A VINDICATION OF THE DUKE OF MODENA FROM THE CHARGES OF MR. GLADSTONE FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND OTHER ANTHENTIC SOURCES

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THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY

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OF

THE DUKE OF MODENA

FROM THE CHARGES OF

MR. GLADSTONE

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SELECTED AND REVISED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY

THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, K.G.

LONDON BOSWORTH & HARRISON, 215 REGENT STREET
1861

[&]quot;Io ho cospirate per dedict annt"...CAVOUE, March 27, 1861

N.B.—The reader is begged to bear in mind that in arguing, in the course of the following pages, upon the alleged Modenese Documents, printed by order of Dictator Farini, we cannot accept the text printed as really genuine; for there are ample evidences of falsification on the face of the so-called documents contained in the compilation on which Mr. Gladstone and his friends relied.



INTRODUCTION.

A system of government which excludes the truth as an injurious element, and which adopts permanent conspiracy against its neighbours as the normal condition of a settled state, might be treated with silent contempt as a self-refuting heresy; but when such a system has been not merely tolerated, but encouraged, by the present Ministers of the British Crown, the character of this country is thereby compromised; and it is to this most important point that I specially desire the attention of the readers of the following pages. The insidious slanders with which the Duke of Modena was assailed were only one portion of a general system of falsehood, and a part of the universal conspiracy against all the neighbours of his sovereign, publicly acknowledged by the late Piedmontese minister.*

"Colla verità non si governa," said the Avvocato Salvagnoli to the Avvocato Brofferio, as recorded by the latter in a publication called "I Miei Tempi," which eighteen months ago made a great sensation throughout Italy.

That portion of the English public who have taken upon themselves to decide dogmatically what is best for Italy, seem to proceed upon the plan that it is safest to know

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Turin, the Count Cavour declared, with the utmost frankness and in perfect sincerity, that not only had he conspired during the course of the late events at Naples, but that he had been a conspirator for the last treelve years."

In a despatch (1861) addressed by Baron Winspeare, late Minister of Francis II. at the Court of Turin, to the Marquis Villa Marina, late representative of Victor Emanuel, in Naples, are these words: "In the sitting of the 27th of March, of the Parliament of

nothing, because then they can believe anything. But they may perhaps think it a necessary exception to contented ignorance that they should ask who these parties are, the one of whom expounded and the other who exposed this new theory of government. The Avvocato Salvagnoli was at that time Minister of Religion! and of Public Instruction! to the Baron Ricasoli, then Dictator of Tuscany, and now Prime Minister of the soi-disant King of Italy. The Avvocato Brofferio is one of the most eminent popular lawyers in Italy, no believer in the patriotism of Count Cayour, and was therefore excluded by him from the first composition of the present parliament, which Garibaldi said publicly was composed of the lacquais of that minister. Signor Brofferio has since been returned at a single election. The Avvocato Salvagnoli was in Tuscany the most indefatigable of Count Cavour's conspirators en permanence, and was during the present British Foreign Secretary's residence of a few months in Tuscany, at the end of the year 1856, the most constant adviser and the most received authority on Italian affairs of that Noble Lord; at least, such was from that time the boast of that learned gentleman to all who would listen to him. This may not, at first sight, appear of much importance, but what is of the utmost importance to Englishmen is, how far the changed opinions of the Noble Lord, which have exercised so disastrous an effect on the destinies of Italy, are to be traced to information derived from a source avowedly so little trustworthy, and were the consequence of his exclusive political communion with Italians known there as Lord Minto's set, or the Piedmontese party.

The quick succession of strange events, with which public attention has been of late years distracted, rather tends to confuse the recollection as to the parts played by individual statesmen, and it operates as a convenient cloak to otherwise notorious inconsistency. But the reader will at once see why I, of all men, had the least reason to anticipate the

headlong adoption by Lord John Russell of a revolutionary theory, calculated to violate every Italian predilection, and to upset every Italian tradition.

On the 3rd of February, 1852, Lord J. Russell explained to Parliament the grounds of what every one then believed must be his final separation from Lord Palmerston. Having accomplished that task, he further expounded his creed upon foreign politics, especially pointing out the result of too ready an acceptance of the requirements of revolution. Every opinion he then expressed in that speech I still retain.

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"But, Sir, there is something further, to which, if I may be permitted, I will call the attention of the House. Four years ago we were astonished with news of insurrections in most of the capitals of Europe, and of a general or something very like a general establishment of the most democratic constitutions. heard Honourable Members in this House express their great joy at the establishment of these constitutions; but I could not participate in their joy or preises of what had occurred. I said, I looked upon these events with mixed feelings, glad if they should turn out to be events which promoted the liberty and freedom of the Nations of Europe, but being by no means confident as to that result. We have now seen four years pass over, and we have witnessed in almost all the countries where these democratic constitutions had been established, absolute power put in their place. For instance, in that little country of Tuscany, in which I lived for several months under the benignant rule of a most mild and enlightened government. We have seen that country overturned by democracy; we have seen the Grand Duke driven from his dominions by the party which seeks for what is called Italian Unity; and we have afterwards seen that democratic government suppressed, and the Grand Duke restored to absolute power."-Speech of Lord John Russell, February 3rd, 1852.

It will be recollected that this was the deliberate opinion of Lord John Russell, after he had watched the progress of these events for four years as Prime Minister of this country, and with the advantages of that ready access to the reports of different agents which such a position ensures. But some other influences must since have been at work, when "the party which seeks for what is called Italian Unity" found such sudden favour in his sight; but a very few days after the Peace of Villafranca he sought to violate its conditions by

urging the notorious Buoncompagni to press on the Tuscan elections while power was still in Piedmontese hands. He thereby did his best to prevent the restoration of what he had termed that "most mild and enlightened government" to which he had formerly done such ready justice. Has it never occurred to him, amidst all the contradictions of his subsequent policy, and of his restless interference which he characterises as non-intervention, that the revolution is not now an easier master to serve than it was ten years ago, and that under similar circumstances the same causes will again

produce the same results?

The testimony of Salvagnoli as to the system of the Provisional Government of Tuscany acquires additional importance from the present political position held by Baron Ricasoli, as the indignant censure of Brofferio which called forth this cynical avowal on the part of Salvagnoli was applied to the whole government of Baron Ricasoli. Signor Brofferio complained of was, that the Dictator had done what he positively denied—that he had not done what he pretended to have done; that there had been all the arbitrary imprisonments with which he had been charged; that there had been wholesale intimidation and gross corruption at the elections, systematic violation of private correspondence at the post-office, and the most profligate waste of the financial resources of the Grand Duchy. To all these accusations his colleague and confidential adviser only replied, "Caro mio, colla verità non si governa." *

Do not let it be supposed that such insensibility to all moral shame as is shown in the avowal is a national characteristic. Such "sfacciatezza" is not Italian; it is merely the type of that Piedmontese party of which Count Cavour was the incarnation. "Lascia fare," which has been the bane of Italy during the last two years, is the result of that want of moral courage for which this clever and impressionable

Brofferio's Memoirs, vol. ziv. pp. 95 — 115.

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people have ever been famous. But if this unblushing proclamation of such an immoral axiom as "Colla verità non si governa" must have been revolting to the natural franchezza of the Italian character, all sense of right and wrong must have been blunted by long abuse of words, before they could listen without indignant protest to that boast of Count Cavour, shortly before his death, when he stated in the Chambers, "I have been a conspirator for the last twelve years." How few of those who read such an avowal in their daily paper have stopped to consider what a thorough social demoralisation these words conveyed. A Prime Minister, acting in the name of his Sovereign, conspiring against the rights of all his neighbours! Why, his life must have been one long continuous deception, with an utter disregard of all that good faith in international relations, on which depends the welfare of man and the peace of the The practical application of the doctrine, "Colla verità non si governa," acquired its widest development under that permanent conspiracy which was boasted to have existed during twelve years; and of the means by which it was worked the papers relating to the Duchy of Massa Carrara furnish a most instructive epitome. But in the last two years there is hardly a public act of the Piedmontese Government which does not show that the system is still in full vigour. The English Foreign Secretary, on the 31st of last August, said truly "that the King of Sardinia was free not to accept the Preliminaries of Villafranca and the Treaty of Zurich, but having renounced a continuation of the war, and having given his royal word to live in peace and friendship with Austria, he was no longer at liberty to cast aside his obligation, and direct a wanton attack against a neighbouring Prince"—words worthy of the position which the Noble Lord occupied, but perfectly thrown away on those to whom they were addressed. From that time to this have the Piedmontese Government ever shown any sense of the moral obligation to which the English Minister so di-