

News Department.

From Papers by Steamers Arabia, July 19.

ITALY.

The state of Italy was the subject of discussion in both houses on Monday. In the Upper House Lord Lyndhurst took the initiative in a powerful denunciation of oppressive wrongs, sustained by a clear recital of facts, and asking for information as to the intentions of Government, whose policy in publishing the protocols of the Paris Conference in reference to the affairs of Italy he had always doubted, unless it was intended to do something more than raise hopes and expectations of breaking the chain of military tyranny deemed to be completely disappointed, and leading, in all probability, to a calamitous state of things.

"I need hardly add, my lords, that of all military tyranny the military tyranny of Austria is the most galling and odious. It is not in Italy alone that we have had experience of the military occupation of Austria; we have had more recent evidence with respect to it in the Principalities. The Austrians entered the Principalities as friends and protectors—professedly as friends and protectors, in virtue of a treaty with the Sovereign of that country. It might be supposed that under such circumstances the Austrians would maintain most strict discipline, that they would abstain from all violence and injury to the inhabitants, or that if, by any accident, any injury or violence were committed, that it would be speedily redressed. Unfortunately, however, things took a different course, and I think I am authorised, from the information I have received, in saying that the people of that country lamented that Russian invasion was exchanged for Austrian protection. The Austrian occupation of those countries has been spoken of in favourable terms, but I have seen so much of the evidence from official documents, that I feel certain the statement I have made is perfectly correct. My lords, by the treaty of Vienna the line of Austrian power in Italy was strictly defined. They have passed this boundary; they have stretched themselves along the coast of Ancona, and they are now in the occupation, with an immense military force, of the duchy of Parma, and a portion of the State of Modena. They command, indeed, the whole south of Italy. I will not enter upon an inquiry how far their original entry into the Legations was legal, and how far it was justified by the condition of the country and of the Governments. These things I pass over. They are well worthy of consideration and discussion, but they would take me from my present object. What I wish is to bring before your lordships the present state of the country. From the time the Austrians have passed the boundary seven years have elapsed. For seven years they have had possession of this territory, and they have placed the greater portion of it in a state of siege and under martial law during the whole of that period. My lords, when is this to cease? What termination is to be put to this state of things? I ask this of my noble friend. He will tell me that the short answer returned by the Austrian Government to this question is, that they will leave this territory when they can do so without danger of insurrection. A bad Government produces dissatisfaction, disturbance, and possible insurrection. That leads to the invasion of a military force. The possession by a military force continues and increases dissatisfaction, protects bad Government, produces disturbances, and renders it impossible to remove the troops; so that to the evils of the possession of such a country by a hostile force there appears to be no reasonable termination. My lords, that is a sad prospect for Italy." When is such a state of things to cease? The answer of the Austrian Government to that question was, that they would leave the territory when they could do so without danger of insurrection, but he submitted, the military force by which they kept possession of the country had a continual and inevitable tendency to produce dissatisfaction, disturbance, and possibly insurrection among the Italian people. A man, he thought, would be credulous indeed who supposed that Austria would voluntarily quit possession of Italy, either from a sense of justice, or from inconvenience it imposed upon the Austrian Government itself, but it might possibly yield to the pressure of France and England acting in concert. "But I may be permitted to say that, although a short time ago I was sanguine as to the effects of the concurrence of France and England, yet that certain events have since occurred—certain symptoms have appeared of such a nature and character as to lead me to entertain very serious doubts whether these hopes will be realized. Not that there is any coolness between the two countries, or any want of

energy on the part of England; but there are circumstances in the situation of France which lead me to doubt whether she is disposed cordially to co-operate on this subject."

Turning to Naples, nothing, said the noble lord, could exceed the infamy of the Neapolitan Government. As a proof of this, he adverted to the well-known pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone. "That publication was circulated extensively throughout the continent of Europe. It went through various editions, and caused a great impression. An official answer was returned to it by the Government of Naples. I do not know how many of your lordships have read it; but, so far from refusing the statements of my right hon. friend, it only confirmed the accuracy of his details. I will take that publication. I strike out everything out what fell under the observation of the author—a man of truthful character and conduct—and, referring to that document alone, I say it marks the infamy of the Government of Naples. But it may possibly be said that these occurrences took place four or five years ago, and that great improvements have taken place since that period. But, so far from any change having taken place, the same system has continued from that time to the present—the same infamous system of tyranny and oppression. It is suggested that a change has taken place, let me refer to what is passing at this hour in the kingdom of Naples—to the political trials that are going on, the counterparts of those described by my right hon. friend (Mr. Gladstone) in which there has been a disregard of every principle of justice and a violation of every right. Persons have been suborned to be witnesses against the accused, and men have been threatened with imprisonment and punishment unless they consented to give false witness. I will not go through the details, but your lordships must have read them, and must have seen that a greater violation of right and principle never existed in the history of the world. But what makes the case worse—if it could be made worse—that this state of things is founded upon no law, not even upon the law of arbitrary government. The constitution of Naples was sworn to by the King. After the disturbances he ratified the adoption of that constitution, which has never been revoked, and is now the law of that country. The obligation of that constitution is, therefore, still in force, and everything has been done in open defiance of the law and in direct violation of the constitution." He was told that the King of Naples had sent an answer to the note from the English Government, denying our right of interference, and positively refusing to give any explanation. "There is no country in the world, I should say, more open to the power of England than the King of Naples.—If the kingdom of Naples sets our power and authority at defiance, which is the interpretation which I put upon that conduct? It is this—that they feel that there is some lukewarmness, some backwardness on our part to co-operate in extreme measures for the purpose of obtaining the object which we have in view, and they think, further, that we should not like to adopt measures which might give rise to conflict with Austria. We threaten the Government of Naples. We say, 'Your conduct is atrocious, is infamous; we require you to change it.' They refuse to change it. If we do nothing, what becomes of the prestige of England?"

Then there was the conduct of Austria in the Legations, where she had established martial law during the last seven years. "Of all instruments of arbitrary power martial law is the most effective and the most fatal. Acts of oppression are exercised without restraint or limit, and upon bare suspicion peaceable citizens are apprehended and thrown into prison. As Englishmen, we have a very imperfect idea of what being thrown into prison means. We have a notion of well arranged apartments, inspected and visited by magistrates and officials; but we must not transfer that notion to the Lathorne dungeons in which men of education and men of station are imprisoned with the vilest and most atrocious malefactors. Such is the state to which many of the inhabitants of the Legations are now reduced—occasionally drawn forth for the purpose of undergoing trial. What species of trial? Trial by a military tribunal of foreigners, every member of which is subject to the control of the prosecution, a trial without any form, without any rule of law, in which everything is directed according to the will and discretion of those by whom the proceedings are instituted. And what is the result?—The result, I am told, from the highest possible authority, is, that since the Austrians have been in possession of the Legations, 200 prisoners have been shot

and between 2,000 and 6,000 sent into exile. I go to another spot—Parma. An immense military force now occupies that territory. A conflict takes place between the invaders and the Government. The Government insists that the trial of parties accused shall be before the ordinary tribunals. What say the Austrians?—that they shall be tried by a court martial of foreigners. Every man who is that kingdom is attached to the due administration of justice, must wish to be tried by the ordinary tribunals. But this fact has occurred, and it is a melancholy fact—that before the conflict took place, the Austrians had seized a great number of persons and transferred them to the dungeons of Mantua, where they lie in a helpless state, for if brought to trial they will be tried according to the discretion of the Austrians. It is while this conflict is going on that it is consistent with duty for her Majesty's Government to do everything to interfere and support the cause of the people; yet, my lords, although this contest has been going on for a very long period, it is only within a very days that our ambassador has arrived at Parma. Whether we shall derive any great advantage from his presence I will not pretend to say, but if reports speak truly, his inclinations and opinions are opposed to the rights which it should be the duty of her Majesty's Government to defend."

As a contrast, Lord Lyndhurst called the attention of the house to the kingdom of Sardinia, which under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, had succeeded in establishing a free constitution by the exercise of firmness, vigor, moderation, and wisdom. That constitution, which he trusted England would exert all its power to perpetuate and support was regarded with jealousy and hatred by Austria, forming, as it did, in the estimation of that power, a most dangerous example to the whole of Italy, and it would do its utmost to subvert it. "Allow me to point out to your lordships the bitter feelings of Austria towards Sardinia, as exemplified in the case of the sequestrations. There never was an affair of such littleness—if the affair had been between women, I should say, of such spite." The Austrian government gave permission to some Milanese to quit their country. They settled in Piedmont, upon which, on some alleged suspicions, their property was immediately sequestered, no grounds assigned, no evidence stated, no justification assigned, and all remonstrance during the last three years unheeded. Having stated these facts, the noble lord concluded by asking, what is the course recommended by the friends of Italy? "They are earnest in advising that there should be no attempt at insurrection; that for the moment the idea of a united Italy should be abandoned; that all hopes and wishes for revolutionary movements should be abandoned. The plan of a united Italy is impracticable. Revolutionary movement would be immediately crushed by the disciplined bands of Austria, and the pressure of her despotism would be increased tenfold. Such, therefore, must be the advice given by all real, genuine friends of Italy. I have taken some pains to enquire, and I understand that the great mass of the intelligent and well informed men throughout Italy are most moderate in their views. They desire no great changes, they do not wish to alter the existing Government, but what they desire, and what they are entitled to demand, is an impartial administration of justice, and a firm, honest, and intelligent administration of social affairs. Give them that, and I firmly believe the great majority of the people of Italy will be content. When the French code of laws was introduced into the Legations, and civil affairs were firmly and honestly administered, the people, before discontented, became satisfied, happy, and wealthy, and that period of its history is regarded in that district as the happiest it has ever known. We know well that, in Tuscany, the laws which the good Duke Leopold introduced were productive of happiness and contentment among his people; and we also know that at the present time the people of Piedmont are contented, happy, and prosperous. That is what the people of Italy now require—that is what will satisfy them, and I would advise them most strongly not to seek to disturb the boundaries of different States; but to labor with all moral force, by all the means in their power, to gain the objects they so much desired—impartial administration of justice—good administration of civil affairs. My lords, there is one way in which that object may be attained, and with facility—it is by the cordial union and earnest co-operation of England and France. Whether we may hope for that co-operation for such an object I will not undertake to predict—it may occur, it has occurred, and it has produced great benefit to the people of the country to whom that united action was applied. That is the only hope of the Italian people, and I trust I shall have the explanation from my noble friends which will justify them in cherishing that hope. My lords, I very much regret that the