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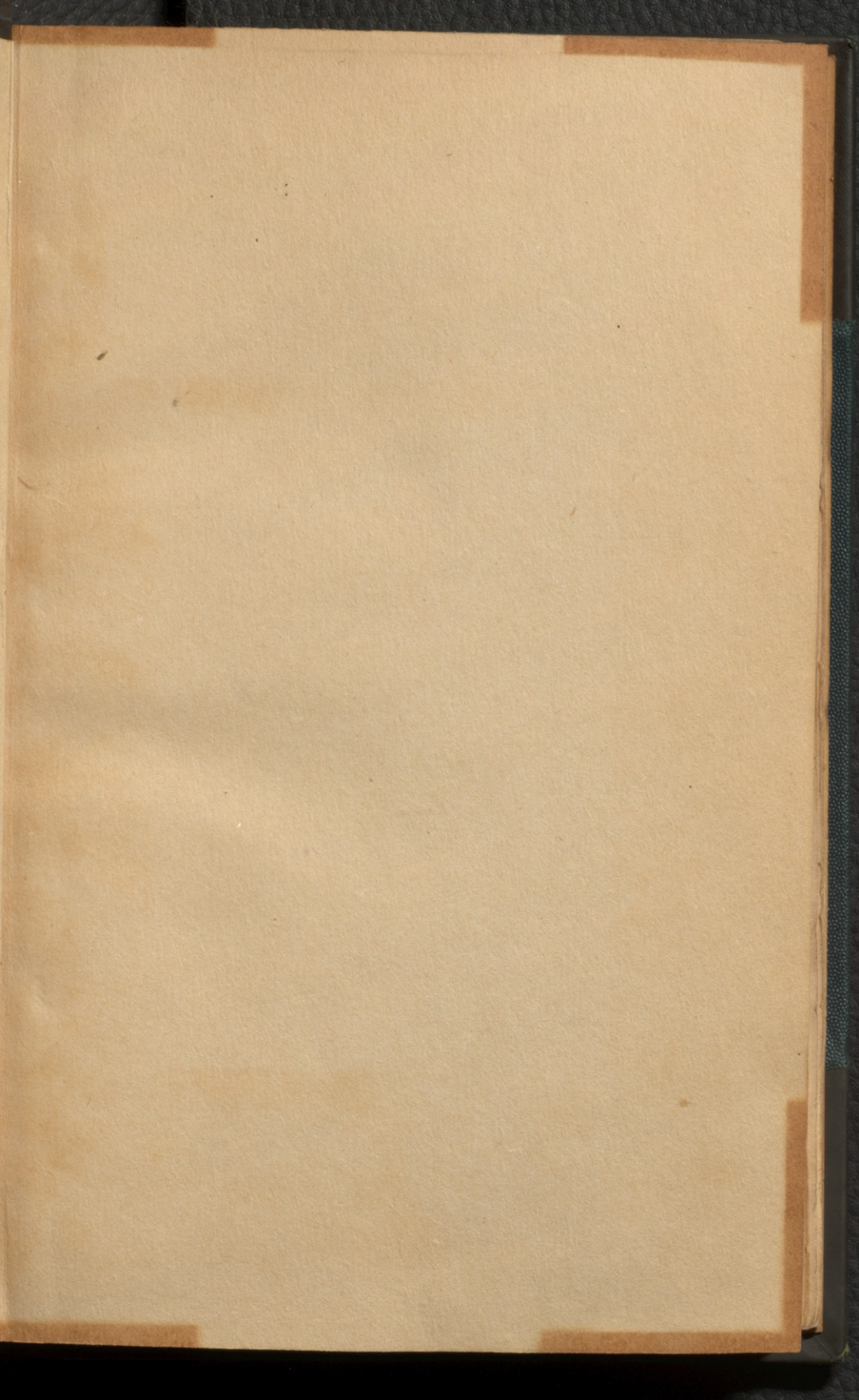


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look upon every unexplained defect from the patient
 track as the result of a want of imagination or the
 glittering speculation of an exalted mind, that may
 please and dazzle for a time but can produce no real or
 lasting advantage. These men value themselves upon
 perpetual scepticism, upon believing nothing but their
 own senses upon calling for demonstration when it
 cannot possibly be obtained, and sometimes upon hold-
 ing out against it when it is laid before them; upon
 inventing arguments against the success of any new
 undertaking, and where arguments cannot be found,
 upon treating it with contempt and ridicule. Such
 have been the most formidable enemies of the great
 benefactors to mankind.

The class of persons so accurately described by John-
 son in this passage have given every opposition in their
 power to the various improvements in our local legis-
 lation which have been introduced of late years. While
 the measures were under discussion the demonstration
 which they required could not be afforded to them.
 They have not the experimental proof; and having
 retained all reason and argument it is to be hoped that
 they will yield to the evidence of their senses.

January 1811.

101-2

AN EXAMINATION
OF
THE OFFICIAL REPLY
OF THE
NEAPOLITAN GOVERNMENT.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE,
M.P. FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Clarence. Relent, and save your souls.
1 Murderer. Relent! 'tis cowardly, and womanish.
Clarence. Not to relent, is beastly, savage, devilish.
RICHARD III., Act 1., Scene 4.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1852.

AN EXAMINATION

THE OFFICIAL REPLY

TO THE

QUESTIONS

NEAPOLEONIAN GOVERNMENT

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE

MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

LONDON

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

AN EXAMINATION.

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AN EXAMINATION,

§c.

§c.

WHEN I addressed the Earl of Aberdeen in the month of July, with respect to the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government, I did not expect to return to the subject. But neither did I then expect to be encountered in the field by a responsible antagonist. The appearance of the Neapolitan Government itself,* under the form of a publication carrying its authority, upon the arena, has altered my position. I have now thought it my duty to that Government, as well as to the public, to place its reply point by point in the scales along with my accusation, and strictly take account of the result.

And my first duty is an agreeable one: it is the duty of confessing that, whatever may have been the prudence of the decision to appear and plead in the cause, the course taken has at least been a manly and an open one: this openness, this manliness, lead to and justify the hope that that Government will not shrink from the logical, legitimate, and obvious consequences of the step it has thought fit so deliberately to adopt.

It may, indeed, seem strange that this reply, if published in Naples, where the accusation, of course, is not permitted to appear, and rendered by authority into French, for publication in a most respectable Parisian journal, should not, so far as I am able to learn, have been published at all in England, where the charge was originally advanced, and has attracted general attention among all classes. I can only ascribe it to the fact, that in this country there is but one opinion, so to speak, through all orders

* *Rassegna degli Errori e delle Fallacie* pubblicate dal Sig. Gladstone, in due sue Lettere indirite al Conte Aberdeen. Napoli, Stamperia del Fibreno. 1851. A French version, announced as by authority, appears in the 'Journal des Débats,' of the 27th, 28th, and 30th September.

of the community upon the melancholy subject. I suppose it was felt that, eagerly as a confutation ought to have been hailed, a reply which is not only no confutation of my statements at all, but not even an attempt at one, would have been a waste of words in one of those countries, where it is a fixed and traditional practice to canvass with the utmost freedom all the acts of those in public authority, and where this liberty and habit of unrestrained discussion are prized as one of the very chiefest and most necessary bulwarks, alike to loyalty, to order, and to freedom.

I have termed the production before me a reply which is no confutation, nor even an attempt at one; and I must freely confess that my first quarrel is with its title. It is called 'A Review of the Errors and Misrepresentations published,' and so forth; but, if the object of a title be to give a correct description, it ought to have been denominated 'A Tacit Admission of the Accuracy of Nine-tenth Parts of the Statements contained in Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen.' For those who do not enter into the case, it sounds very well when they are told that the errors and misrepresentations, or, as they have in some quarters been called, falsehoods and calumnies, of my letters have been answered; but I now assert, without fear even of challenge, that nine-tenths of my most startling assertions are passed by in total silence in the apology of the Neapolitan Government. And I suppose it is no extravagant assumption if I treat that silence, in an answer that made its appearance three or four months after the parties were made acquainted with the charge, as simply equivalent to an admission of the facts.

Before I enter on particulars, let me observe upon that which next after the title meets the eye in the pamphlet before me, its very significant and well-chosen motto; *errare, nescire, decipi, et malum et turpe ducimus*. I at once recognise both the general truth and the particular application. Notwithstanding the courteous and forbearing tone of the pamphlet, its writer (whether he be a single or a composite person I shall not stop to inquire) felt that he could not do justice to his case—if at least he imagines it to be a confutation of mine—without intimating that to be ill informed, to blunder, to be duped, was nothing less than criminal and base on the part of one who undertook to impeach, on grounds so high, and in language so unmeasured, the proceedings of a Government.

I am certain the writer cannot feel this more strongly than I do. I re-echo the proposition. I subscribe to the doctrine as cordially as I profoundly differ from some doctrines which he has broached. Launched on the twentieth year of public life, with my lot cast in a stirring country and a stirring time, I cannot plead the character of a novice in excuse or palliation of temerity. Neither can I throw the smallest fraction of my responsibility for the measure of publication, at the time, and under the circumstances, when it took place, on any other person: the appeal to the world which I made in July last, although it came in connection with the name of the Earl of Aberdeen, was my own act, and my own act alone. I very well knew that on the general truth of my charges I was staking my own character, which, though little in itself, is much to me. I am the first, not to admit only, but to urge, that to have gathered such charges upon hearsay, to have made them my own with levity and haste, to have swerved one inch from strict impartiality through the hope of popular sympathy and applause, to have aimed blows at the cause of order and stability by exaggerating defects incidental to all governments, or to have claimed or exercised, upon any general grounds, the functions of a cosmopolite for the rectification of the affairs of a foreign country, and by such means to have bid for the favour of persons to whose political opinions I demur—this would, indeed, have been in me conduct criminal and base; so criminal and so base, that it would have deserved reprobation only one degree less in intensity than that which I invoked upon the deeds, which it was my purpose to brand with infamy and shame.

But, indeed, all these charges of levity, of ignorance, of herding with republicans and malefactors, and the rest, are not worth discussing; for the whole matter comes to one single issue—Are the allegations true, or are they false? If they are false, I shall not be the man to quarrel with any severity of reproach that may be directed against me; but if they are true, then I am quite sure the Neapolitan Government will take no benefit by insinuating doubts whether sentiments like mine, even if well founded, ought to be made known,* or by taking any trivial and irrelevant objection to my personal conduct or qualifications.

* Rassegna, p. 5.

One word, however, I must expend on a personal matter, because it is also a matter of courtesy and feeling. It is urged that, whereas I should have been received at Naples with kindness, not only by the Ministers, but by the King himself, and listened to with attention; yet, instead of profiting by such opportunities, I was careful (I am now quoting the French version) to see none of the Ministers, and no considerable person, and did not even manifest the usual wish to be presented to the Sovereign.

It is an entire error to suppose that I avoided the Ministers, or sought in preference the society of persons of any other political party. Through the kindness of Prince Castelcicala, then Neapolitan Minister in London, I was provided with a letter to the Head of the Administration, and this letter I delivered in the usual manner on the very day after I reached Naples. I thus took the only step in my power to turn it to account. I likewise requested the British Minister, Sir W. Temple, to be kind enough to secure for me the opportunity of paying my humble respects to the Sovereign on the earliest occasion. But it so happened, that there was no occasion of the kind until many weeks after my arrival at Naples. During this interval I had become gradually aware, in a considerable degree, of the state of things which I have endeavoured to describe; and although I then had taken no positive resolution on the subject, yet I felt a deep anxiety that in some manner the political party, with whose foreign policy I had been associated, should be effectually disconnected from such proceedings. I must confess that arrests, which I saw going on around me, and with the particulars of which I was more or less acquainted, had shocked me to the very last degree; and I now look back on them with the same unmitigated horror. I was, in short, convinced of thus much,—first, that I could not with perfect ingenuousness appear in the circle of the Court, and remain silent upon these matters; secondly, that the malady was deep, and must be dealt with by influences—friendly, indeed, and considerate—but of a weight and authority far different from any that I could bring to bear by my merely personal representations. For these reasons, when the time for holding a reception was about to arrive, I begged leave of Sir W. Temple to withdraw the request I had made to him; and I trust it will thus appear that, whether I judged correctly or otherwise, I was not prompted

by a wanton disrespect for constituted authority or for the Royal Person. I had no such sentiment either towards the person of the King or towards his throne. My fervent desire was, and even yet is, that that throne may be established in truth and righteousness; and my deep conviction of the revolutionary tendency of the proceedings against which I wrote, was with me one very strong reason for attempting their exposure.

I will now proceed to present the balance-sheet, which the Government of Naples and the public are alike entitled to demand of me. I shall state distinctly, how many and which of the allegations contained in my Two Letters to Lord Aberdeen I think it my duty to qualify—what and how many of them are seriously contested. It will readily be believed that the time which has elapsed since my first publication has not been barren of fresh information to me; but I feel so convinced both of the sufficiency in amount of the statements already before the world, and of the demonstrative confirmation they have now received, that I shall introduce no new heads of charge, and shall be very sparing of new illustrations of charges already made, except in the few cases where they have been questioned. One effective weapon I deliberately refrain from using—I mean the startling enumeration of my uncontested accusations; for feeling is already awake, and I do not wish, where I can help it, to cloud the serenity of the public judgment. Only to this proposition I must formally draw attention, and claim assent: what has not been contested, is admitted; for the apologist distinctly declares, in his Introduction and elsewhere, that he will deal with the entire case;* “will restore those facts which have been exaggerated to their correct proportions; will point out those that are wholly unfounded; and will expose those that are calumnious.” Again, to all the calumnies which I have spread he will “do exact and ample justice.” †

As I do not intend gratuitously to enlarge the lamentable catalogue of my facts, so neither shall I needlessly reiterate my vehement and unqualified language. To gibbet infamy such as that of the President Navarro and the Minister Peccheda, is a task which, like that of the executioner, somebody must perform for the benefit of society; and I have performed it. But no man should needlessly return to the loathsome details of such a business. In

* Rassegna, p. 5.

† Ibid., p. 8.

these pages, accordingly, I shall not insert a word except such as seems absolutely demanded by the course and aim of my argument. The strong language of my Letters I leave upon record, simply saying that I wish any the least part of it could with propriety be either repented, qualified, or withdrawn.

Passing by, then, the statements which no attempt is made to dispute, I shall advert, firstly, to those which, being contradicted, are also proved to be erroneous, or which, upon the whole, I see reason to withdraw; secondly, to those which are indeed contradicted without my having found any cause to recede from them; thirdly, to those which are noticed with the apparent intention more or less of leaving an impression that they have been contradicted, but without any real contradiction at all. I must likewise notice cursorily a fourth and a singular class; that, namely, of contradictions which have been volunteered by zealous defenders of the Neapolitan Government, but which, instead of being taken up and adopted by its recognized and official advocate, are passed by in total and very significant silence.

I. Of the first of these classes I shall rapidly dispose.

1. I have learned nothing to confirm the statement, which I reported as probably though not certainly true, that Settembrini has been tortured.* I therefore think it my duty to withdraw it, although it is not met by the Neapolitan Government with an explicit denial.

2. I have committed an error in saying he was condemned to double irons for life.† Double irons form no part of the sentence of the *ergastolo*, which was his commuted sentence.

3. I have stated that six judges were dismissed at Reggio, upon presuming to acquit a batch of political prisoners.‡ This is an error. The statement should have been, that three were dismissed, and three removed to other posts. This removal is not an uncommon nor an ineffective mode of punishment.

4. I have stated that seventeen invalids were massacred in the prison of Procida on the occasion of the revolt. I believe this also to be an error.

5. I have stated that certain prisoners acquitted in the trial of the *Unità Italiana* were, when I last heard of them, still in prison. This is calculated to convey an impression that they were detained

* First Letter, p. 18.

† Ibid., p. 18.

‡ Ibid., p. 28.

for some considerable time after acquittal, which is not correct. The 'Review' states, and I do not dispute it, that the acquitted prisoners were released after the lapse of only two days.

Such is the list of retractions I have to make.

I have been much criticised for constantly using the expressions "I believe," "I have heard," "It was stated to me," and the like, instead of pursuing the simple strain of assertion throughout: and it has been strangely inferred, that I raked together mere hearsay and rumour, and inculpated a Government on the strength of them.

I did endeavour with laborious care to appreciate, and, by these phrases and otherwise, to give my readers the means of in some degree appreciating, the evidence, varying in amount, for each one of my allegations. The result now proves, that I have been successful beyond my utmost hopes. The words that I used most lightly, upon presumption rather than knowledge, were words of commendation with respect to an individual in high station.

Not one among the whole list of accusations rested upon hearsay. Every one of them had either demonstrative evidence or reasonable and probable evidence in its favour. It may now be seen, in these pages, how small and insignificant a fraction of error made its way into the Letters.

For, having given my retractions above, I must guard the reader against supposing, either that those erroneous allegations imputed to the Neapolitan Government what was worse than many of my unquestioned and admitted statements, and thus heightened the general colouring of the picture, or that, in correcting my details, I am prepared to recede from the substance of any one of the charges.

Though Settembrini has not been tortured, it must not be assumed that torture is an instrument from which, when convenient, the police always shrink; or that my imputation of it is the first they have heard.* The assertion that corporal agony is inflicted, and that without judicial authority, by the Neapolitan police in the prisons, I now make with confidence. The fact that it is utterly illegal unhappily does not afford the very faintest presumption to the contrary.

* See, for example, the *Protestation du Peuple des Deux Siciles*, translated by Ricciardi, Paris, 1848, p. 31.

Again, while stating that Settembrini is not in double irons, I do not mean to mitigate the general idea I have given of his cruel and wicked punishment. He is confined, with eight more prisoners, at San Stefano, in a room sixteen palmi square, which they are never allowed to leave: one of them named Cajazzo, a man condemned for murder forty-nine years ago, who boasts of having at different times murdered thirty-five persons. Several of these exploits he has committed in the prison upon his companions; and I have been assured that the murders in this Ergastolo have exceeded fifty in a single year. What kind of protection, I want to know, is thus afforded to the life of Settembrini?

Again, as to the dismissal of judges. I will not weary the reader of these pages with all the details of mean and shameful revenge which have been used to beat down the high spirit of the legal profession in the persons of the judges. But even the last few weeks have afforded a fresh instance. The political trial called that of the Pugnatori has recently been concluded in Naples. Death was demanded on the part of the Government; but the sentences passed were principally to banishment. The capital was in amazement at the boldness of the judges: and well it might. Since then two of them have been dismissed; what is to happen further time will show. But this was not all. The Government have actually appointed a commission of review to correct this lenient sentence! I add to this, that, on the occasion of another recent trial, an officer of the executive power was placed in the very chamber of the judges, when they met together to consult upon their sentence.*

It has been said I spoke disrespectfully of the Neapolitan judges.† Certainly, I endeavoured to do so of many of them. But those who blame me should recollect that I dare not praise. To be the object of my commendation, insignificant as it is, would be a burden in Naples which few except the very highest could bear.

I could have found there men, and classes of men, worthy to

* One word in regard to salaries of judges. I mentioned the highest salary paid; but I may give a better idea of the general scale by stating that there is an hospital in Naples, where the annual charge divided by the number of patients yields a quotient larger than the salary very commonly paid to a judge.

† Rass., p. 56.

be praised with all the fervour of thought and language that the heart of man can prompt; but stern prudence has restrained me from offering to them the fatal gift.

And now for the massacre perpetrated at Procida by the *gendarmi*, and rewarded by the Government. I can perceive the source of the error into which I fell. For though invalids were not slain on that deplorable occasion, yet prisoners who took refuge and hid under beds were dragged forth, and shot in cold blood by the *gendarmi* after order had been restored. This was on the day of the riot or revolt. On the 26th and on the 28th of June, when it had long been quenched in blood, the work of slaughter was renewed. I believe I rather under than over stated the total loss of life: and two officers—not, as I said, one—received promotion or honours for this abominable enormity.

I ought to add that I never said the unfortunate victims were political prisoners. But I cannot quit the subject without noticing the surprising fact that the Neapolitan Government actually find fault with me in this case for reviving the discussion of a superannuated and obsolete occurrence.* The massacre took place in June, 1848; and, at the time when the apologist penned this strange criticism, his employers were trying some men, and detaining hundreds more untried in prison, on the plea or pretext of acts they had done in May of the same year! Thus, then, against mercy there is a statute of limitations; but vengeance must never die.

And now as to the detention of acquitted persons. Criminal laws and courts are commonly founded on the principle that men are to be treated as innocent until they are found to be guilty, and *à fortiori* that they are to be treated as innocent when they have been found innocent. But in Naples the principle is, first, that men are to be treated as guilty until they are proved to be innocent; and, secondly, that they may still be treated as guilty when they have been found not guilty. For a verdict or sentence favourable to the accused can rarely amount to a positive establishment of his innocence. The issue raised is not, was he innocent? but, was he guilty? From the nature of the case, the failure to prove guilt will rarely involve proof of innocence: and at Naples, the most favourable reply he can hope from the court amounts to this, that no sufficient proof of guilt has been laid before it;

* Rass., p. 56: *un vieto fatto*, a stale or mouldy fact.

a lame, doubtful, floundering acquittal. But such proof may be forthcoming at a subsequent period; having been tried now is no reason why he should not be tried again, but rather in the nature of a reason why he should. Taken at the best, a favourable judgment only replaces the subject of it in the position in which he stood before, of a person suspected by the police, and deemed by them capable either of political crime, or of knowing, or of being related to, or connected with, some one capable of it. An ample reason, surely, for detaining him in prison, on prudential grounds, and with a view to further investigations. Who could complain of so reasonable a discretion intrusted to the police, especially when it is considered, as the 'Review' informs us, that the members of that corps enjoy, except as to those in its inferior ranks, a degree of estimation with the public varying according to their merits!*

I shall now give a painful proof that this is a true picture of the practices at Naples; specifying that I might supply others more flagrant still.

In the month of November last (and I have heard of no change since that date, now two months back) there were in the prison of San Francesco, at Naples, seventeen priests, some of them holding ecclesiastical dignities and professorial chairs. I do not mean that there were no more than seventeen; but that of seventeen I am about to speak. Five of them had been tried; twelve were in the hands of the police without having been tried. One or two of these twelve only, I believe, had been even charged. One of the twelve, neither tried nor charged, was a chronic invalid of fourscore years old. I have the terms for which nine out of the twelve had been thus detained. Three of them were so short as eight months only; two had been thus detained for thirty and thirty-one months respectively.

But I must state the cases of the other five. One of them had been arrested on charges of which he was acquitted, but was serving a sentence of two years under fresh counts laid in virtue of a decree which was passed five months after his arrest. A second had been tried, found guilty, suffered the whole of his sentence, and was still detained in prison by the police. The remaining three had been charged, tried, and acquitted by the Grand Criminal

* Page 58.

Court, but after acquittal they had still been kept in prison—the first I know not how long, the second for eight months, and the third for fifteen. This may sound strange, but there is no marvel in Naples without a sister to it. For a certain Raffaele Valerio was charged in the cause of the Fifth September, though he had alleged in his first examination that he had been arrested two months before that date, and was in prison at the time of the alleged offence. No notice was taken of this statement. When the trial actually came on, but not till then, the allegation was inquired into and found true, and he was acquitted. In the mean time, he had spent thirty-three more months in prison.

I shall not give all the particulars of the condition of the priests to whom I have referred, but a few only. They are imprisoned, then, in defiance even of a rescript of the reactionary period, dated June, 1850, against preventive arrest in the case of priests. They are confined in a prison chiefly used as an hospital, of course for the benefit of their health. They are allowed, for clothing and maintenance, the liberal sum of six grains, about twopence halfpenny, a day; and even this they have had a hard struggle to keep. They are still, however, as priests, spared from the floggings which the police inflicted upon members of the other learned professions; but they have the affliction of living in a place where herds of young lads, taken up for petty offences, are kept for months and years, without care or discipline, and inured to the general practice of vices too horrible to name.

I have now, I think, made good the undertaking with which I entered on this class of statements.

II. The next portion of my task is to deal with the points in which the Neapolitan Government have controverted the substance of my inculpatory statements, but in which I find no cause to recede from, but more to heighten, them.

The material contradictions, then, made to me, which fall into this class, are as follows:—

(1.) I have stated that at the time when I left Naples “a trial was expected to come on immediately in which the number charged was between four and five hundred;”* and the reply is that the “Act of Accusation,” published on the 11th of last June, contained the precise number of thirty-seven.

* Page 10.

I adhere to my statement as it stands, adding that all these men, charged for the events of May, 1848, had already received an amnesty for those acts, solemnly published on the 24th of that month, but since declared null by Navarro and his colleagues.

I admit that forty-six only, not thirty-seven as the Review states, were formally indicted by the Government in Naples before the Court. But at the same time were instituted two similar trials for the same events in the provinces of Salerno and Terra di Lavoro respectively, the first of which included fifty-four persons, and the second forty-six. Thus then the number of thirty-seven is at once raised to one hundred and forty-six persons.

But this is far below my number. What then became of the residue? An hundred were, as we have seen, disposed of by processes in other provinces; and I have before me the "*Requisitorie ed Atti di Accusa*" in the cause, from which it appears that the number of persons whose names were included in the process by the Procurator-General was three hundred and twenty-six. Thus we have a total of four hundred and twenty-six, which seems pretty well to warrant my statement, that the number was "between four and five hundred." But even this was not the limit; for the words are judiciously added,* "together with others not yet well enough known"!

It is quite true, however, but in no way weakens my statement, that the trials of these three hundred and twenty-six were not at once proceeded with. For three of the whole number, and three only, the process was unanimously declared extinct, upon a ground, the sufficiency of which cannot well be doubted: they were dead.

I will now show how these three hundred and twenty-six were disposed of in the month of June last.

The papers against them amounted to 227 volumes; and it was doubtless found necessary to reduce the numbers to be included in one and the same trial. The Procurator-General, accordingly, demanded that the court should commence forthwith the trial in the cases of forty-six, and the process of judgment as in contumacy against fifty; should give warrants of arrest (which it will be remembered commonly *follow* arrest) against three; should direct further examination and prosecution of the cause

* *Requisitorie, &c.*, p. 15.

against two groups, one of twenty-nine, and the other of fifty-seven; should suspend proceedings against two other groups, one of fifty-nine, and the other of seventy-five; should remit two to the local judges; extinguish the process for three who were dead; and declare in respect of two that there was no ground for any proceeding against them. These demands were voted by the judges, with some trivial variations, and one more significant. It relates to the two living men whom, with the three dead, it was proposed by the Government to let off. The language of the Procurator-General was strong. He declares there was no shadow of evidence against the first of them, while excellent reports of his political conduct had been received. His name was Leopoldo Tarantino. The other was named Giacomo Tofani: he had been arrested because he bore the same name with another person whom the police wanted to get hold of; and the manner in Naples is, if there is a suspicion against John Jones, but there are two John Joneses, and it is not known which may be the man, to take both. Thus it had happened that Giacomo Tofani had been arrested by mistake. On these tolerably sufficient grounds, then, the Procurator-General desired the release of these two. Will it be believed that there was a division among the judges upon the question of releasing them? It was carried, indeed; but the language of the judges in regard to these men was, that the proofs against them were vague, and preponderated for their innocence rather than their guilt.* What keenness of scent, what fidelity of instinct, what appetite for condemnation! The prosecutor declares one case to be a simple mistake; the other without a tittle of evidence; and the judges find by a majority that on the whole the evidence preponderates, forsooth, for innocence!

But I said, and I say again, fresh investigation usually tends to heighten, and not extenuate, these proceedings. I said incautiously † that the Government had laid aside—meaning they had abandoned—the charge founded on the famous forgery, in the case of Poerio. I was wrong. That forgery is still alive. In this same cause of May 15 are the names of Poerio and Dragonetti; and it is expressly voted by the judges that the case of this prosecution (that is to say, upon the forged letter) is reserved for further investigation.‡ Dragonetti remains untried in prison all the while.

* Requisitorie, &c., p. 68.

† First Letter, p. 20.

‡ Requisitorie, p. 75.

Lastly: such being the numbers, and such the facts, the Government has packed the court (the First Chamber) with a majority of judges who may be depended on for rigour. At their head is, as usual, the shameless forehead of Navarro. Radice, who could not be trusted, having in a previous trial voted for acquittal, was translated to the Second Chamber. His place is supplied by Nicola Morelli, on whom full reliance may be placed; and who, with Canofari, Cicero, and Vitale, all gathered round Navarro, will in due time do full justice to the cause of order, as it is understood by them. Nay more; to meet the possible case of an accidental vacancy, Mandarinini is in readiness as a *Supplente*. He has just been made *Cavaliere*; and is supposed to know something of the authorship of the *Rassegna* or Review of the Two Letters.

I have now done with the cause of the 15th of May; and I really must ask what fatuity it was that tempted the Neapolitan apologist to venture upon such a ground?

(2.) I have stated, and the point is one of importance, that the accusation of Jervolino "formed the sole real basis of the trial and condemnation of Poerio."* This is contradicted by the reply,† and an animated defence is offered on behalf of Jervolino, who I have no doubt is a worthy representative of the class to which he belongs; a class, occupying a high place in the working machinery of the Neapolitan Government; a class, whose character has been drawn once and for ever by Manzoni in those burning words, "*diventando infami, rimanevano oscuri.*"‡ It is also observed, with an unconsciousness altogether worthy of notice, that, even although a portion of Jervolino's evidence should have been disproved by its own self-contradiction, it does not follow but that the rest of it might be true. The notion of public justice and morality involved in a remark like this is worth far more than pages of argument or invective from an opponent in revealing, and in realizing to the minds of foreigners, the real spirit and character of the political system of Naples.

I have then to repeat my statement, that Poerio was condemned only on the evidence of the paid informer Jervolino; I add that this took place though evidence was offered of his being paid,

* Page 22

† Page 41.

‡ In the 'Colonna Infame.'

and though by the law of Naples the evidence of a paid informer cannot be received.

My assertion was supported by a reference to certain evidence of Romeo and Margherita, with reasons why it could not stand. There was another piece of hearsay evidence, which I thought not worth mention; for it went merely to the point that a man called Cantone was making use of Poerio's name to recommend himself, without any proof or presumption that he had authority so to employ it. Now I do not really believe, that the mind of any judge was or could be influenced by testimony of such a nature, which at the most could only have been used as a clue to further inquiries.

(3.) I stated, that the fate of Poerio and his companions had been aggravated since my departure from Naples by their removal to Ischia.

The official reply assures us of various recent relaxations of some importance. I know from other sources that Poerio was in the hospital during the autumn: according to the custom, he was not chained, while there, to another person; he, however, carried his own chain. At another time he was released from the double chain, and was himself chained to a ring in the centre of the floor, I believe called the *puntale*, instead.

I rejoice in any amelioration of such a lot; and the even partial escape from double chaining is the escape from a horror which, for a gentleman, cannot be exaggerated.

But I grieve to say that my statement was but too strictly true. Bad as was the condition of Poerio and his fellow-sufferers at Nisida, it was greatly, and, I fear, purposely, aggravated by the removal. One word, however, upon Nisida. It is denied* that the Bagni are under the care of his Royal Highness the Conte di Aquila, of whom I had said that as admiral he had charge of the island. But it is not denied, that an order was sent by his Royal Highness to enforce at that time the use of double irons in the prison; and the fact, I believe, is, that I was inaccurate in stating the Prince had charge of the *island* as admiral: he has, however, in that capacity, together with other '*Rami alieni della Real Marina*,' charge of the *forzati* or convicts. It is admitted† that Palumbo visited the prison in the capacity of a subordinate officer to the King's

* Rassegna, p. 50.

† Ibid., p. 51.

brother. Thus my assertions are made completely good. But it is boasted, forsooth, that he did not deprive some of the prisoners who were in the best circumstances of the mattresses they had, by their own means, procured. I will add, while touching upon mattresses, another fact. Nisco was carried while ill to Nisida. On arriving there he was put into the bed, and made to use the bed-linen, of a patient who had just before died of consumption.

Upon arriving at Ischia, the prisoners removed thither were put into filthy dens, so contrived that a sentry had the power of seeing and hearing whatever passed in them. With this sentry was a companion, who was supplied with that mild recipe for preserving order, a stock of hand grenades. Though the prisoners had never been out of custody, they were subjected to a personal search, much more minute than decent. Their money, linen, and utensils were taken from them. The boast of permitted mattresses does not reach to Ischia; for three months they had to sleep upon the stones. For their meals, they were allowed neither seat, table, nor cup. Cups, it may be said, were hardly wanted; for their allowance of water was reduced to three Neapolitan pounds (36 ounces) per day, of bad quality. There, too, a navy surgeon was placed *in disponibilita*, something between suspension and dismissal with us, for having inconveniently certified the ill-health of a prisoner. To us it may sound less than it was felt by them to be, that in the hot month of June they, the political convicts, were, (I believe, exclusively,) ordered to wear their thick and heavy dress of coarse woollen and leather, both in and out of doors. A woman of abandoned profligacy, whose name I forbear to mention, ruled the house of the commandant, insulted the prisoners, and the women of their families, when applying for admission to see them, at her will, and caused a serjeant to be sentenced to confinement for not having forced the wife of one of them to part with the infant at her breast when she was entering to see her husband. And, omitting other particulars, I shall conclude with stating that these gentlemen were compelled to attend the floggings inflicted in this bagno for various offences on the vilest of the convicts, the refuse of the refuse of mankind. Such are the accounts that I have received through channels that command my belief. I will not, indeed, believe that those in authority at Naples are aware of all this. I will hope that, as to

much of it, they are more grossly darkened than the most careless gatherer of hearsay rumours among the butterfly visitors of Naples; but I really must remind them of their appropriate motto, *errare, nescire, decipi, et malum et turpe ducimus*.

Of the effect upon the health of the prisoners that such treatment must produce, it is painful to make an estimate; and were anything too strange to be woven into this melancholy tissue of fact that eclipses fiction, I should have received with incredulity the further statement, that Pironte, when suffering under a paralytic affection, was not suffered to enter the hospital, and that oral orders were given by General Palumbo that only three of the political convicts should at any time be allowed to be received there at once!

But I must not omit to call attention to the statistics of the results. They were, I believe, as follows, as early as September last:—Seventeen persons had been condemned to irons in the preceding February; three of them were by that time ill at Ischia; one at Piedigrotta; three at Pescara; while three more, Margherita, Vallo, and Vellucci, were dead. Surely, then, the gallows may well be spared!

III. Passing on from the contradictions thus offered me, I have next to deal with the cases in which the semblance of a contradiction to my statements is put forth, and I am, of course, found guilty of exaggeration or calumny; while any real contradiction, such as can be dragged forth to light and brought to account, is carefully avoided.

1. Thus there is a very long statement* made of the process prescribed or indicated by law for the treatment of offenders, which is meant to be taken as a reply to my charges on that head.

But the author has passed by the fact that my main charge against the Government is its utter lawlessness. I am obliged to repeat it: and I say there is no body of brigands in the country which breaks the laws of Naples with the same hardihood, or on the same scale, as does the Government by the hands of its agents.

The law of Naples, however, is not that which my Reviewer has stated it to be. The law of Naples is the Constitution of 1848. That is the law which is systematically, continually, and in all points broken by the Government. But even the older, and the newer, laws of the absolute kings of Naples are broken also in

* Rassegna, pp. 14-25.

the most flagrant manner. In some points probably they are not, namely, where they need no breaking; and where their character is already harsh and cruel, as I believe to be the case with the law of treason generally. Again, what need to break the law in a point like that where the author tells us * that in all State offences the police may arrest and detain prisoners *without being confined to any limit of time?*

I should, however, be abusing the patience of the reader were I to discuss anew that part of the subject which relates to the arrest, prosecution, and trial of those who have been so unhappy as to become objects of the suspicion, malice, cupidity, or vindictiveness of the police. For it has already been sifted to the bottom, in a work prepared, indeed, and published without my privity, but which has fallen under my eye: it is entitled 'A detailed Exposure of the Apology put forth by the Neapolitan Government,' † and has evidently been drawn up with a carefulness and knowledge equal to the singular ability it displays. It is only lest the circumstance of its being anonymous should slacken the interest its title would create, that I have thought it my duty to make this reference.

2. Again, when I have stated, as an eye-witness, that prisoners in the Vicaria are brought upstairs to the doctors, instead of being visited by them, according to the rules, it is no answer to me to say that the physicians of Naples are highly respected, and discharge all their duties honourably. And as I am thus met, I will go further, and say, the medical men of Naples exercise their profession as regards State prisoners in fear and trembling, and that they are frequently compelled, by the fear of the displeasure of Government and of the loss of their bread if they make an inconvenient report, to consider the wishes and purposes of the police in stating their professional opinions rather more than the health of the prisoners.

3. Again, I stated ‡ that Pironte was confined for two months before his sentence in a cell at the Vicaria eight feet square, with two companions, lighted only by a grating at the top, out of which they could not see.

I am told in reply § that Pironte wrote his defence in this den, and that the present King shut up the dark subterranean dungeons. But I never said it was dark; never said it was sub-

* Rassegna, p. 18. † Longmans, 1852. ‡ Page 16. § Rassegna, pp. 28, 29.

terranean: and I am met with mere sound and vapour, instead of plain answers to plain and pointed allegations. I must, however, observe on a strange proceeding. In this and several instances, my charges, in order that they may afford some matter for contradiction, are very grossly mistranslated,* and the answer is given to the sense thus put upon them.

Yet, although this pretended reply does not contradict me, I must contradict it. I know not what refinements may enter into the strict definition of a *criminale*, but I say that the dungeons are not shut up. Porcari was in a dungeon last February, untried. He is there still. Here, again, I am met with a make-believe reply, and told that the name Maschio belongs to a promenade in the highest part of the Castle of Ischia, and that there are cells near it for such prisoners as have broken the rules of the Bagno. What have we to do with them? I stated † that Porcari was lying untried in a dark dungeon, twenty-four feet, or else palms, below the level of the sea; I believe I should have said of the ground. This statement is not denied. I will now enlarge it, by adding that, in this horrible condition, he is completing the third year of his imprisonment. Beyond the place in which he is immured, nothing can be known of him. The commonest prudence forbids communication about him with the only person allowed to visit him in that Stygian abyss—his wife. And we must recollect that, had he escaped, she might probably have been taken in his stead. For it is a practice of the chosen defenders of order and the public peace at Naples, if they are in search of a political suspect, and conceive he has absconded, to arrest and detain indefinitely any of his relations they please; for is it not possible that they *may* know whither he is gone? I do not speak at random. About one year ago, a Neapolitan named Morice made his escape from his country. In June last, his household, *consisting exclusively of women*, was subjected to one of those nocturnal visits from the police which I have described. They carried off one of his two sisters and an aged domestic servant; they moreover apprehended a male relative, who was the stay and adviser of the family. The second and only remaining sister they humanely left to enjoy her freedom as she might. Nay, such was the excess of leniency, that the old servant, accused of nothing, was released after two months' confinement. The male relative and the arrested sister were still,

* Rassegna, pp. 25, 49, *et alibi*.

† p. 17.

in November last, expiating the crime of their relationship. The treatment of these women by the gendarmes was such, that one of that body, by the orders of a foreign soldier not dead to the spirit of his profession, received a severe flogging for it. Indeed, I have been informed that, for two months, the sister thus arrested was confined in a cell along with two common prostitutes. I could add other instances of confinement in *criminali* or dungeons, by which I understand the apologist to mean cells commonly underground and wholly or almost without light. But it is needless. For his assertion on this head, although made to carry half a page * of eulogy and adulation, seems to be cautiously restricted at the close to this, that there are now no unlighted cells below the level of the earth in the particular prison of the Vicaria, which amounts to but little, and was scarcely worth his while to state.

4. I come next to the most important of these cases, namely, the question of the number of political prisoners in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which has been made the great rallying point for the defenders of the Neapolitan Government, and the main source and stay of invective against me. Let us now come to the facts.

The substance of my own statement † on this point is as follows: 1. That "the general belief is, that the prisoners for political offences in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are between fifteen or twenty, and thirty thousand." 2. That, for myself, "I do believe that twenty thousand is no unreasonable estimate." 3. That "there can be no certainty on the point," as all "means of accurate information" are withheld. 4. That my statement had "been met by an assertion purporting to be founded on returns, that instead of twenty thousand they were about two thousand." ‡ "Let the Neapolitan Government," I added, "have the full benefit of the contradiction I have mentioned;" upon which I, however, suspended my own judgment.

Upon reviewing these passages, the only fault I have to find with them, strange to say, is this, that they admit too much in favour of the Neapolitan Government. When I wrote the passages last quoted, I had seen a dispatch from Naples, which alluded to certain returns of the number of prisoners, as a contradiction of my statement; but I had not seen the returns themselves; and hence, not doubting that they were what they were

* Rassegna, p. 28.

† 1st Letter, p. 9.

‡ 2nd Letter, p. 42.

described to be, I adopted that description, and too eagerly and promptly announced that the Neapolitan Government reduced the twenty thousand to two thousand, and this upon the strength, as alleged, of official returns.

But the moment that these returns met my eye, I could not fail to observe that, though carefully paraded as a contradiction to my allegation, they were, even without the smallest impeachment of their *bona fides*, no contradiction at all; and they left the question exactly where they found it, yet subject to the general rule, as I think, that what is not contradicted in an official answer is really confessed.

I say, without the smallest impeachment of their *bona fides*. I shall raise no question about Cav. Pasqualoni or Signor Bartolomucci, by whom they are attested, although I ought to state that this has been done publicly by others as to the second of these functionaries; * but in justice to my subject, I must observe, that among ourselves, in a contested matter, any returns incapable of verification would be received as so much waste paper. On grounds the most broad and general, they can only deserve credit with the nation when the nation has some control over them, some means of inquiring whether they are correct, of exposing where they are wrong, of punishing where they are corrupt. The responsibility of public functionaries, and a free press for the detection of fraud or error, are the essential conditions of credibility in such documents. Of neither of these is there the faintest shadow in Naples. Even in the point of mere good faith, *whose* good faith is it on which we are to rely? Not the good faith of Bartolomucci and Pasqualoni, who sit peaceably in their official rooms in Naples, but the good faith of somebody in Bari, in Reggio, in Teramo, in Cosenza, and so forth; somebody who, unless he be a happy exception to general rules in those latitudes, is ready at any moment to break, for a piastre, any rule under which he is charged to act; somebody who sends up his schedule, say from Bari, when the public there have no knowledge that he is framing it, just as when it is published they will have no means of testing it; and if they attempted to question it, they would promptly rank as enemies of order, and be added to the number of those who are the unfortunate subjects of the return.

* Massari, p. 173.

But now I will analyze the headings of these returns, and will show that I am strictly accurate in declaring that they leave the matter precisely where they found it; just as much so as if A should say, There were thirty thousand English at Waterloo, and B should reply, No, for I will show you by returns from the Horse Guards, that the Scots Greys did not number eight hundred.

My estimate then refers to the number of "political prisoners in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies."

We are presented in reply with a "*Stato Numerico degli imputati politici presenti in giudizio in carcere, o con modo di custodia esteriore, presso le Grandi Corti Speciali dei Dominii Continentali del Regno delle Due Sicilie;*" and a "*Stato Nominativo degli individui che trovansi in carcere a disposizione della polizia per reati politici nelle diverse provincie dei Dominii Continentali del Regno delle Due Sicilie.*" These returns give a gross total of 2024 in prison, and of 79 out of prison but under restraint.

Their titles may be rendered into English as follows:—

No. 1. "Number of persons charged on political grounds and under judicial process (being either prisoners or under custody out of doors) before the Grand Special Courts of the Continental Dominions of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies." And No. 2. "Return of the names of persons in prison under the authority of the police for political offences in the several Provinces of the Continental Dominions of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies."

It shall now be shown that almost every word of these titles is a separate, clear, and important curtailment and limitation of the account of prisoners, cutting off from the return one large class after another, so that at last the numbers returned have no more to do with my estimate than the number of the Scots Greys with the total number of English at Waterloo. For,—

First. No. 1 is a return of "*imputati*," persons under charge: whereas a main portion of my accusation is, that persons are arrested, and that not by way of rare exception, but habitually and in multitudes, without any charge at all, "*per ordine superiore*," as the portentous phrase is, it being "the essential aim of the system to *create* a charge," not to discover a crime.*

Secondly. The return does not profess to be a return even of

* Page 12.

all prisoners who have been charged : it is of prisoners who, having been charged, are under judicial process. Here then lies, I must say, a great mystery of iniquity ; and whatever be the deficiency in knowledge of Neapolitan law which the defender charges upon me, I am thankful to have just enough for its detection. Be it known then, that before there is any *giudizio*, properly so called, or process before the tribunals, which commences either with the *requisitoria*, or with the *atto d' accusa* or indictment, there is an *istruzione* or preparatory process which may and does cover a great length of time, between the period when the prisoner had a charge lodged against him, and thus became an *imputato*, and the time when his trial before the court commences with the *requisitoria* or the *atto d' accusa* ; during which indefinite time, his case is in the hands of the police department, sometimes in a state of growth, sometimes at a standstill, sometimes in entire abeyance and oblivion, as I say deliberately, and with given cases in my mind. But we have by no means done yet, for—

Thirdly. This is not a return even of the political prisoners who have been both charged and put on trial, but of those who have been so put on trial before the Special Courts. I have already adverted in general terms to the meaning of this exceptional form of criminal judicature.* Now there are large classes of political prisoners, who do not come before these special tribunals. For example : soldiers, or civilians who are accused of tampering with the soldiers, are brought, under particular laws, before *consigli di guerra*, or military courts. Offences, again, committed through the press, if punishable “ criminally ” at all, belong to the ordinary jurisdiction of the criminal courts, under laws of 1821, 1848, and 1849. And lastly, there are large classes of offences only punishable “ correctionally,” not “ criminally,” such as suspicious meetings, suspicious words, suspicious writings, suspicious proceedings generally, which are punishable before the local judges, or *giudici circondariali*. None of these can be included in the return before us.

Now I believe that this constitutes a very heavy addition, indeed, to the list. For there are in the mainland dominions of

* Two Letters, p. 25. See ‘ Exposure,’ p. 22, for a fuller and more precise statement.

Naples no less than five hundred and thirty prisons in connection with these local courts, and the number of them without political prisoners is comparatively small.

For legal authority in support of these statements, I refer to the work of Signor Massari, entitled "Il Sig. Gladstone ed il Governo Napolitano, Torino, 1851," pages 168-172, and page 177, the writer of which has been aided by the Cavalier Mancini, an exiled Neapolitan lawyer, who has received at the hands of the Government of Piedmont the appointment of Professor of International Law.

Besides all these, there are yet two other most gross and palpable omissions in the Return No. 1 to be pointed out.

Fourth. It takes no notice whatever of those who *have* been tried and sentenced, that is, of the whole class of political convicts: nor, according to its terms, does it include persons acquitted, but still in prison; nor persons who after conviction have suffered their entire sentences, but are not released. Now what are the numbers of the class of political convicts? For the whole kingdom I have not the means of answering the question; but in the province of Teramo, with 203,000 inhabitants, there were, some months ago, two hundred and forty-seven political convicts. If Teramo represents an average of the whole country, the total number will amount to between nine and ten thousand.

Fifth. It takes no notice either of prisoners or convicts in Sicily, though I expressly spoke of the prisoners in the "kingdom of the Two Sicilies,"* and afterwards distinguished from it the kingdom of Naples, or the mainland dominions, to which all my subsequent statements were to refer.†

I have still a few words to say on Return No. 2. It is without date! It is entitled a return of names, and it does not give so much as one name! It is a return confined to persons in prison under the police, "for political offences," *per reati politici*; but *reati* is a technical word, and implies that they have been under process. It is stated by the authorities to whom I have referred, and with every likelihood of accuracy, that it must mainly respect persons who, having been imprisoned, charged, and tried, and having had the rare good fortune to be acquitted, are, nevertheless, still detained in prison at the discretion of the police—a case

* Page 9.

† p. 10.

not visionary, as I have already had occasion to show. Thus it may supply the void I have just now pointed out. Nor have we yet altogether done. Return No. 1 represents the numbers under process in each province : and adds (see also p. 24 of the Rassegna) "from this number deducted the persons included in the Sovereign Graces of April 30 and 19 May, 1851, according to the table No. 3." Now table No. 3 informs us that in the provinces of Principato Ultra, Abruzzo Citra, and Terra d'Otranto taken together, thirty-five persons were thus released from process. But No. 1 informs us that, in those three provinces, the whole number under process, from which the thirty-five were to be deducted, amounted to eighteen !

I consider that I have now fully redeemed my engagement to demonstrate that these two Returns, produced as if they were a contradiction of my estimate of the number of political prisoners, are no contradiction of it at all ; but that they artfully and fraudulently, by the use of technical terms and in other ways, shirk the whole point at issue, and leave my statement quite untouched.

I must further observe, that thus leaving it untouched, they are in reality among the strongest confirmations it could possibly have received. My language was clear : it related to the sum total of political prisoners. When it was determined to make an official reply, and when months were employed in its preparation, why did the Government omit from its Returns the prisoners not yet charged ; the prisoners charged, but not yet under trial before the tribunals ; the prisoners not falling within the cognizance of the Grand Courts Special at all ; the prisoners acquitted and still detained in prison ; the prisoners of all descriptions whatsoever in the island of Sicily ?

The matter standing thus, it may be almost superfluous to think of adducing any confirmatory evidence of an estimate which never pretended to be more than an estimate, and which, having been so long before the world, has been thus elaborately evaded, and thus practically corroborated, by those who, had it been untrue, as they had the strongest motives, so likewise had the very best means to supply a real and not a pretended contradiction.

In one of the London journals, the 'Daily News,' there has appeared, subsequently to the Neapolitan reply, a classified statement of the persons who have been in custody in the kingdom of

the Two Sicilies since the events of 1848. This statement appears to carry the aggregate number somewhat beyond mine, and it is one which I believe to be written both with perfect good faith and with considerable means of information. Even the 30,000 which I mentioned, not as my own, but as an estimate not uncommon, is far from being the maximum of those which I have seen made in published works by men of character and station. Choosing, however, to rely mainly on what I think the very strong evidence afforded by the total absence of any serious effort at contradiction, I shall simply mention a single illustrative fact, necessarily limited in its range because it belongs to a particular class and spot, but one full of meaning, and one which may be thoroughly believed. I have had means of access to a list, avowedly drawn from memory and incomplete, of the names, particular designations, and residences of *two hundred and eighty-six priests, confined for political causes in the prison of San Francesco, at Naples, between 1849 and 1851*. To what sort of computations this fact would reasonably lead as to the totals of all classes in all prisons of the whole Neapolitan and Sicilian dominions, I need not explain.

IV. I must now proceed to notice certain denials of my statements, which were put forward before the appearance of the Neapolitan defence by advocates of that Government, whose zeal outran alike their information and their prudence. I shall not think it necessary to argue upon the merits of allegations, which the principals have not thought proper to adopt; but it is right they should be set out as a caution to the world, and as a needful portion of this summary report upon the condition in which the accusation has been left, after the battering process to which it has been subjected.

I have stated that "as I hear,"* confiscation or sequestration often takes place upon arrest. Mr. Charles Macfarlane † boldly declares in reply, that "not a fragment of property of any kind has been touched." But the official reply does not impugn the statement which I made.

The same gentleman, and likewise M. Gondon, the editor of the *Univers*, have published a romantic account of Poerio's career; ‡ his connection with Mazzini at Paris; his contributions to the *Giovine Italia*, and the like. He never knew Mazzini, never was at Paris, never wrote a line in the *Giovine Italia*. Not one syllable

* Page 10.

† Macfarlane, p. 21.

‡ Ibid., p. 18.

of all this tirade is directly adopted in the official defence; but I am sorry to add, it is quoted in a note as the testimony of "another Englishman."

"No political offender,"* it is stated, "has been kept above twenty-four hours without being examined." The official reply does not echo the assertion; but, on the contrary, † points out the fact in its own defence, that in cases of political crime the police may detain persons in its own disposal for more than the twenty-four hours specified by law as the term within which they must be examined.

The same rather officious writer alleges that political offenders ‡ are kept quite separate from common felons. I might refer to my own ocular testimony: but it is enough to say that here again the Government are silent.

M. Gondon, the editor of the *Univers*, has, perhaps, been the most forward champion of the Neapolitan policy; and his zeal has so clouded his perceptions that he cannot even state with accuracy the value of a ducat in French money. § He informs me || that the Neapolitan judges are irremovable; a gross error, of which the official reply of course keeps clear.

He alleges ¶ in the prison at Procida exaggerates tenfold the number of the victims. The official reply does not assert that there was the slightest exaggeration.**

He alleges †† that I charge the Government with taking care to chain the prisoners to the men who have denounced them, and says Porio was chained to a gentleman of his own profession. This last is true; but I had stated it before him. I had not stated that it was the general practice to chain prisoners to the informers against them; but I mentioned a particular case, that of Margherita, ††† and the Government does not deny it.

I shall sum up this very singular list by referring to the version which Messrs. Gondon and Macfarlane have given, to much the same effect, of the case of the Deputy Carducci and his murderer, the priest Peluso.

My statement respecting Carducci was, §§ that he was "assassi-

* Macfarlane, p. 30.

† Macfarlane, p. 32.

|| Ibid., pp. 37 and 173.

†† Rassegna, pp. 48 and 174.

§ La Terreur dans le Royaume de Naples, p. 37.

¶ Ibid., p. 42.

** Rassegna, p. 55.

†† p. 22.

§§ Page 11.

† Rassegna, p. 18.

nated by a priest named Peluso, well known in the streets of Naples, never questioned for the act, and said to receive a pension from the Government."

This statement is judiciously let alone by the official Apologist, while it is contradicted with the utmost hardihood by the volunteers.

But it so happens, that the facts in this case became the subject of mention in the short-lived Parliamentary Chambers of the Neapolitan Constitution; and I take the following notices of them from the publication of a well-known member of those Chambers corroborated in many points by other accounts in my possession.

Carducci was in 1848 named a Deputy for his own province, that of Salerno, and a Colonel of the National Guard. He was treated by the Sovereign with every sign of confidence and kindness. Alarmed for his personal safety after the 15th of May, he took refuge on board a vessel of the French squadron. He afterwards took a passage with nine companions from Malta to Calabria, intending to make his way to Naples, and exert himself for the maintenance of the Constitution. They were wholly unarmed. They were compelled by bad weather to land at Acqua Fredda, in Basilicata, and near the province of Salerno. That any reward had been set upon the head of Carducci, or any proclamation issued against him, is totally untrue. Peluso, the priest, living near, received and entertained him. The party were waiting for the settlement of the weather to re-embark, when they saw their host approaching with a body of armed men. Three of them were wounded by a discharge of musketry, of whom Carducci was one; and the effects of the party were rifled, while the wounded were made prisoners. Carducci was carried off by Peluso, and his body was found some days afterwards lying unburied with the head cut off. I will now quote the words of D'Arlinecourt, not so much an admirer as a worshipper of the Neapolitan Government. *La tête du fameux insurgé fut mise dans un pot de sel, et ironiquement envoyée à ses coréligionnaires de Naples.* †

The magistracy, which had not then been corrupted by intimidation as at present, bestirred itself. Pinto, Judge of the *Circondario*, began the *istruzione*, or process. He was dismissed; and Gaetano Cammarota was sent in his stead to manage the affair. He proceeded in it with fidelity; and he, too, was recalled. But a third Judge, De Clemente, had been joined with him by the Pro-

* L'Italie Rouge, p. 255.

curator-General, on account of the importance of the cause. He likewise valiantly persevered in the investigation; and the Procurator-General, Scura, honourably and manfully sustained him. The Procurator-General was dismissed, and is now in exile. De Clemente, in appearance only more fortunate, was promoted to be *giudice regio* at Potenza; but was after one month deprived.

A petition was presented to the Chamber of Deputies; and the Chamber unanimously referred it to the Ministry with a strong recommendation for the prosecution of the inquiry. Upon a second motion, the recommendation was unanimously renewed. Those members of the Chamber, who were of the Ministerial party, concurred in both these demands.

And here I close the history of the murdered Deputy Carducci and the Priest Peluso his murderer: and with it my reference to the daring but futile efforts of the writers I have named to procure belief for fictions which a sense of prudence and decency, or a regard for truth, or both combined, have kept the Neapolitan Government itself from attempting to palm upon the world.

I come now to the *Catechismo Filosofico*. This I am told I have wrongly interpreted; and the defender, describing it as the work of a pious ecclesiastic, does not breathe one syllable of disapproval against the doctrines it contains. It was first published, he states, in 1837; and republished in 1850 as a private speculation without the authorization of Government, and before the law for the preventive censorship of the press was in existence.

I had no knowledge of the date of the original publication of this miserable book, and no intention of conveying the impression that I had such knowledge. I do not doubt the allegation, that it was published in or before 1837; but unfortunately this has little tendency to mend the case, since it only carries us back to one or more earlier crises of Neapolitan history to which the doctrines of the Catechism are nearly, if not quite, as applicable as to that of 1848. The defender does not in the least deny, that the present circulation of it proves the approval by the Government of the maxims it recommends, nor does he, although he says the Government did not authorize the diffusion of the reprint of 1850, deny that it is used in the public schools under the authority of the Government. And since the publication of my letters I have

received assurances from one on whom I can fully rely, that he is personally acquainted with the mayor of a Neapolitan town who has himself received from Government an official order to place this Catechism in the hands of all teachers of schools.

I may properly choose this place to offer an explanation of the observations in my Second Letter with respect to the conduct of the clergy. It has been said that I have here unduly extenuated the responsibility of the Church of Rome at the expense of the civil authorities. My answer is that I have said nothing whatever about the responsibility of the Church of Rome, either for the doctrines of the Catechism or for the practices of the Government. We might find a very interesting subject for a dispassionate inquiry in the relation between the moral teaching of the Church of Rome (or any other Church), and its development in the practice of her members where she has full and undivided sway; but nothing could have been more impertinent and improper, than for me to have introduced the slightest tittle of such matter into a statement, which I believed to rest on grounds common to all who recognize the obligations of revealed, nay more, of natural, religion. What I did mean was, to prevent an exaggerated estimate (particularly in England during the year 1851) of the share taken by the clergy as a body in giving countenance to these proceedings. In this point of view I do not think I have done them more than justice; and I trust the reader will recollect what appalling numbers even of that favoured class have swelled the numbers of the imprisoned. Indeed, I have done them rather less than justice, in saying I was convinced from information that "a portion of them" * made disclosures from the confessional for political purposes; for the particular cases connected with the confessional which reached me, in a form to command my credence, were not more than two.

Such, then, upon the whole matter, is my *compte-rendu*. I am sure it will prove that, in obtaining that general attestation to my personal veracity and trustworthiness, which, and which alone, the permission to address Lord Aberdeen implied, I made no abusive appeal to that sentiment of humanity throughout Christendom, which has replied to me with even more energy than I ventured to anticipate. I believe that, for my own vindication, I might

* Page 57.

without any new publication have relied in perfect safety upon the verdict already given by the public opinion and announced by the press of Europe. The arrow has shot deep into the mark, and cannot be dislodged. But I have sought, in once more entering the field, not only to sum up the state of the facts in the manner nearest to exactitude, but likewise to close the case as I began it, presenting it from first to last in the light of a matter which is not primarily or mainly political, which is better kept apart from parliamentary discussion, which has no connection whatever with any peculiar idea or separate object or interest of England, but which appertains to the sphere of humanity at large, and well deserves the consideration of every man who feels a concern for the wellbeing of his race, in its bearings on that wellbeing; on the elementary demands of individual and domestic happiness; on the permanent maintenance of public order; on the stability of Thrones; on the solution of that great problem which, day and night, in its innumerable forms, must haunt the reflections of every statesman both here and elsewhere, how to harmonise the old with the new conditions of society, and to mitigate the increasing stress of time and change upon what remains of the ancient and venerable fabric of the traditional civilisation of Europe.

On every account I hope that the matter is not to end here. If it should, it will be another heavy addition to that catalogue of all offences committed by Governments against liberty or justice which the spirit of revolution, stalking through the world, combines and exaggerates, and brings unitedly to bear against each in turn; and which, apart from the Spirit of Revolution, wounded and bleeding humanity cannot but in these glaring instances record.

But I think that the very words traced by the pen of the Neapolitan apologist afford us the *auspicium melioris avi*. Could any human being, he asks,* imagine that a Government, ever so little careful of its dignity, could be induced to change its policy because some individual or other has by lying accusations held it up to the hatred of mankind? I answer—No. This did not enter into my imagination. But I reply to his question by another: Could any human being have supposed that, on the challenge of a mere individual, the Government of Naples would plead, as it has now pleaded, before the tribunal of general opinion, and would thereby

* Rassegna, p. 7.

admit, as it has now admitted, the jurisdiction of that tribunal? That Government, far from insignificant as estimated by the numbers and qualities of the people whom it rules, and far from weak in material force, has, nevertheless, descended from its eminence, and been content to stand upon the level of equal controversy, in the face and under the judgment of the world.

Now, I say, that to answer the statements of a private accuser is a proceeding no less remarkable and significant, than to alter or modify a course of measures in consequence of those statements. The public and formal endeavour to prove them false implies, by the most inexorable continuity and cogency of logic, that, if they be true, they deserve attention, and should lead to practical results. The endeavour to disprove them by an argument addressed to the European public, is a transparent admission that the European public is to judge, whether or not the endeavour is successful, whether or not the original accusation stands. If the general sentiment be, that the disproof has failed, and that the charge remains, then I say that, by the fact of this answer, the Neapolitan Government stands bound in honour as well as in consistency to recognize that sentiment, and to allow it to act upon its own future policy and administration, in the direction to which it points. As to the question of fact, what the general opinion at this moment really is, I think that not even the Neapolitan Government itself, no, nor its advocates, can be in doubt, if accustomed to consult those barometers of opinion upon which its influences play with freedom.

But it would not be in such case to the individual, that homage would be done. The cheer of a vast assemblage is a sound majestic and imposing; the voice of the person appointed to give the signal for it is one of the most insignificant order. My function has been no higher than his; I have only pointed out and delineated; it is the public sentiment, and the public sentiment of no one country in particular, that has judged. It was to that public sentiment that the Neapolitan Government was paying deference, when it resolved on the manly course of an official reply; it will be to that public sentiment that further deference will, I would fain hope, and I for one care not how silently, be paid, in the searching reform of its departments and the whole future management of its affairs.

When I framed my first representation, I strove to avoid direct

reference to Neapolitan or other politics. The principle on which I proceeded was, that from such conduct as that which I described, all Governments, all authorities, all political parties, and especially those which desired to act in the interest of public order and of the monarchical principle, ought to separate themselves, to disown connection with it, and to say It is none of ours. Such, however, I must own, has not proved to be the case. Partly from religious jealousies, partly from the strange and startling nature of the facts, partly from an instinct which seems to suggest, under certain circumstances, that at a period like this a man can only choose in the gross between those who possess power on the one hand and those who are labouring to subvert it on the other, there has been more or less of the disposition shown, although not in England yet elsewhere, to treat a statement such as that I have made as a sin against one political creed, or as an indication of leaning to another, or of a desire to dally with party and to reap its favours without sharing its responsibilities. This imposes on me the duty of saying that, as I cannot claim one jot or tittle of credit with liberalism or Republicanism, or with liberal or Republican politicians as such, for the witness I have borne, so neither can I accept any portion of whatever censures may be awarded to me as an offender against the principles called conservative, or as having acted in a manner to weaken the hands of any of their champions. The principle of conservation and the principle of progress are both sound in themselves; they have ever existed and must ever exist together in European society, in qualified opposition, but in vital harmony and concurrence; and for each of those principles it is a matter of deep and essential concern, that iniquities committed under the shelter of its name should be stripped of that shelter. Most of all is this the case where iniquity towering on high usurps the name and authority of that Heaven to which it lifts its head, and wears the double mask of Order and of Religion. Nor has it ever fallen to my lot to perform an office so truly conservative, as in the endeavour I have made to shut and mark off from the sacred cause of Government in general, a system which I believed was bringing the name and idea of Government into shame and hatred, and converting the thing from a necessity and a blessing into a sheer curse to human kind.

For I am weak enough to entertain the idea that, if these things

be true—if justice be prostituted, personal liberty and domestic peace undermined, law, where it cannot be used as an engine of oppression, ignominiously thrust aside, and Government, the minister and type of the Divinity, invested with the characteristics of an opposite origin,—it is not for the interests of order and conservation, even if truth and freedom had no separate claims, that the practical and effective encouragement of silent connivance should be given either to the acts or to the agents. This policy, in the extravagant development of it which I have stated, is a policy which, when noiseless attempts at a remedy have failed, ought, on the ground of its mere destructiveness, to be stripped beneath the public gaze, and this, too, before the strain it lays upon human nature shall have forced it into some violent explosion. Certainly, there is a philosophy according to which all this is simplicity, childishness, and folly—a philosophy which teaches, or proceeds as if it taught, that everything should be passed by *aversis oculis*, rather than give encouragement to revolution; and its oracles forget that there are more ways than one of encouraging revolution, as there are of encouraging reaction. Revolution, like reaction, is sometimes promoted by seconding the efforts of its friends, sometimes by opening full scope, or, as it is said, giving rope enough, to the excesses and frenzy of its enemies. Such at least is the doctrine which, in common with my countrymen of all parties, I have learned; and among us the simplicity, the childishness, and the folly would be thought to lie in propounding any other. Yet I grant, that matters of this kind take their forms, at particular times and places, from the human will: such as we will have them to be, such they are. If any friends to the principle of order contend, that these exposures ought not to be made, that they weaken the hands of authority in a day when it has no strength to spare, and that they inflame the cupidity and rage of the enemies of constituted order, I am not prepared to deny that, to the extent and in the sphere within which such doctrines are propounded and bear sway, those lamentable results are really produced. I cannot deny that if the conservative principle required us to wink at every crime purporting to be committed in its defence, it would be damaged by the revelation; but in such case it would be high time that it should be damaged too. As it is, I admit and lament the fact of evil done; I find the cause, not

in the disclosures, but in the reception which has occasionally been given to them; the responsibility for the evil must lie with the authors of that reception.

It may, however, be incumbent upon me, now that a political colour has been adventitiously affixed by some persons to my publication, to say a few words upon the view I take of the political position of the throne of the Two Sicilies in reference to its dominions on the mainland.

While, then, my opinion of the obligations of the Sovereign, in regard to the Constitution of 1848, and of the manner in which they have been dealt with, may be clearly gathered from the second of my Letters in particular, I think justice demands from me the admission that, even apart from the great embarrassments of the Sicilian question, the King of Naples had real and serious difficulties to encounter in the establishment of representative institutions. The dramatic, or, to speak more rudely, the theatrical principle has acquired a place in the management of political affairs in Italy in a degree greater than can recommend itself to our colder temperament. Crudities are taken up hastily and in large quantity: the liveliness of imagination and sentiment outstrips the lagging pace of the more practical faculties and the formation of fixed mental habits: the spire of nationality must be carried up to heaven, before the foundation-stone of local liberties is laid.

From considering the history of the Neapolitan innovations in 1848, and of the reaction which succeeded it, I do not doubt that, although perhaps all Europe does not contain a people more gentle, more susceptible of attachment, more easy of control, the King would have had some difficulties to encounter in working the machine of constitutional Government. Among the members returned to his Parliament, there were a section, though a small section, of decided Republicans. The agitation for a change in the composition of the House of Peers, or in some cases for its abolition, before a representative body had met, and for an extension of the electoral franchise before it had been once used, were circumstances that showed the necessity for a resolute will and a strong guiding hand.

But surely it must in fairness be admitted that there was some apology for this restlessness of mind, and for the "blank mis-

givings" which were its main cause. For 1848 was not the first year when a Constitution had been heard of in Naples. I will not rake up the embers of the past for the purposes of crimination, but it undoubtedly ought to have been remembered for those of considerate indulgence. When a people have on signal occasions seen solemn boons retracted, and solemn sanctions, on whatever plea of State necessity, set aside, who can wonder at, who can blame, their entertaining a vague suspicion of evil—their uneasy searching for new and extended guarantees? And how is this misgiving to be cured? Only in one way—by steady, persevering good faith—by the experimental assurance that the things which have been are not to be again. It is idle to urge the difficulties in the way of working the constitutional machine as reasons for the violation of pledges, when those very difficulties arose out of a mistrust, of which former breaches of promise had been the origin. The only way to cure mistrust is by showing that trust, if given, would not be misplaced—would not be betrayed. By its own nature it is spontaneous, and not subject to brute force; in order to be enjoyed it must be soothed and won.

Now the proceedings of the Neapolitan Parliament, taken as a whole, distinctly prove that, whether wise or not in every step, it was loyal in its intentions to the monarchy. When the question is asked in future times, whether it ventured far enough, and assumed an attitude sufficiently firm in defending the solemnly-established franchises, posterity may, perhaps, return a less favourable reply. But this want of masculine daring is at any rate not an accusation to be pressed against it by the friends of the re-action. As against the throne, the hands of that Parliament seem to have been clean, its intentions frank and upright. When I say that it had within it some portion of intractable material, I only say that which is necessarily true of every representative assembly in the world. Suppose it granted, that through timidity and misgivings it might have been betrayed into encroachments, and might have applied more to organic and less to administrative measures than prudence would have recommended. Sincerity and straightforwardness of purpose were the fitting and appropriate medicine: they would soon have disarmed its impetuosity, and given its real loyalty fair play. There was the country, too, at large: surely that was not republican, that docile and kindly

people, so ready to trust and love, asking so little and believing so much. Why was no trust reposed in them? Why was not the constitutional battle fairly fought? Why was not the regular business of the state allowed to proceed in the forms of the constitution, even to the close of one session? Why was the Parliament dishonoured and spurned in regard even to its primary and most essential function, that of the imposition of taxes? Why were its addresses repelled? Upon the very lowest ground (one far too low) why were not both the chamber and the constituency fairly tried before they were cashiered, and how can it be pretended that they had a fair trial when the Government never submitted to them a policy, upon which to try them, by its acceptance or rejection, and by the nature of the substitutes that might be proposed, but would not allow them to show what they really were, or meant to be, and proceeded from the first as though they meant to break the royal oath, and to catch, or if they could not catch, actually create an opportunity for overthrowing the liberties of the country? Had the King, in 1848, been advised to encounter his difficulties with those "small stones from the brook," frankness, steadiness, and singleness of purpose, his very defeats, had he met them, would have been the surest pledge of ultimate triumph, he would have rested not upon the stark and rigid support of a military force, utterly overgrown in comparison with the population and resources of the country, but upon that confidence and intelligent affection which we see now working out the constitutional problem in Piedmont, notwithstanding the cruel burdens entailed by the recent war, with every prospect of success. It was for factious opposition to the administration, that the Parliament of Naples was extinguished; and I should wish to know what constitution or parliament on earth would have an existence worth a month's purchase, if upon such a plea it might be overthrown with impunity.

It is grievous to witness in the official reply from Naples, as well as in the works of the volunteers, the coarse reproduction of that unmitigated cant or slang which alike among all parties forms the staple of political controversy, when their champions write in the sense and for the purposes of party only, without ever casting a glance upwards to the eternal forms of humanity and truth. The people do not complain; therefore they are the contented and

happy witnesses to the admirable conduct of the Government. Or they do complain; therefore they are a few scoundrels, enemies of social order, and apostates from religion. The Catechism told us, that all liberals were bound for the kingdom of darkness; and the same strain of undistinguishing denunciation pervades these works. Yet every man who has personal knowledge of the Italians, any man who has ever looked into the political literature of the country, must know that those who are thus, with incurable infatuation, lumped together as liberals, and denounced as unbelievers, are an aggregate of individuals presenting every variety of sentiment: some of them in religion being as ardent Roman Catholics as any cardinal in the college; and their range of political opinion including every imaginable shade, from those who simply disapprove of the baseness and cruelty of the reaction, down to republicanism goaded into frenzy. There is the less excuse for thus confounding persons and sentiments essentially different, because those who are in Naples and elsewhere, reviled under a common name, are not really in combination among themselves, but on the contrary dispute sharply, even under defeat, upon the matters in controversy between them; a proof, at least, that if they are ill supplied with worldly wisdom, they are not without frankness and honesty of purpose.

It is true, that as we follow the course of history, we find that unwise concession has been the parent of many evils; but unwise resistance is answerable for many more—nay, is too frequently the primary source of the mischief ostensibly arising from the opposite policy, because it is commonly unwise resistance which so dams up the stream and accumulates the waters, that when the day of their bursting comes they are absolutely ungovernable. A little modicum of time, indeed, may thus be realized by gigantic labours in repression, during which not even the slightest ripple shall be audible; and within that little time statesmen, dressed in their brief authority, may claim credit with the world for the peremptory assertion of power, and for having crushed, as the phrase goes at Naples, the hydra of revolution; but every hour of that time is not bought but borrowed—borrowed at a rate of interest, with which the annals of usury itself have nothing to compare; and the hydra of revolution is not really to be crushed by the attempt to crush, or even by momentary success

in crushing, under the name of revolution, a mixed and heterogeneous mass of influences, feelings, and opinions bound together absolutely by nothing except repugnance to the prevailing rigours and corruptions. Viewed as mere matter of policy, this is simply to undertake the service of enlistment for the army of the foe. It is a certain proposition that when a Government thus treats enmity to abuse as identical with purposes of subversion, it, according to the laws of our mixed nature, partially amalgamates the two, and fulfils at length its own miserable predictions in its own more miserable ruin. But surely there is another mode of procedure: to examine the elements of which the force apparently hostile to a government is composed, and carefully to appreciate their differences; to meet, or, at least, to give an earnest of honest intention to meet, the objections of the moderate and just, by the removal of what causes them; to have some tenderness even for the scruples of the weak, to take human nature on its better side instead of perpetually galling its wounds and sores, to remember that violence itself has its moments of remission and its *mollia fandi tempora*, its opportunities of honourable access; and thus to draw out from the opposite array a large part of its numbers and its energy, a far larger of its virtue, its truth, and all the elements of permanent vitality. It may then be found that no other means are left; but it may also then be found that the compass of the evil is so reduced by the preliminary processes, that it is wiser and better to carry it in patience, than to irritate the system by a sharp excision. If unhappily the risk must at last be run, and antisocial crime visited with the punishment which is its due, at least the what and the why will then be plain, and we shall talk something better than pestilent imposture when we proclaim the intention to crush the hydra of revolution, or vaunt of having crushed it. Nor is this a parade of humanity; it is surely rather the practical rule of government, which common sense dictates and the experience of the world sustains.

But there is another maxim yet more momentous. I fear that in Italy it is growing gradually into an article of faith with the country, that the evasion and the breach of the most solemn engagements are looked upon by some of the Governments as among their natural and normal means of defence. I shall not enter into the older grounds of this opinion. Suffice it to say, that it does

unhappily receive countenance from recent events. In the very pamphlet before me I read of* the unhappy constitution of 1848, and of "the warm, accordant, spontaneous, and unanimous desire of the people, expressed in a thousand forms and a thousand times repeated, for the abolition of the Constitution and for a return to pure Monarchy." Now I say it is by language of this kind, used with the countenance of authority, that authority and monarchy are undermined, undermined in their original groundwork, the principle of trust and confidence between man and man. It is impossible for human audacity to go further, than in these self-damning assertions. The pamphleteer tells us now, that the Constitution was obtained "by agitators alone;"† but the King of Naples told the world on the 10th of February, 1848, that he granted it to "the unanimous desire of Our most beloved subjects." Was he then undeceived by the conflict of May 15? No, for on May 24 he declared that Constitution to be "the sacrosanct altar upon which must rest the destinies of Our most beloved people and of our Crown," and invoked, in terms the most solemn, the trust of his people. It is now thought decent and politic to say its abolition was sought by the spontaneous and unanimous wish of the people. Their unanimous wish! When that Constitution had created a large electoral body, and scarcely the smallest fraction of members were returned on either of two several elections, who were not heart and soul in favour of the Constitution as against "pure monarchy." Their spontaneous wish! When, as I here and now assert, persons holding office under the Government of Naples were requested and required by that Government to sign petitions for the abolition of the Constitution (which, however, it has not yet been thought proper to abolish, and which is still the law therefore of the land, only habitually and in all points broken) under penalty of dismissal if they should not comply.

The history of one country may afford useful lessons to the authorities of another; and I heartily wish that the annals of the reign of Charles I. of England were read and studied in the Council Chamber of Naples. We have there an instance of an ancient throne occupied by a monarch of rare personal endowments. He was devout, chaste, affectionate, humane, generous, refined, a patron of letters

* Rassegna, p. 9.

† p. 9.

and of art, without the slightest tinge of cruelty, though his ideas were those of "pure monarchy," frank and sincere in his personal character, but unhappily believing that, under the pressure of State necessity such as he might judge it, his pledges to his people need not be kept. That king, upon whose noble figure and lineaments, more happily immortalised for us by Vandyke than those of any other of our sovereigns, to this day few Englishmen can look without emotion, saw his cause ruined, in despite of a loyalty and enthusiasm sustaining him, such as now is a pure vision of the past, not by the strength of the antimonarchical or puritanical factions, nor even by his predilections for absolutism, but by that one sad and miserable feature of insincerity which prevented the general rally of his well-disposed and sober-minded subjects round him, till the time had passed, the commonwealth had been launched down the slide of revolution, and those violent and reckless fanatics had gained the upper hand, who left the foul stain of his blood on the good name of England. And why should I not advert to another lesson which the last few weeks have ripened to our hand? King Ernest of Hanover is gathered to his fathers. When he went from England in 1837 to assume his German crown, he was the butt and byword of liberalism in all its grades, and among the professors of the Conservative opinions, which he maintained in their sharpest forms, few, indeed, were those hardy enough to own that prince as politically their kin; while Hanover, misled as it afterwards appeared by the freedoms of English criticism, received him with more dread than affection. Fourteen years elapse: he passes unshaken through the tempest of a revolution that rocks or shatters loftier thrones than his; he dies amidst the universal respect, and the general confidence and attachment, of his subjects; he leaves to his son a well-established Government and an honoured name; and, in England itself, the very organs of democratic feeling and opinion are seen strewing the flowers of their honest panegyric on his tomb. And why? The answer is brief but emphatic; because he said what he meant, and did what he said. Doubtless his political education had been better than men thought, and had left deeper traces upon him; but his unostentatious sincerity was his treasure; it was "the barrel of meal that wasted not, the cruse of oil that did not fail."

And now, in drawing towards a conclusion of this Letter and with

it of this controversy, let me acknowledge with sincerity and warmth the moderation of temper and courtesy of tone, as towards myself, that mark the Neapolitan defence. The author of it has indeed characterised by strong terms the language which I myself had used. But he could not help it. Language of an extreme severity could not have been described intelligibly by feeble epithets. My apology is the old one—

“Be Kent unmannerly when Lear is mad.”

My description was intended to suit itself to the subject matter; I did not seek to fall short of it, I did not feel able to go beyond it. The language of compliment and finesse from me to the authors and agents of the proceedings I have touched upon could have given them no comfort, and would have been on my part a piece of nauseous affectation. I have made no approach towards it, either in the former letters or in these pages. There is one way only in which I can, partially at least, reciprocate the courtesy. It is by pointing out that, except in two instances, where I knew the charge was fairly driven home upon individuals in high station at Naples, I have denounced (what I think) guilt in the mass, and have not attempted to father it on this man or that. My reason for this course has been that I do not know, and I believe no man can know fully, how the responsibility should be divided. When a Government is not bound to render any account of its own acts, its own servants claim and practise as against it, the immunity which it claims and practises as against the nation. Each class of functionaries, as we descend the scale, is apt to have a sphere of licence all its own, and dimly known, or totally unknown, to its more remote superiors: the corruption of each one is multiplied into the fresh corruption of those that follow, and hideous indeed is the product by the time we get down to the most numerous class of public servants, those in immediate and general contact with the people. This class, in the police, I observe that the Neapolitan advocate himself consigns to reprobation. In the Cabinet of Naples there are men of strictly religious lives, men of known personal and public honour. It is some comfort to believe that they are themselves the victims and the dupes of the system of which they are also the instruments. Still more is it a duty and a satisfaction to presume similarly of the Sovereign. There are indeed acts which

have been done by him and by his predecessors in regard to the revocation of constitutional rights once granted under the most solemn sanctions, upon which I cannot enter: they point back to modes of training, and formation of the moral sense, so widely different from ours, that while they are most deeply repugnant to our feelings we can hardly be correct judges of the degree or kind of defect, demerit, or whatsoever it be, in the individual so trained. But as to the cruel sufferings that are lawlessly inflicted and endured beneath his sway, I think we should do great injustice to the Sovereign of Naples, were we not to believe that a thick veil intervenes between his eye, mental as well as bodily, and these sad scenes. I am confirmed in this belief both by circumstances to which I have referred in my former letters, and by finding in various quarters that persons sincere and fervent as the case demands in their sentiments about the facts, are persuaded that he has been the victim of deception, of the kind which is so deeply engrained in every system that is at once irresponsible, and administered by the hands of men necessarily fallible in judgment, limited in knowledge, and open to temptation. I, for one, should not think well of the modesty or the good sense of any one, who imagines that he himself could become part of a system of that nature, and not partake in its abuses.

But these considerations must not divert us from the facts themselves, which I hold it is a duty to denounce in plain language according to their real character, without any effeminate or affected squeamishness, the degenerate and bastard germ of that mildness which cannot be carried too far when we are dealing with persons, nor too soon got rid of when we are examining acts; acts, which have no flesh, blood, or nerves, but which are done upon human beings that have.

But the supposed policy and purposes of England have been dragged into this discussion, and, having been so dragged, they require a brief notice at my hands. Upon the one hand, even the official advocate appears to make himself responsible for the charges of an excessive rigour against the government of Sir Henry Ward in the Ionian Islands and of Lord Torrington in Ceylon; and he states that the treatment of many Irish political prisoners has been denounced as inhuman in the British House of Commons. On the other hand it has been intimated, though

not in this pamphlet, that my letters are but a part of a covert scheme cherished by England for obtaining territorial acquisitions in the Mediterranean at the expense of the Two Sicilies.

As to the first of these imputations, I have already stated that mere rigour on the part of the Neapolitan Government* would not have induced me to break silence. As to the cases which are quoted by way of retaliation, the difference between England and Naples is not that mischiefs and abuses are never found here and always there. We do not claim infallibility for our Government at home, much less for some forty or fifty Colonial Governors scattered over the world. The difference is this: that when a public officer in the British dominions is suspected of abusing authority, any person who sets himself to expose such misconduct may proceed in his task without hindrance and without fear, without being dogged by the police, without being treated as an enemy to the Throne and to public order, without being at a loss to find channels through which to bring the facts before the community at large, or means of full, rigid, and impartial inquiry; without being told what no public officer high or low would dare, even if he were unhappily so inclined, to say—that things like these, even if true, ought not to be made known. On the contrary, he who tracks the misconduct of public men into its hiding places, and holds it up to the general view, is looked upon in this country by the community at large, without the slightest distinction of party, Tory, Whig, or Radical, not as its disturber, but as its benefactor.

Now, although I am tempted to show by detailed remarks how inappropriate would be any attempt at comparison between the cases cited against England and my allegations against the Government of Naples, I feel that I ought not to encumber and prolong this controversy with matter belonging to a separate inquiry. I shall only therefore observe that I think the writer has mixed together cases of very different merits and bearings; one of them I shall not attempt to criticise, as proceedings may, it is said, take place upon it at an early date, while another must tell directly against him, since the nobleman to whom he imputes misconduct has actually been removed from office, and the third, as I believe, is wholly

* Page 8.

frivolous; finally, accidental instances of rigour, especially at the remoter points of a diversified and extended empire, constitute a delinquency very different indeed from that which I have imputed to the Government of Naples, and that a reference to them, however important in itself, must not be allowed to draw us off from the question under consideration. Whatever these cases be, there are in England the means of free exposure, full public consideration, and fair trial; will the apologist afford us those means in Naples?

Again, as to the imputation of territorial aims in the Mediterranean, any man who has a knowledge of English feeling and opinion must be aware that they now really run in a diametrically opposite direction. The prevalent, and the increasingly prevalent, disposition of this country is against territorial aggrandizement. We can take no credit for this disposition, which I hope to see widened, deepened, and confirmed from year to year; for we have smarted before, and are smarting bitterly at this moment, for having omitted to take more effectual securities against those tendencies to an extension of frontier, which are almost certain to operate if unchecked, where a civilised Power and an expansive race are brought into contact with an aboriginal population. The policy of England does not allow her to derive one farthing from her colonial dependencies. Many of them, those in the Mediterranean particularly, maintained for objects not properly colonial, put her to heavy charge, and nothing is so unlikely as that she should be seized with a passion for adding to their number. That course and tendency of opinion to which I have referred is indeed founded upon motives much higher than those of mere parsimony or thrift, and is allied to influences which among us are of very deep and powerful operation. We begin to learn and feel, that mere territorial possession is not the secret of wealth and power; that colonization, which at no time has been more in favour among us, has other and nobler aims; that the desire to build national greatness on enlarged range of dominion has been a fertile source of war, dissension, bloodshed, and of consequent weakness and poverty to nations.

We have entered upon a new career, that of free and unrestricted exchange, so far as lies in our power to promote it, with all the

nations of the world. For the ancient strife of territorial acquisition we are labouring, I trust and believe, to substitute another, a peaceful and a fraternal strife among nations, the honest and the noble race of industry and art. For the contention which desolated the face of the world, in which whatever one party gained the other must needs lose, and which commonly was attended for both alike with mischiefs during the struggle that exceeded the whole value of the prize, England now hopes and labours to substitute another rivalry, in which the gains of one are not the losses of another, in which every competitor may be a conqueror, in which every success achieved in one country implies and requires more or less of corresponding triumphs in another, and which, in lieu of desolating the surface of the earth, makes it smile with the wealth and glory of nature and of art, and teem with every gift that a bountiful Creator has ordained for the comfort or the use of man. Such, if I know anything of them, are the views and machinations, such the labours and the hopes of England. I trust we shall never be drawn aside from them by any eloquence, however seductive, by any scheme, however plausible, that would send us forth into the world as armed evangelists of freedom; and this from the deep conviction, that no heavier blow than our compliance with such projects could be inflicted on that sacred cause. And if it be true that, at periods now long past, England has had her full share of influence in stimulating by her example the martial struggles of the world, may she likewise be forward, now and hereafter, to show that she has profited by the heavy lessons of experience, and to be—if, indeed, in the designs of Providence, she is elected to that office—the standard-bearer of the nations upon the fruitful paths of peace, industry, and commerce.

To sum up all. The execrable practices carried on by members and agents of the Neapolitan Government, if they were before unknown to its heads, are now at least brought to their knowledge, and they themselves must have some idea with what feelings the statement of them has been received in Europe.

The case has come to this point: that either the Neapolitan Government should separate from these hideous iniquities, or else the question would arise, Is it just or wise to give countenance and warrant to the doctrine of those who teach that kings and

their governments are the natural enemies of man, the tyrants over his body, and the contaminators of his soul? And if we thought not, then every state in Europe, every public man, no matter what his party or his colour, every member of the great family of Christendom whose heart beats for its welfare, should, by declaring his sentiments on every fitting occasion, separate himself from such a government, and decline to recognise the smallest moral partnership or kin with it, until the huge mountain of crime which it has reared shall have been levelled with the dust.

If the change can be wrought by the influence of opinion, it is well. But wrought it must and will be, and the sooner the more easily. As time flows on, and new sores form upon a suffering community, necessity will but grow more urgent, and opportunity more narrow, the pain of the process sharper, and its profit less secure.

And now I have done; have uttered, as I hope, my closing word. These pages have been written without any of those opportunities of personal communication with Neapolitans, which, twelve months ago, I might have enjoyed. They have been written in the hope that by thus making through the press, rather than in another mode, that rejoinder to the Neapolitan reply which was doubtless due from me, I might still, as far as depended on me, keep the question on its true ground, as one not of politics but of morality, and not of England but of Christendom and of mankind. Again I express the hope that this may be my closing word. I express the hope that it may not become a hard necessity to keep this controversy alive until it reaches its one only possible issue, which no power of man can permanently intercept: I express the hope, that while there is time, while there is quiet, while dignity may yet be saved in showing mercy, and in the blessed work of restoring Justice to her seat, the Government of Naples may set its hand in earnest to the work of real and searching, however quiet and unostentatious, reform; that it may not become unavoidable to reiterate these appeals from the hand of power to the one common heart of mankind; to produce those painful documents, those harrowing descriptions, which might be supplied in rank abundance, of which I have scarcely given the faintest idea or sketch, and which, if they were laid from

time to time before the world, would bear down like a deluge every effort at apology or palliation, and would cause all that has recently been made known to be forgotten and eclipsed in deeper horrors yet; lest the strength of offended and indignant humanity should rise up as a giant refreshed with wine, and, while sweeping away these abominations from the eye of Heaven, should sweep away along with them things pure and honest, ancient, venerable, salutary to mankind, crowned with the glories of the past, and still capable of bearing future fruit.

6, *Carlton Gardens, London,*

Jan. 29, 1852.

THE END.