

**MR. URQUHART ON THE
ITALIAN WAR. SPEECH
DELIVERED DURING ITS
CONTINUANCE**

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Mr. Urquhart on the Italian war. Speech delivered during its continuance by David Urquhart

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DAVID URQUHART

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MR. URQUHART

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THE ITALIAN WAR.

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SPEECH DELIVERED DURING ITS CONTINUANCE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

MEMOIR ON EUROPE,

DRAWN UP FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF

THE PRESENT EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

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LONDON :

ROBERT HARDWICKE, 192, PICCADILLY.

1859.

Price One Shilling.



With this Address is published a Memoir by the Russian Cabinet. The designs and actions of Russia are here disclosed in words as undisguised as those of Mr. URQUHART, to which Europe has for so many years been deaf.

MR. URQUHART'S

ADDRESS

ON

NEUTRALITY.



ON Tuesday, the 17th of May, Mr. URQUHART resumed his adjourned address from the preceding Monday evening, at the Music Hall, Store-street. Mr. STOBART, of Newcastle, was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the absence of Mr. CRAWSHAY, the chairman of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Committee, I have been requested, as secretary to that Committee, to take his place on the present occasion; but I do assure you I deem it a very high honour to preside over a meeting convened for the purpose of listening to a lecture from a man whom I believe in my heart and soul to be the greatest man of this age. (Applause). It is now upwards of four years since I first had the honour and the pleasure of meeting Mr. URQUHART. Like many others, I was then very much shocked by the statements he made respecting the position of our country, and I resolved, as an Englishman, to do my utmost, as far as my humble abilities and opportunities would admit me, to examine the facts in regard to the questions upon which he had spoken. I now come here to bear my humble but sincere testimony that, so far as I have examined those facts, I am obliged to come to the same conclusions that Mr. URQUHART has come to respecting the position of this country. (Applause.) I trust you will to-night give to Mr.

URQUHART a patient hearing. He may advance views on this question that may not harmonise with your own; but remember that if his views were all the same as yours, it would be unnecessary for him to speak. The position of this country reminds me of what SOCRATES said respecting friends. He said, "Of what use are a man's friends? If he is sick, he must employ a physician; and when he goes to law, he must find an advocate." That is very much the position of this country at this conjuncture. We must endeavour to obtain information from those who are able and willing to give information. (Hear, hear.) I believe in the intelligence, I believe in the sincerity, and I believe in the ability of Mr. URQUHART, and I do trust that you will give him a patient hearing on this occasion; and if there is any one present who wishes to put a relevant question, I am very sure that Mr. URQUHART will be happy to answer him. But, at the same time, I do trust that no one will interrupt this meeting by asking questions of an irrelevant character; and I trust that the meeting will support me in the position I now occupy, in maintaining the order of the meeting, so that its proceedings may be characterised by decorum; that we may assemble here to-night as the citizens of a common country desirous to know the facts on a given subject. I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. URQUHART to your attention.

Mr. CHARLES JONES.—Before Mr. URQUHART begins, I wish to make a statement. A few days ago an advertisement appeared in the newspapers for the enrolment of men to support the independence of Italy. The Committee of which I am a member wrote as follows to Mr. SOTHERON ESTCOURT:—

St. Pancras Foreign Affairs Committee, May 10, 1859.

SIR,—I am directed to call your attention to the enclosed advertisement from the *Times* of this day, by which it appears that troops are being enrolled in this country to fight against one of her Majesty's allies, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Foreign Enlistment Act.

This Committee deem it their duty to lose no time in informing you of this breach of neutrality, and hope to receive from you a speedy assurance of your intention to visit it with the penalties of the law.

This was the answer we received:—

Whitehall, May 13, 1859.

SIR,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary SOTHERON ESTCOURT to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., enclosing an advertisement which appeared in the *Times* newspaper, headed "Guerra d'Indipendenza Italiana, Legione Montemerli."—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
GATHORNE HARDY.

The proceeding to which this letter refers appears to be an offence against the laws of neutrality, and I wish to ask Mr. URQUHART to state his views on the subject.

Mr. URQUHART then rose, and was received with great applause. He said:—You are aware perhaps, or you may not be aware, and if not I tell you, that there have been formed throughout England associations for the protection, not of needlewomen, or of dumb animals, but of the subjects of her Majesty, by the enforcing of the laws of England. (Hear, hear.) These associations have sprung up in a soil that appeared the least congenial, namely, in that class of society from which have proceeded the most dangerous and alarming of agitations—the working men. They have been formed with a view of understanding how their country stands, of discovering the secret causes of action which produce events that are supposed to fall from the stars, and having found that these events depend chiefly upon human chicane, they are doing their best to save themselves and their country from the consequences. One of these associations, formed even in this Babel of tongues, the metropolis, has had this correspondence, and puts to me the question you have heard, but which I will repeat, as many of you have not heard it. The St. Pancras Committee brings to the knowledge of the Government the notification, by advertisement in the *Times*, of an association of men for robbery and murder, requiring to know what course the Government is going to take; the answer is an acknowledgment of the letter, but no indication of any intention on the part of the Government to do anything. It is true that the crimes proposed as the object of the enlistment are not to be

perpetrated on Blackheath, but in Italy. The character of the crimes is not, however, thereby altered, and prior knowledge in such a case constitutes the persons possessed of that knowledge, and taking no steps to arrest them, as themselves guilty. By an act of Parliament passed under George III., this species of crime has been provided for, and the Government, since the correspondence which has been read, has issued a proclamation declaring its intention to proceed against any persons violating the neutrality and laws of this country, by assisting the belligerents. It would seem, therefore, that the Home Secretary, in reply to the St. Pancras Committee, had failed only through inadvertence, or an official reserve, to announce the intentions of the Government, since the proclamation that so immediately followed could leave no doubt as to what those intentions were. But when we look more narrowly into the terms of that proclamation, an entirely new field is opened.

Mr. HARLOW (of Birmingham).—Before proceeding further, would you be good enough to explain the difference between lawful and unlawful wars. Without that it is not easy to apprehend the nature of the enlistment of soldiers in England to take part in a war in which England is not engaged, and how such an act as that becomes murder. (Cheers.)

Mr. URQUHART.—I suppose, from the attention that the question has met with from the audience, that I shall do right in following the question, and answering it at once. (Hear, hear.) And, indeed, there is no question which it is more requisite to put, and none which can involve a more solemn responsibility in answering. War is not, as you have been made to believe, a mere measure of state. War is the most solemn, as well as the most terrible, of all public tribunitial decisions. A war that is unjust is a crime multiplied by the number of individuals in the state that permits it. A war that is unlawful converts the whole state into a bandit and pirate community. A war that is just and necessary—for no war can be just that is not necessary—a war just and necessary

becomes lawful only when invested with the forms that belong to a judicial decision. Such a war is the preservation of the life of the community; but it is more, it is the preservation of the sense of justice amongst mankind, for if there were none to resist wrong there would be no right remaining upon earth. (Applause.) When, therefore, we efface the line which separates unjust from just war, when, above all things, we efface the line that separates lawful from unlawful war, we convert mankind, to use the words of a former statesman of England, into a society of wild beasts. (Hear, hear.) To render war just, to render it necessary, just, and lawful, the same conditions are requisite which are required for the punishment of a criminal at the Old Bailey. There must be the crime alleged, the evidence tendered, the verdict given, the sentence pronounced and lawfully executed. (Applause.) Unless every one of these conditions is fulfilled, the executioner, the sheriff, every officer there attendant, the witnesses, the judge, are all murderers in the eye of the laws of the country. The judge would be dragged from the bench and sent to prison to answer on his life, if he suffered the criminal who had been sentenced to be executed, except at the place and hour indicated in the sentence. If you have taken such precautions for the security of the life of every man, even though the man be a criminal, do you think that those forefathers of ours, who so carefully prepared this inheritance of protection for their children, could have neglected to surround with similar restraints the criminal passions of the nation in reference to its dealings with other communities, by which not individual lives, but the lives and conditions of millions of men, may be endangered. The sense of equity amongst them was so supreme, that they have placed a barrier alike to the caprice of monarchs, to the fickleness of mobs, to the influence of favourites, and the treachery of ministers. They have given to us private men, and to the meanest amongst us, the faculty of asserting those laws even against the highest heads. Forms must be observed for a war to be lawful, because,