy widow, the wounded soldier, the sick individual, the person without resources, in one word, all who were unfortunate, in whatever might be their condition in life, all could have recourse to him, and all were certain of being received with the greatest charity: by him they were consoled, and by him their wants were generously relieved.

"And here, perchance the malignity of his enemies (not being able to deny these acts of generosity), may induce them to say, that he did such beneficent deeds as

these from mere motives of policy; and solely with a view to win for himself the love of the people.

"To so vile, so miserable an objection as this, the answer is, that by far the larger portion of his acts of charity were done in secret; that in his conduct with every description of persons, whether relations, strangers, subjects, friends or enemies, he always manifested the same nobility and frankness of character—that dissimulation, or hypocrisy were vices that never could be attributed to Don Miguel; and that a calumny of that description was so absurd as to be ridiculous."

The author then states that amongst the other virtues of Don Miguel, he was distinguished by his love for his sisters, and his filial affection for his parents; and cites as a proof of how his tenderness was appreciated, the last words of his mother the queen, when dying. "Adieu! my beloved Miguel! my joy! my son! adieu."*

Such was the sovereign that the liberals drove into exile, because his desire was "the restoration of the legitimate and ancient constitution of the state.† Such is the man that the liberals still persecute with calumnies!

The work, from which we have quoted, has been translated into Portuguese by the Chevalier A. R. Saraiva—one of the best, ablest, and truest men we have ever been acquainted with—a willing exile from the love he bears his sovereign, and his attachment to the liberty and independence of his native land. The following is his corroborative testimony (for he adopts the words of the German) as to the results of the Pedroite "liberal" revolution—the work of foreigners against the will of the loyal people of Portugal:—

"The new government counts now more than eight years of existence. Let us see what is the value of its new theories. What has the new constitution done for the weal and welfare of the nation during these years of peace and quietude? Continual changes of ministries and systems; laws and decrees multiplied without num-

* "Adeos, meu querido Miguel! minha alegria, meu filho, adeos!" *D. Miguel em Roma por um Cavalheiro Alemão, traduzido por A. R. Saraiva*, pp. 49—51. London, 1844.

† "Restauração da Legitima e Antiga Constituição do Estado." Letter of the King D. Miguel to A. R. Saraiva, 2nd June, 1842.

ber ; a house of assembly listening to school-boy orations ! And then, what is the fruit of all this ? That the mutual hatred of factions, foreign influence, the intrigues of the great, and popular passions, have ruined the country ! a people driven to desperation curse the impostors who have deceived them ; a discontented nobility murmurs ; the clergy suffer and sigh ; commerce abandoned to strangers ; the finances exhausted ; the navy annihilated ; the army without discipline ; officers and *employés* unpaid ; all the administrative machine in disorder ; the nation oppressed, and the country devastated ! Such is the picture actually presented to us by almost every one of the public journals—those self-same newspapers, which at another period, so pompously announced the victory of liberalism, and the triumph of the charter of Don Pedro ! Is this then the fulfilment of so many splendid hopes, and of so many flattering promises ? Thus then proceed matters in *new* Portugal, governed by Charlatans who fancied they could make a nation happy, by sophisticated subtleties, fine phrases, and foreign protection !”*

What then has Portugal gained ? She was free from debt ; and the Liberals had imposed upon her up to the year 1846, a public debt amounting to £15,000,000, equivalent to her annual revenue for seven or eight years.†

The deeds of the Liberals are, however, something worse than the mere formation of a Portuguese National Debt, than an increase in the number of taxes, or an affliction of the people by new-fangled modes of collecting those taxes. The deeds of the Portuguese Liberals have been deeds of blood. From the first entrance of Don Pedro into Lisbon, in 1833, to the middle of June 1836, there were in Portugal no less than *six thousand assassinations of Royalists*, and these, for the most part, accompanied by circumstances of great cruelty. For these assassinations no one was prosecuted :—no one was proscribed ; no one was punished by the Liberal government of Portugal ; for these murders were believed to be committed by its adherents. In the *Journal de la Haye* of 1835, there will be found a selection

* *D. Miguel em Roma por um Cavalheiro Allemão* Preliminar, pp. 14, 15, 16.

† SARAIYA Memorandum, d'une Conference avec Lord Grey, p. 24, note 2.

made from the 1200 murders committed in Lisbon and its neighbourhood alone, and it will be there seen that the victims included persons of all classes, "priests, women, generals, officers, gentlemen, simple soldiers, judges, magistrates, artisans, farmers, labourers, fishermen." The names, dates, places, circumstances, of the murders are there, not only given to the number of 380, but also the names of the assassins, and in fact, a list of unpunished crimes is published, for which we can find nothing worthy of comparison but Rivera Indarte's extraordinary publication, the "*Tablas de Sangre de la administracion de Rosas.*"

The monastic establishments of Portugal were models of good order and excellent management. In them the stranger found hospitality, the poor sustentation, learning a depositary, religion an asylum. All have been destroyed. The "patrimony of the poor" has been converted into the private property of the "liberal" Carvalhos, the Palmellas, the Saldanhas, and the Cabrals; and the rich libraries, the collection of ages, have been cast abroad as if they were waste paper. The example of the "liberals" at the Reformation in England was faithfully followed even in this instance:

"The libraries of the monasteries were not more sacred than the shrines and altars of the Churches in the eyes of the licensed robbers.....This villainous example, in recent times, was followed by the rapacious liberals of Spain and Portugal. The author in both countries, has seen the most valuable works taken from the pillaged convents, thus despoiled of their covers, in grocers' shops, sold by the Arroba weight of thirty-two pounds."*

And whilst this pillage was going on, the working classes were afflicted with new taxes—even a tax upon the graves of the dead was imposed, and at last the proclamation was made by a poor peasant woman—that the tyranny of the "Constitutional" sovereign was no longer endurable; and in answer to the summons of that poor, humble, weak woman, the whole nation rose to arms. The demand—the *national demand* of Portugal for the restoration of its rightful king, was made in 1846, and that demand was on the point of being enforced, when—to the disgrace of England—it interfered—it made use of its insuperable force to

* MADDEN'S *History of the Penal Laws in England*, p. 54.

over-rule the will, and defeat the wishes of an entire people—too weak to contend against it. The English fleet perpetuated the domination of an usurper, who stretched her despotic powers to such a tension, that they at last broke down in an anarchy, at once as ludicrous as it was discreditable; for then was seen a rebel-General—a field-Marshal—raising the standard of revolt, and the moment he had done so—becoming an exile: then too was seen a commander in chief of an army marching against the rebel general, and in his march deserted by those whose duty it was to follow him—and then came that marvellous incident—persons sent out to discover the *hiding place of a Conqueror!* On the one side a successful insurgent recalled to victory by a *special messenger*; and next a *Commander-in-Chief* with *nobody to obey him!* Here an army *running away* from king Coburg, and there an army *running after* the fugitive Saldanha! Can we be surprised to learn that the first use which such a conqueror made of his victory was to employ the powers confided to him, to rid himself of the mockery—for so in fact it was—of a representative chamber; and that even whilst we write, the plot should be followed by a counter-plot, and that those who had been untrue to their God, their king, and their country, should be false, deceitful, and treacherous to each other? * Who that knows all the misdeeds of the “liberals” in Portugal, can be surprised to read the following lines, which we copy from a private letter, not intended for publication, and the author of which, we may observe, an Englishman, had at one time been deluded by the *professions* of the liberals.

“I have, within the last year, travelled (not express,) but by slow journies, from the banks of the Minho, to the confines of the Southern frontiers of Spain; and I feel a pleasure in being able to state, fearless of all mercenary contradictions, that the *nineteen-twentieths of the Provinces of the Portuguese Peninsula are the true and warm friends of His Majesty*; for they acknowledge in no other that usurped appellation.” †

* See *Times Newspaper*, May 26th, June 2nd, June 5th, 1851.

† MS. *Letter*, dated Lisbon, May 14th, 1851. For a comparison between D. Miguel, and the liberals who superseded him, see *O Portugal Newspaper*, 28th May, 1851.

CHAPTER IV.

THE recital of the various events that we have given must serve to show that neither in France, in Spain, nor in Portugal, has "liberty" been secured by the triumph of "Liberalism." It shews that "poverty" and "Church plunder" have, at least, kept pace with each other; and that no newly-invented Constitution has imparted to the humbler classes peace, contentment, security, or happiness. And yet, in all these revolutions—revolutions effected by violence, and stained with blood—"the Liberal party" in England have openly sympathised, or directly co-operated. There was no inconsistency in "the Liberal party" so acting; for it also has been a tyrant, a persecutor, and a hypocrite. We are not to judge of that Liberal party by its *words*, but by its *acts*. The name of "liberal" is as fine as it is false, and its deeds are foul.

The Liberal party in England divides itself into two classes—a nobility, and a middle class—a wealthy middle class, that completely corresponds with Louis Blanc's definition of the *bourgeoisie*.* The first have plundered the poor; the second oppress the poor; and they alike demonstrate their hatred of the poor by their persecution of the Catholic Church on the Continent, as in the British dominions. Their sympathies are with petty tyrants, and illegitimate despots; because they are themselves tyrants who cling to a close monopoly, and conceal its despotic working under the high-sounding title of "a glorious constitution in Church and State."

A brief glance at the history of the Liberal party in these islands, will demonstrate the truth of our assertions.

The English "Liberal party," like many of its imitators abroad, has been pre-eminently successful. Its nobility consist of those who have possessed themselves of Church property—men who are enriched by the spoliation of monasteries; whose palaces were once "Abbeys," their

* See History of in Ten Years, Vol. ii., p. 643.

villas "Priors," and their preserves for game at one time the corn-producing lands of those needy persons who are now despised as parish paupers.*

To preserve the plunder of the Church by the Liberal party at the Reformation, many crimes were committed; and, among the rest, one king was butchered, a second was banished. The direct succession to the throne was broken; and worse, perhaps, than all, for the effects still remain, the military character of the people was emascu-

* The Rev. Mr. Bennett, the Protestant Rector of Knightsbridge, published a pamphlet a short time previous to Lord John Russell's "Durham letter," and to which pamphlet may, perchance, be partly ascribed the idea of that extraordinary production; for the pamphlet called attention to the plunder of the English Church by the English nobility. Mr. Bennett's statements and calculations, it will be seen by the following extract, must have been very offensive to the feelings of the lay-holders of the property of the Catholic Church:—

"At the dissolution of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII., the yearly income thence accruing amounted to £141,000. In a hundred years this would amount to £14,100,000. We ought also to consider the compound interest of the sum as it went on, but, for the sake of being under the mark, let us consider the bare sum without the interest. Then, in the time of Edward VI., 90 colleges, and 110 hospitals, 2,374 chantries and free chapels were dissolved; the amount of this must, therefore, be added, with the value of the furniture, shrines, precious jewels, vestments, painted glass, and the like—all of which has perished. But, again, for the sake of being under the mark, let us take no account of the latter, but consider only the actual income and value of the buildings. It would stand thus:—

Income of religious houses in the first century after the dissolution (Henry VIII.)	...	...	...	£14,100,000
Ditto of colleges, hospitals, &c. (Edward VI.)	...	...	...	2,000,000
Ditto of chantries	...	...	...	1,187,000
Materials of the destroyed abbeys, &c., which were left to rot and perish	...	...	...	1,410,000
Total	...	...	...	£18,697,000

But, then, it is said, on the other side, that much of this property has been restored, and that colleges and schools, since the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, have received the benefit of some of the money. Now, the amount of the money so restored was computed by Dr. Willet, in a book called 'Synopsis Papismi,' published in 1634, to be £778,000.

There is every reason to think this amount overstated; but assuming that it is right, and therefore deducting it from the sum above-mentioned, what do we find?

Money abstracted from God and the Church in the first century after the dissolution	...	...	...	£18,697,000
Money restored subsequently	...	...	...	778,000

Total money abstracted from the church £17,919,000

But let us consider the value of the money at the present time. If we take the total revenue of the religious houses at £150,000 per annum—if we suppose, with the greater part of modern historians,

lated; a naturally brave, bold, and determined population has been converted into a mere mob, a race of slaves like to the *δουλοι* of Athens, who are unskilled in the use of arms, and who, placed in the presence of soldiers, are as helpless and as incapable of resistance as the infuriated and fierce animal that rushes upon its tormentors to be slain by the sword of the accomplished *torreador*. The monastery has been pulled down, or appropriated to private uses; but in its place have arisen two strange buildings previously unknown in the land—the *workhouse* on one side, the *barrack* on the other; the one in which the destitute poor are treated as slaves; the other in which a small portion of the population is abstracted from the rest of the community, kept apart from it, instituted a *dominant race*, fed and nurtured, and taught the use of arms, in order that it may control the great body of the people, to whom the knowledge and practice of arms have been for ever forbidden; and who, if they attempt to have themselves taught how to make use of them, are liable to be punished as *felons*. The “barrack system” of England, which has superseeded the ancient customs and practice of the country, is the most cunning device of a selfish tyranny; and if it could have been but enforced on the Continent, “the Liberals” might have perpetuated their

that land has increased tenfold in value since the dissolution—if we double this, on account of the improved state of cultivation, and the easy rents at which the church lands were then let, and this is almost ludicrously below the truth, we shall find that (again leaving interest out of the question,) in the last century, the church has been defrauded of 300,000,000! Thus:—

Annual income abstracted, so valued at the time ...	...	£150,000
		10
Value ten times increased since that time ...	...	1,500,000
		2
Double this on account of the improvements in cultivation		3,000,000
Take this for a hundred years ...	...	100
		£300,000,000

When you consider that this money has been, in many instances, squandered upon vice and infamy, horse-racing, gambling, and selfish luxury, and in many cases in civil wars, violence, and bloodshed—when you consider who they are that have spent it, and for what; and who they were, and the objects for which it was piously and holily offered and intended, then you will get a notion of the extent of sacrilege of which this country has been guilty. ‘Of the 570 peers who at this moment compose the aristocracy, about 470 are more or less implicated in sacrilege.’”

domination in security, and the Magyars might tranquilly have rivetted their chains on the limbs of the Croats. Fools and fanatics, in this country, have been taught to look with dislike upon monasteries and convents, because within their walls are to be found "persons who live apart from the rest of the community;" but what say those fools and fanatics to "*the Barracks*," where "persons live apart from the rest of the community;" where "obedience to the commanding officer" is the only virtue recognised? In the Monastery the people had persons to *pray for them* in their sorrows, and to relieve them in their distress; and in the Barrack they only behold persons who, at the word of command, are ready and willing to *fight against them*; for care is taken that there shall be no sympathy between the *armed recluses* and the non-combatants; that is, the great bulk of the population to whom the use of arms is forbidden. To the nobility of the Liberal party—to those who have profited by the plunder of monasteries, England is indebted for the "*barrack-enlistment system*," by which as great a distinction prevails between two portions of the same population, as ever was maintained in former times between the armed freeman and the unarmed slave.*

* The value of this policy, in perpetuating the domination of a class, and the enslavement of the poor, did not escape the Magyars of Hungary in their construction of a new Constitution; for by article 22 of that Constitution, "the qualification of a National Guard is higher than that for an Elector."—*Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Hungary, 1847-1849*, p. 69. (Par. paper.) This is the conduct of "a Liberal" in his fear and hatred of the poor; whilst the much-abused Austrian Government willingly places a rifle in the hand of every peasant of the Tyrol.

"In referring to this subject, we are particularly desirous of not being misunderstood. We would not, for one moment, have it supposed, that we join in the vain outcry against standing armies. Our conviction is that in the present state of society they are, if not the best, at least the surest safeguard for the preservation of peace, and the maintenance of order. We know, too, that for a man to become a skilful general, he must, from his youth upwards, have been a soldier; that he must have studied well and sedulously every branch of his profession; that he must be not merely a good tactician; but also a profound mathematician; and hence to have an efficient army, its officers, commissioned and even non-commissioned—must have embraced it as a profession for life. Such is, we believe the practice on the Continent, as far at least as the commissioned officers are concerned; and if the English army resembled them merely in this respect, we should not object to its constitution; but the Anglo-barrack system goes much further; it isolates from the population the entire army; it makes the army a thing apart from the nation—it does so from the Commander-in-Chief, to the common sentry that stands at his door;

As to the middle classes of "the Liberal party," they who have applauded all the doings of "the Liberals" abroad, and who now deplore the downfall of the Magyars, and have afforded so recently to the world the proof of their "liberality," by calling out for fresh Penal Laws against their Catholic countrymen, they may be considered as most fairly represented by that important body—the London Corporation. This Corporation has the municipal government of a population of 129,251 persons, and its annual expenditure in that government has been calculated to be "nearly a million sterling!"

This Corporation claims for itself the character *par excellence* of being "Liberal." It is Anti-Catholic. It has decorated its festive hall with a portrait of Louis Philippe; it admires Kossuth vastly! Let us now see what is said of it by another organ of "Liberalism," as anti-papistical as itself in the opinions it promulgates—the *Westminster Review*.* We employ no words of our own. The Liberal "Corporation" shall be judged of by the words of the "Liberal Reviewer."

It is then said of the London Corporation, that it is *not* "an institution deserving the supporter of any honest and

and so doing, it converts the army into the Pretorian guards of the *Sovereign power*—the sovereign power being vested, since the Revolution of 1688, not in the monarch, but in an oligarchy, who nominate the Prime-Minister—the *Maire du Palais*—to whom the monarch is but the State-Secretary. This system has worked smoothly hitherto, and might be perpetuated, if the conditions on which it was founded could be maintained. They cannot be so; for England is no longer secure in its insular position. The invention of steam has exposed it to invasion; and, if such a calamity were to occur, then the small standing army—the army apart—that force amply sufficient to overcome popular insurrection—might be defeated in a single battle—and if it were, then a non-combatant population could make no effectual resistance: it must accept whatever conditions the conqueror chose to impose upon it. This is the danger of a persistence in the Anglo-barrack system. It is, we conceive, perilous to the endurance of the British Empire.

The barrack of the English soldier is *his country*.

"Et quocunque loco, Stilicho tentoria figet
Hic patria est."

But as Rome fell, because it relied for defence solely upon its barbarian legions, so may England: for where invasion from without is possible, there is no substantial security for the permanence of an Empire, but in the vigour, the spirit, and the practised martial skill of its entire male population.

* See *Westminster Review*, vol. xliii., pp. 8, 9, 10; Art. "Crusades." Vol. xlv., pp. 325, 357; Art. "the Papal States."

consistent Reformer," that it is so constituted, that "power is really lodged in the hands of a minority of the citizens, which minority neither represents the wealth nor the intelligence of the whole body;" that "the electors are freemen householders, and in some of the wards not one-third of the householders are freemen;" that the Aldermen are "at once irresponsible to their constituents and to public opinion;" that "the privileges and constitution of the Aldermen are utterly at variance with the principles of free institutions," and, "that the result should often be both wasteful expenditure, and sometimes the public exhibition of glaring incapacity for office, will surprise no one."* But we have not space to give in detail, the exposure to be found in the *Westminster Review* of a liberal corporation enriched by the spoliation of ancient Catholic endowments,† but shall content ourselves with one single extract, as showing the treatment of the sick poor, in the hospital of a London "Liberal" Corporation. It will be found a complete contrast, to the manner in which the monks opened their monastery doors to all classes of the afflicted:

"In the city, the doors of the royal hospitals are closed *in direct violation both of the spirit and letter of their ancient charters*. St. Bartholomew's hospital, for instance, with an endowment of £30,000 will not receive consumption patients, or persons with the venereal disease, or persons with any disease whatever who from filthy habits may be afflicted with the itch. *Yet these are the peculiar diseases of the poor*, and those who have them must seek an asylum in the neighbouring workhouse in West Street."‡

The London Corporation represents a minority that has hitherto defied every attempt made by the Government and others to have it reformed; and it is because it is a minority misgoverning the majority, that it sympathises with the continental Liberals. It may be regarded as the *Magyar* on the banks of the Thames, and not of the Theiss; whilst the great body of the citizens are the *Croatians* that it

* *Westminster Review*, vol. xxxix, pp. 497, 501, 502, 503, 504.

† *Ibid*, p. 508.

‡ *Westminster Review*, vol. xxxix, p. 559. In referring to another of the city hospitals, the reviewer quotes the *Medical Times*, which makes use of such harsh phrases as these: "gross corporate and private embezzlement, nepotism, and favouritism, incapacity, intrigue," &c., p. 511.

oppresses, and assumes to represent. We cannot then be surprised, that the President of such a civic oligarchy should be ready and willing to hail as a hero the Lord Mayor of the Hungarian Corporation—M. Kossuth; or that such a scene as this should have taken place in its little senate-house:—

“The following notice of motion,” says the Times reporter of the Corporation Common Council, “appeared upon the paper of business:—

“That this court do present a respectful address to Lord Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty’s principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs, intreating that he will be pleased, promptly and energetically, to use his influence with the government of the Sublime Porte, to procure the immediate liberation of the illustrious Kossuth, and his companion captives, confined in the fortress of Kutarah.

“Mr. Gilpin, who had given notice of the motion, requested that he might be allowed to postpone it, in consequence of the report that the truly noble individual had not only been already liberated, but that he had actually either arrived, or was immediately expected to arrive in London. (Hear.)

“The notice of motion was accordingly ordered to stand over.

“The Lord mayor.—‘Perhaps I may have the honour of entertaining the distinguished man among other illustrious foreigners.’ (Cheers.)”*

When we come to look a little closer into the proceedings of M. Kossuth, and his associates, we shall plainly perceive why “the liberal party” in England—both high and low—has sympathised with them. But before we lay bare the conduct of the Magyars, we must expose our own “liberal party”—we must make good the charges we have preferred against them—of tyranny, of cruelty, and of hypocrisy.

Let us see what has been the conduct of this same British liberal party which has sympathised with Hungarians, Sicilians, and Italians, because they were, as it

* *Times* Newspaper, May 3, 1851. Report of proceedings in Common Council. See *Times*, May 23, 1851, where this subject was again discussed.

alleged, "fighting for national independence against the aggression of the foreigner." This liberal party had some battles of its own to fight against *nationality* in the Ionian Islands, in Ceylon, and in Ireland. Let us then enquire how they conducted themselves in suppressing abortive insurrections, who complain of the cruelties of Austrians and Neapolitans, in crushing the force of organized armies arrayed against them in civil war. Were those same sympathizers with rebellion in the dominions of their neighbours tender, compassionate, or just, when discontent openly manifested itself within their own domain?

Upon the perpetration of a single outrage in Cephalonia in 1848, martial law was proclaimed, and such deeds then followed, that a motion was afterwards made in the House of Commons, for a commission to inquire into "the measures taken by Sir Henry G. Ward, the Lord High Commissioner, to restore peace, and into the manner in which forty-four persons were sentenced to death, *twenty-one of them executed*, and also into the manner in which *ninety-two persons were flogged*, and others *banished from the island, WITHOUT TRIAL.*"*

"The notions of "a liberal" in power, and of his right to deal with the lives and liberties of others, are very frankly stated by Sir Henry Ward, whose cruelties were found fault with on this occasion:—

"As Her Majesty's representative, *I* have the right to proclaim martial law.—*I* have the entire disposal of Her Majesty's forces.—*I* have a right to lay an embargo on shipping—*I* can order persons to leave the island, and take up their residence on other islands; and *all these powers I have used.*"†

The cruelties were admitted, were avowed, and were justified by a vote of the House of Commons.

In Ceylon, there was what Mr. Gladstone (formerly Secretary of State for the Colonial department) declared to be a rebellion the shortest that was ever known, for it lasted only two days, and a rebellion too in which there had been less crime or outrage than ever yet had been known to occur, for it consisted in the tying his hands

* HANSARD'S *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. ciii. pp. 978, 980.

† *Ibid.* p. 979.

behind his back, of a single European, and the chance wounding of a single soldier,* and yet what were the deeds that accompanied its suppression ?

There was the killing and wounding of two hundred insurgents—the proclamation of martial law, and its maintenance for two months—there was the execution of eighteen persons, and the imprisonment, transportation, and corporal punishment of one hundred and forty other persons, and all this occurring at a period when “the civil courts were sitting without danger or interruption.”†

To shew the spirit in which “Liberals” treat their own subjects, when seeking for “national independence,” we give the following documents as quoted in the speech of Mr. Baillie, on moving his Resolutions of censure on the government, May 27, 1851.

“(Circular.)

“Kandy, August 8, 1848.

“Sir—You will order a court-martial to assemble for the trial of prisoners captured since the date of the proclamation placing Matelle under martial law. You will appoint your senior officer president, with two officers as members; you will confirm the proceedings, and have *the sentence carried into effect on the spot*, without a reference to me or any other person. You will not bring to trial any individual whom you are not certain of convicting; you can refer to me any case that you have a doubt about. *Your power is unlimited*; at the same time, it will be as well to adhere to the Articles of War, as far as practicable; and you will appoint one of your officers to act as judge advocate, or any other qualified person; and you will appoint a person from the police, to act as provost marshal. *After disposal of each culprit tried, you will forward me the proceedings.*

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient Servant,

“T. A. DROUGHT,

“Captain A. WATSON, “Lieut.-Colonel commanding,
as Officer commanding the troops, Matelle.”

* Debate in the House of Commons on “Affairs of Ceylon,” May 29, 1851.

† *Quarterly Review*, No. clxxv, p. 110. Debate in the House of Commons on “Affairs of Ceylon,” May 27, 1851, and Mr. Baillie’s Resolutions.

“Those instructions were important, as showing that, in the first instance, judges advocate were appointed, and that the officers were instructed to adhere, as nearly as possible, to the Articles of War. The next letter was as follows:—

“On her Majesty’s Service.

“My dear WATSON,

“August 10, 1848.

“I wish you to explain to your officers at Matelle, that *I am surprised they did not sentence the four prisoners to be executed* (hear, hear). A plunderer in these times is a miscreant in the double capacity of a rebel and a felon, who would, if he could, first take your life and then your property. *Remind them that all engaged as those were are rebels, and that all rebels should suffer death.* Sir A. Oliphant has given it as his opinion that *we are dealing delicately with the rascals, and that a great deal too much time is taken in detailing evidence* (loud cries of hear.) The court have, under the present law, merely to satisfy themselves as to the parties being guilty or otherwise, find and decide accordingly. Yours,

“T. A. DROUGHT.”

“This was followed by a letter of August 16:—

“My dear WATSON,

“August 16.

“*You are getting on swimmingly.* (hear hear.) *Your deputy judge advocate will, of course, receive the usual allowance for every day the court sits.* I impress on the court that there is *no necessity for taking down the evidence in detail*, so that they are satisfied with the guilt or innocence of the individual; that it is sufficient for them to find and sentence; this is the law and mode. *Have you no case for example on the spot?* (hear).—Yours,

“T. A. DROUGHT.”

“The next order on the subject was as follows:—

“My dear WATSON,

“18th August, 1848,

“It not being necessary to have judge advocates, you may discontinue the practice.—Yours,

“T. A. DROUGHT,

“Lieut.-Colonel commandant.

“Captain WATSON, Commanding the Troops,
Matelle.”

“That was after the courts-martial had begun to be held, and they were continued for two months subsequently. Sir A. Oliphant, when before the committee, was asked if he did not remonstrate, both publicly and privately, against the system pursued in these courts-martial, and he said he had, but he declined producing the communication as it was a private one, adding, however, in his evidence, the words—

“I have served my Sovereign for twenty years, and I have eaten the bread of the British nation for that time. I felt that the glory of the one was being tarnished, and the character of the other for humanity was being compromised, and therefore I could remain passive no longer.

“You mean (said Mr. Hume) that you could not stand by and witness what was going on without making a remonstrance?—Yes, I do.”*

These cruelties were admitted, were avowed, and were justified by a vote of the House of Commons.

But we now come to the case of Ireland. There the *spirit*, and not the *embodiment*, of a nationality had to be contended against by the Liberals, who lament the fall of Venice, and weep over the sorrows of the Magyars. In Cephalonia there had been an outrage—in Ceylon, a two days rebellion—but in Ireland, what was there? A rebellion, in phraseology,—a war—in words; an outrage—on syntax; an insurrection—on paper! A campaign projected by enthusiasm, and incited by despair in the midst of a famishing people, alike hopeless, and planless, and which never could have been a success, unless weakness became strength, visions had changed into substantialities, and heaven had worked a miracle for the Irish, as it did for the Jews, when it destroyed the army of Sennacherib:

“Like the leaves of the forest when Summer is seen,
That host with their banners at sunset were seen;
Like the leaves of the forest when Autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay wither'd and strewn.”

The Irish “rebellion” was manifestly from its very outset, to be nothing more than a conflict with—leading articles: to be decided by sentiment on the one side, and by opinion on the other: the belligerents were to be hired solicitors and feed advocates: a Verdict to decide a battle,

* *Morning Herald*, Report of Debate (May 28, 1851.)

and a Sentence to be a trophy of victory. It never could be anything more than this, for the Young Irelanders had not men, nor money, nor arms, nor ammunition. They were *sans* generals, *sans* soldiers, "*sans* every thing." All the advantages lay with the assailed; all the disadvantages on the side of the assailants. It was a spectacle to provoke compassion in the mind of a generous and an omnipotent foe—and not one that called for new violations of the Constitution.

It was not so treated by those who now denounce the despotism of Austria. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. A new law was invented which made writing in a newspaper a felony punishable with transportation; and, to ensure convictions, arranged juries in the manner disclosed in the accompanying paper.

"THE PANEL FOR MR. DUFFY'S TRIAL.

"I. The panel consists of one hundred and seventy-seven jurors; of whom one hundred and thirty-five are Protestants, and only forty-two Catholics.

"II. Among the first thirteen jurors on the panel there is not one Catholic; among the *last* nine there are six Catholics.

"III. It consists almost exclusively of tradesmen and shopkeepers, of a class whom it cannot be contended were chosen for superior respectability, without reference to their religion; and, moreover, of a class where the majority of Catholic jurors is, at least, two to one.

"IV. These forty-two Catholics have been, moreover, selected in a manner obviously calculated to deprive the prisoner of the services of many of them. Two of the Catholics nominally put upon the panel have been dead for four months; three others were on the former panel from which Mr. Martin and Mr. O'Doherty were tried, but they did not attend, or answer to their names upon either occasion; one other was on the same panel, but got excused from attending by application to the Court; one other Catholic has left Dublin to reside in Limerick; one other has absconded; and of the remainder, three are jurors upon whom the Government have placed their mark, by setting them aside on some of the former political trials; four are Castle tradesmen, and two are public contractors.

“ V. And this miserably inadequate number of Catholics is still further reduced by their position on the panel. There are nineteen of them among the last sixty names, where they are wholly out of range of being sworn on the jury.

“ This is the special complaint of Catholics ; but the panel exhibits other features which may well alarm all citizens :—

“ I. Selecting from the great population of Dublin, where there are nearly 5,000 enrolled jurors out of whom to choose new men, the Sheriff has put upon the panel arrayed for the trial of Mr. Duffy, two persons who had already served on the jury that convicted Mr. Mitchel, two other persons who had already served on the jury that convicted Mr. Martin, two other persons who had served on the jury that convicted Gogarty, a Confederate ; fifteen persons from the panel arrayed for Mr. Mitchel's trial, and fourteen persons from the panel arrayed for Mr. Martin's trial. Of these thirty-one jurors, nearly every one has been either challenged by the prisoners or set aside by the Crown on these trials ; and some of them have been challenged in turn by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Martin, and Mr. O'Doherty. There were upwards of 4,000 jurors in Dublin who had served upon none of these panels, and whom the Sheriff might have selected for the present panel, but did not.

“ II. On this panel of a hundred and seventy-seven jurors, we find the Jeweller to the Lord Lieutenant, the Hair-dresser to the Lord Lieutenant, the Shoemaker to the Lord Lieutenant, the Chandler to the Chief Secretary's office, the Cutler to the Lord Lieutenant, the Bootmaker to the Commander of the Forces, the Seedsman to the Lord Lieutenant, the Grocer to the Lord Lieutenant, the Purveyor to the Lord Lieutenant, the Engineer to the Drainage Commissioners, the Saddler and the Seedsman of a former Lord Lieutenant, a Contractor of the Board of Ordnance, two other Government contractors, a Compositor in the College Printing-office, two Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Auctioneer to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and the Consul of his Majesty King Ernest of Hanover.

“ III. This panel, which contains but twenty Catholics at all likely to be called before a jury is sworn, con-

tains nevertheless eleven English or Scotchmen, and one Frenchman."

By such means as we have thus specified, was that which was called "a rebellion" suppressed in Ireland: a rebellion in which no man arrayed on the side of government lost his life, in which no outrage was perpetrated, and no man's property molested by "the rebels."

Here, then, are some of the proofs—facts that cannot be controverted; documents that cannot be disputed to shew that "the Liberal party" here, so strong in its denunciations of Austria when contending against "nationalities," stands convicted by its own conduct, when engaged in similar quarrels, of tyranny, of cruelty, and of hypocrisy.

CHAPTER V.

But, here, it may be said, as a palliation for the tyranny, the cruelty, and the hypocrisy of "the Liberal party," Look to the results of a "liberal reformation," and of a "liberal revolution." See! what a much greater, happier empire England is than any other in the world. Behold! its gigantic power—its accumulated wealth—its vastness of dominion: these are the things that demonstrate that its established religion is the purest form of faith, and that its system of government is the best calculated to promote the welfare of the human race!

Such *assertions* as these are popular *arguments* in the pulpit, the senate, the press, and society. We deny the truth of both assertions. We admit that England is, at this moment, the greatest country in the world; that none can equal her in wealth, nor contend with her in power; that, even whilst we write, the civilization of the globe is gathered around the gorgeous shrine which she has erected in honour of that mundane mechanical power in which she surpasses every nation. But then when we are asked to accept these circumstances as a proof—the slightest proof—that the religion which she declares to be her national religion is the best and purest form of christian faith, because coincident with its establishment are to be found such circumstances as these, then we desire him who commands us

to accept of such a proof, how he, if he be a Christian, could, in the reign of Nero, have replied to such an argument in the mouth of a Pagan, who adduced the richness, pomp, and greatness of the Imperial city, and the unquestioned supremacy of the Roman empire, as proofs that the worship of Mars, and the idolatry of Venus constituted the only religion worthy of the Godhead.

If the wide extent of an empire were the proof of the goodness of its rulers, and its accumulated riches the demonstration of the happiness of a nation, then Pagan Rome with its multitudinous slaves, and "liberal" England with its pauperised population, might be considered as the empires, beyond all others, in which rank and riches were synonymous with the predominance of beneficence, and the national greatness the type of the ease, comfort, and enjoyments of the people.

The condition of the working-classes—the condition of the poor—the condition of those who constitute *the majority of persons* in every Empire, Kingdom, and State is, we conceive, the test of its good government. Can England—great, rich, imperial, powerful England—stand this test? Her nobles are most rich; her *bourgeoisie* most wealthy; but what is the position of her working-classes? What has her "liberal" reformation, and her "liberal" revolution enacted for their special benefit? We may be referred to the Poor Law—that memorial of beneficence, as it is deemed by so many, both of the "liberal" reformation and the "liberal" revolution. We admit, that in whatever country, the Catholic religion be not established, and largely endowed, a legal provision for the poor is an indispensable, an unavoidable institution. So thought Charlemagne centuries before the reformation, when he embodied this enactment, amongst his Capitularies:—

"De mendicis qui per patrias discurrunt, volumus ut unusquisque fidelium nostrorum suum pauperem de beneficio aut de propria familia nutriat, et non permittat aliubi ire mendicando. Et ubi tales inventi fuerint, nisi manibus laborent nullus eis quicquam tribuere præsumat."*

It is to modern times, however, to "the Liberals" of

* Capitulare Noviomagense, A.D. 806, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. v. p. 677.

the Reformation, that we are indebted for the idea of punishing poverty, as a crime, by the imprisonment of the workhouse, and the degradation upon the recipient of public charity of wearing *the badge of a slave!* We have now before us a book, published in London, in the year 1755, entitled, "the Statutes at Large concerning the Provision for the Poor, being a Collection of all the Acts of Parliament relating thereto, now in force." It commences with the act 18th Elizabeth, cap. 3, and concludes with the act 25th George II., cap. 36. Amongst the other provisions made in these acts are the following. "Poor persons to wear a badge on the shoulder of the right sleeve: refusing to wear such badge may be suspended from the usual allowance, or committed to the House of Correction." (8 and 9 William III., c. 30.) "The Justices in Session, may cause beggars to be transported." (13 and 14, Charles II. cap. 12.) "Beggars to be punished as idle and disorderly persons,"—"persons apprehended as vagabonds, to be examined and whipped,"—"to be sent to the House of Correction or common jail till the sessions, who may order them to be whipped:"—"if such make escape out of prison, to be guilty of felony." (17 George II., c. 5.) "The justices to signify to the privy council the names of such vagabonds as they shall think fit to be transported." (13 and 14, Charles II., c. 12.)

But we turn from the acts of Parliament affecting the poor in this country in 1755, to those who studied the operation of the old Poor Law. Mark! their opinions respecting it:

"Several severe conditions strongly savouring of the *power possessed by masters over their slaves* were annexed to relief by local acts of parliament, passed in the last and present century: they are classified in a general repealing statute of 1816. (56 George III. c. 129.)

First, "Power of compelling paupers of entering a workhouse, of detaining them an indefinite period, or until the charges of their maintenance were defrayed out of their earnings.

Secondly, "Power of hiring out persons of full age, and taking the profit of their labour." This latter power, conferred by 22 George III. c. 83 (Gilbert's Act), an act of general application, and still (January, 1840) in force in a few places.

"The apprenticeship of pauper children has, for the most part, been little better than *absolute slavery*, and the degrading methods by which labourers used to be distributed among the farmers of the parish, before 1834—the sales by auction in the village pound *approached very closely to the same condition.*"*

"Pauperism seems to be an engine for the purpose of disconnecting each member of a family from all others; of reducing all to the state of domesticated animals, fed, lodged, and provided for by *the parish*, without mutual dependence, or mutual interest." (Report of Commissioners of Poor Law enquiry—1834—p. 96.)

The *Edinburgh Review*, in commenting on this passage, says: "For *Parish*, substitute *Master*, and this description is equally applicable to the condition of *the slave.*"†

Thus the confiscation of the property of the Church—"the great sin of the Reformation," as it is termed by Mr. Alison, in the concluding chapter to his History of Europe—the allocation of that property to the "aggrandisement of temporal ambition, and the enriching of the nobility who had taken a part in the struggle," led to the establishment of a code of laws, which *re-established slavery in England.*

"Before the Poor Law amendment act, nothing but the power of arbitrary punishment was wanting in the pauperised parishes, to a *complete system of PRÆDIAL SLAVERY.*"‡

"When we recollect that disobedience to these enactments,§ exposed a man or a woman to be included in the proscribed class of vagabonds, punishable by *whipping, branding, SLAVERY, and DEATH*, it must be admitted, that whatever might be the practice, the *law gave little freedom to the labouring classes.*"||

The old Poor-law was put an end to: and a *new Poor-law* came into force, on 15th August, 1834. Did it tend to ameliorate the condition of the poor? Let facts

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxiii. p. 85.

† *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 84 note.

‡ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxiv. p. 3.

§ 22, Henry VIII. c. 12; 27, Henry VIII. c. 25; 1, Edward VI. c. 3; 3 and 4 Edward VI. c. 16; 5, Elizabeth. c. 3 and 4; 14 Elizabeth, c. 5; 39, Elizabeth, c. 4. See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxiv. pp. 5, 6, 7. COBBETT'S *Reformation*, § 471.

|| *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxiv. p. 7.

decide this question. In 1834, the amount of poors' rates was £7,511,219: in 1840, the amount of poors' rates was £5,110,683; the difference being £2,400,531, in the amount of relief administered; and it is boasted of by the "liberal" Reviewer from whom we quote, that this diminution in the amount of relief "was effected under the pressure of bad harvests, hard winters, and manufacturing distress unexampled in severity and duration."

How the miserable poor of England must have suffered in the meanwhile! but it may be supposed, or hoped, that with the enactment of a *new* Poor Law, all traces of "slavery" would have disappeared. Such was not the opinion of the *Times* newspaper; for twelve years after the Law had been in operation, the *Times* thus wrote respecting the condition of the poor under the New Poor Law:—

"*Slavery exists at home under the new poor law, in a form more oppressive towards its victims, than has ever been experienced by the blacks in the English colonies.* It was always to the interest of the master to supply the physical wants of the slave, by whom the intellectual degradation of his position was scarcely felt; but the English pauper is at once half-starved and brutalized. He is provided with a scanty fare, which is scarcely enough for subsistence even under the most favourable circumstances, but damp apartments, unwholesome air, and other causes of disease, assisted by low diet, work together in undermining the health, and, in many cases, terminating prematurely the life of the miserable dependant on parish bounty."*

Another organ of public opinion in England, having little sympathy with the *Times* on any subject, yet declared, in reference to the New Poor Law:

"The conduct of England towards her helpless and wretched poor is a stigma upon her civilization, and a reproach to her piety."†

The same paper thus portrays the condition of the poor, under the operation of the *New Poor Law*.

"The poor of our Christian country are, to all intents and purposes, treated as though the hand of Providence were directed towards their extinction, and as if reward

* *Times*, September 30th, 1846.

† *Morning Herald*, September 18, 1846.

awaited all who helped to increase their wretchedness and to accelerate their doom. The revelations of the Andover Union are before the public. The pauper lunatic asylum, conducted by ex-officials of the poor law, has afforded us some instruction. Whatever information reaches the public concerning the treatment of the poor is of the same character and kind. *Heathen cruelty in all, and no Christian charity*—"torture, and not mercy."

"*Poverty is criminal, and is treated accordingly.* The fact cannot be denied. Look at the institutions we have raised, not to mitigate its pains so much as 'to put it down' altogether. Note, the building in which it is housed; the food with which it is neither supported nor nourished, but kept alive; the officials by whom it is surrounded, not for help or guidance, instruction and improvement, but that it may acquire all the vices of degraded hirelings, in addition to those which are, unhappily, poverty's melancholy birthright and fatal gift. *We defy a government anxious only for the punishment of the poor, to achieve a greater success than is found under the administration of the new poor law. It may devise penalties and impositions more acutely painful, none more deadly and more certain.* It may succeed in brutalising the spirit by a process more rapid and violent. No operations can be more potent than those which we find at this hour immersing the broken-hearted in gloom, and driving them to distraction.

"A few days since our paper contained an account of the death of *Mary Ann Jones, who committed suicide from fear that if she returned to the workhouse of St. Pancras, in which she had been a pauper, she would be consigned to imprisonment in a place known amongst the paupers as 'The Shed.'*"*

Such is the treatment of the poor in *England*. We now turn our eyes to *Scotland*. We shall quote but from the single letter of a gentleman (Mr. T. Campbell Forster,) whose accurate statements, diligent search, and unimpeachable veracity, won him a high name in periodical literature, by the distinguished appellation of *the Times Commissioner*. In a letter dated from Tongue, Sutherlandshire, May 30th, he gives the following account of the provision made for the poor, and their condition, and the mer-

* *Morning Herald*, September 18, 1846.

ciless manner in which they were treated by their Magyar landlords.

"My last letter to you," observes Mr. Forster, writing to the *Times*, "was dated Lairg, and I had not space in it for detail. In that parish the population in 1841 was 912. In 1842, 107 *paupers* were relieved, according to the Commissioners' report, and £85 was distributed amongst them, giving an allowance of 12s. to 14s. *a-year to the poor*. This amount for the poor is *rather larger than what is given to them in other parishes*.

"The rental of the Duke of Sutherland from the parish is about £2,000 *a-year*. * * The highest amount given to the poor on the roll is 10s. *a-year*; the lowest *half-a-crown*!

"The population is composed of small cotters, barely able to live, and the poor, who live by begging from those nearly as poor as themselves.

"In this parish—the parish of Tongue—the population in 1841 was 2,041; in 1842, 89 *paupers* were relieved, and £16 2s. 6d. was distributed amongst them. There are now 67 *paupers* on the roll, and from £20 to £25 are distributed amongst them, of which sum the sole heritor, the Duke of Sutherland, gives £6. The allowance of these *paupers* from the Kirk Session, says Mr. Horsburgh, the factor of the Duke of Sutherland, in his evidence before the Commissioners, 'in most cases is *not more than sufficient to provide them with shoes*.' But, besides the 67 on the roll, there are about 200 poor families quite as badly off, many of whom have been long trying to get on the roll.

"I thought this filth and wretchedness could not be surpassed; but I was mistaken. I went next to some huts on the hill side, occupied by *paupers* on the roll, having no real means of subsistence whatever. I entered the cottage of Isabella Campbell, who has a daughter subject to fits. The whole subsistence of the two, besides begging, is 8s. *a-year* from the Kirk Session. Another pauper, Ann Mackie, in a cottage adjoining, has 2s. 6d. *a-year* allowed, and lives by begging. The cottages of some of these people were so utterly filthy and wretched, and full of peat smoke, that after being in two or three of them, I was obliged to escape into the open air. *These were paupers' cottages*.

"This is the result of the philosophical calculation of Clearances.

"The people now are a thin, meagre, half-starved looking and stunted race. The worst sign they exhibit, however, is their abject apathy. The fact is, they are starved down, and kept in such perpetual terror of losing their crofts, their only livelihood, that they are spirit-broken, and hopeless. I saw a school of some 20 children to-day. I do not think in any bye-alley in London, in the most impure and confined atmosphere, you could see 20 children with such pallid faces, and thin, half-fed forms, as these poor children, living on a hill-side facing the sea.

"The forty miles of moor, of unpopulated moor and glen, owe their origin to the 'new light' system of clearances, carried out on the principles of Scotch philosophical calculation. The population which remains, therefore, is starving for want of employment.

"The system of driving out the people has been here tried without compunction. The population has been destroyed, and there is a starving refuse left behind, without any means of employment."*

But here is a subject that grows upon us to such an enormous extent, that we cannot venture to attempt placing even an outline before the reader. We can but refer him to the titles of such works as "The General Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain." (London, 1842.) "Local Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of England and Wales." (London, 1842.) "Local Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Scot-

* *Times* Correspondence, Tongue, Sutherlandshire, May 30th, 1845. Upon the terrible and iniquitous "clearance" system of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland.—See *Westminster Review*, vol. xxxix., pp. 69-80. As a contrast to this deplorable picture of a starving population, we extract from the same number of the *Times* Newspaper in which it is inserted, the following particulars of a Lady's dress at the Queen's masked ball on the preceding evening. It will be found suggestive:—

"The Marchioness of D——. The petticoat of white brocade, with gold. Flounce of old and most valuable point-lace, formerly belonging to one of the Popes of Rome. The dress of splendid brocade, with silver; the front being open, and ornamented with silver bullion and rosettes of diamonds. The stomacher most superbly covered with diamonds. Each sleeve ornamented with diamonds in the form of coronets, and trimmed with point lace, to match the flounce. Head-dress, a coronet of diamonds and rubies. The value of the diamonds and jewels worn by her Ladyship amounted to £60,000."

land." (London, 1842.) "Sanitary Inquiry Report—Supplement, Interment in Towns." (London, 1843.) To the Reports of "the Children's Employment Commissioners," and among the rest that most direful exposure of the misery of children, and the brutalizing degradation of women, the "Mines and Collieries Report." (London, 1842.) In that Report this evidence was given by a girl sixteen years of age, who was employed as a *windlass-woman* :—

"Finds the work very hard; *two women always work the windlass below ground. We wind up 800 loads. Men do not like the winding; it is too hard work for them.*"*

We must pass by all these. We must even leave untouched that most valuable and interesting collection of facts, "London Labour and the Poor," by Henry Mayhew; and we can but allude to the fearful exposure of the condition of the working classes, in the city as in the village, in the field as in the factory, which, day by day, appeared for months in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*; exhibiting to the world an amount of misery, sin, wretchedness, abject, filthy poverty, and degradation, such as we believe could not be equalled by any nation in the world—but England.

The sum and substance of all will be found comprised in the following extract :—

"To do more than sketch the evils which exists to be remedied, would exceed our present space. It is the alarming and astounding fact, of millions of *baptized Christians* living in *cities and villages* around us, either in *utter ignorance of the religion they profess*, or the *victims of a deep-rooted and withering infidelity*. By the side of the *splendid palaces of luxury and ease* in the metropolis and other large cities and within a stone's throw of their doors, are alleys and darkened streets, where, in *garrets and cellars*, whole families are *grouped in squalid poverty, filth, and disease*; and, what is far worse, in a *state of ignorance of their awful responsibilities and future destinies, which would appal a Hindoo.*"*

* Mines and Colliery Report, as quoted in *Westminster Review*, vol. xxxviii., p. 130.

† *Parochial Work*, by the Rev. E. Munro, M. A., Incumbent of Harrow, Weald, Middlesex, pp. 5, 6. (London, 1850,) as quoted and adopted by the *English Review*, No. xxix., pp. 152, 153, (March, 1851.) See *entire article in same number*, "Religion and the Working Classes."

And now, passing from England, and Scotland, and Wales, we approach to Ireland—to IRELAND! that everlasting memorial of the misgovernment, by “the Liberals,” of the Reformation, and of “the Revolution.” There an Established Church has been imposed upon an adverse nation, as a trophy of its defeat, and a memorial of its degradation; there a small portion of the population—a population of aliens—has been maintained by “the Liberals” as a hostile and conquering race over the aborigines; there crime and cruelty, against the body of the people, have been rewarded as if they were civic virtues; there all the horrors of misgovernment have been felt; and there they are destined still to continue; there a system has been pursued the very opposite of that which has guided Austria, influenced Metternich, and prompts Prince Schwarzenberg in the government of the peoples subjected to the Imperial Crown.* We shall not refer to the misdeeds in Ireland of former times, nor dwell upon the massacres of latter days—“the clearance system,” “the famine,” “the bodies of the famished dead fed upon by ravening beasts,” “the ophthalmia, *plica polonica*, and other diseases generated by the maltreatment of the poor in the workhouses.” One scene must suffice for all. An Englishman—a Protestant Clergyman, thus tells what he witnessed in Gort workhouse:—Let the wilful calumniators, and ruffian assailants of Marshal Haynau, delight in it if they can.

pp. 149, 162; a curious combination of anti-Catholic bigotry, and of candid avowals of the failure of the Establishment, and other sects, to improve the morals, or ameliorate the condition of the English poor.

* The Vienna Correspondent of the *Times* Newspaper has, on many occasions, shown himself to be hostilely disposed to the ministry of Prince Schwarzenberg. The following testimony, is, however, given by him as to the labours of the Austrian Government. Having noticed that Prince Schwarzenberg and his colleagues were then two years and a quarter in office, he proceeds to say:—

“The greatest energy has been shewn in freeing the peasantry from the feudal burdens under which they laboured. Publicity, oral proceedings, and trial by jury, have been introduced into the Courts of Justice on several of the hereditary crown lands. The facility of communication between the different provinces has increased in a way which promises well for the future. A new Customs’ Tariff, in which many of the prohibitory duties are abolished, has been drawn up at a great sacrifice of time and trouble. The transit duties in the interior have been abolished. Some of the new police regulations are also calculated to increase the security as well of the subject, as of property.”—*Times*, January 8th, 1851.

"About 450 women were being fed in the hall, from so many more being crammed into the house than it ever was meant to contain; they are obliged to be fed in relays; the inspector afterwards told me, that it has happened, that some have had to wait *until 12 o'clock at night* before they could eat their dinner; it was a complete scramble; the parties bringing in the food—men—*had short thick sticks, which they used very freely, and I thought brutally, to protect the tins of stirabout from the rush made for them by these hungry women.*"*

"Let me say here," observes the same good man,—an honour, in our estimation, to his name, his country, and his profession, "what I might equally well have said elsewhere, that I heartily wish the authorities would forbid the use of hunting-whips by the officers. I have seen it in more houses than one, and *seen the abuse of it.* If the porters, or wardsmen, must carry a weapon of offence, a cane would be a better thing; *the people in these masses are already too much kennelled;* one needs not the whip to make the comparison stronger." †

Referring to the changes that ought to be made in the management of workhouses, the same author observes:—

"When the meals were to be served, say to a class of some hundreds of women, you would not have them served by men with sticks in their hands, to keep them, as men do pigs, from a trough, till each is served in turn; you would not suffer the periods of serving the meals to be such times of disorder, that when I told one official *I had just seen the women being fed in one of his workhouses struck with sticks by men,* his reply was: '*I am glad of it; it is time something was done to keep order!*'" ‡

An attempt was made to contradict this statement, and it is thus commented upon by the Rev. Mr. Osborne. The reply deserves to be quoted, especially on account of the opinion expressed in it.

"I have the authority of Mr. Sturt, who travelled with me, to say, *he saw women beaten with sticks* in the Gort Union, as described by me in my *Gleanings in the West of*

* *Gleanings in the West of Ireland*, by the Honourable and Rev. S. G. Osborne. P. 48.

† S. G. OSBORNE—*Gleanings in the West of Ireland*, pp. 95, 96.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Ireland. He is ready to bear his testimony to the fidelity of my description of what we saw in our tour. He is ready to declare, I have in no way exaggerated the treatment of the poor, either within or without the workhouse.

"It is now more than ever clear to me, that there is an idea, with some foundation, that *the smiles of those in authority are not to be obtained by trying to check the groans of those who are the victims of want, of famine, of tyranny.*"*

CHAPTER VI.

No such sentiment, as that suggested by the Rev. Mr. Osborne can be attributed to the Austrian Government. It is a Government which, beyond all other things, desires to promote the happiness and secure the comforts of the poor and the industrial classes; and, amidst all the convulsions to which it has been exposed, its strength, its stability, and its recuperative power have been found in the affectionate, well-merited loyalty of the poor. The very contrary of that which we have called and shown to be "the liberal system of government,"—is "the Austrian system of government;" for the main object with its most eminent statesmen has been, to exercise the power they hold for the benefit of the industrial classes—to guard them, save them, and protect them, from the exactions and oppressions of their immediate superiors; to take care that neither those who in some countries are called "nobility," and in most countries are recognized as the *bourgeoisie*, or "middle classes," shall grow rich by spoliating and defrauding the *working men*; that the *superior classes*, whether nobility or bourgeoisie, shall not be permitted to maltreat them, or to live in luxury at their expense.

The Austrian Government has, in no part of its wide-extended empire, done that which has been done by the English "liberal party" in Ireland, and in every one of the British colonies,—it has no where fomented the formation of an *Orange faction*. On the contrary, wherever the Aus-

* Letter of the Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne in the *Times*, May 15th, 1851.

trian discovers *such a faction*, he does his utmost to control, to check, to discounteract, and, if possible, to suppress it. Thus acting, the Austrian has incurred the hatred of all such factions, both at home and abroad; and thus acting, he has won the love and secured the affection of the poorer classes. Hence we have seen, when emperors bowed down before the footstool of Napoleon, and kings waited in his ante-chamber, that war was declared against him by—a peasant! The gallant Hofer, impelled by his affection for him who was called “our good Emperor Francis,”* laid down his life and testified by his blood the attachment of the Tyrolese peasantry to the house of Hapsburg.

In the course of the last few years, the Austrian empire has had to contend against three rebellions—in Galicia, in Italy, and in Hungary. In all the *enemies* of the Austrian were the dominant races or class; and in all the *allies* of the Austrian were the *inferior race*, or the poorer classes.

The rebels in Galicia were the Polish nobility; and that rebellion was extinguished in their own blood—that blood being shed by their own peasantry: the peasantry being galled by the merciless exactions practised upon them,† and well aware, that their only chance of protection against greater cruelties—cruelties and atrocities such as were enacted against their fathers, when Poland was “free!”—resolved to put to death those who were for consigning them again to the heavy bonds, which Austria could not, at once, unloose, but had done its utmost to lighten. We seek not to justify nor to palliate “the sanguinary events in Galicia;”

* “Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz.”

Such was the National Anthem of the Austrians. See SPENCER'S *Germany and the Germans*, vol. ii., p. 161.

† “In Moravia,” says Mr. Blackwell, writing to Lord Ponsonby, February 29th, 1848, “the commutation” (of the Roboth) “is going on very rapidly, and preliminary measures have been adopted in Bohemia for effecting it. The landlords, since the sanguinary events of Galicia, having become aware of the imminent danger in which they will be placed, should the system be delayed much longer.” *Correspondence relative to the affairs of Hungary*, p. 22. In the same letter, and in the same page, the writer complains of the Hungarian legislators, those who afterwards claimed to themselves the character of patriots, wasting three months before they appointed a committee to devise the means of putting an end to this exaction on the peasantry. See also p. 10, in same correspondence, where the massacres of Galicia are attributed to the fact, that “the peasantry were compelled, by law, to work for their landlords.”

but this we mean to affirm from an examination into all the circumstances connected with it, that have come to our knowledge, that never was a man more wronged than Prince Metternich, by the charges circulated against him at the time, of having directly, or indirectly fomented or encouraged the cruel vengeance taken by the peasantry upon the Polish nobility.* It was their own misdeeds—and the fear of a renewal of their fathers' crime against the peasant class, that brought the sword and the torch of the peasant to their own homes; for when Poland was "an independent nation," the peasantry remembered what were the privileges of the nobles, and what the degradation of the peasantry.

"The third order of the republic of Poland," (observes a writer in the seventeenth century) "is that of the nobility, who are only capable of possessing *all the offices and lands*, both of the dutchy and the kingdom. For *all the peasantry are slaves*, and the burghers of towns and cities are only looked upon as tradesmen, who can possess, at most, but some houses in the cities, and the lands about a league around them.

"A Polish gentleman cannot be arrested for any crime whatever, unless he be first convicted by justice—*nisi jure victus*.

"Every gentleman in Poland is, by law, *the absolute and despotic master of the peasantry* that live in his territory, and *may put them to death when he pleases*. * * * It happens sometimes, that the gentlemen kill their peasants, either when they are drunk, or irritated by some brutal passion, to which young men are oftentimes subject. As to the wives and daughters of these miserable wretches——."†

But here, we pause. We have stated enough to shew that the apprehension of a successful rebellion of the Galician nobility against Austria, and that rebellion, if successful, casting the peasantry back into the power of a despotic nobility, were motives sufficient to excite the

* The writer feels bound to make this acknowledgment respecting Prince Metternich, having, on a former occasion, written in doubt as to whether this passage, in the administration of his highness, could be explained. See *Dublin Review*, No. xlix. p. 57.

† An account of Poland, by Mons. Hanteville, translated into English, pp. 113, 116, 118. (London, 1698.) "In Poland," says Rousseau, "the nobles are every thing, the burghers nothing, and the peasants less than nothing."

peasantry against those who would rob them of all that man holds dear, even though that spoliation was perpetrated in the name of "Liberty!" and of "National Independence!"

But turning from Polish Galicia, we must cast our eyes for a few moments upon the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom of Austria. This subject is one peculiarly difficult to be treated upon, because it is one, which is like to the treatment of the Roman Catholic religion in every description of English literature—that is, a subject, on which the most astute, ingenious, and accomplished minds have exhausted themselves in the fabrications of perverse falsehoods; and in which there seems to have been a diabolical delight experienced in the distortion of facts, and the concealment of truth; and, strange to say, in which the circulation of the sacred scriptures, even by English fanatics, has been converted into an ally of the foul projects of deists, and the withering efforts of Atheists.* Never was there an observation more just than that which the *Quarterly Review* has made, when discussing the affairs of Italy, it observes as to the organs of the Italian "Liberals:"

"The best excuse for all that the Italians have done, or have failed to do, is to be found in the deliberate, systematic deceptions of their utterly unprincipled and profligate newspapers."†

One fact cannot, however, be concealed by the Italian "Liberals;" for the dates stand in the records of time to convict them of baseness and ingratitude, namely, that all which they had previously been asking for from their Austrian rulers was granted to them, *before* they rose in violent revolt. They were, by two proclamations from the Emperor, issued on the 15th of March, 1848, summoned to Vienna, in common with the other States of the empire, to devise those measures, which might be for the particular advantage of each, and the common weal of all: the per-

* See *Westminster Review*, vol. xlv. pp. 325—357, in which the labours of the Bible Society are identified with the aspirations of the infidels of "Young Italy," even though the temporal power of the Pope is admitted to have been "a power protective of the spirit of the democracy, and of the municipal franchises."—p. 329. The secret machinations for many years of the Infidels against the Roman Pontiff will be found fully traced out in MILEY'S *History of the Papal States*, vol. iii. pp. 590-655. (London, 1850.)

† *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 569.

fect freedom of the press was conceded to them: they were allowed to enrol themselves as a national guard; and they were assured they should have secured to them "a Constitutional government." And what says an eye-witness of the scenes in Vienna that followed upon those proclamations?

"Italians and Hungarians clasped Germans to their hearts."*

Italians and Hungarians clasped Germans to their hearts! and then used the weapons confided to them to ruin the empire of their generous sovereign!!!

The rebellion of the Italians followed fast upon the concessions made to them. Milan and Venice were speedily in the power of the insurgents, and they had to support them, one of the finest armies ever commanded by a native king of Italy. The perfidy of Charles Albert compelled the retreat for a time of the veteran and accomplished marshal of Austria. Why, then, was not the Italian revolt crowned with success? Venice was held by the able soldier Pepe. Lombardy was occupied by the army of the king of Sardinia: the "Liberals" had attained all that they desired; but one thing was wanting to them—the hearts of the people. The peasantry—the working-classes—all the men in the humbler ranks of life, who had been benefitted, and who had prospered under the paternal sway of Austria were, for the moment, in that condition which Portugal has been now for many years—deprived by force of arms of the rulers they loved, and of the system of government they preferred.† In order that we may judge of the feelings of the peasantry and of the industrial classes, let us see what were the complaints made against the Austrian government of Prince Metternich, by the Liberals of Italy. We pray our readers, and especially our

* "Die Italiener und Ungarn druckten die Deutschen an's Herz."—*Oestreich's Befreiungstage*, p. 40. (Vienna, 1848.)

† A general of the Piedmontese army, in the invasion of Lombardy gives this testimony as to the feelings of the population in favour of their Austrian rulers: "In questa spedizione ci tocco osservare come quelle popolazioni siano fredde e poco o nulla animate a favore della causa Italiana, inclinando forse piu verso il Tedesco, che sempre per lo addietro cerco possibilmente di favoreggiarle."—BAYAN, *Relazione delle operazioni militari, nel 1848*, p. 56, as quoted in *Quarterly Review vol. lxxxvi. p. 511*, see also p. 514.

Irish readers, to peruse the following sentence from the work of General Pepe—the commander of the Italian Liberals in Venice. We appeal to *them* if the sentiments expressed are not identical with those which we might expect to hear from an *Irish Orange landlord*.

This is the accusation of a *liberal Italian* against the Austrians.

“The resources of property were consumed to the detriment of agricultural industry : the due end of legislation was frustrated by *the minute subdivision of all large properties* which was *the consequence of the changes made in the law of inheritance and of the prohibition of entails.*” *

The Italian liberal again prefers the charge against the Austrians in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, of “*augmenting the number of small proprietors.*” †

The accusation of the Italian Liberal amounts to this : that the Austrians were labouring *as a government*, to destroy “the effect of the old feudal laws which restrain the subdivision and circulation of the great properties, after they have once been accumulated.” ‡

That the Austrians, as a government, were endeavouring to obliterate from the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, *that system* which has long prevailed in England and Ireland, and the working of which has been so well described by Mr. Kay. Let us see what he thinks of a *system* of which General Pepe—the Liberal—is so much enamoured :—

“*This system,*” remarks Mr. Kay, “is admirably well adapted for heaping up enormous masses of wealth in a state. I believe that no such masses as now exist in England, in the hands of some of the higher classes, could be heaped up under any other system than that now pursued ; but it should be remembered how, *side by side with these heaps, pauperism goes on increasing.*”

“*Could we regard the poor only as machines, by which we were to create our wealth, even then I should doubt, whether we should be economically prudent to be so careless as we now are, about the condition of the machines ;*

* *Lieut. General PEPE'S Narrative of Scenes and Events in Italy, from 1847, to 1849. Vol. i. p. 90.*

† *Ibid. vol. i. p. 91.*

‡ *KAY'S Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe, vol. i. p. 306.*

but when we regard them as immortal beings of the same origin, and created for the same destiny as the richer and more intelligent classes of society, then such a system as the one we now maintain, appears to be, not only open to economical objections, but reprehensible on higher and more serious grounds.

“Look at Ireland, where *this system of great Estates* and great ignorance has been so long in force; what is the result in that unhappy country?

“*The whole of the land is in the hands of a small body of proprietors.* The estates of these proprietors are so affected by the real property laws, that very few of them are able to sell any part of their lands.”*

What then are *the remedies* that Mr. Kay proposes for this system? In order that we may judge of the value of the complaints of the Italian liberals, against the Austrian, we may specify them, in the words of Mr. Kay.

“Ireland,” he observes, “requires a class of yeomanry, who would be naturally interested in the preservation of order, in the improvement of the cultivation of the soil, and in reclaiming the millions of acres of rich land, which now lie waste and uncultivated. Ireland requires a *law which would enable the peasants, by industry, prudence, and economy, to acquire land*; which would thus interest the peasantry in the support of the government, and in the preservation of social tranquillity; which would dissipate that hopelessness and despair, which now drives the fine peasantry of that noble island into disaffection and rebellion.”† And all this Mr. Kay would do: “*by freeing the land of Ireland from the action of the entail laws; by forbidding all settlements, entails, and devises which would withdraw land from the market beyond the life of the person making such settlement, entail, or devise, or which would prevent any proprietor of land having a life interest therein to sell the land.*” He would, in short, “render the transfer of land as cheap and secure, as the sale of a piece of furniture, cloth, or other article.”‡

* KAY'S *Social Condition and Education of the people in England and Europe*, vol. i. p. 360.

† KAY'S *Social Condition and Education of the people in England and Europe*, vol. i. pp. 319, 320.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 320.

“The system, which ‘the Liberal party’ in this country have maintained, and for the restoration of which ‘the Liberals’ in Lombardy and Venice rebelled against the Austrian, is a system which regards ‘the poor only as machines,’ and therefore disposes them to ‘disaffection and rebellion;’ whereas the opposite system—one, by which ‘changes are made in the law of inheritance,’ and that embodies a ‘prohibition of entails’ and augments ‘the number of small proprietors,’ is one which, treating the poor ‘as immortal beings of the same origin, and created for the same destiny as the richer and more intelligent classes,’ pursues a course of government, that, enabling the poor to acquire land ‘interests the peasantry in the support of the government.’ And all this Austria did when ‘the Liberals’ broke out into rebellion in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, in 1848. The ‘Liberals’ fought for the perpetuation of entails: the ‘peasantry’ for those who had enabled them to be ‘small proprietors.’”

When crimes have been invented as against the Austrians in Italy, and false charges of cruelty promulgated respecting them, we conceive we give the best refutation to both in shewing what were the sentiments promulgated, and what the conduct pursued by *the accusers* of the Austrians.

It was thus that the Venetian Insurgent Government justified the assassination of its opponents. It is painful to have to transcribe such blasphemy; but it is necessary for the purposes of truth to do so:

“Jesus Christ was crucified for sustaining the cause for which we are fighting throughout all Italy. The patience with which we support our martyrdom proves that we are His chosen servants. If one among us should be found endeavouring to shake our firmness, *let us slay him.*” *

This threat of assassination was not a vain word. The revolt in Venice had been commenced with the assassination of Colonel Marinovich, and it was boasted of by the Insurgent Government, in their official Gazette—the *Raccolta*—from which the preceding extract has been taken

* “Gesu-Christo e stato crocifisso per sostenere la gran causa che combattiamo per tutta l’Italia. La pazienza colla quale sopportiamo il nostro martirio dimostra che noi siamo i suoi predeletti. Se s’ incontrasse dunque fra noi qualcheduno che volesse disturbare nostra fermezza, *uccidiamolo.*” Aug. 4th, 1849. *Quarterly Review*, vol. LXXVI, p. 202.

as the "judgment of God!"* In looking back upon these terrible times, we find assassination every where. Rossi in Rome, the Princess Windischgratz at Prague, Latour in Vienna, Lichnowsky at Frankfort, Lamberg at Pesth. But infamous and abominable as all these sanguinary deeds were, there is not one of them to equal that which we are told occurred in Venice. Its Revolutionary Government, we are informed, by the *Quarterly Review*—

"Enjoined the destruction of their fellow creatures by every mode of treachery and cruelty by which noxious beasts might be entrapped and slain; and, moreover, to make the lesson intelligible to all, the stage was employed, still further to deprave the taste and corrupt the morality of the people. The plot of a drama, which was constantly repeated before an applauding audience, presented a Croatian soldier trepanned by a Venetian lady into her house under the pretence of an assignation, and there roasted alive, and basted, before a slow fire, by the hand of the fair patriot. The catastrophe, representing the Croat spitted in full uniform, was painted in glowing colours on the playbills, and exhibited, to attract attention, under the porticoes of St. Mark's Square. It is the government that we hold mainly responsible for the spirit of ferocity it has fostered."†

* "Giudizio 'de Dio." See *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxvi, p. 195 where this infamous proclamation is given verbatim.

† *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxvi, p. 221. The notions of the reviewer are not those of that great patron of all "the Liberals" of Europe—Lord Palmerston. His lordship does not hold a Government "responsible for the spirit of ferocity it has fostered," or else he would not, in defiance of the policy of his predecessor, Lord Aberdeen, have entered lately into a treaty with the despot and tyrant of Buenos Ayres—General Rosas, of whom we find the following statement made:

"The theatrical performances commenced with that which the playbills of Buenos Ayres designate—public notifications—(*proclamas.*) These *proclamas* are the well-known salutations to Rosas, and cries of—death to his enemies.

"The influence of the theatre upon the manners of the people is well-known, and the perversity of Rosas has converted that which our fathers called the *School of good manners*, into an *Academy of decapitation*. (*Escuela de Buenas Costumbres, en Escuela de Deguello.*)

"A theatrical announcement was couched in the following terms:

"The spectacle will conclude with the truly admirable and never-before-seen exhibition of—The duel of a Federalist with a savage Unitarian; in which the former will cut the throat of the latter in presence of the public! (*El duelo de un Federal con un salvaje Unitario; en el primero degollara al segundo a vista del publico.*)

"This announcement was inserted in all the newspapers of Buenos

But we pass willingly from the contemplation of those horrors, to that fact of which there can now be no dispute,—that neither the invaders from Piedmont, nor the intruding mercenaries from other parts of Europe found cordial supporters, willing soldiers, or active allies, in the farmers or peasantry of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The progress of the Liberals was witnessed by the people with dismay, for they remembered the time when they were treated by their “liberal” nobility, as the Bagaudæ had been:—“decernuntur novæ indictiones, decernunt potentes quod solvant pauperes, decernit gratia divitum quod pendat turba miserorum: ipsi enim in nullo sentiunt, quod decernunt.” *

It was the attachment of the Lombardian peasant that made smooth the road for Radetzky to march from victory to victory over the champions of Liberalism and tyranny in the north of Italy; as it was the proof that Austria desired the enfranchisement, and not the degradation of the Croatsians, which impelled that valiant peasant-army to climb the walls of Vienna, and to ford the waters of the Danube; and so to secure the crown to their sovereign, and establish their own emancipation.

CHAPTER VII.

Thus far then we have seen wherever we have looked to the doings of “the Liberals,” in ancient or in modern

Ayres, of the 23rd of December, 1841; the exhibition took place on the night of the same day, and its produce, 6,114 dollars, was placed at the disposal of Rosas.

“This fact requires no commentary. We defy any one to show us a circumstance similar to this in the annals of any country.”—ANDRÉS LAMAS Apuntes Historicos sobre las Agresiones del Dictador Argentino D. Juan Manuel Rosas contra la Independencia de la Republica Oriental del Uruguay. p. l. Notas y documentos justificativos. (Montevideo, 1849.) Alas! the “Liberals” of 1848 have proved that they require but the unlimited power of Rosas to equal him in ferocity. For a detail of the assassination in Rome during the reign of the Mazzini faction, see *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv., pp. 587, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594.

* SALVIANUS GALLUS, p. 127. (Venice, 1696.)

times, they have been the spoliators of the poor, the upholders of the oppressors of the poor; that in England, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, wherever they have been successful, they have appropriated to their own uses "the patrimony of the poor," whilst in Italy, they fought under the false name of "nationality," for perpetuating the monopoly of a griping landlord class, and against the enfranchisement and independence of the peasant class. Their struggles, when victorious, showed that the leaders of insurrectionary movements were, at the best, but "Girondins," and that their last movements, when writhing in the death-struggles of an inevitable defeat, were no more, and nothing better than the seeming-democratic pretensions of Red Republicanism and Communism.

With this experience, and these convictions of the falsehood, the treachery, and the tyranny of the Liberal party every where, we have now to turn our attention to "the Hungarian Revolution;" to examine the motives, and consider the actions of its leaders; to ascertain what claim they have upon public sympathy or popular favour; and, above all, upon the respect or regard of the Roman Catholics in England and Ireland.

The writer of these pages feels strongly on this question, because the first impression produced upon his mind, from his own personal observations was this: it presented to him the Hungarian Magyars as the oligarchal oppressors of a gallant and generous race of men. The writer of these pages was in Vienna at the time (March 30, 1848) that the Croatian Deputies appealed to the Austrian emperor against the mis-government of their country by the Magyars: and when they sought of their beloved sovereign to sever a connexion which had been forced upon them, and by the operation of which they were suffering so severely—a connexion, by means of which the resources of Croatia were exhausted for the benefit of the dominant race and kingdom of the Hungarians, who gave them back nought in return but scorn, insult, and a despotism so intolerant, that it denied to them the use of their own language, and forced them in all their public proceedings to adopt the barbarous tongue of those who conducted themselves as conquerors. The writer of these pages could not look upon that deputation of brave and generous men, nor could he peruse their German-translated address,

without finding in many of the passages it contained, an echo of the complaints of his own unfortunate country so long misruled, its people so long misgoverned, its peasantry so long degraded, and its resources so long perverted by the Magyars, and the representative of Magyars in imperial England; for to Croatia as to Ireland might be applied the words of Victor Hugo:

— “ Les cachots, les greffiers, les tortures,
 Oui, nous avons souffert tout cela ! nous avons,
 Grand Dieu ! comme des juifs, comme des esclavons,
 Subi ce long affront, cette longue victoire.”*

From the first moment that this question came distinctly under his view, the writer admits that his sympathies were awakened in favour of the Croatians, and it was whilst studying the substance of their complaints against the Hungarians, that his attention was excited by clamour in the streets of Vienna, occasioned by the use made by “the Liberals” of that city—by its “students” and “national guards” in the exercise of their uncontrolled, and *then* uncontrollable power. The “Liberals,” he learned, were then engaged with an occupation in accordance with the tastes and traditions of the same faction everywhere—they were persecuting those who had devoted their lives to religion and to charity. The Liberals had broken into a convent of nuns, and because they found there an orphan child nurtured by the compassionate and pious inmates, he learned that they had promulgated a falsehood, similar in all its details to that which was first circulated, during the heat of the late no-popery agitation in London, by the *Morning Advertiser* newspaper, and that was subsequently admitted by its editor, after an examination into all the circumstances, to be a falsehood without even a semblance of a suspicion to rest upon: to be the gross lie of a malicious and undiscovered slanderer. The writer of these pages found that at the same time the Monastery of the Redemptorists—that most pious and admirable order of Religious—had been seized upon, their property sequestered, and they themselves banished by “the Liberals” from the land as if they were criminals.† The writer perceived

* Les Burgraves, part 1. s. 6.

† What was, it may be asked, the *pretence* of this cruel treatment of men, who were unceasing in works of charity? We could discover

that the men who did these things sympathized with the Hungarians, and were adverse to the claims of the Croats for a separation from Hungary ; and with these facts brought distinctly under his contemplation, there was the perception of this other, and not less important fact, viz. that the persecuting "Liberals" in Vienna, and the tyrannical Magyars were confederated together, for the purpose of weakening the sway, and, if possible, of overturning the throne, of the Catholic, paternal, and charitable House of Hapsburg.*

none. The only charge preferred against them was that "*they were Jesuits.*" The highest praise, in our judgment, that could be bestowed upon them, if true. But this is not the place to vindicate that great religious Order, the Jesuits, the sanctity of which surpasses even the persecution to which it has been subjected, and whose saints are more numerous than its martyrs, even though the Society has furnished its quota of "eight hundred martyrs, immolated for the faith."—RAVAIGNAC, *Life and Institute of the Jesuits*, p. 35, as quoted in the *Dublin Review*, vol. xx. p. 30. We now refer to the Jesuits for the purpose of exhibiting one of the innumerable false charges promulgated against them. It will be found in the following sentence :—

"In fact, to lower Catholic France, the Jesuits have opened the road in the East to schismatical England, the natural ally of Austria." *Revelations of Austria*, vol. i. p. 262.

* A pamphlet published at Vienna at the time, and which we have marked as purchased the 29th March, 1843 ; and written by a Viennese Republican, thus refers to the Hungarian magistrates and jurats :—
"Mit Stolz nennen wir diese muthigen und stets schlagfertigen Kämpfer für die Freiheit *unsere BRÜDER.*" *Oestreich's Befreiungstage* p. 46.

In the papers placed before Parliament relating to the affairs of Hungary, there will be found on this point a striking contrast between the contracted notions of a mere government subordinate and the penetrating view of an enlightened statesman. Mr. Blackwell in writing from Presburg, observes : "This programme and the representatives of March 3rd, together with Kossuth's speeches in the Lower House, no doubt exercised a great influence on public opinion in Vienna ; but this is the only kind of conspiracy the Hungarian liberals have been guilty of." Lord Ponsonby on the other hand, declares : "The true end for which the Hungarians sent a deputation was to obtain the means for making an appeal to the people at Vienna, passing by the executive authority and the Emperor." *Correspondence relative to the affairs of Hungary*, pp. 53, 63. See also p. 82, Nos. 43, 44. See, too, how truly the same great statesman portrays the continental Liberals.

"Pesth has hitherto been under the influence of *the same party* whose works have produced mischief in Paris, Frankfort, Berlin, and Vienna ; and in all parts of Germany and Italy. The authors and actors of attempts to create and make successful a system of social war, under the name and pretence of seeking political liberty." *Ibid.*, p. 85, No. 52. See also HARTIG *Genesis der Revolution in Oesterreich*. p. 197. (Leipsic, 1850;) AUERBACH, *Tagebuch aus Wien*. pp. 26, 208, 220. (Breslau, 1849.)

It is the conviction that the pervading thought in all their policy, and the animating desire in all the actions of the Imperial family of Austria have alike tended to the same end—an amelioration in the condition, an improvement in the position of the poorer classes, and the protection of them from every wrong doer, that induced the writer of these pages—(under no obligation to them, or any one connected with them, directly or indirectly—) to attempt their defence, in October 1848,* when they seemed on the point of being overwhelmed by their numerous foes. The same motive now induces him to call attention to that portion of their policy—that involved in the affairs of Hungary—which has been the most maligned, because the most misunderstood.

Sickened with the cant of “liberalism”—disgusted with its crimes—long an observer of its barefaced hypocritical pretences to be “the friend of freedom,” we cannot look with patience and in silence upon a band of corporation monopolists in London, whose municipal palace is a monument of the persecution of Protestant Dissenters,† proclaiming themselves to the world as the advocates of “religious liberty,” whilst they call for a new penal law against the Roman Catholics, and at the same time preparing an ovation for a defeated despot, and designating him a champion of “civil liberty.” We cannot permit this to be done without exposing the worthlessness of the one, and the wickedness of the other.

We are the more encouraged to make this attempt, by the example that has been afforded to us by the periodical literature of America. We presume there are no persons or parties in these countries who will venture to assume to themselves the character of being more ardent republicans, or more pure democrats than those who have shaken off the yoke of all kings, and will not endure the establishment of any nobility in their empire. If Kossuth and the Magyars had justice on their side, there could be nothing in the tendencies of the American mind—from education,

* *Dublin Review*, No. xlix. (October, 1848.) Art. “The Austrian Revolution and its results.”

† See Mr. Bright’s Speech on Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, May 10th. 1851.

from habit, or from the tone of society—to induce the American to sympathise with the Austrian in a struggle, between a subject and a sovereign. It is to the honour of the United States of America—a mighty nation in which democracy sits enthroned as the supreme power—that a republic which is based upon “the rights of man,” that so many of its writers should make a diligent investigation into this question, and then have publicly delivered, in defiance of popular prejudice, an honest and true verdict upon the whole subject. In expressing our admiration of the contrast to be found on this point between journalism in the United States, and journalism for the most part, in these countries, we are bound to admit that there are papers in the United States to be found, that are admirers of Kossuth. Few such papers are, however, to be met with in the *Free States* of America. Wherever the slavery of man by his fellow man is denounced as a crime, there the Hungarian revolution is most justly appreciated; whilst on the other hand, in the *Slave States*, where there are philosophic, “liberal,” politicians, who defend with Aristotle the institution of slavery, on the ground of a diversity of race, and who divide mankind into the free *ἐλευθεροί*, and those who are slaves by nature *οἱ φύσει δούλοι*, we must not be surprised to find such persons sympathising with Kossuth and the Magyars, for *the cause of both is the same*. The slave-holders and slave-breeders are the *Magyars* of America; in the same manner that it may be said, looking nearer home, that the Magyars were the *Orangemen* of Croatia. On the flag of both, we find inscribed “the unrestrained despotism of one race over another.”

The honest American Democrat, beholding in his own land the evils caused by the existence of such “despotic power in one race over another,” could not see, with patience, a similar circumstance in Europe without denouncing it, and hence those views on the Hungarian revolution which we have appended to the present observations of our own. In commending the following paper which originally appeared in the *New York Courier*, April 12th, 1851, by “an American Democrat,” to the perusal of our readers, we do so, for this especial reason, that the author has, manifestly, travelled himself in Hungary, and that his views are the *combined result of his own personal observation and his*

studies. He has entered upon a portion of the subject on which we scarcely venture to touch—the conduct and progress of the Hungarian Revolution. We hold ourselves, in no degree, responsible for *his* opinions, *his* statements, or *his* arguments. One educated under monarchical institutions can seldom view things, in the same light, in which they present themselves to a *born republican*; and, where there chances to be coincidence of conviction between two such persons, it will be found, that in their mode of expressing that conviction, there will be such a difference, as to produce the impression upon the casual observer, that there is a dissimilarity of views. We believe “the American Democrat” is not a Roman Catholic, and that he states what he is convinced is the truth. We, therefore, produce him, as a witness—a disinterested witness—but in so doing, we wish to mark the distinction between our own impressions, and his. We give him as an additional testimony in a Great Cause, which weak men have honestly mistaken, and wicked men have wilfully mystified. He serves to expose hypocrisy in his country, as we would lay it bare in the British Islands. We can readily and safely infer from his pages that those opposed to Slavery, as an Institution in their own country, are not sympathisers with the Hungarian slave-drivers; and that, in America, the men who have the word “Hungarian Independence” on their lips, are either the concoctors, or the upholders of a “Fugitive Slave Bill,” which affords no sanctuary, even in the *Freest State* of the Union, to the man who has broken his bonds, and fled from the lash of a cruel “owner,” and “master.”

What we desire to do in order that the following pages of the “American Democrat” may be the better comprehended, is to shew what was the conduct, and what the proceedings of the Austrian government and the Magyars immediately *before* the revolution broke out—because a consideration of these points will the better enable the reader to appreciate *the motives* of the two parties who were afterwards arrayed in deadly hostilities against each other. It is necessary to make this preliminary enquiry; for the justification of a war is not to be found in its *success*, but in its *causes*.

To decide fairly between the Austrian ruler and the *Hungarian insurgent*, we must apply to both the same prin-

ciple, and try both by the same test—*their treatment of the poor*. It is not “*the Liberal*,” but it is “*the Christian*” test of good or of bad government.

In coming to a decision we must bear in mind, two facts of no little importance.

First, that the Magyars were a minority of the whole population of Hungary.

Second, that in Hungary, the emperor of Austria, so far from being an absolute king, had very limited power.

The proofs of the first will be found in the following extract from a letter of Lord Ponsonby, which communicates other interesting intelligence at the same time :—

“It appears to me that there are reasons which might influence the patriots who take the lead in the Hungarian diet, to content themselves with what they have obtained. They are Magyars, and the number of that race in Hungary is estimated at 4,000,000. It is true that *they have held the government of the territory for centuries*, but there are 10,000,000 of other races who, it is said, are not without jealousies of the Magyars, nor without ideas of national organization, which would be at least inconvenient to *the masters of the kingdom*.*

The proofs of the second will be found in the following authorities.

“The Golden Bull” (that is the Magna Charta of Hungary, adopted in the year 1222) “*limited the authority of the Crown*, and equalised the privileges of the nobles, but *it deprived a vast majority of the population of political existence, condemning the native inhabitants* (for the Magyars hold the country by right of conquest), *to legal servitude*. This state of things was by no means unprecedented in the thirteenth century, but it will surprise those who have implicitly believed the panegyrist of the Hungarian Constitution, that it subsisted without material change till the present day. The nobles, who exceed 800,000 in number, paid no taxes, tolls, nor tithes : the rest of the population were *Serfs*, who supported the whole burden of the State, and who, in addition to the labour exacted from them by their lords, were compelled to work for the public service,

* Letter of Viscount Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, dated Vienna, March 28th, 1848. *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*, 1847—1849, p. 48. See also pp. 57, 58, 59. *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxvi. p. 504.

and to bear the expense and inconvenience of furnishing military quarters : in short, they were no more than what their ancestors had been '*la gent corvéable et taillable à merci et miséricorde,*' in the technical language of their own jurists, *misera plebs contribuens*. The whole constituency was confined to the nobles ; and the towns or royal burghs, forty-nine in number,* had been *virtually disfranchised on account of their supposed subserviency to the Crown*, or more properly to the Austrian Cabinet ; their deputies *collectively* only possessing a single vote, though they retained the privilege of speech. The widows of Magnates, as well as their infant sons, were represented in the Lower Chamber (though these proxies had not the power of voting) ; and to complete the distinction between the constitutions of the two countries" (England and Hungary), "we must again observe, that *the whole representation of Hungary was in the hands of the narrowest of oligarchies.*"†

Let us see now what was the power of these Magyars in their respective counties or districts.

"The word 'county' is a very inappropriate term to designate one of the fifty-five districts into which Hungary is divided, these districts having a much greater analogy with the Swiss Cantons, or with the States of the American Union, than they have either with English counties or with the French departments. They may, in fact, almost be regarded as *the independent states of a Confederation under the rule of an hereditary monarch, whose constitutional authority is circumscribed within the narrowest possible limits*. Hence the county congregations declare themselves to be what they term *autonomic*, and *not bound to acknowledge for the affairs of their respective counties, any authority superior to their own.*"‡

Nothing can, we conceive, be more plain from these proofs, than that the Magyars were the minority, that they were the dominant race in Hungary, and that if they

* "Containing about 400,000 inhabitants." *Quarterly Review*.

† *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxvi. pp. 498, 499.

‡ Letter of Mr. Blackwell to Viscount Ponsonby, dated January 6th, 1848. *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*, p. 18. In quoting Mr. Blackwell, we may remark that his sympathies were with the Hungarians, and against the Austrians, because he believed, that with the independence of Hungary, there "would be a much greater prospect of a fresh market being opened for British manufactures."—*Ibid.* p. 5.

choso to ameliorate the condition of the inferior race, they had the full power to do so.

What, then, was the condition of the inferior race?—of all who were not classed as “nobles?”

In the preceding extract from the *Quarterly Review*, some idea on this point may be gleaned, but we wish to explain still more fully the grievances and hardships to which the peasantry in Hungary were subjected:—

“The troops stationed in the Hungarian villages, are quartered in the houses of the peasantry. The peasants are also obliged to furnish them with bread and other provisions, and the cavalry with forage at a certain fixed price, which is always below the market-price. This difference of price, called the ‘deperdita’ constitutes a tax, the total amount of which has been calculated, though on very inadequate data, to vary from £100,000 to £400,000 per annum.

“The Hungarian peasants have still much to complain of. It is on their property the county rates are exclusively levied, and that too in the most arbitrary manner imaginable: for the rates may be levied on the peasants’ land or his live-stock, or any other kind of real property he possesses, as the county magistrates think proper. Thus, to cite one instance among a hundred—Eötoös, in his recent admirable work, entitled ‘Reform in Hungary,’ mentions that in a county in which the landed proprietors had begun to turn their attention to sheep-breeding, the rates were mostly levied on the peasants’ flocks, in order that the petty nobles might thus prevent plebeian competition, and have a trifling advantage in the sale of their wool! A peasant’s holding, a session, as it is called, varies in extent according to the nature of the soil and local usage, but it is fixed by the Urbarial laws at a certain number of acres in each county, the minimum being twenty-five, the maximum sixty-five English acres. A peasant may hold a whole session, a half-session, or a quarter-session. For a whole session he has to work—to do Roboth—one hundred and four days in the year, or fifty-two days with a team, for the lord of the manor, besides making the roads, such as they are, and performing other Urbarial services for the county. The lord of the manor also takes one-ninth of the produce of the session *in natura*, and the Church one-tenth. The lord has likewise the privilege of being the butcher

and vintner of the manor, one of the consequences of which is, that in an Hungarian village inn, the traveller is sure to find the worst wine in the district.*

Here, then, we have placed before the reader, first an explanation of the power of the dominant class in Hungary, and then the condition of the peasant class subjected to them. Let us now see which of the two, the Austrian prince, or the Hungarian noble, was the more anxious for the welfare of the poor.

“ Since that period, ever since the House of Austria has re-acquired that power and influence in the European commonwealth which the junior branch had lost between the accession of Ferdinand I. and the death of Charles VI., the constant endeavour of the able and enlightened sovereigns who have succeeded each other, has been, to develop, in spite of its bigoted Diet, the dormant resources of Hungary—to civilize its barbarous inhabitants—to *protect the Slavonic and Wallachian races from the tyranny of the Magyar, and the tyranny of all who had power to oppress them.* It was in pursuance of this humane policy—to relieve the peasantry, or rather the *serfs* of Hungary, from a part of their burdens, that the ‘*Urbarium*,’ or *peasants’ charter*, was accorded by Maria Theresa—a boon which, though granted in 1743, did not receive the sanction of the Diet until after the lapse of fifty years, in 1791. It is this wise and salutary policy that has been stigmatised as ‘*class legislation*,’ and which was long opposed by the haughty Magyars, with a vehemence too notorious to be denied, and so must be attributed to a patriotic cause.”†

Such was the state of Hungary when the Diet was opened in the month of November, 1847. Months before the Revolution of Paris gave birth to so many sanguinary insurrections in Europe, a series of measures were proposed by the Austrian Crown for the adoption of the Magyars congregated in the Diet. Amongst its propositions were the following, which we select from others, because they refer to the hardships that were endured by the peasantry and non-noble classes.

* Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary, pp. 13–41. See also pp. 10, 14, 21, 22, 35, 36, 45.

† *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxvi., p. 502. See *Correspondence relating to Hungary*, p. 41.

1. "The manner of *provisioning* and *quartering* the troops stationed in Hungary." (This, it will be remembered, was exclusively a burden on the peasantry.)

2. "The claim of the Royal free towns to exercise the right of voting at the Diet, and the expediency of extending this constitutional right to the Ecclesiastical Corporation, (Chapters of Cathedrals,) and the free districts.

3. "The co-ordinate *reform of the Corporations* of the Royal free towns.

4. "The Urbarial laws, i. e., the laws relating to the lords of manors and their peasant-tenantry, *with a view of abolishing the roboth. (corvée.)*"*

These propositions were made as directly affecting the non-noble classes; but there are other propositions made at the same time, of which an abstract will suffice.

1st, "A reform of the law relating to property, so as to facilitate the sale and transfer of nobles' estates.

2nd, "A new Criminal Code.

3rd, "A Bill for regulating the commercial intercourse between Hungary and Austria, with the view of modifying or repealing duties.

4th, "A Bill for the improvement and construction of roads and railways, the effect of which would be to lay an *indirect tax on the noble classes.*"†

* Summary of Proceedings of Hungarian Diet of 1847, 1848. *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*, p. 6.

† "The word '*noble*,'" observes Mr. Blackwell, in his correspondence with Lord Ponsonby, "has a very different signification in Hungary than in other countries, and is, strictly speaking, applied to designate a man enjoying certain rights and privileges, among which that of being exempt from taxation, has hitherto been the most highly prized. The Hungarian nobles may, however, be classed as follows:—

A. "The titled Nobles, Princes, Counts, and Barons, or the Nobility, as they would be termed in England. These are the Magnates, or Peers of the realm, and appear at the Diet in their own right, either in person, or by proxy.

B. "The untitled Nobles," viz.:

a. "Those who possess estates, or who have studied the law. A class from which the County magistrates and the delegates are elected, and which corresponds to that of our landed gentry. These gentlemen generally prefix to their names in German, *von*, and in French, *de*.

b. "The half-spurred Nobles, as they are termed, or those who possess only a small piece of ground; or, to use the Hungarian expression, 'a house and four plum trees.' These form the mass of the electors.

c. "Landless Nobles, who are consequently deprived of the Elective franchise, and may be found gaining their livelihood in all capacities. The Hussars of the nobility frequently belong to this class."

The same writer, in another passage, remarks that the Hungarians

Such were the propositions of the Austrians for the benefit of the peasantry, the advantage of the non-noble classes, the reform in the representation, the reform of municipal institutions, the reform of the criminal laws, the promotion of trade, and the general improvement of the country. Let us now enquire how such propositions were received by those who are still called by ignorant politicians, or deceitful journalists, "Patriots," "Champions of Freedom," "Lovers of Independence!"

"These liberal measures of the Court had been *negatived by a large majority in the Assembly*; one party alleging that *they encroached on the independence of Hungary*, another that they did not proceed far enough on the road of reform."^{*}

These propositions of the Austrians were rejected by the majority of the "patriotic!" "liberal" Assembly. To the honour of Hungary, however, there was a party in that Assembly, who were willing that, for the promotion of public works, a tax should be "levied exclusively on the nobles;" but those persons were friendly to Austria, and were therefore denounced as "the Conservatives."[†]

Rejecting what was for the benefit of the poor and the advantage of the country, we have now to enquire in what manner were the "Liberals" of Hungary, and their leader, M. Kossuth, engaged. We shall endeavour to trace him in "the selected papers" which Lord Palmerston has placed before parliament, and to which we have already made such frequent reference, as *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*.

"On November 29th (1847)," we are told by Mr. Blackwell, "the delegates appointed a Circular Committee, to investigate the causes that have led to the Croatian agitation, and collect the necessary data respecting the same, with a view of framing an Act to remedy the evil. There

apply the word "people" to "peasants;" and thus peasants and burghesses, in the "Hungarian law language," are included under the negative denomination of *non-nobles*, which is, in fact, a better term than plebeians; a *half-spurred, or skin-clad noble, being much more plebeian in his manners than the burghess of a free town, or a session peasant*. See *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Hungary*, pp. 14, 15, 45.

^{*} *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxvi., p. 503.

[†] *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*, p. 28.

are twelve county delegates on this Committee; *all belong to the liberal party, Kossuth being the Chairman.*"*

This fact will be found of some importance when we come to consider in what manner the "Liberal party" wished to treat Croatia. But M. Kossuth did not confine his ambition to Croatia; for he is to be found on the 14th of January, making a two hours speech upon the re-incorporation of the Transylvanian counties with Hungary.† The question then discussed, it is beside our purpose to consider; but some idea as to the aims of Kossuth and his associates, may be gained from the following extract.

"The provinces of Croatia, Transylvania, and the Banat, conquered by Austria from the Turks, were to be compelled in spite of their reluctance, into a closer union with, or rather, we should say, *subjection to*, the faction that oppressed them: and amongst other demands pressed on the Sovereign by the Diet of Pesth, it was insisted that the Polish provinces of Galicia and Lodomeira, should be detached from the Austrian Crown and united to that of Hungary, together with Istria and Dalmatia, and the islands on the Coast, which had formed part of the Venetian territory for five hundred years, had been afterwards annexed to France by Buonaparte, and subsequently assigned, by an European Congress, to Austria in 1815."‡

It may be perceived by the papers from which we quote, that Kossuth was busily engaged with the affairs of Croatia and Transylvania: but was there, it may be asked, no other subject that had a claim upon his feelings as a man, and his love of the people, if he were, what he pretended to be—"a Patriot?" That he was "a Liberal" fit to be the master of a workhouse in Andover, or to keep a pauper school at Tooting, or to be a guardian at Kilrush, or a land-owner at Skibbereen, or a female-pauper-beater at Gort, the following extract from Mr. Blackwell's correspondence will testify. The dates in the extract are of importance.

"It would appear," says, Mr. Blackwell, writing March 9th, 1848, "that for some time past, *famine, with its usual attendant, the typhus, has been severely felt in several of the northern counties of Hungary.* Now the Diet met on

* Ibid, p. 11.

† *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*, pp. 22-23.

‡ *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxvi. p. 504. See correspondence relating to affairs of Hungary, p. 51.

November 12, *probably when the distress caused by this scourge was at its height, still no one thought even of alluding to the subject until after the Christmas recess, when (January 11) one of the delegates brought the question before the House, and moved that a committee should be appointed to devise a remedy for the evil. The delegates of the counties in which the famine prevails, shewed how necessary it was that speedy succour should be afforded to the starving population, and complained bitterly of the general inattention of the House when such an important question was under discussion.*

“General Longay, first delegate of the County of Zemplan, observed that the honourable *Delegates seemed to regard the discussion of the question as a mere pastime, as something to occupy themselves with until the hour of dinner. Some, he said, flippantly remarked that the government ought to take the necessary measures for remedying the evil; others were for appointing a committee, but they ought themselves to take the subject into serious consideration, the government being obviously unable to do any thing effectively without the aid of the legislature.*

“*Notwithstanding Longay's cogent arguments, the delegates passed a resolution to the effect that a representation should be sent to request that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order that effective measures be taken to remedy the evil.*

“A representation was accordingly drawn up and sanctioned, at a dietal sitting, held on January 27th. This representation was not brought before the Upper House until February 10th, when it was adopted without discussion, but the renuncium to inform the delegates was only authenticated on February 18th.”*

Here then is a perfect specimen of “liberalism,” in its heartless disregard of the most frightful sufferings of the poor. Famine and fever are wasting the poor in November. Not one word of sympathy is uttered until January, and then, when a measure of relief is proposed, all that the Hungarian “Patriots” will consent to do, is to ask of “the Government” to afford relief, when they have been forewarned that the government is “obviously unable to do anything effectively without the aid of the legislature.”

* *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary, pp. 36, 37.*

Assuredly, the men who have thus acted are worthy of the admiration of English Liberals, who punish pauperism as a crime; of London Corporators who exclude the poor afflicted with the worst diseases of poverty from their hospitals; and of Irish poor law guardians of whom it has been truly said: "There are Boards of guardians in Ireland, who care for nothing on earth but the sovereigns in their pockets, and who would rather make the work-house a grave, than a place for men to live in."* But in the estimation of all true, sincere, and charitable Christians, the men—the hypocrites—who thus closed their ears to the cries of a fever-stricken and famishing multitude, are worthy of nought but execration.

These hard-hearted "Liberals" of Hungary—these pitiless "Patriots," were engaged in legislation; and of their bill, which passed at a dietal sitting of the delegates on the 15th January, 1848, it may be truly affirmed, that never since the days of the miscreant King Chilperic had there been heard of any proposition more criminally absurd and shamelessly tyrannical.†

This bill—the bill of M. Kossuth—decreed that the Magyar language should be "exclusively used as the official language of every department of the state, civil and ecclesiastical, and that official documents in any other language *were to be deemed invalid.*" The bill also decreed that the then Slavonian counties were to be *permitted* to make use of Latin, and the Hungarian Littoral, either of Latin or Italian, for *the space of six years*, but only for local affairs; that the Croatian authorities should correspond with the Hungarian authorities in the Hungarian language, but permitted to make use of the Latin language in the administration of local affairs! that the Hungarian language should be taught in all the public schools!!!

"This bill," says Mr. Blackwell, "gave rise in its progress through the House, to very warm debates, that is to

* *The Times*, September 11, 1850.

† "Addidit autem et litteras litteris nostris. . . . Et misit epistolas in universas civitates regni sui, ut sic pueri docerentur; ac libri antiquitus scripti, planati pumice rescriberentur." GREGOR. TURONENS. *Hist. Franc.* lib. v. c. 45. Paulin Paris observes on this tyrannical decree: "Chilperic a sans doute detruit par cet absurde caprice, bien des manuscrits, de l'antiquité." *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, vol. i. p. 197, n. 3.

say, to the usual conflict between Magyarism and Slavism, that takes place on such occasions; the former of course domineering by an overwhelming majority. In respect to votes, Magyarism may be said to be represented in the lower house, by the *forty-six counties* of Hungary Proper, and Slavism by the three Slavonian counties, and Croatia — *the three Croatian Counties only having one vote.***

It was in vain that the Croatian delegate represented that Croatia, Slavonia, and the Hungarian Littoral formed one kingdom, united with, but not dependent on Hungary; that it had its own diet, its own municipal laws and usages, and that the Hungarian diet had no right to decree what language should be made use of by the *local authorities for the administration of local affairs.* And then when the Croatian and Slavonian delegates complained of the injustice of forcing them to correspond with the Hungarian authorities in the Hungarian, instead of the Latin language, "The Hungarian delegates answered by accusing them of *agitating for a repeal of the union*, and attributing to them the secret design of forming an Illyrian kingdom, either dependent on, or independent of Austria."†

One scene that occurred in the Diet, is so plain and so striking an illustration of the tyrannical conduct of the Magyars, that we cannot refrain from giving it in the words of Mr. Blackwell.

"When the third clause of the Bill was under discussion in the circular sittings, Goldbrunner, Delegate of the free town of Schemnitz, tried in vain to show that an exception ought to be made in favour of the Schemnitz mining Academy. This, he said, was one of the most celebrated institutions of the kind ever established, and was annually frequented by students from every country in Europe, as well as from America. If they persisted in making Magyar the exclusive language for public instruction, it was evident that the Schemnitz Academy would soon be deserted, as it could not be expected that foreigners who came to Schemnitz, to acquire a knowledge of mining, would take the trouble of learning an isolated Oriental language, which in their future career would not be of the least service to them.

* *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary*, p. 37.

† *Ibid.* p. 38.

“‘If Hungarians,’ exclaimed one gentleman, ‘are obliged to learn a foreign language when they frequent a foreign academy, why should not foreigners be obliged to learn Hungarian, when they frequent an Hungarian Academy?’

“‘But I defy you,’ rejoined Goldbrunner, ‘to find a professor capable of giving a lecture on mining and mineralogy in the Magyar language. You will first have to coin a number of technical words, which the language is at present totally devoid of.’

“‘They shall not be wanted,’ replied the Magyarists.

“‘You ought also to take into consideration,’ said Goldbrunner, ‘the pecuniary advantage which the town derives from the residence of such a number of students.’

“‘Let the town of Schemnitz perish, so that Hungarian nationality be preserved,’ was the only answer this German could get from the gentleman he had to contend with.” *

Such was the conduct of the Hungarian Magyars towards other nationalities that they treated as *their subjects*. Such was their bearing previous to the French Revolution of February. The annexed pamphlet enters into the events subsequent to that epoch, and to their own revolution. And of these events, there are but two to which we shall direct particular attention. These are their dealings with respect to the property of the Church, and their policy on the question of education. In both respects they will be found worthy coadjutors of “the Liberals;” in the one case despoiling the clergy and enriching laymen; and in the other, under the pretence of “liberality,” seeking to convert schools into mere machines for the perversion of the minds of the Catholic children compelled to frequent them.

The following is Mr. Blackwell’s summary of two of the Acts of the Hungarian Diet subsequent to the Revolution :

* Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary, p. 38. When the debate took place in the Upper House, we are informed, that Hanlik, Bishop of Agram, who spoke in defence of Croatian nationality, was often interrupted by hisses, and other signs of public disapprobation.” p. 39. And in support of the Bill, “Count Dominic Teleky asked what was the policy that England had pursued in respect to Ireland and Wales? Were the Irish permitted to make use of the Irish language, or the Welch of the Welch language, for the administration of their local affairs? By no means.” p. 40.

“Act 13. Abolishes tithes to the clergy *without compensation*; or, according to the words made use of, simply records the fact of the clergy having voluntarily renounced taking tithes, without claiming a compensation.

“The poorer clergy, whose incomes were principally derived from tithes, *to be duly provided for.*” (That is, left to starve, as they were in Spain and Portugal, when deprived of their monasteries and revenues, and told, they should “be duly provided for.”)

“*Lay persons who have acquired possession of tithes by contract, &c., to receive a compensation.*”*

“Act 20. Recognizes the Unitarian religion; that is to say, Unitarianism is declared to be in Hungary what it has long been in Transylvania,—one of the legally recognized Christian sects.

“§ 2. Places all the legally recognized religions, (Roman Catholic, Greek Church, Calvinist, Lutheran, and Unitarian,) on a footing of perfect equality. The money required for ecclesiastical and educational purposes to be furnished by the State, which implies, that the clergy of all the recognized religions are to be paid by the State. None of the schools to be exclusively confined to any particular sect, but open to all, without distinction. Bills for carrying out these principles, to be prepared by ministers, and submitted to the next Diet.”

The *manner* in which these apparently impartial principles for establishing “Infidel Universities, and primary schools”—like those in France, were to be enforced, is, however, shown by the note which Mr. Blackwell adds to the abstract of this Act.

“The Catholic Bishops are afraid that this Act will encourage Protestantism, which in a few years will, no doubt, be the predominant religion in Hungary.”†

* Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary, p. 68.

In this law with respect to the Church in Hungary, Kossuth and his confederates may fairly defend themselves by pointing to the example of England, at the time of the Reformation. The consequences of thus despoiling the clergy, impoverishing religion, and enriching laymen, are to be seen to this day in the Protestant Established Church. “There are,” says the leading daily organ of the Ultra-Protestants, “*hundreds of pastors barely subsisting upon their £110, or £100, or even £80 per annum; while the peers and gentry, who own the great tithes, are drawing from these very parishes incomes of £1,000 or £2,000 per annum*”—*Morning Herald*, September 18th, 1846.

† Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Hungary, p. 69.
With this disclosure respecting the views of Kossuth and his asso-

Had the Hungarian revolution been crowned with success, then we should have looked upon another proselytising, persecuting government of "Liberals;" we should have learned in another land, what evil deeds can be done by a petty, griping, and miserable *bourgeoisie*, who despoiling a king of his crown, and his subjects of their rights, impoverish and degrade the industrious, despoil the Church, trample down by iniquitous laws the nationalities of other peoples, and proclaim themselves to the world, as "the friends of civil and religious liberty."

Fortunately for Austria,—fortunately for the cause of right, of justice, of true liberty, of religion, and of the industrial classes, Kossuth, in constructing his despotic Constitution, dared to impose it upon a people who had not been governed by Barracks, nor unmanned by an Enlistment System, but who, practised to employ the weapons of warfare in the service of the Emperor, knew how to use them in defence of his Crown, and of their own rights. "The frontier colonies of the Croats, afford, perhaps, the best soldiers of the Austrian armies," is the observation made by Lord Ponsonby.* The tyranny of Kossuth and the Magyars compelled these men to take up arms, and in their address to their fellow subjects in the Tyrol, they thus appealed against the Hungarians :

ciates, we must not be surprised, that in the appeal from the unreformed Coporation of London to Lord Palmerston to interfere in behalf of that "patriot!" such expressions as these should be used by its promoters. Mr. Gilpin, in moving his resolution, said:

"Kossuth was a Protestant; and it was worthy of remark, that throughout the whole of the history of this case, the priests were the prime movers in the system of oppression which had been practised. He hoped that his statement of that fact would have some influence on the Court," [Hear.]

Mr. Richard Taylor, in seconding Gilpin's resolution, stated, that, "He believed, that of all the vile persons who lived in Europe, none were more vile than the Croats. Let them go where they might in visiting the Alps and other continental places under the domination of Austria, and they would find that the Protestant race of farmers which once were to be found there, had been exterminated,—driven away by force to far distant climes.

"He hoped that the Court would never forget that its members had a duty to perform in reference to the maintenance of the Protestant religion; for to their care was confided the sacred trust of maintaining inviolate the principles of freedom, and of civil and religious liberty" !!!—*Times*, May 23rd, 1851.

* Correspondence relating to the affairs of Hungary, p. 78. See also p. 48.

"You, brave people of Tyrol and Voralberg, are a free and noble-minded people, who never harboured the thought of employing your own liberty to oppress the rights and nationality of other people; and therefore we are also certain that you will not refuse your sympathy with these our wishes.

"*Lawful liberty and order, unshakeable loyalty to our monarch and country!* This is our motto, and will always be so."*

It was in the attempt to crush such a race of men as these—to punish such sentiments as treason, and to coerce into the condition of slaves, those who would not consent to act as their drudges, that Kossuth and his Girondin faction were overthrown.

There were in Pagan Rome many to lament the death of Nero; and Otho's supporters sought to win popularity for him by the adoption of that hateful name.† Julian the Apostate has found a panegyrist in Mr. Gibbon; Henry VIII. an admirer in Mr. Turner; "the murderer of Glencoe," an eulogist in Mr. Macaulay; but let us trust, that with this brief and candid exposure of the views of the "Liberal party," in all ages of Christianity; of "Liberalism" in modern times; and of their defeated disciples, and ardent imitators in Hungary, that we shall no longer hear of any sympathy expressed, by Roman Catholics especially, for that cause of which the Magyars were champions, and M. Kossuth the promoter; but that we may repeat with the Editor of an United States periodical:—

"The Magyars are fallen, and there are few to lament their fate but the Red Republicans of France and Germany, and the refugee Poles, who were their only foreign allies."‡

London, July 5, 1851.

* Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Hungary, p. 76.

† "Creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse, spe vulgum alliciendi; et fuere qui imagines Neronis proponerent: atque etiam Othoni, quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tamquam nobilitatem ac decus astruerent, *Neroni Othoni* acclamavit." Tacitus, *Histor.*, Lib. i., c. 78.

‡ *North American Review*, vol. lxx., p. 135, Art. "The War of Races in Hungary." See also two valuable and interesting articles on the same subject in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, No. xviii., pp. 164, 239. "The Hungarian Rebellion," and "Webster's Answer to Hulseman." (April, 1851.)

PART II.

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION.

BY AN AMERICAN DEMOCRAT.

When we ventured to make the assertion in relation to the Hungarians, that "as *Republicans* we are not called upon to sympathise with their resistance to a decree which gave political freedom to the great majority of the people of Hungary"—we did so with the full conviction that it would cause us to be denounced by some, and to be doubted by the great mass of the people of our country, until we proved the correctness of our position. We know that to combat public opinion upon a question which involved the feelings and sympathies of the people, was not only hazardous, but that it would involve us in an amount of labour and research, which we would willingly avoid. But we have within the last few months, in a public speech, which has been published and widely circulated, boldly charged that the press of our country is too frequently subservient to the public opinion by which it is surrounded; and that reform in this regard, is imperatively demanded; and it does not become us, therefore, to shrink from a duty, merely because it is unpopular, or because it involves labour and responsibility.

When we returned to our country in October, and saw the extent of the public delusion in regard to Hungarian affairs, and the apparent pre-determination of certain presses and the people at large, to believe nothing in relation to Hungary, which did not accord with their previous impressions, we almost despaired of ever setting them right in regard to this question. But we hold that the highest duty which an editor of a leading public press is called upon to discharge, is to vindicate the truth, regardless of consequences; and we have never, therefore,

for a moment abandoned the determination, to publish the truth in regard to the late war in Hungary, although we deemed it wise to wait for an auspicious moment to do so. There have been periods in our editorial life, when we were ready to incur any amount of labour and responsibility to advance the fortunes of some heartless politician, whose gratitude would be of the most lively nature until it became his *interest* to forget the service; and fearful is the amount of odium we have incurred for thus devoting ourselves to men whom we deemed honest, but who have proved themselves selfish and unprincipled. But that day is past; and we scarcely know the public man whose elevation to the Presidency is of sufficient moment, to induce us to make an effort in his behalf. We have tested and proved the value of aspiring demagogues; and in future shall trouble our readers but little with their fortunes. But we cannot refrain from asking ourselves, whether if willing, as we always have been, to incur censure, responsibility and labour, to advance the pretensions of heartless political aspirants, is it not a duty we owe to the public and to our vocation, boldly to meet similar responsibility, labour and odium, in the defence of history, the vindication of truth, and the demands of justice?

We enter therefore, upon our task of disabusing the public mind in regard to Kossuth and his associates, with our eyes wide open to the consequences of thus braving a misdirected public sympathy which has its origin in the noblest feelings of our nature. But it is because we honour the source of that sympathy, and glory in it as worthy the American character, that we desire to give it a proper direction. And while we shall labour to disabuse the public mind of the delusion under which it has laboured, we wish it to be distinctly understood, that we censure no party and no press for the ignorance and deception out of which that delusion has arisen. It was unavoidable from the very nature of the contest in Hungary, its distance from us, and the various elements which entered into it. And in addition, the Socialists and Red Republicans of France and Germany, found their interest in misrepresenting the nature of the contest in Hungary; *because Kossuth* and his associates, were their allies in *the second revolution* in Vienna, and their advisers and

abettors in the cold-blooded murder of LAMBERG and LATOUR—murders which the future historian will proclaim more infamous in their conception and execution, than any which characterized the Reign of Terror during the first Revolution in France.

But while our aim will be, to show that KOSSUTH and his associates, are entitled to *none of our sympathy and but little of our respect*, we shall show our countrymen, that a much larger number of *Hungarians* than those upon whom they have wasted sympathy, are entitled to their respect and admiration; and that there is cause for every Republican heart to throb with joy, instead of being shrouded in grief, that the war in Hungary terminated in the overthrow of KOSSUTH and his associates, in their heartless attempt to achieve their own independence of Austria, and at the same time enslaving for ever nearly ten millions of their countrymen. The popular error so universally prevailing through our country, arises:—

First, from not understanding the history of Hungary, and the different races of men of which it is composed.

Secondly, from imagining that the Magyar race constitutes modern Hungary; and

Thirdly, from supposing, that the war in Hungary was a war between Hungary and Austria, instead of a war between the Slavonic races and their masters, the *Magyars*.

This last error lies at the bottom of all the others; and when this is dissipated by the light of truth, all will be plain to the simplest understanding. As our task is one for which we are almost certain to incur only odium in combatting with popular error, we are at least entitled to the credit of disinterestedness. Our greatest enemy cannot well devise any conceivable reason why we should desire intentionally, to mislead our countrymen; and it follows, therefore, that our testimony, such as it is, should be received with confidence; because, if we could be induced to depart from the truth in so grave a matter, we should find both our interest and convenience in siding with the popular feeling in behalf of KOSSUTH and his associates. But our object being solely to vindicate the truth, and to do justice to the injured, as well as to strip KOSSUTH and his associates of their claims to be considered

martyrs in the cause of Republican Liberty, we shall offer no apology for the space thus occupied in our columns.

Hungary, in the sense in which the term has been used by the Historian, the Press, and the People, for years past, includes all Croatia, Sclavonia, and Transylvania; although Hungary Proper is that central portion of the kingdom in the region of the Danube. These central plains of Hungary were first settled by a fierce Tartar race, known to this day as *Magyars*, who conquered the country and enslaved the people—the native Wallachians and the different *Sclavonic* races—extending their conquests, and their servitude, quite to the shores of the Mediterranean. They were a brave and warlike people; and having for more than eight centuries made arms their chief pursuit, with other races enslaved to do all their menial labour, it is not matter of surprise that their descendants have retained the leading characteristics of their ancestors. Like them, they are fearless and warlike; and all history unites in describing them as the most proud, aristocratic, and overbearing race of men on the face of the globe.

When the Turks commenced their inroads upon Europe, and attempted to extend their conquests to the West, this Magyar race, and their dependent Slaves, formed the barrier between the Crescent and the Cross; and nobly did they for centuries, with the assistance of *Austria*, resist the inroads of the Turk. Finally, however, in 1526, they lost their King, and met with a signal defeat at the battle of Mohacz. This laid all Western Europe open to the Turk; and from that period *Austria* was compelled to go to the *defence* of Hungary, as the Eastern gate of Christian Europe. And because of their recent loss and helpless condition, the magnates of the land, who refused to recognize JOHN ZAPOLYA, the newly elected King, offered the crown to FERDINAND, the Emperor of Austria, on condition that he would swear to maintain the Constitution of Hungary. From that period to this, the Emperors of Austria have been Kings of Hungary—recognized and respected as such by the nation. And in fact, they set up a claim to the kingdom as early as 1020; but, as we have already stated, that claim was not formally recognised until the final overthrow of the nation on the plains of Mohacz in 1526. Since then the Turks have twice penetrated Christian Europe as far as the walls of Vienna;

from before which they were driven for ever by the gallant King of Poland, JOHN SOBIESKI, in 1683, with almost entire destruction to the army; and to this day the arsenals of Vienna are filled with the trophies won from the Turks in that fearful struggle between the Crescent and the Cross. While Western Europe owes much to the gallant Hungarians for their long struggle with the Turk, it is no less true, that but for *Austria*, every foot of Hungary would now be under Turkish rule. Hungary was saved to Christendom and herself, by becoming, three centuries ago, a dependency of Austria; but notwithstanding this dependency upon Austria, she retained her own Diet, and was exclusively governed by the Magyar race, to whom the Croats, Wallachians, and all the other Slavonic races, were as much *slaves* as are the negroes of Carolina slaves to their white master. In truth, the word "*slave*," owes its origin to the fact, that the bondsmen and serfs of Eastern Europe, are of the Slavonic race—*slaves*, and have been for eight centuries the serfs and property of the Magyar race, whose ownership of them is so entire, that they had the right of inflicting the punishment of death itself, until METTERNICH abolished that privilege some four years since.

Five years ago the whole population of Hungary was about thirteen millions and a half, estimated as follows:—

Magyars	4,460,000
Germans	1,250,000
<i>Slaves.</i>	
Wallachians	2,400,000
Slovacks	2,200,000
Croatians	1,400,000
Servians	900,000
Rusniacks	3 0,000
Szeklers	260,000
Jews.....	250,000
Total	13,420,000

By the foregoing it will be perceived that the Magyar race numbers just about *one-third* of the population; yet in the hands of this *one-third*, for eight centuries, have all power and authority rested, even to the life and death of the other races. They have ever been the *masters*—the other races the *slaves*; and never has slavery assumed a more servile attitude than in Hungary—never have *masters* exer-

cised such despotic, absolute, and unlimited power, as the Magyars have for centuries exercised over their dependants. Of the four and a half millions of Magyars, six hundred thousand are noble! and in their hands exclusively was the Government up to 1848; and strange as it may sound to the ear of Republican America, the whole aim and object of Kossuth and his associates was to retain the power in the hands of the *Magyars*, and to continue the serfdom of the *Slaves*.

In support of what we have said in regard to the government of *Hungary*, we quote largely from unquestioned sources.

“The ancient collection of laws, the *Tripartitum*, declares that the nation, or body politic, is composed exclusively of nobles; accordingly, out of 550,000 nobles, the Magyars count 464,000, which leaves only 86,000, with a proportionably feeble influence to the *Slaves*, the *Germans*, and the *Wallachians*. It is this corps of about half a million of Magyars, which keeps in check the Austrian government, the *Slaves*, the *Croats*, and the *Germans*, which has gained great legislative advantages over them during the last few years, and has at last openly declared war against them. The nobles alone have votes in the fifty-five counties, and they assemble every third year at a *restauration*, to elect their magistrates and the deputies to the Diet. The first *Gespann*, or honorary Chief Magistrate, is nominated by the Crown; but the first and the second *Vice-Gespann*, the judges of the several districts, and their sworn assessors, the notaries, the fiscal, and his assistants, the collectors of taxes, in a word, every thing which concerns the administration, the tribunals, and the police, is entirely in the nomination of the nobles. The counties thus form distinct and almost independent governments, varying greatly in population and extent, for some of them count half a million of inhabitants.” (M. Rey: *Autriche, Hongrie, et Turquie en 1839-48*, p. 123, as cited by Corvinus.)

“The rights of the nobles were as vast as a privileged race of conquerors could possibly enjoy, for they had all the advantages which the Spartans had over the Helots, with the exception of the obligation of the latter to provide food and clothing for his masters. The noble was inviolable in his person, his goods were not subject to sequestra-

tion at the suit of a creditor, nor could he be imprisoned upon any charge; the villein alone could be legally flogged, not so the noble; neither the noble himself, nor his servants, paid any tax, real or personal, to the king or the counties; and neither his horses nor his men could be required to work at the roads or the dikes. The peasant alone was the person who paid the tax termed 'domestical,' for the expenses of the Diet and the county administration. The peasant paid the salaries of the schoolmaster, the notary, the priest, the patrol. The peasant constructed and maintained, either with his money or his labour, the roads, bridges, churches, schools, public buildings, dykes, canals; and it was the peasant and the townsman who drained the marshes, turned the course of rivers, &c. The peasants and the townspeople paid the war-tax, and furnished recruits." (*Ib.* p. 126.)

"Such is the Hungarian Constitution—'the ancient idol of the nation,' as one of their own authors has said: and an idol to whose worship they have sacrificed their country, and made themselves three hundred years behind the rest of Europe in every branch of social improvement. This constitution means, in the mouths of its votaries, the privileges of its nobles, the oppression of the people, the neglect of national prosperity, the sacrifice of real and solid advantages to a nominal and empty pride. It is by another of these authors charged as the cause why he deeply grieves to see his countrymen wretched, degenerated, and grovelling in the dust." (Lord BROUGHAM'S *Political Philosophy*. London: 1846. Vol. ii. pp. 94-97.)

"The cardinal privileges of the nobility were,—1. Freedom of personal arrest until after conviction of a crime. 2. Subjection to no judge but their legally crowned king. 3. Perfect immunity from every species of taxation. It was the last of these privileges which rendered the pauper nobles so mischievous an element of the constituency. No abandonment of their privileges could be expected from men whose very existence depended on their maintenance of them. On the other hand, though the Crown had the power of enlarging the constituency by granting letters of nobility to the peasants, there was a paramount obstacle in the way of any systematic use of this power. The Crown lost a taxpayer whenever it enfranchised a villein. There was no practical means therefore of recruit-

ing the constituency on any large scale, yet this host of paupers formed the majority in the congregations of the counties, which returned the deputies to the Lower house, elected the county magistrates, and assessed both the general and local taxes upon the peasants. It was the representatives of such a constituency who denied votes to the deputies of the free towns, and to the delegates of the chapters, and who contested the right of the Magnates to initiate laws. Let us imagine for a moment the English constitution to have been stereotyped in the mould of Magna Charta with its villeins *regardant*, and villeins *in gross*, and we shall have a state of things not half so intolerable as the constitution of Hungary exhibited till within the last very few years, and for this single reason, that the relation of the Hungarian peasants to the nobles was not a personal, but a corporate relation." (*Corvinus*, pp. 38-39.)

"The entire surface of the soil is possessed by the nobles, for no one not noble may hold land in Hungary. These nobles, assembled in county meeting, nominate to all offices in the county, judicial, fiscal, and administrative, without any interference of the Crown.....In this Lower house [of the Diet] the deputies of the nobles alone may vote; those of the cities being only permitted to attend and to speak. The class of peasants who form the vast bulk of the community, have no political rights, and are held under rigorously feudal subjection." (TURNBULL'S *Austria*, ii. p. 396.)

"A feudal and privileged aristocracy is little likely to cherish the western doctrines of liberalism and democracy; and that of Hungary is too sagacious to think of seeking for themselves a distinct independence.....They are aware of the hostile feeling with which they are viewed by the towns, and of the ill-concealed hatred borne to them by a semi-barbarous peasantry. Whatsoever be the attitude they assume towards the Crown, they are certain that its interests and policy will secure them from the wild havoc of popular insurrection; but were the connection with Austria dissolved,—were Hungary in her present state left to the unaided care of her nobles, short would be the period ere both their castles and their persons would be swept away by the horrors of a ferocious servile revolution." (*Id.* pp. 490-491.)

"In Hungary, (the system of education) is opposed, avowedly on principle, by a most influential section of the liberal party in the Diet, who fear that popular education would be a source of danger to property, if unaccompanied with a greater extension of civil rights, which, however, they themselves have hitherto felt it inexpedient to accord." (TURNBULL, ii. p. 141.)

"It was vain to attempt to better the condition of the people, while one law existed for them and another for the nobles—while the peasants bore all the taxation of the state, and were bound to work indefinitely for their superiors. * * * It was in vain that this oppressed people stretched their hands towards the Crown for protection. Its power was too feeble to compete with the autocracy of feudal domination. Several times, especially in 1772, the sovereign strenuously urged on the Bohemian and Hungarian lords the expediency of limiting and defining the *robot*s, services, and dues, so as to leave to the peasant some portion of time for the cultivation of his own plot of land. But these endeavours were fruitless, until at length the terror occasioned by the present insurrections afforded to the Crown the opportunity of acting vigorously on its own sense of right.—(Id. pp. 19—20.)

In the language of Lord Brougham—a fair and liberal writer and no friend to *Despotism*:—"Such is (1846) the Hungarian Constitution—such the ancient idol of the nation. An idol to which they have sacrificed their country and made themselves three hundred years behind the rest of Europe in every branch of social improvement." And we may add, such was the Liberty and Republicanism for which Kossuth fought, and by the Providence of God was vanquished! And such was the *slavery* and such the *tyranny and oppression*, against which Jellachich, the gallant Ban of Croatia, and nine millions of the Slavonic races, bravely contended, and would inevitably have triumphed single handed, and without the aid of either Austria or Russia. Yet, because nine millions of men, capable of the highest degree of culture and civilization, were successful in resisting the tyranny of their masters and nobly emancipating themselves, we have presented to us the humiliating spectacle, of Republican America weeping over the fall of the oppressor, and grieving that the white slave of Europe is no longer a serf! We admit that

this is the result of ignorance, and of excusable ignorance too. Be it our task to enlighten that ignorance, offend whom it may. And let us here remark, that the editor of the *Tribune* is mistaken in supposing that we have arrived at our conclusions from what we heard at Vienna. We made this whole subject our study; and commenced that study, believing the facts to be precisely as the editor of the *Tribune* and our countrymen generally, still believe them. But we had no desire to shut our eyes to the *truth*, when that was precisely the thing for which we were seeking. And therefore, when we had exhausted our research in Vienna, and by conversations with the Magyar nobles learned precisely the feelings and objects and purposes of the late war in Hungary, we obtained permission from the Austrian government, (at that period such a course was necessary), and visited Hungary itself, to judge for ourselves of all we had heard. We penetrated as far as Buda and Pesth, where we had every facility of pursuing our investigations unmolested; and we stopped at *Komorn*, and lingered at *Presburgh*, actuated alike by the recollections of the past and the sad desolation of the present. In our own happy country, thank God, we know nothing of the desolation of war; but above all and over all—of a *war of races*, as was most emphatically the war in Hungary; and to describe what we saw in this regard, would be only to make man hate his fellow man. One incident told us the whole story as regards the hatred of the now freed *Slave* to his late master.

In crossing the suspension bridge, which connects *Buda*, the ancient *Offen*, with *Pesth*—which by the way is the finest structure of the kind we met with—our coachman, once a *Slave*, now a free *Slave*, pointed exultingly to a man paying toll. We inquired of our courier what it meant; and he explained that the person pointed to, was a small *Magyar noble*, whose right it was, formerly, to pass, toll free, but who now was considered no better than the late *slave*, and was required to pay toll like him. The exultation of the *Slave* at this spectacle, his spirited crack of the whip, and almost hurrah for freedom, told as plainly as words could have done, that the Magyar rule was at an end, and that tyranny and oppression fell with *Kossuth* and his Magyar nobility.

Having shown what Hungary was, and how governed,

up to 1848, let us now trace the events of that year, and the cause of the war which ensued and resulted so disastrously for tyranny—so righteously for freedom and the emancipation of nine millions of white *slaves*, capable of the highest degree of civilization.

While all actual power was in the hands of the Magyar nobility in Hungary, that haughty, proud, and aristocratic people—a gallant, brave, and noble race, but yet a race of lordly masters, who ruled with a rod of iron nine millions of white slaves—were jealous that they owed allegiance to an Austrian king, and chafed under the yoke, light as it was. Pride bade them throw off that yoke; and we venture to say that such has been their aim and purpose for three centuries. Possessing their own Diet, and making just such laws as suited themselves, one of their *projects* was, to compel the nine millions of slaves who called them *master*, to learn their own, the Magyar language—which has no affinity with any other language, known to linguists. This was an oppressive measure; and to this act of arrogance and pride under Providence, may be justly attributed the final termination of their long continued rule and power, over a people twice as numerous as themselves. While the *Magyar* language is *sui generis*, all the people of different races of *Slavonic* origin, speak languages, which however different, are yet understood by each other—having a common root. But the universal language of Hungary, was for centuries the Latin. This was a common ground upon which all met, and the records of the country were kept in it. Thus in *Croatia*, where a large portion of the *Slaves* are free, but without political rights, the Latin was and is, the language of the Law and the Records. But *Croatia* being a dependency of *Magyardom*, the Hungarian Diet composed of Magyar nobles, with only three votes for all *Croatia* with its million and a half of people! resolved that it should be *Magyarized*. We quote from an authority universally respected:—

“ Since the Hungarian Diet has proposed to enforce the use of the Magyar language instead of the Latin, in public transactions throughout all Hungary, a spirit of opposition has been excited among the Slavish population, which threatens very serious consequences. The first effect of the measures proposed by the Diet was, the rousing up in *Croatia* of a strong sentiment of nationality, which found

vent in the establishment of a periodical, something like the 'Penny Magazine' in form, in the Slavish language. This is the *Danica Ilirska*, edited by Dr. Gay. It is published once a week, is very respectably got up, and contains national songs, original articles, and translations.

"It is no uncommon thing to hear them reckoning up the Croats, the Slavonians, Bosnians, Dalmatians, Servians, Montenegrins, and Bulgarians, and then comparing this mass of Slaves with the three or four millions of Magyars, and proudly asking why they should submit to deny their language and their origin because the Magyars command it.

"I am very far from wishing this party success, though I cannot help in some degree sympathizing with a people who resist, when they think a stronger power is willing to abuse its strength by depriving the weaker of those objects—language and religion—which they hold as most dear.

"The act has passed, however, which declares that, in ten years' time, no Croat shall be eligible to a public office who cannot read and write the Magyar language, and the consequence has been, the creation of a feeling of hatred against the Magyars, which bodes but very ill for speedy Magyarizing of the Croatian people." (Paget's *Hungary*, vol. ii., pp. 582—589.)

With all power in the hands of the *Magyars*, it is not matter of surprise, that men of talent and ambition should have courted them; and accordingly, we find that Kossuth, a *Slovak* by birth, who first attended the Hungarian Diet as secretary to a Magyar magnate, very early espoused the cause of Hungarian independence of Austria;—that is, of *Magyar Independence*; for Kossuth completely forgot his origin, and, turning traitor to his race, united with the Magyars in demanding from Austria entire independence for Hungary, with all its ancient rights and privileges unimpaired—prominent among which, were exclusive power in the hands of the Magyars, and *the right to enslave his native race!!* This was refused by Austria as it ever had been. But when in March, 1848, the Red Republicans and Socialists of France and Germany, effected the revolution in Vienna, and drove the imbecile FERDINAND to *Innsbruck*, the Hungarian Diet renewed their demand, and extorted from the Emperor all they desired. We quote

from *Thompson's History of AUSTRIA*, published in London, in 1849, p. 391.

“Hungary had seized the opportunity afforded by the crisis, to plunge into the arena, and to demand the recognition of the independence of the kingdom. The concession was at once accorded, and it was proclaimed a distinct state, with its own king and diet, with an independent administration, and with political institutions modelled according to the demands preferred; but, as if instigated by terror or bewildered by the pressure of events, the Austrian government conceded to that of Hungary *the power to exercise over others the very prerogative against which they have themselves rebelled, namely, to bring the Slavonian provinces on their borders into the same relation with the Diet at Pesth which they had themselves so strenuously repudiated at the Court of Vienna.* Dissensions and jealousies had existed for many years between the various races inhabiting Hungary; but the Magyars, though the dominant, and, physically considered, the superior race, were so numerically weak, as to furnish *barely a fourth part* of the total returns of the census, the remainder, excepting an inconsiderable element of Germans, and about a million of Wallachians, being made up entirely of Slavonians. Formerly, the use of the Latin tongue stood in the same stead to this motley population as it did in the old times to the *literati* of Europe, and enabled them to meet for common purposes on a neutral ground. But this compromise was terminated, some time back, by *the overweening Magyars*, of their own national language for the conventional Latin; and this example and foretaste of their oppressive ambition, was naturally ill-received. At the late crisis, however, the Diet availed themselves of a situation in which the court of Vienna seemed scarcely to have retained the power of refusing anything, and obtained the imperial sanction—for definitively and absolutely incorporating with the kingdom of Hungary those provinces of Croatia and Slavonia, on their southern border, which had hitherto retained a *quasi* independence of their own,—the whole constituted kingdom being of course, intended to represent only the dominant nationality of Magyars.

“But in this project they met with an opposition quite unexpected, at least, in such force. The nationality of the *Slavonians* had been quickened by the revolutionary

epidemic into a passion quite as lively as that of the Magyars; and they very reasonably considered, that, if the new system of politics emancipated the Hungarians from the control of the Germans, it could hardly be so anomalous in its operations as to subject them to the control of the Hungarians. Accordingly, the provincial Diet of Croatia returned a flat refusal to the proposals despatched from Pesth."

Here we have the origin of the war in Hungary; and the reader who really wishes to understand this somewhat intricate question, need but follow us closely for a few minutes, and he will have his eyes opened with regard to the Republicanism of Kossuth, and his claims to our sympathies.

What gave confidence to the Slaves in Croatia and Slavonia, at this juncture, was the successful rising of their brother Slaves in Bohemia, and their triumphant possession of the city of Prague, and call of a Pan-Slavonic diet, which was to supersede the existing government throughout Germany, by all power passing into the hands of the Slavonic races. This movement from the extreme West of Germany, was followed by a call for a similar Diet in the East, by JELLACHICH, the Ban of Croatia, to take place at *Agram*, the political capital of Croatia and Slavonia; and in defiance of the Emperor of Austria and the Hungarian Diet, this Diet was actually held. In the meantime, however, the Hungarian government, who had wrung from the imbecile Emperor of Austria the acknowledgment of their independence, with a mere nominal dependence upon Austria, intrigued with the Emperor to *compel* the Ban of Croatia and the Slaves, who obeyed him, to obey the Hungarian Diet, and continue in submission as *slaves* of the Magyar race. We quote from Count Mailath's *Geschichte*, pp. 421, 422:—

"The Hungarian ministry must prepare for a struggle, if it would obtain its object, of breaking off Hungary from the monarchy; for Croatia and Slavonia would not obey the commands of the ministry. In the beginning of the movement, the Croats also had claimed a ministry of their own, and put forth sundry other demands, which were anything but favourable to the unity of the monarchy. But all this went into the background as soon as they saw that *their nationality* was menaced by the Hungarian ministry. *The tyranny of race and language*, which had been exer-

cised for many years by the Magyars, was now severely expiated by the resistance of the Croats. At the last meeting of the Diet, Kossuth had exclaimed in open session: 'But where lies Croatia? I cannot find it on the map.' He now found out to his cost where it lay. * * * The Magyar ministry tried in vain various means to bring the Ban into subjection. He was summoned to Buda-Pesth; he did not come. A royal commissioner, General Hrabowsky, was ordered into Croatia; but he was not disposed to enter the province. The Ban was called to Innsbruck to answer for his conduct; he obeyed, and soon convinced the emperor that he wished only the welfare of the monarchy and the dynasty. On his journey home, he learned from a newspaper that he was deposed; but Croatia continued to obey him, and soon a royal ordinance appeared, which reinstated him in his dignity and office. This disposition of the Ban was one of the most enigmatical occurrences of the time. Of the numerous reports which were circulated in reference to it, the most probable one is, that the president of the Magyar ministry, who was for some time in Innsbruck, by some unknown means obtained the emperor's signature to a blank sheet of paper, and then, without the emperor's knowledge, filled it out with the deposition of the Ban. This report was somewhat confirmed by the fact, that not the slightest protest was made by the Hungarian ministry when the Ban continued in the execution of his office: the Magyar ministry dreaded any thorough investigation of this matter."

The following extraordinary official document, signed by Kossuth, Bathiany, Szemere, Eotvos, and the other Hungarian ministers, and addressed to the Arch-Duke John, at once throws light upon a contest which has so long been involved in darkness. Dates are now important.

In *March*, 1848, the revolution in Vienna took place, and Ferdinand was driven to Innsbruck.

In *April*, 1848, the Hungarian Diet compelled Austria to concede the independence and separate government—even to a Secretary of War and Foreign Affairs—which had been previously refused for three centuries.

In *May*, they ordered Ban Jellachich to appear before them, and submit to their authority, instead of that of the Emperor of Austria; and he not only contemptuously

refused to obey them, but finally threatened to march upon Pesth itself.

And in *July*, this Hungarian Ministry, headed by Bathiany and Kossuth, humbly approach the throne of the Emperor of Austria through the Arch-Duke John, then the head of the German confederation, and entreat his kind assistance in putting down "the Illyrian rebels,"—Croatia being ancient Illyria. Rebels against whom? Why against the Magyars of Hungary!! And why rebels? Because, after nearly eight centuries of bondage to a *Tartar* race, only half as numerous as themselves—with skins as white and intellects as vigorous as their masters—these descendants of the ancient possessors of the soil of Hungary, determined to throw off the yoke of their oppressors, and boldly to assert their manhood, as did our fathers, without a tithe of the cause, determine to assert their independence of England. But with this difference. Our patriot sires fought only for a redress of grievances, the *Slaves* rose against their *masters*, who held them as *slaves*, worked them as *slaves*, and as slaves legally inflicted upon them the *lash*, and even death itself! Yet for thus rising in defence of man's dearest rights, Kossuth, himself a *Slave*, but sold body and soul to their masters, the Magyars—Kossuth, whom the republicans all but worship, because ignorant of his real character—denounces them as "Illyrian rebels," and beseeches the German Confederation and Austria, to put them down, on the distinct plea that they are the enemies of Austria, while the Magyar "Hungarians are not only the firmest, but the only firm prop of the Austrian throne, at a moment when almost every throne in civilized Europe is tottering!" Yes, Kossuth—the god-like Kossuth—the Republican martyr Kossuth—as Minister of Finance of Hungary, signed the following document on the 4th of July, 1848—the very day on which his present admirers in the United States, were celebrating the signing of a very different document by the patriots of 1776:—

From a Memorial presented to the Archduke by Kossuth and the Hungarian Ministry, July 4th, 1848.

"If his Highness the Archduke John will bestow a careful attention upon all that we have just said, he cannot

but be convinced of the true character of the rebellion of those States, which make great pretensions of fidelity to the Sovereign whilst violating the royal authority; he cannot but perceive, that even their offer of joining Austria is merely a feigned pretext, in order to give at the crisis of the struggle such a superiority to the Slavish element in Austria, that after thus completely paralyzing the German element, and undermining the Austrian throne, the Empire should be split up into independent Slavish kingdoms, and the very existence of the Austrian Imperial House shall be thus buried.

“And yet *loyalty and attachment to the King is so deeply rooted in the heart of the Hungarian Nation, that the Illyrian rebels are well aware that, in openly exhibiting their intentions, they will not meet any sympathy.* They have therefore come forward in the spirit of reaction, as the pseudo-heroes of the royal authority, and against the Hungarian Nation, who have not attacked the royal power, for whom a legal independence and a constitutional administration is not a recent grant, but an ancient right sanctioned by innumerable royal oaths—against the Hungarian Nation, which at this present moment, when almost every throne in civilized Europe is tottering, *remains not only the firmest, but the only firm prop of the Austrian throne.* This feeling and this experience have led us to *request the kind assistance of His Highness the Archduke John, with respect to the Illyrian rebellion.*”

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“The disloyal *rebels* actually boast of the support of the offended ruling House itself! And when we requested His Majesty, in order to enlighten the unhappy and deceived people, by his own handwriting, to let the people know that His Majesty disapproves of the *rebellion*, and is determined to maintain in all their integrity the solemnly affirmed *inviolability of the Hungarian Crown* and the authority of the laws, the leaders of the rebels deceived the people by declaring that this has not been done voluntarily on the part of His Majesty, but that it is merely an unwilling expression extorted by the Hungarian Ministry through means of compulsion.”

We need not dwell upon the character and spirit of this appeal to Austria against the rebel Slaves, who determined to throw off the bondage of their Magyar masters,

with whom their brother Slave Kossuth, but a renegade and enemy to his race, was acting. It speaks for itself, and gives an insight into our history of events.

But the Croats and their brother Slaves, were not idle. They too, approached Austria,—not as miserable suppliants, as did Kossuth and his coadjutors, who sought for power to continue the slavery of his fellow creatures, but as men who demanded justice, and felt their ability to obtain it. They felt that they were speaking the language of nine millions of men, as capable of maintaining their rights as their four millions and a half of masters. And being nobly determined to achieve their freedom or to die, they spoke as men capable of such determination alone can speak. Hear them, ye republicans of America who glorify Kossuth, and then determine whether you have cause to regret that these people have achieved their freedom, and that Kossuth and their masters have been crushed by “Rebel Illyrians!” Thus spoke these Rebels to the Emperor of Austria:—

“Emperor, if you reject our prayers, we shall know how to vindicate our liberty without you; and we prefer to die heroically, like a Slavonian people, rather than to bear any longer such a yoke as is imposed on us by an Asiatic horde, from whom we have nothing good to receive or to learn. Emperor, know that we prefer, if we must choose between them, the knout of the Russians to the insolence of the Magyars. We will not, on any terms, belong to the Magyars. Remember that, if Croatia forms but a thirty-fifth part of your empire, the Croats constitute a third of your whole infantry.”

Who can read this language, from a race which had been enslaved for eight centuries, and contrasting it with that of their masters, fail to rejoice that the God of battles stood by the oppressed in the hour of trial—broke asunder the chains of the enslaved—and scattered their masters to the four winds of Heaven.

But let us follow up Kossuth. Hear him in his place in the Hungarian Diet, sixteen days after his appeal to Austria against the Illyrian Rebels:—

Extracts from a Debate in a crowded meeting of the Diet, July 20th, 1848, on the question whether Hungary should send troops to aid the Emperor of Austria in putting down the Italian Insurgents in Lombardy.

“Kossuth, the minister of Finance, resuming his address, [which he had suspended from exhaustion,] came now to speak of the Italian question. This is the first European question which the nation had had to consider since it attained its majority, [or its age of freedom.] They should not therefore allow themselves to be so far carried away by it as to *forget their own country*. He wished that this question should not agitate their minds, but that they should consider it calmly. When the fate of the nation is at stake, *all sympathies* and antipathies must be laid aside. Here the matter ought not to be viewed according to abstract principles; if it were, we should be obliged to bear their iron consequences; *if we protect the Italians because they are fighting for their freedom, then we must also concede the point to Croatia and Bohemia, and confess that they are in the right*. [Murmurs.] He openly confessed he wished the Italian nation was free. At the former Diet, the question came up whether they were willing that the ministries of war and finance should be at Vienna. We answered, No. Thereupon, those persons [the Austrian ministers] said, ‘What shall we do? You will not assume any part of the State debt, and if the Italians break loose from us, we shall be driven to national bankruptcy; help us, at least, to end the war with honor.’ We plead impossibility as an excuse. The ministry is constituted, and then the insurrection breaks out on all sides. Then they said at Vienna, ‘Hungary will not help us, but Jellachich will; then we will make terms with Jellachich.’ This lies like a curse upon the Hungarian ministry. At Vienna, they appeal to the Pragmatic Sanction to show that we ought to help them to obtain an honourable peace. Now before the opening of the National Assembly, where we claim that every member of the Dynasty should labour to support our integrity as a State, the Hungarian ministry must be very circumspect. Idle fancies are here of no use. France would help the Italian Republic, but not the Italy of Charles Albert, who has just as much right to Lombardy, as Jellachich has to Croatia, or the Russian Czar to Hungary. I will explain fully the policy of the ministry. (He reads the protocol of the ministers’ plan, in which it was resolved, that if peace and order were restored to Hungary, they would then send the troops they did not need at home to effect an honourable peace.)

Herein, continued the orator, we only say, 'procure for us quiet in Hungary, and we will help you to gain an honourable peace.' But to the Italians we will say, 'strain not the cords too tight, or it may happen that we shall come to the help of Austria.' They have desired us to call back our troops from Italy. This is easily said, but not so easily done. We have from 10 to 12,000 men in Italy; but there are also 35,000 Croats there, who would also come back, and *we have no particular need of them.* He had here spoken only of the past policy of the ministry. He said nothing of the future. He did not say that they would immediately send an auxiliary army to Italy, or even how many they would send, but the moral power of such a declaration was very great, and by that alone, they might be a great help to Austria. (Unanimous applause.)

"IRINYI* opposed the proposition of the minister of Finance. He said, it is proposed to aid in obtaining an honourable peace. But how if the Italians do not wish for such a peace? Then we must proceed to force. The wars of Austria are not the wars of Hungary. And then, what is the object of sending troops thither? That we may have a clear case against Croatia? But that is our affair, not Austria's. He would not make a bargain with the devil in order to get to heaven. (Laughter.) We will manage Croatia without the help of Austria.

"The Minister Eorvos did not agree with Irinyi. The Pragmatic Sanction binds us to help Austria, not when Austria is the aggressor, but when it is attacked; and this is now the case. He often heard people speak of the freedom of Italy; he loved freedom, and he loved Italy, besides being grateful to her as the cradle of civilization. But was Italy fighting for freedom? No; but for Charles Albert. We must judge this prince, not by his fine words, but by his acts. Besides, we shall send only as many troops there, as we can safely spare at home. We must in this matter support Austria. This is our true policy." (*Die letzten zwei Jahre Ungarns.* Fünfte Lieferung, pp. 49-51.)

This tells its own story, and presents KOSSUTH as publicly

* This speaker is the person who, in open Diet, called the brutal murder of Count Lamberg by the Magyar mob "only a mistake in form."

declaring that if Austria would aid in bringing the Croats into subjection to the Magyars and the "Ancient institutions" of Hungary, he was quite willing to aid Austria in putting down liberty in Italy! Until then, "all sympathies" with men striving for freedom must be crushed! Was there ever a more cold-blooded declaration than this?—Did there ever exist so calculating a friend of liberty as this martyr to Freedom!! But above all, listen to his own confession, and a precious one it is:—"If we protect the Italians because they are fighting for their FREEDOM, then we must also concede the point to Croatia and Bohemia, and CONFESS THAT THEY ARE RIGHT." And thus only sixteen days after signing the petition for Austria to put down "the Illyrian rebels," he admits in debate, that if it be right "to fight for Freedom," then the cause of Croatia is a just one; and as that must be put down at any rate, it is better to tell "the Italians fighting for Freedom, strain not the cord too tight, or it may happen that we shall come to the help of Austria!!" A pretty martyr for Freedom this! And yet this is the man who has enlisted the sympathy of Republican America against the brave and manly Slaves, who so dauntlessly threw off the Magyar yoke, and delivered from bondage nine millions of men, whose race had been held in the most abject slavery during a period of eight hundred years.

This, it must be borne in mind, was on the 4th of July, 1848. The Emperor FERDINAND had not yet returned to Vienna, though seemingly, his authority was about to be re-established—WINDISCHGRATZ, one of the ablest Generals and best public men in all Austria, having crushed the rebellion of the Slaves in Bohemia, and re-captured Prague—Vienna then became the theatre of Magyar Hungarian intrigue against the Slaves of Hungary; and the Ban of Croatia, the gallant Jellachich, was declared an outlaw. He held a conference with BATHIANY and his colleagues in Vienna, in which he freely offered to unite his forces with those of the Magyars, and thus secure for ever independence to Hungary, if they would concede to the Slavonic races, comprising two-thirds of the population, equal rights with their masters. In short, he insisted upon freedom from bondage for all *Slaves*, while KOSSUTH, BATHIANY, and their co-ministers, insisted upon retaining "the ancient rights of the Magyars," and the slavery.

both political and social, of the Slavonic races. The result showed that it was a contest between races, the enmity between which was irreconcilable; and the interview was broken up amid threats and recrimination, in which BATHIANY exclaimed,—“We shall meet again on the Drave,” which river constitutes the Northern boundary of Croatia. “Not so,” replied JELLACHICH, “but on the Danube,” which runs through the heart of Magyar Hungary. And the gallant Ban kept his word.

Jellachich then, with the boldness which marks his character and which induced him to defy the Austrian power, though an outlaw, presented himself to the emperor at *Innsbruck*, and succeeded in convincing him that the Slaves were his true friends; and that being twice as numerous as the Magyars, if he would guarantee to them equality of rights, *they* would *compel* the Magyars to respect his authority. The emperor Ferdinand, who was as weak in mind as in body, was convinced of the force of this just reasoning, changed his plans, and not only commissioned Jellachich, Ban of Hungary, but subsequently appointed him specially to put down what had become an Hungarian Rebellion of the Magyars against Austria, by the Diet's throwing off all dependence upon the emperor, except to crave his aid against Croatia and the Slaves.

Jellachich returned to Croatia without his reconciliation with the emperor having been proclaimed. It was suspected, however; and the Hungarians united with the Socialists and Red Republicans to get up a second revolution in Vienna. Professor Bowen, in a truthful and powerful article in the *North American Review* for January, 1850, thus describes what then ensued:—

“These reasons (of the Ban) appearing conclusive, the emperor did not hesitate at once to change sides, to unite the Imperial forces with those whom he had just before denounced as rebels, and to commission the Ban Jellachich himself, the chief rebel, to put down the insurrection in Hungary. This arrangement, however, was kept secret for a time, to await the results of negotiation with the Magyars. But this haughty and imperious race waited for no compromise, and their spirits only rose as the number of their enemies increased. Their Diet voted an extraordinary contribution of a hundred millions of florins, a levy of two hundred thousand men, and an issue of two

hundred millions of paper money. It was also proposed to recall the Hungarian regiments that were serving under Radetsky in Lombardy; but Kossuth cried out, 'Beware what you do! They are Croats and Slavonians whom you wish to recall.' The old liberal party of the constitutional opposition in the Diet, led by such men as Széchény and Deak, and even Bathiany, who was far more radical in his politics, protested against these headlong proceedings, and recommended delay and negotiation; but the danger was imminent, the excitement was intense, and, as usual in such cases, the fanatics and ultraists, headed by Kossuth and Szémeré, carried everything their own way. It was when defeated in debate on this occasion, that the noble Széchény, seeing that his influence was lost, and the fate of his country was sealed by the madness of its demagogues, made an attempt upon his own life."

On the 10th of September, 1848, after the return of the emperor to Vienna, a deputation of one hundred and sixty members of the Hungarian Diet, arrived in that city, demanding of the emperor that he should approve of their vote to raise men and money, issue a proclamation denouncing Jellachich, and take up his residence in *Pesth*! by way of proving to the *Slaves* that he sided with the *Magyars*!! The absurdity of such demand is only equalled by their impudence. They were of course rejected; when the haughty Magnates and *Magyars* withdrew, threatening vengeance; and an eye witness informed us, that he was present when they reached the steamer on the Danube, two miles distant. They immediately drew down the Austro-Hungarian flag which was waving on the boat, trampled it under foot, hoisted a *red* flag in its stead, and proceeded down the Danube. Another deputation sent a week later, to Vienna, was refused an audience; and then the Hungarian Diet proclaimed Kossuth Dictator, and raised a force to meet Jellachich, who had already crossed the *Drave* and was marching on *Pesth*!

Thus was *war* between Hungary and Austria virtually commenced; and we ask the reader to pause and enquire for what cause? Was it for liberty, or for republicanism, or for a redress of grievances? Was it for equal rights or in resistance to oppression? Most assuredly not. But on the contrary, was it not because Austria would not assist the *haughty* and aristocratic *Magyar* to put down the

rebellion of the Slavonic races, who had risen in their might, to throw off the yoke of vassalage and slavery which they had borne for eight centuries? Was it not because Austria would not aid Kossuth and his coadjutors, in enslaving the men who had raised the cry of liberty and equality, and demanded at the hands of their masters, freedom from a worse than Egyptian bondage?

If history be not a lie—if all written and verbal testimony, and the facts testified to by all men of all parties in Austria and Hungary, be not utterly false—then beyond all peradventure, the war in Hungary was a war on the part of four and a half millions of aristocratic, proud, and haughty Magyars, to retain in *slavery* nine millions of their fellow men, with skins as fair, and forms as manly, and intellects as bright as those of their noble masters. And if this be so, with whom should the sympathies of free and republican America rest? With Kossuth and his co-labourers in their efforts to hold nine millions of their fellow men in bondage? or with those nine millions freed and disenthralled by their own valour?—for we insist that the *Slaves*, single-handed, could and would have secured their independence, and driven Kossuth and his Magyar associates into that very exile, where they merit anything but the *sympathy* of American freedom. That sympathy is due to the liberated Slave; and with God's blessings on our humble labour, that sympathy he shall have, instead of its being wasted upon the men who sought to continue him in bondage.

We now approach one of the darkest events in the Hungarian struggle, and which directly assails the character of Kossuth as a man. Patriot and republican he is none; but we have said nothing against him as a man; and as he is coming among us as an exile, we shall express no opinion in regard to his participation in the dastardly and infamous murder of Count Lamberg, a Marshal of the empire. But we shall state facts as they are, and leave the consequences to follow.

Although it was manifest to everybody, that the crisis had arrived and that nothing was left to Austria but a war with Hungary, the emperor Ferdinand, in opposition to his council, insisted that Count Lamberg should proceed to Pesth, treat with the Diet, and take command of the forces of both parties. The mission was one of folly; and

poor Count Latour, who was himself brutally murdered on the 6th of October, said to Lamberg, "We shall never meet again." He reached Buda in safety, and as the special minister from the emperor to Kossuth, under the protection of a flag of truce—on foot and almost alone—he proceeded to cross the bridge to Pesth. He was met by a body of Magyars in the employ of the Diet, and in open daylight, cruelly and brutally murdered, and his body exposed to every conceivable indignity. All Europe laid this outrage upon the Diet and Kossuth; and certain it is, that Irinyi in his place in the Diet, characterized the murder as "only a mistake in form."

We have now before us a pamphlet, in German, recently received, entitled — "Results of the official enquiries carried on by the Royal and Imperial Court, against the Murderers of the Minister of War, General of Ordnance, and Field-Marshal Lieutenant Count Latour, on the 6th of October, 1848."

The military tribunal was composed of the most distinguished officers of the Austrian government—Hungarians as well as Germans—and their report is based upon testimony taken under oath and from the official papers in their possession. We copy from it as follows :—

It is a peculiar feature in the public life of the political actors, that they attained their selfish object by exciting the basest passions of our nature, and their plans were founded on the avarice, licentiousness, and selfishness of men. Kossuth owes his later successes far more to his skill in turning these motives to account, than to his dissimulation or eloquence. The appearance of affairs at Buda and Pesth, in September, 1848, where incredible sums were expended merely to corrupt the garrison, partly furnish proof of this.

By the consequent march and hurried advance in the same month of the Ban into Hungary, the existence of the Kossuthian party was seriously endangered.

After the first mission to the monarch from that place to obtain insulting demands had proved unsuccessful, they attempted it again on the 19th of the same month with a second deputation, which was intended to secure the co-operation of the Austrian Diet with efforts as illegal as disadvantageous for the United Kingdom. This attempt also failed, and the danger became more imminent.

The two royal manifestoes appeared on the 22nd and 25th of September, and proved to Kossuth and his followers that the monarch and his government seriously intended to put down the disturbances with force.

Field-Marshal Lieutenant Count Lamberg, the royal commissariat, entered Pesth, and the *Ban* at their gate, threatened by armed force to put a speedy end to the rebellion, which became every day more open.

In order to cripple their adversaries by fear, and to scatter terror among their ranks, the Diet resorted to active measures ; and the saying of their leader, Kossuth, "even to call on the help of hell," was fulfilled to the letter.

On the 28th of September, Count Lamberg fell under the daggers of appointed assassins, without bettering the situation of that party ; for by their manifesto of the third of October, the *Ban* came in his place and the constraint became greater. They then turned to their confederates and brothers in Vienna, from whom alone deliverance was to be expected ; and the latter as promptly as sympathizingly, justified the trust placed in them. The connection between the Hungarian rebels, and those in Vienna, began in the commencement of August, 1848, and became, after that, still closer. On the fifth of September, the first Hungarian deputation received a formal assurance from the Red Republicans of Vienna—that they had actively assisted the raising of a free corps for Hungary ; and a kind of general staff of Viennese students, went to *Pesth*, where one of them took part in the murder of Lamberg.

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It was certainly to be expected that the nearest and most easily excited Capital should greet with applause and satisfaction the open and determined stand of their government against the encroachment of their neighbours, instead of hurrying under faithless leaders to certain ruin, resembling crazy persons who at the counsel of rogues, taking advantage of their situation, tear the clothes from their own bodies, and give them a welcome booty in order to move freely.

Through what means the enigmatical attitude of a part of the national press was effected can be satisfactorily and easily proved by the correspondence and official papers of

the Hungarian ministry, and certain partizan leaders, seized in Hungary and Vienna.

By a letter of the Minister of Finance, KOSSUTH, lying before the Court, to the under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, PULSKY, in Vienna, of the 2nd of August, 1848, the latter is authorized to pay every individual of the Vienna press that would advance the Hungarian interest, 400 florins quarterly; and on the 17th September the Minister-President, Count BATHIANY, tells the same PULSKY, that if he needs a thousand guilders more to win sympathy for Hungary in Vienna, he in the meanwhile, and until he could send it in the proper manner, would refer him to broker N——.

In fact, not only PULSKY raised, as his official cash journal proves, as early as the 16th September, under explicit reference to that letter of BATHIANY's, in two items, 2825 florins, but it further shows, that as well before as after the 6th of October, many other similar expenditures to different Hungarian emissaries, brought forward and mentioned by name, of 500, 1000 and 2000 florins, in the same journal, as well as several items of payment to writers designated by name and editors of newspapers, and part of them dated and entitled "for advocating the Hungarian interest in the press."

On the 4th of September, we learn from the same official papers, the Austrian Ministry complained to the Hungarian of the proposed enlistment without their concurrence, through Mesyáros', in Vienna, of a Magyar free corps, and the same ministry, on the 25th of September, requested the Hungarian to restrain the machinations.

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Ladislaus Csany writes from Raab to Kossuth, on the 7th and 8th of October, that he sent him yesterday, three *Couriers* with very agreeable news from Vienna to Pesth. (The murder of Count Latour, on the 6th of October.)

"At length the clouds had rolled away from their horizon; their enemies in Vienna had been overthrown by obstacles, of whose existence they had no suspicion, and nothing must be neglected to humiliate them still more, and their advantage must be quickly followed up."

He, the letter writer, confesses that he neglected no means of agitating the Viennese Aula, and encloses Pulsky's report of the occurrences in Vienna. The letter

of Pulsky is dated from Odenburg, the 7th of October, and begins with the words: "Yesterday the democratic Hungarian party in Vienna triumphed completely."

After relating the events of the day, in which he particularly mentions the Aula as favouring their cause, he closes with the remark, that he "first left Vienna on the night after the storming of the arsenal, and was now hurrying with Louis Bathiany to the camp at Vielos, in order to bring them back, as it was necessary to attack Jellachich."

On the 9th of October, Csany writes to his honoured friend Kossuth, that the Viennese Aula, sympathizing in their cause, had sent him an emissary with full powers, whom he had immediately despatched to Pesth, in order that he might there give the details of the very important occurrences in Vienna. [The murder of Latour.]

"It was cheering to see how faithfully the Academic Legion in Vienna defended the Hungarian cause."

The Democratic Club of that place counted upon Germany, and both should not be compromised.

Pulsky writes to him from Oedenburg, that it is Bathiany's wish to follow Jellachich as far as Vienna, from whence he, Csany, sends at present written instructions.

He could not leave unmentioned the letters discovered by individuals—is proved by several written notes found in the possession of a secretary of Pulsky's—belonging to this country, of which one shows the payment of six florins a man to Richter's grenadier battalion, who went to the Tabor on the 15th, designated by name, together with 120 florins, which, taken in connection with the quarterly pay of the Viennese radical press already spoken of—the reward paid by the Aula for the cannon taken at Tabor—the 50 florins to the murderer Jurkovich—show a graduated table of prices for the glorious deeds of the 6th of October, in which a considerable reward, not known until now, "for an incendiary in the arsenal," was left open in the meantime in cipher.

From the same records will be taken into consideration his manifest persevering influence on the resistance of the Viennese to the Imperial troops after the 6th of October, and if one reflects that Kossuth in a letter of the 30th of October from Presburg to the Committee for the Defence of the Country (Landes Vertheidigungs-Ausschuss), de-

clares that Hungary in the battle near Scwechat honourably acquitted herself of her debt to Vienna, so he in a letter of the 5th of November expresses the hope that the Aula will, as Bem writes to him, go over to him in a body, besides that he commissioned his Commissary, Sebastian Vurhovich, to sequestrate all Latour's possessions in the counties of Temesee Torontalee, because he kindled the war in Hungary; finally, if it be considered, that on the evening of the 6th of October, immediately after the murder, the first step of the Democratic Central Committee, and of their Students' Committee, was to send a mutual petition drawn up by Tansenan and Habrowsky, which requested, besides the amnesty for the murder of Latour, the recall of the manifest of the 6th of October, and the disgrace of the Ban, as principal points (which petition was given to the emperor by the Left, as an address to the Diet), every doubt of the preponderating influence of the Kossuthian faction on the murder of the Minister of War must vanish.

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To be able properly to estimate the importance of the intercourse between the deputy from the Hungarian Diet, and subsequently honved-major Balogh and the leaders of the insurgents in Vienna, we must remark that according to the act sent here by the Court Martial at Pesth, concerning the murder of Count Lamberg, Field-Marshal Lieutenant, this same Balogh, George Kolosy, afterwards honved-captain, and Kossuth *were pointed out by the students of Pesth as the authors of that murder.*

Kossuth it was, who, by his exciting speeches in the House of Representatives at Pesth, declared the Count should suffer the penalty of traitor to his country; AND OPENLY CONDEMNED HIM TO DEATH, whilst immediately afterwards a certain Denes who had been a teacher in the Institute of the Blind, in that place, and discharged for having misled the young men to licentiousness, and who is known as an agent of Kossuth's, loudly summoned the numerous crowd of people before the house, to arm themselves and strike the dog dead—whereupon all, as though possessed, armed themselves in the Palace of the Invalids with scythes, and immediately executed Kossuth's declared judgment upon the unfortunate man, on the bridge.

The principal actor, Kolosy, declares in his trial, that

Balogh, afterwards at Comorn, comforted him with the words, that "he need not trouble himself concerning Lamberg, for Kolosy was not to blame for his death, as Kossuth had given to him (Balogh) the printed and manuscript order that Count Lamberg must not be allowed ever again to leave Pesth and Buda. After which Balogh repaired immediately to the tavern Zur Fortuna, in Buda, where the Count had alighted to identify his person!"

Above all, the murders of Counts Latour and Lamberg, evince, in the arrangement of the execution and in the means employed, such a startling resemblance, that the idea obtrudes itself immediately and involuntarily upon us, that only one and the same hand, could have directed the dagger against both victims.

It is well known to persons connected with Count Latour that on the departure of the royal Commissary, Field-marshal Lieutenant Count Lamberg, for the pacification of Hungary, in September, 1848, he remarked, concerning the latter—"We will probably never meet again; but *duty* and *honour* demand that we shall fulfil our destiny with resignation."

The cold-blooded murder of Field-Marshal Count Lamberg, at the bridge at Pesth, under the eyes of the Magyar Diet, when bearing a flag of truce, and coming *alone* and unarmed, in the garb of Peace, from the emperor—and that, too, at the instigation of Kossuth, as different witnesses *swear*, and certainly in compliance with his threat publicly made in the Diet—is one of those outrages against honorable warfare, and humanity itself, which makes one shudder as he thinks of it. It was said, in defence of Kossuth and his associates, that this step, horrible as it was, became necessary, to prevent the Diet's retracing their steps, and consenting to a pacification, based upon the grant of freedom to the Slavonic races! But be this as it may, it was an act which justly places every person concerned in it, beyond the pale of honest and honorable sympathy.

This murder of Count Lamberg was followed by an equally atrocious murder of Count Latour, the Minister of War in Vienna. How far Kossuth was a party to that act, the reader must judge for himself.

Up to this period, Austria had done nothing but to refuse her aid to Kossuth and his co-ministers, to put

down the nine millions of Slaves who had struck a blow for freedom. Even Kossuth himself, does not pretend that they had other cause of complaint against Austria. Now, however, after the murder of her Ambassador of Peace, Austria issued Proclamation after Proclamation, declaring martial law throughout Hungary, dissolving the Hungarian Diet, and appointing Ban Jellachich General-in-Chief, with full power, as the representative of the emperor.

The murder of Latour on the 6th of October, was followed by the second flight of the Imperial family, and the investment of the city by the troops of Prince Windischgratz—all the *Slaves* of Bohemia so recently in arms against the emperor, now flocking to the Imperial standard, and inviting him to take up his residence in *Prague*, because now Austria had taken sides with the NINE MILLIONS of Slaves held in bondage by the Magyar race in Hungary. Kossuth, now in rebellion against Austria, because she would not put down the *Slaves*, moved upon Vienna with a Hungarian army to raise the siege; but the Ban, Jellachich, who had crossed the Drave and was marching upon *Pesth*, suddenly changed his route to Vienna, fell upon Kossuth's army, and quickly drove it from the field.

Then followed the conquest of Vienna by assault, on the 31st of October, 1848, at twenty-five days after the murder of Latour; and immediately the most vigorous steps were taken to settle the affairs in Hungary.

We pause here, to introduce an extract from Brownson's *Quarterly Review for April, 1851*, published since our last article, which has a capital article on the subject, entitled, "The Hungarian Rebellion," and to which we invite attention. Speaking of the period of which we write, the author says:—

"The charge of treachery preferred by the Magyars against Austria, comes from them with a bad grace. It appears certain that, shortly after the insurrection of March, 1848, at Vienna, there was an understanding between a portion of the insurgents and certain Magyar leaders. Pulszky says, (p. 176,) that about September 'the newspapers took up the question carefully, and some of them declared themselves for Hungary.' It was confidently stated that the Magyars had distributed money in Vienna as early as September, and there is little doubt that the money expended there had a direct influence upon

the opinions of the Viennese mob, which was unfriendly to the Magyars in August, and allied to them in October. In fact, letters were intercepted from Bathiany to Pulszky, offering funds for the purpose of 'gaining the sympathies of the Viennese for the Hungarian nation.' Moreover, it was proved at the trial of Bathiany, that Pulszky had received and distributed the money. Pulszky says, (p. 200) that it was impossible to *prove* that Hungarian money was used to stir up the Viennese on the 6th of October. But he confesses that four thousand florins were expended on a Viennese paper in the Magyar interest, and in publishing documents and pamphlets on Magyar concerns, *for the information of the Viennese people*; ten thousand more were spent, he says, in recruiting soldiers to march against Jellachich. It is also certain that the Viennese insurgents of October counted largely upon the support of the Magyars. After the insurrection, when Windischgratz was preparing to bombard the city, the Viennese Diet sent a message to the Magyars, asking them to march immediately. Kossuth despatched an answer to the rebels, and then he crossed the frontier, and attacked the Austrian army within sight of the walls of Vienna. He met with the success his treachery deserved; he was routed, and forced to retire beyond the frontier. His intentions are partly unmasked in his speech to the soldiers—before crossing the border, Kossuth said, (Pulszky, p. 204.)—'It is a duty of honour to hasten to the aid of the Viennese, as they have risen in opposition to the war against Hungary. If we win a battle, it will *decide the fate of the Austrian monarchy, and of all Germany.*' When he declared his intention of marching to Vienna, 'about a *hundred* officers most of them foreigners, but likewise several Hungarians, declared that, under existing circumstances, they could no longer serve Hungary.' (*Ibid.* p. 202.) They were honorable men. For the war was, even as late as October, a civil war between the Slaves and Magyars. The Diet, convened by royal authority, was in session; Ferdinand was yet the acknowledged king of Hungary; even in December, when he abdicated, the Magyars were willing to obey the young emperor, if he would comply with their demands; and yet Kossuth, under these circumstances, led the Magyars into the country of the man whom he and they acknowledged to be their rightful sovereign. Had a declaration of inde-

pendence preceded the act, it might have been rebellion, but it would not have been treachery. His only enemies in the field were the Croats; he should have met them. So said the more honorable portion of the Magyar army. (Pulszky, p. 201.) Admitting that the Court of Vienna was disposed, in September, to aid the Croats, it was no longer able to do so in October, when Vienna was in the hands of the mob, and all the imperial troops were needed in Austria, to save it from anarchy. It was one of Kossuth's worst acts, and it is the more reprehensible, as he did not, at this time, have any overt act of Austria as an excuse for entering her territory, to hasten, as he expressed it, the downfall of the empire. He had nothing but the supposed intentions of the imperial court whereon to found his suicidal resolution to march against his sovereign, not only without having issued a declaration of independence, but without even having published a declaration of war.

“The proclamation denouncing Jellachich as a traitor, apparently does not well accord with subsequent acts, approving his doings. The emperor certainly appeared in this proclamation to side with the Magyars against the Croats, yet a glance at his condition will explain the difficulty. If that document had emanated from the Court of Vienna, or rather of Innsbruck—for the emperor had fled thither after the March insurrection, when the same court were secretly resolved to crush, not Jellachich, but the Magyar—it would have been a dishonest act. But no such intention appears at that time to have been conceived. The proclamation is dated June 10th, 1848, and ‘it was issued at the request of the Archduke Stephen, and of the whole Hungarian ministry.’ The feeble monarch was frightened into the measure, as he had been into the famous concessions of the March previous. It is probable, however, that it may have appeared at that moment sound and just policy to befriend the Magyars. The whole of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was in arms against the emperor, and one of his best generals, Marshal Radetsky, had been driven from Milan, and had suffered other severe losses. It was pretty well understood that the fate of Austria depended upon her success in Italy. Now there were Magyar soldiers serving under Radetsky, and they were numerous enough to make their services of importance to the empire. Any movement tending to make

these Magyars disgusted with the service, would have been highly impolitic. On the other hand, the Croats in the army of Italy could be more easily managed. The importance of the Italian campaign was evident to every one. Even Pulszky says (p. 147) that 'Radetsky, at Custoza, gained the victory, not over Carlo Alberto only, and Italian independence, but also over the unity of Germany, over constitutionalism in Austria, and over its tranquil growth in Hungary.'

It is scarcely necessary for us to follow the course of events. It is known that the Slavonic masses rose in every direction; and being without arms, went into the field with scythes and pitch forks, and such weapons as they could lay their hands upon, headed by their Priests, to strike a blow for Freedom; and we repeat, that without the interposition of Austria or Russia, the Slaves would have conquered their Magyar masters headed by Kossuth—himself a renegade Sclovac!

That in such a war of races there should have been great cruelty practiced, is just what was to be anticipated. And such an act as the murder of Count Lamberg, was sure to lead to further acts of cruelty, although none occurred by either party, of equal baseness.

We are not writing a defence of *Austria*, or of her generals. But truth compels us to say, and to repeat, that *Austria* was not in any way responsible for the state of affairs in Hungary. The Magyars took advantage of her troubles at home, to demand new privileges; and obtained them. The *Slaves* then demanded similar privileges and social and political freedom, which their masters, the Magyars, refused to them. Both factions—the *Slaves* headed by Jellachich, and the Magyars headed by Kossuth and Bathiany—appealed to *Austria* for aid. And because *Austria* would not aid the *Magyars*—the truth is, she could not give aid to either party—and because she would not denounce the *Slaves*; and because her emperor would not go and reside at *Pesth* in order to inspire the *Slaves* with the conviction that he was with them—Kossuth made war upon *Austria*. Such are the facts of history, from which there is no escape; and when we thus learn that *Austria* was the party assailed, will it be perceived that she requires no defence in this matter, difficult as it might be to defend her movements in Italy?

The war fairly commenced, Kossuth despatched General Bem into *Transsylvania*, to strike terror into that region, and thus prevent assault from the *Slaves* of that quarter, which he considered his rear. What Bem did there, and how he conducted the war amid that simple, and almost unarmed people, the following document will show. Comment is unnecessary:—

Extracts from a Letter from HICHMICHOS RAJACHICH to Field-Marshal HEABOWSKY, dated "Carlowitz, August 1, 1848."

"With a bleeding heart I take the pen to describe to your Excellency the horrors that have been committed by the Magyar troops at different places on the theatre of the civil war. There was not a single enemy in the Servian town of Futtack, when the Magyar troops under your Excellency's command fell upon the place, slaughtered innocent children, women and old men; while others shamefully beat a priest, stripped him to the skin, and so dragged him naked round the place, while they plundered some of the houses, and burned others. In Mohul, they ripped open the belly of a venerable priest, and also beat his son to death.

"The abominations are indescribable which these savage soldiers committed in the churches at Futtak, Foldvar, Mohul, and Kikinda. I will pass over in silence the destruction in these churches of the seats, doors, prayer-books, chandeliers, and other articles of furniture devoted to God's service; but it is a thing unheard of in all history, that Christian troops, in an open place possessed by them should seize on the Sacrament of the Eucharist standing in readiness for the dying on the holy altar, should throw it down, and trample it under foot, should kindle a fire on the holy altar, and commit other abominations on it not fit to be named; should fire pistols at the image of the Holy Virgin, and stab out the eyes of the other images of the saints. As they could not cool their courage on the armed Servians, they violated women and maidens, hewed down children and other defenceless persons, cut off their ears and noses, plundered everything they could carry away, and destroyed the rest."—p. 225.

"From this picture, falling far short of the reality, of the horrors thus far committed by the Magyar troops, your Excellency can easily infer, that this national war (or war

of races) provoked by the Magyars, is already not far from turning into a religious war, and must issue in such a war, if some limits are not put to these barbarities. I greatly fear that very soon I shall no longer be able to hold back our own officers and troops from similar deeds of horror; I greatly fear that Bacska, the Banat, and Syrmia will soon be made a wilderness. After what has now happened, I believe that the Servian people find themselves reduced to extremity, and as I know them, they will fight with the energy of despair for their nationality and their religion, and will rather die than allow themselves to be robbed of them. I must frankly confess to your Excellency, that from the barbarities already committed by the Magyars, the Servian nation already draws the inference that the Magyars are waging against them a war of extermination. What will be the issue? I believe it will be nothing else but this,—that they will adopt these practices of the Magyars, and will repay them like for like.

“The Servian nation has not the means for carrying on war which are at the disposal of the Magyar Ministry; but would never have thought of war, if they had not been urged and driven to it by the attack made on the 12th of June, upon poor innocent Carlowitz, upon their sanctuary. They were firmly determined to recover their undoubted rights by legal means. Therefore they sent me with a respectable deputation to the foot of the imperial throne, in order that they might find help there where they were always accustomed to find it when in distress.

“I remain, with all respect,

“Your Excellency’s obedient servant.

“JOSEPH RALACHICH, Archbishop.”

The war between Austria and Magyar Hungary, may be considered to have commenced on the 6th of October, 1848. In December, Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew,—then only eighteen years of age; and even then, Kossuth and his associates offered to lay down their arms if he would compel the *Slaves* to submit to the Magyar authority, which he refused to do. And on the 4th March, 1849, five months after the murder of Latour—Joseph, with the free assent of all his Ministers, granted the present liberal Constitution, which places the *Slaves* of Bohemia and Hungary—the Magyars—the

Italians of Lombardy, and the Germans of the empire—upon precisely the same footing. By this Constitution, Jew and Gentile—Catholic and Protestant, all men of all religions, nations, and races, comprising the empire of Austria—are recognised as equals; and the nine millions of *Slaves* in Hungary, were for ever released from bondage to their four and a half millions of Magyar masters; and like all other subjects of the empire, are entitled to a vote upon paying the trifling annual tax of five florins, or two dollars and fifty cents!

This at once severed the remaining bond between Austria and Magyar Hungary. Up to this period, the Magyars, with Kossuth at their head, hoped for an arrangement with Austria, through which, by concessions, they might still retain the *Slaves* in bondage. But the Constitution, treating them as Rebels, with a dash of the pen wiped out all the “ancient constitutional rights” of Hungary, and consolidating her with the empire of Austria, raised the *Slaves* to a political equality with their masters.

That Constitution provides for a local Diet to govern Hungary, the Lower House (or table) of which shall be chosen by the people. And it expressly provides, that “for all the Nations or Races of the empire, there is but one general Austrian Citizenship; and that the franchise of right belongs to any Austrian citizen who is of age, and pays the lowest denomination of tax,” that is, five florins, or two dollars and a half! And it further provides, that the Upper House shall consist of two Members, chosen by each of the different Provincial Diets,—that is, Hungary Proper, Austria, Slavia, Transsylvania, &c., &c., each to send *two* members, as do our States to the Senate; and those members thus chosen, to fill up the House by election, to half the number of the Lower House! Of course, in such an Assembly, the Magyars will have two deputies, and no more, as the *Slaves* will always fill up the numbers to be elected, with their own people.

All hope for Magyar domination now ceased, unless it could be won by the sword; and one month and ten days after this constitution was proclaimed, *which is in force on this day*, Kossuth and his Magyars put forth their Declarative Independence of Austrian domination.

This Declaration is dated at Debreczin, April 14th, 1849, and it is worthy of remark, that in no part of it does it

pretend to establish a Republican form of government, or to give freedom to the oppressed, or to secure liberty to the people! On the contrary it expressly provides, that while Kossuth shall have unlimited power as Dictator, *the form of Government to be established after securing their Independence shall be left to a future Diet of Hungary*, elected according to the ancient rights and privileges of the Hungarian nation! That is, the Magyars were to do as they always had done—govern Hungary as they pleased, and retain twice their number of fellow men in bondage! But this is not all. This very declaration sustains every position we have taken; and proves that the only cause of complaint against Austria, was her refusing to aid M. Kossuth and the Magyars, in keeping in bondage nine millions of white slaves. That there may be no doubt upon this subject, we quote from the Kossuth-Magyar-Hungarian Declaration of Independence:—

“Croatia and Slavonia were chosen to begin this rebellion, because in those countries the inhuman policy of Prince Metternich had, with a view to the weakening of all parties, for years cherished hatred against the Hungarian nation. By exciting in every possible manner the most unfounded national jealousies, and by employing the most disgraceful means, he had succeeded in inflaming a party with rage; although the Hungarians, far from desiring to oppress the Croats, allowed the most unrestrained development to the provincial institutions of Croatia, and shared with their Croatian and Slavonian brethren their political rights, even going the length of sacrificing some of their own rights, by acknowledging special privileges and immunities in those dependencies.

“The Ban revolted, therefore, in the name of the emperor, and rebelled openly against the king of Hungary, who is, however, one and the same person, and he went so far as to decree the separation of Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary, with which they had been united for eight hundred years, as well as to incorporate them with the Austrian empire. Public opinion and undoubted facts threw the blame of these proceedings on the Archduke Louis, uncle to the emperor; on his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles, and especially on the consort of the last-named prince, the Archduchess Sophia; and since the *Ban* in this act of rebellion openly alleges that he acted as *a faithful subject* of the emperor, the ministry of Hungary

requested their sovereign, by a public declaration, to wipe off the stigma which these proceedings threw upon the family. At that moment affairs were not prosperous for Austria in Italy; the emperor, therefore, did proclaim that the Ban and his associates were guilty of high treason, and of exciting to rebellion. But while publishing this edict, the Ban and his accomplices were covered with favors at Court, and supplied for their enterprise with money, arms, and ammunition. The Hungarians, confiding in the royal proclamation, and not wishing to provoke a civil conflict, did not hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair, and only adopted measures for checking any extension of the rebellion. But soon afterwards, the inhabitants of South Hungary, of Servian race, were excited to rebellion by precisely the same means.

“These were also declared by the king to be rebels, but were, nevertheless, like the others, supplied with moneys, arms, and ammunition. The king’s commissioned officer and civil servants enlisted bands of robbers in the principality of Servia, to strengthen the *rebels*, and to aid them in massacring the peaceable Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. The command of these rebellious bodies was further entrusted to the rebel leaders of the Croatsians.”

Surely no honest or candid man can read this extract without concluding at once, that we have given a faithful history of the cause of the war in Hungary; and that however much Austria may have offended against freedom in times past, in this affair, at least, she was battling on the side of liberty and freedom, against tyranny and oppression—when she waged a successful and triumphant war against Kossuth and the most aristocratic people in Europe. The fourth resolution appended to the Declaration of Independence, expressly provides, that “the form of government to be adopted for the future, shall be fixed by the Diet of the nation.” And that Diet, as we have shown, consisted mostly of Magyars, and untitled nobility, and to which the peasantry, consisting of rather more than four-fifths of the nation, did not send a solitary member! Let it be borne in mind, that of the five and a half millions of Magyars, six hundred thousand, or nearly one-fourth, are nobles! and that in their hands was all power; and then the reader can judge what would have been the result of their success. And the resolution proceeds to say, that

until a future government shall be so organised by a future Diet, "on the basis of the ancient and received principles, [there was to be no option,] which have been recognised for ages, the government of the United countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on the personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all his acts, by Louis Kossuth!"

We ask especial attention to this extract from the famous Kossuth Declaration of Independence, as going to prove, beyond all cavil, every proposition we have laid down as regards the cause of war with Austria. It must be remembered, too, that even this was not issued until one month and ten days after the Emperor Joseph had issued his liberal constitution of the 4th of March, 1829, which liberated from bondage nine millions of white slaves, who Kossuth waged a war to keep in servile bondage, and without either social or political rights.

With these *facts* before the American people—for they are as well established facts as any connected with our own struggle for independence—what republican, what advocate of liberty, what friend of humanity and of his race, can do otherwise than rejoice that Kossuth and his Magyar Hungarians, were overcome and conquered; and that nine millions of white men, in every respect their equals, have been liberated from bondage, and now stand before their Maker free and disenthralled, and susceptible of being elevated to a position, both social and political, equal to that of any other people in Europe? Whom should we respect? for whom are our sympathies demanded? Are we to respect Kossuth and his co-labourers in the work of riveting faster the chains of the oppressor? or the youthful emperor—descendant of a line of Despots, if you please, but nevertheless a reformer, as we shall show hereafter, and the gallant Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, who bravely battled for his race, and fearlessly put at defiance Diets and emperors, and swore to do or die! And our sympathies—are they to be expended in behalf of those who fought against liberty and freedom, and equal social and political rights, and were overcome because the God of battles and of justice, was on the side of the oppressed? Or shall we, true to our instincts, and faithful to the cause of freedom and of liberty throughout the world, awaken to *the truth*, and freely give our sympathies where they are

justly due — to the nine millions of white slaves who were freed by Kossuth's fall ; and render thanks to the Almighty, that he permitted that most fortunate event ?

But it may be again said, that Kossuth, too, granted equal rights to all parties. This is true ; but where and under what circumstances did he do it ? The Declaration of Independence, be it understood, made on the 14th of April, 1849, one month and ten days after the emperor Joseph gave freedom to the Slave, did not grant any such equality. Even as late as the 10th of June, 1849, following, Cassimir Bathiany, writing to the agents of the Governments, through whom the Slaves again sought for terms, in the name of the Dictator Kossuth, says,—“There are three principles which must prove as a basis to *any conciliation*, and in regard to which, we shall concede nothing, or any condition whatever, for it would amount to committing suicide with our own hands.

“ 1st. The Unity of the State.

“ 2nd. The integrity of the territory of the State as it has existed for centuries.

“ 3rd. The supremacy of the Magyar Element, acquired one thousand years ago by the armed hand, the foundation of our autonomy, and consecrated by the use of the Magyar as the Diplomatic language.”

This was only two months previous to the surrender of Georgey, the flight of Kossuth, and the final triumph of freedom over despotism ; and yet we find here that Kossuth and his advisers, had no more idea of granting freedom to the Slavonic races, or surrendering “the supremacy of the Magyar Element,” than they had when they humbled themselves in the dust at the foot of the Imperial throne, and like cringing beggars humbly entreated “*of its kindness*” to aid them in putting down the Slavonian rebels ! There is not, up to this time at least, any signs of repentance—any disposition even to do justice to the oppressed to save themselves, because they still hoped there was a chance of their restoration to aristocratic institutions and despotic power. One month afterwards, however, when the sword of destruction was suspended over their heads, and about to fall—within twelve days of their final overthrow, and when even hope had fled—did they pass a resolution, and proclaim publicly, “equal rights of all nationalities.” This resolution was passed and proclaimed on the 28th of July, and on the 10th of August all was over—

Georgey a prisoner, and Kossuth a fugitive with the Turk—where he should have been left; and to have been brought whence by the sympathies of republican America, only exhibits the generous character and noble impulses of our people, at the same time that it inculcates a lesson of caution for the future, which we trust will not be thrown away.

Schlesinger, in his "War in Hungary," vol. 2, pp. 188, says, this "recognition of equal rights came a year too late; for it now merely offered to the Slavonic races, a concession which had already been secured to them by the emperor of Austria; and offered it, moreover, in sight of their burnt-down cities, desolated villages, and desecrated graves. The Magyar haughtiness, and the thirst for supremacy in the Hungarian nobility, never suffered a deeper humiliation, than from the resolutions passed at this sitting of the Diet. It was the last—the last great expiatory sin offering of the Representatives of the Hungarian nation, for long years of injustice to the other Races."

H. Depies, in *Revue des deux Mondes*, January 15th, 1850, has the following in relation to this concession when all was lost—a concession, which if made at the commencement of the struggle, would have rendered Hungary for ever independent of Austria, almost without a contest:—

"After the first defeats of GEORGEY and BEM, when the image of death under its most terrific aspect was presented from all quarters to the insurrectionary government, KOSSUTH, with the ministry and the legislative assembly, began to show himself *less hostile* to projects of compromise. Under the *fear* which then seized upon all minds, they agreed to make *some* of the concessions which the agents of the Wallachians demanded. It was at Snegedin, the last asylum of the fugitive government, on the 14th of July, one month before the end of the war, that the minister, KOSSUTH, acquainted the Wallachians with this tardy resolution. As to the demands of the Poles in favour of the Slavonians generally, the Magyars still hesitated; only at the last moment, [July 28th,] and when on the point of expiring at Arad, they resign themselves to this last and grievous sacrifice. Hardly had the Wallachians had time to become acquainted with the new rights which were conceded to them with so bad grace, when *already the ruin of Hungary was consummated*. The Servians and the Croats heard of the *very small concessions* made to them *only after*

the catastrophe, with the news of the capitulation at Villagos."

We have thus, in as rapid a manner as possible, brought this history of the War in Hungary down to its close, with the triumph of the cause of freedom, the liberation of nine millions of Slaves from bondage, and the overthrow of Kossuth and his Aristocratic co-labourers in the work of tyranny and oppression. We have not time even to read over what we have written, much less to revise it; and of course, like all Editorials thrown off at a late hour of the night, it must be full of errors; but we hope they will not be material to a correct judgment upon the claims of Kossuth's being considered worthy of the sympathies of the American people. To guard, as far as possible, against such errors, we recapitulate what we have clearly established, or sought to establish, and which will, we think, prove the following positions:—

1st. The Revolution in Vienna, which drove METTERNICH from power, and the Emperor and Court to Innsbruck, took place in March, 1848.

2nd. The *Magyar Hungarians*, who for eight centuries had been the masters of the Slavonic races in that country, which for three centuries has been a dependency of Austria—forced from the Emperor, in the hour of his trouble, an acknowledgment of nearly their entire Independence, even to the having a separate Minister of War and Foreign Affairs.

3rd. That Hungary consists of thirteen millions and a half of people, of whom four millions and a half are Magyar, (600,000 of them *Nobles*,) and about nine millions Croats, Wallachians, and other Slavonic races.

4th. That for eight centuries, and upwards, the four and a half millions of Magyars have kept in the most servile bondage the nine millions of the *Slavonic* races—whence is derived our term *slave*, as applied to the Southern Negro.

5th. That the slavery of this *ten millions* was of the same absolute character as our Negro Slavery, only much more severe; because, until abolished by METTERNICH, in 1845, the Magyar Noble had the power of life and death over the white *Slave*, who is in intellect the equal of his master.

6th. That the *Magyars* having forced Austria to recognize their almost entire independence of the Empire, the

Slavonians of Hungary, actuated by the general spirit of Liberty which pervaded Europe in 1848, and headed by the gallant JELLACHICH, BAN of Croatia, demanded from the Diet their FREEDOM, and equality of social and political rights, which the Magyars and the Magyar Government refused—KOSSUTH being the Minister of Finance, and the principal man in the Government.

7th. That therefore the Ban of Croatia, and all the Slavonic races, rose in revolt against their oppressors.

8th. That the Magyars, on the 4th July, 1848, made a most humble appeal to Austria for aid to put down the *Slaves*; and that that appeal, disgraceful to the manhood of those who made it, and at war with everything like liberty, or even freedom from bondage, was signed by KOSSUTH.

9th. That the *Slaves* also appealed in the spirit of men resolved to be free, and put all kings and emperors at defiance; in consequence of which, JELLACHICH, the Ban of Croatia, was outlawed by the Emperor.

10th. That late in July, 1848, the Ban made overtures to KOSSUTH, and his co-ministers, to make common cause with them against Austria, and offered to insure entire Hungarian Independence on condition that the *Slaves*, numbering two to one of their masters, should be granted their freedom, and secured political equality—which proposition was indignantly rejected by the *Magyars*.

11th. That thereupon the *Ban* of Croatia, although an outlaw, repaired to the Emperor at Innsbruck, when wiser counsels prevailed, the outlawry was removed, and JELLACHICH formally appointed BAN under the Emperor's own hand.

12th. That this fact was concealed for some weeks; but becoming known, the Magyar Hungarian Diet raised men and money to put down the "Illyrian Rebels," as they styled the *Slaves*.

13th. That on the 10th of September, 1848, this Diet sent a Deputation, consisting of one hundred and sixty of the members, to Vienna, demanding that the Emperor should approve of what they had done, and take up his residence at *Pesth*, the capital of Hungary, in order to prove to the Slavonic races that he was the friend, and in the interest of their Magyar masters! which of course he refused to do.

14th. That because of such refusal, the Deputation tore down the Austro-Hungarian Flag, trod it under foot, and

departed down the Danube under a BLOODY RED Flag; and upon arriving at *Pesth*, the Diet declared KOSSUTH Dictator.

15th. That two weeks afterwards, they sent another deputation to the Emperor, which was not received; but that, as a last effort at compromise, Field-Marshal Count LAMBERG, was despatched to PESTH with a flag of truce, and full power to treat with KOSSUTH and the Diet. That KOSSUTH openly declared in the Diet that his life ought to be taken; and that, when crossing the bridge, on the 28th of September, 1848, alone, with a white flag flying, and approaching the Hungarian Diet, he was brutally MURDERED in broad daylight! and that the murderers declared they were ordered to commit the act by KOSSUTH!

16th. That eight days thereafter, on the 6th of October, 1848, Count LATOUR, the Minister of War, was cruelly murdered in Vienna, and his mangled body hung up to a lamp-post as a target for the infuriated mob to fire at; and that KOSSUTH, beyond all question, knew of the intention to commit the murder, and instigated friends in Vienna to produce it.

17th. That under these circumstances, and for these reasons, the Emperor declared martial law in Hungary.

18th. That the murder of LATOUR caused a second revolution in Vienna, and the Emperor and the Court were again obliged to leave.

19th. That Prince WINDISCHGRATZ laid siege to Vienna; that KOSSUTH marched to the relief of the rebels; that he was met by Ban JELLACHICH, and routed; and that Vienna was carried by storm by the Austrian troops on the 31st of October, 1848.

20th. That this war was commenced by Hungary against Austria, by KOSSUTH's marching an army to Vienna, without Hungary's complaining of any grievance against Austria—except that the Emperor would not aid the Magyars to keep the Slaves in bondage—personal and political.

21st. That the Emperor abdicated December, 1848, and was succeeded by his nephew, FRANCIS JOSEPH I.

22nd. That on the 24th of March, 1849, the Emperor JOSEPH granted a Constitution to the empire, giving liberty to the oppressed Slaves, and placing all races and nations upon a footing of equality as Austrian subjects, and giving them political freedom and the elective franchise.

23rd. That because of this grant of FREEDOM to the Slavonic races, Hungary declared her entire independence of Austria on the 14th of April following.

24th. That that declaration of independence did not even promise a Republican Government, but expressly reserved to the Magyar nobility the right of forming the new Government after their independence was secured, and also provided for the continuance of the bondage of the *Slaves*.

25th. That as late as the 10th of June, 1849, only two months before KOSSUTH'S flight, he and his Government peremptorily refused equal rights to the Slavonic races.

26th. That never, until the 28th of July, only twelve days before the final fall of KOSSUTH, GEORGEY, and the Magyar nobility, did they ever even pretend to fight for freedom or liberty, or offer equal rights to all races in Hungary.

27th. That KOSSUTH and his Government warred in defence of *Slavery* and *Oppression*, and against personal freedom, political liberty, and equality of personal and political rights; and that all good men and friends of liberty throughout the world, should rejoice in his overthrow; because it broke the chains of nine millions of white Slaves, held in bondage, and denied even personal, as well as political freedom, by four millions and a half of proud, haughty and ambitious, Magyars—a Tartar tribe, who, for eight hundred years, have held in slavery the descendants of the Slavonic races, which they subjugated in the eleventh century.

28th. That as a Republican and a Christian people, we have cause to rejoice in the fall of KOSSUTH; and should give thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, that through that providential event he has graciously liberated from bondage nine millions of the Slavonic race, and bestowed upon them personal freedom, and a fair share of political liberty.—*New York Courier Office*, April 12, 1851.

APPENDIX.

“It is a bold assumption that the cause of the revolution was the cause of Hungary: it is very questionable whether, even in respect for the Magyar race, those persons who blazoned its name were in any sense its true representa-

tives. This race is described by a recent Swiss traveller, in language which may be paraphrased as 'loyal and generous, hospitable to an excess; but, by the side of these and other manly qualities, exhibiting a dangerous leaning towards an enthusiasm without reflection, and a vivacity without calculation.'—*Corvinus' Hungary*, pp. 10, 11.

"The Magyar movement is widely distinguished, both by the power which called it forth, and the object it had in view, from all the revolutions that convulsed Europe during the last two years. The political knowledge of the Magyars does not extend much beyond that of their own constitution; and it is remarkable with what singular affection and constancy this ancient constitution, with all its defects and abnormalities, has been held fast and cherished by the people. Whilst all the other nations have sought to enlarge more or less their representative constitutions, the Magyar has dreaded any change in his, clinging to its very letter, as the Mussulman to the words of the Koran."*—*Schlesinger's War in Hungary*, vol. i., p. 114.

"However much the free citizen of Austria must condemn the course which Jellachich pursued, he cannot withhold from him the acknowledgment that he was actuated on this occasion [the capture of Vienna] by motives of humanity, when such motives were regarded as fantastical, and feeling was looked upon as eccentricity."—*Schlesinger's War in Hungary*, vol. i., p. 71.

"Jellachich's first appearance was such as to command respect. In Croatia there was no pillage, but there was equipment; there was no murdering—there was arming. The Ban roused his fellow-countrymen to the war against the Hungarians with the same irresistible eloquence as that which subsequently enabled Kossuth to perform such incredible exploits; he took the field for the independence

* "The author is an Hungarian by birth, but long ago quitted his native country, residing first in Prague, and subsequently in Berlin. He is perfectly familiar with Hungary, and his conception of persons and characters is essentially accurate."—*Preface*, by F. Pulzsky.

"Pulz-ky's name was one of the first on the list of those whom Prince Windischgratz claimed to be given up by the city of Vienna. But he escaped in time from the court martial and from certain death.—After a short stay in Paris he repaired to London as the accredited agent of his country. Kossuth could not have found a more active, able, and competent man in Hungary for this post."—*Schlesinger's War in Hungary*.

of his nation with great talents for agitation and inflammatory enthusiasm. He entered the arena of the revolution with raised visor, in a spirit of self-reliance, of confidence in the power of his race, and their right to revolt.

“The question naturally arose why the Croats should not enjoy privileges which the Hungarians had obtained without a struggle, and which the Italians on the field of battle, and the Germans in their Parliament, were striving to acquire? No one who does not condemn all revolutions as indefensible, can consider the Croat insurrection less justified than those in Italy and Poland. In fact, at its commencement, Jellaehich met with considerable sympathy both in and out of Austria; notwithstanding that Slavism had never enjoyed any great favour in Europe.” *Id.* pp. 26, 27.

“The other races, however, that were concerned in these changes, (effected in March and April, 1848,) and especially the Slavonians, immediately saw that the tendency of the Magyars was to merge all the other nationalities in their own, and to suppress them altogether, to which end the separation of the Hungarian government from the central government of the empire, was a necessary means. This conviction, supported by recent experience, soon brought out the most determined opposition. The Croatian and Slavonian members of the Diet, in the proceedings of the two Houses, (or Tables,) had not raised their voices against these innovations, because the terrorism exercised by the Magyar party had deprived them of all freedom of speech, and because they also hoped that the Crown would reject the propositions of the Diet, which would inevitably have caused the empire to be divided into two hostile portions.

* * * * *

“The pretence of the Hungarians, that they took up arms to secure the adoption of liberal principles in the empire, was a political fraud, which exposed itself by the tone of independence they arrogated when they perceived the authority of Austria was on the wane, and were emboldened in consequence to put forward the immoderate pretensions and demands which originated the war, and called forth the Ban, who dreading the servitude intended to be imposed on his countrymen, unsheathed his sword to save their liberties and the undivided power of

the empire. Should the Hungarians and Kossuth succeed, (a result little to be apprehended,) the Slavonians would be subjugated and deprived of all their privileges, and Austria would fall into the hands of wild theorists, instead of being regenerated."—*Thompson's Austria*, p. 396.

"It is not quite clear why Batthyanyi, who was aware of Count Lamberg's mission, withdrew from Pesth on the 27th September, and so gave the Diet an opportunity to declare his mission illegal, because his appointment was not properly countersigned. That declaration most assuredly paved the way to the murder of the King's Commissioner on the 28th; and it is impossible to assent to the Hungarian manifesto, where it states that 'Count Lamberg's death should be considered as a fact in itself.' The Diet must accept the responsibility of initiating the outrage; and it certainly failed to seize the occasion to repudiate the sanguinary sentiment of M. Irenyi, when he described it in the Lower House as 'a mere mistake of form.'

"Upon the murder of Count Lamberg, Batthyanyi, Eotvos, and even the Baron Wesselényi, the O'Connell of Transylvania, as he has been termed, left the country."—*Corvinus*, p. 76.

"Nothing, indeed, shows more clearly the distinct character of the later period of the Hungarian revolution than the fate of this ministry. Prince Paul Esterházy tendered his resignation in September, 1848. Count Széchényi became insane on seeing the misfortunes inevitably impending over his country, which he was powerless to avert. Baron Eotvos was obliged for his personal safety to fly from Hungary after the events which ended with the massacre of Count Lamberg; whilst Deák and Klauzál retired into private life, when they became satisfied that M. Kossuth intended to continue the civil war at all hazards, by withdrawing with a section of the Diet to Debreczin."—*Ib.* p. 68.

"I do not pretend that the quarrel of a part of the Hungarian people (the Magyar race) against another part, (the Slavonic race), and that struggle of Hungary, thus divided with itself, against Austria, was the least in the world a French or even a democratic cause. I know perfectly well that it was nothing of the sort: that this was a double or triple war of a character quite foreign to our discussions and our revolutions on this side of the western

world. It was a civil war amongst the Hungarians themselves, growing out of quarrels historical in their origin, and out of jealousies of race. It was a federal war between the Hungarians and Austrians for more or less independent conditions of federation, or for the reconquering of national interests. It is true that France and democracy had not an atom of their proper cause involved in this confusion of conflicts."—Lamartine's *Past, Present, and Future*, (Am. ed.) p. 60.

“With a natural feeling of respect for the gallantries of the Magyars in battle, and for some chivalrous points in their character and demeanor, we suppressed, or passed lightly over, many pages in the record of the shocking barbarities which they committed, and of the insulting and oppressive treatment, continued for centuries, which at length goaded their long suffering, subject races into rebellion. Since the fall of the aristocracies of Venice and Poland, the Magyars in Hungary, with few exceptions, have been the most arrogant, cruel, and tyrannical nobility in Europe. The robber barons of the Middle Ages did not more fully merit the vengeance which sometimes overtook them at the hands of their despairing vassals, than did these semi-barbarous nobles the ruin which has at length befallen them. They have kept their country three centuries behind the age, for the sole purpose of retaining their odious privileges as an order and a race. The policy even of Austrian despotism was liberal and enlightened compared with theirs. They were the firmest supporters, the pliant instruments and vassals of that despotism, so long as it would aid them in riveting the chains upon their unhappy subjects. When that aid was withdrawn, they turned fiercely against the power to which they had so long submitted without a murmur, and at the same moment found themselves surrounded, as with a wall of fire, by their revolted and desperate vassals, Slovacks, and Wallachians, Servians, Germans, and Croatians, races separated from each other by the widest differences of language, manners, and religion, were now united by a common hatred of the Magyars, and fought against them with a long restrained thirst for vengeance, and with all the energy of despair. The scenes of the war which ensued were sickening to humanity, and an opprobrium to the age. Fortunately, it was of short continuance; the

Magyars were crushed in the unequalled contest; and their fair land is now a scene of desolation and ruin.

“Discite justitiam moniti, et non temere Divos.”

This tyrannical aristocracy after actively aiding Austria, so late as the summer of 1848, to trample out the last sparks of freedom in Italy, at length became dissatisfied, because the emperor would not help them to suppress the rebellion of their own vassals, and made war against him, commencing hostilities by the shocking murders of Count Latour and Count Lamberg.—*North American Review*, January, 1851.

Works written by WILLIAM BERNARD MACCABE.

I.—A CATHOLIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

VOLUMES I. and II.

The following letter has been addressed to the author, by His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

“† 35, GOLDEN SQUARE, May 3, 1850.

“Dear Sir,

“The Bishops assembled here in Low Week, desired me to express, on their behalf, to you, the high sense which they entertain of the truly religious motives, and pure zeal which have animated you in the design of your ‘Catholic History of England,’ as well as of the skill, research, learning, and Catholic feeling with which the published portion of the work is executed.

“Their Lordships most cordially hope that you will meet with the encouragement and support, which you so well deserve.

“In conveying these sentiments of their Lordships in your regard, I need hardly add that they are also my own.

“I have been prevented by various circumstances from making to you an earlier communication of these kind expressions, and am,

“Dear Sir,

“Yours sincerely in Christ,

“† N. WISEMAN.

“To W. B. MACCABE, Esq.”

“The Catholic History of England,” as originally projected, is a work of which these days of ephemeral literature can hardly be deemed worthy. * * * The author of the Catholic History has done all that perseverance and industry could accomplish. Two massive volumes have followed each other in rapid succession, and the third is announced for publication about the commencement of the coming year. * * * We have already recorded our opinion as to the merits of the first volume of the Catholic History; and we da

not hesitate to say that the present volume realizes all the anticipations then expressed. There is the same evidence of learning, research, and impartiality; the same care in the selection and arrangement of authorities; the same ease and simplicity in the style of translation; the same skill in combining the motley materials which compose the work, and in dovetailing them into each other so as to form them into one uniform narrative, or at least to make them all subordinate to one common end."—*Dublin Review*, No. lxxx, pp. 128, 129.

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