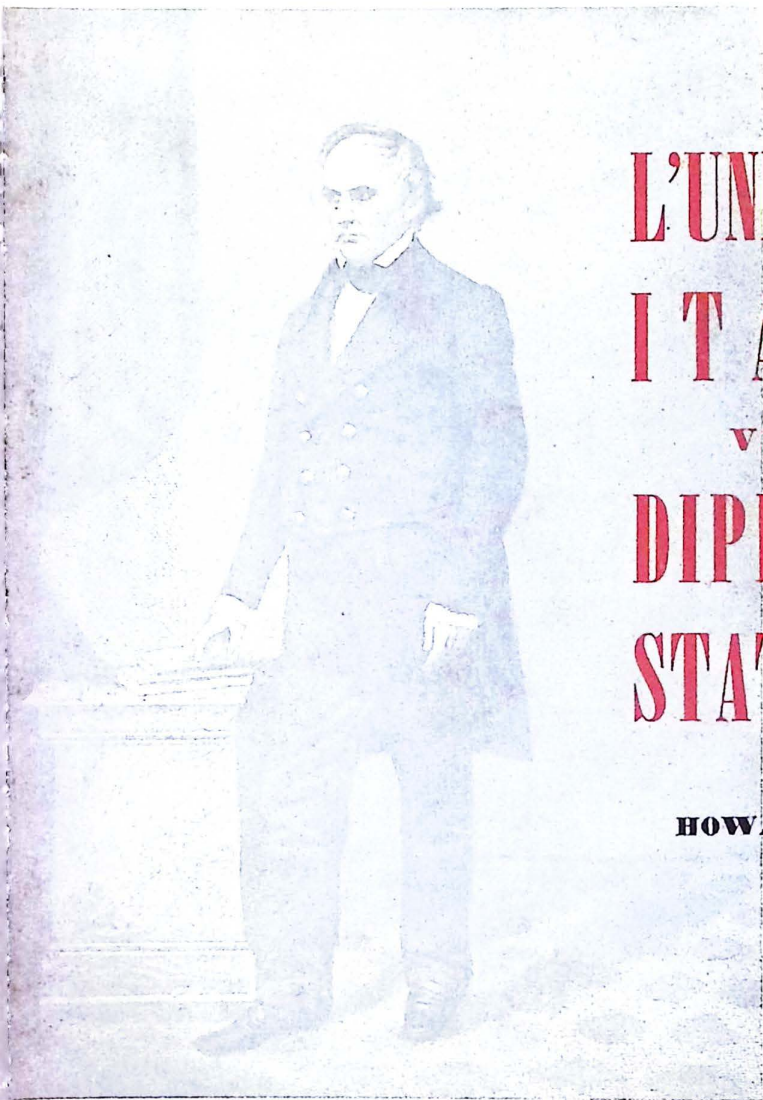


ISTITUTO PER LA STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO

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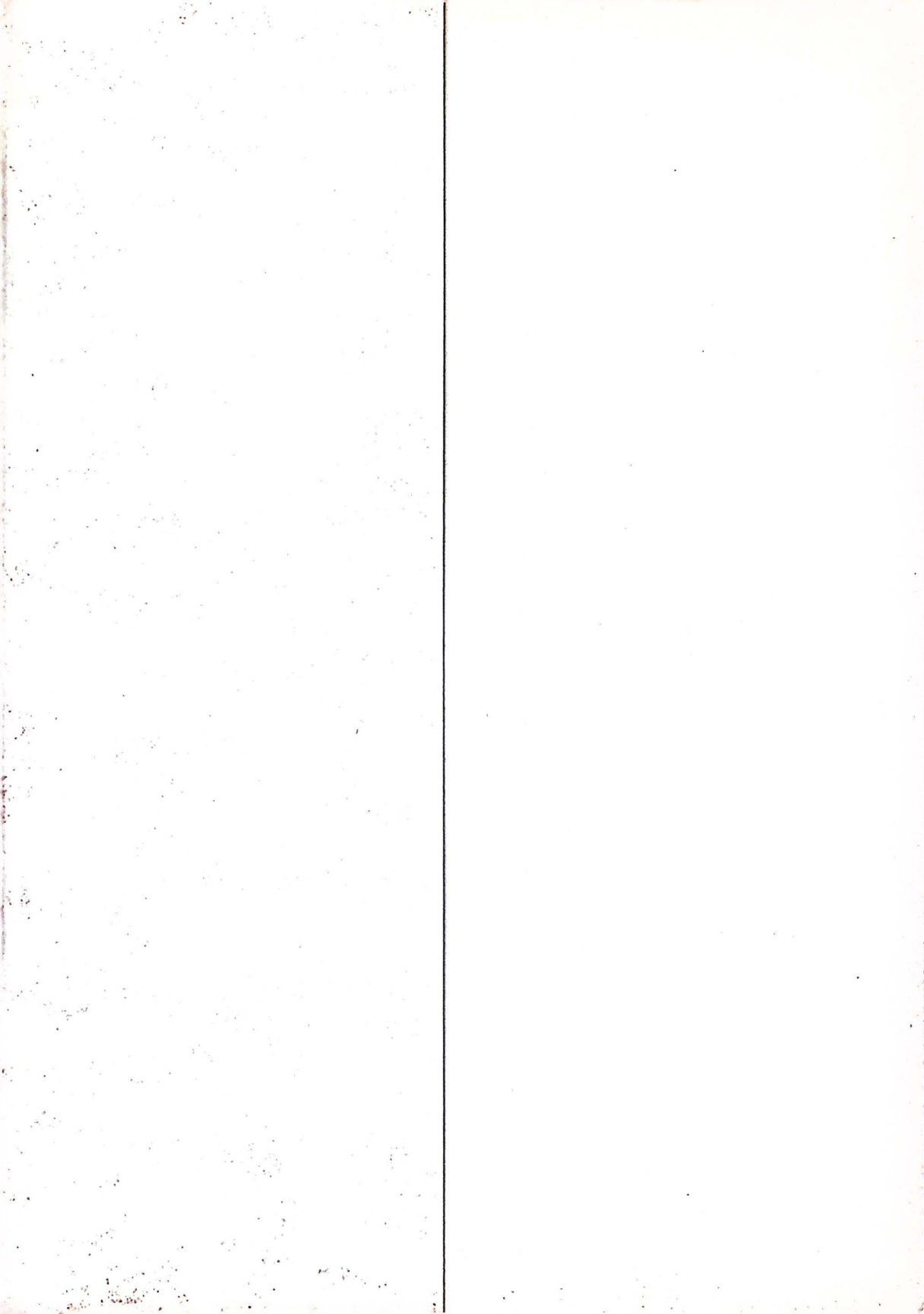
HOWARD R. MARRARO

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Daniel Webster

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A

Elena

*la cui vigile premura
è stata di incitamento ai miei studi*

P R E M E S S A

Nel consegnare alle stampe questo secondo volume dei dispacci dei ministri statunitensi, desidero esprimere la mia più viva gratitudine per il valido aiuto che ho ricevuto da vari colleghi, amici e studenti, ciascuno dei quali ha contribuito a rendere meno arduo il mio lavoro. Un particolare ringraziamento ai colleghi: Lena M. Ferrari, Diana Guiragossian, Carol Tocci, Attilio Salerno, Filippo Perfetti, Josephine M. Ferrante, Miriam Freri, Joan McConnell. Ed ancora a Rosario Riccardi della New York Public Library; M. Neil Franklin, Chief, Diplomatic, Legal, and Fiscal Branch of the General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C. ; a Terence K. Hopkins, Segretario del Council for Research in the Social Sciences della Columbia University. Ringrazio altresì Robert B. Carter della casa editrice James T. White & Co., per il permesso di riprodurre la fotografia di Daniel Webster, Segretario di Stato degli Stati Uniti.

New York, 23 marzo 1964

HOWARD R. MARRARO

RAPPORTI

NATHANIEL NILES

4 gennaio 1848 - 20 agosto 1850

*James Buchanan*¹ a *Nathaniel Niles*²

Istruzione n. 1

Department of State, Washington, 12th January, 1848

Sir: The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you Chargé d'Affaires of the United States near the Government of Sardinia, I transmit, herewith, the following papers.

1. Your commission.
2. A letter of Credence addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sardinia, and an office copy of the same.
3. A Special Passport for yourself and suite.
4. A Letter of Credit on the Bankers of the United States in London, authorizing them to pay your drafts for your salary, as this shall become due; and, also, those for the contingent expenses of the Legation. The latter credit is to be used only for expenses actually incurred, and these are not to exceed the sum of \$ 500 per annum. In availing yourself of this authority, you will be careful to conform strictly to the rules laid down in the printed « Personal Instructions », referred to below, and in the printed letter giving directions on the subject of draft drawn by Diplomatic Agents of the United States.
5. A printed copy of « Personal Instructions to the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in Foreign Countries », with the « Supplement » thereto; to both of which your attention is specially directed. Also, (marked A and B), two printed Circulars, — the one, giving certain directions to be observed by the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in drawing bills on public account: the other, establishing a rule respecting the salaries of those agents, when absent from their posts on leave.
6. A printed List of the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States in foreign Countries.

Your salary, as fixed by law, is at the rate of \$ 4500 per annum,

¹ Vedi vol I, p 225, n 1.

² Vedi vol I, pp. 3-74

with an outfit equal to a year's salary, and an amount equal to one quarter's salary for your return to this country. By a general rule, the salary of Ministers to Foreign Courts commences on the day of their leaving their residence to prepare for their departure on their mission, and ceases on their taking leave of the Courts to which they are accredited, after having received orders or permission to return home. In your case it will commence on the 4th instant.

Mr. Wickliffe will be found at his post, where he has been requested to remain until your arrival; and you will be pleased to place in his hands the enclosed despatch addressed to him which covers his letter of recall. He will deliver over to you the archives of the Legation, and afford you any assistance in his power, for which you may have occasion. An exact inventory of all the property of the Government which may be transferred by him to your possession, will be transmitted by you, as early as convenient, to this Department. Instructions given to your predecessor, as far as they continue applicable, or may remain unexecuted, are to be considered as a part of your own. Further instructions will be sent, from time to time, as occasion may require.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio senza numero

New York, Jan. 28, 1848

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch [instruction] No. 2,³ and to inform you that I have taken passage with my family on board the *Dutchess* [sic] of *Orleans*, the packet advertised to sail on the eighth of next month.

It was my intention to have embarked in the *Saint Nicholas*; and as her cabins are on deck & for that reason not fitted to render a winter voyage, either comfortable or safe for a family of children, I have decided to await the sailing of the subsequent packet, the accommodations of which are altogether superior.

³ L'istruzione n. 2, del 14 gennaio 1848, trasmetteva una lettera del Presidente al re di Sardegna, in risposta a una comunicazione del 30 ottobre 1847, annunciante la nascita della principessa Maria Pia.

Sir: On my arrival in this City two weeks ago, I found, to my surprise, that Mr Wickhffe had left his post at Turin some months past & that he had been a resident of Paris since the early part of December last. I regret this circumstance as it puts me under the necessity of going forward with my family without that opportunity for a reasonable period of repose & preparation which the fatigues of a tempestuous winter voyage, & a residence in Paris required.

In view, however, of the great events which are now taking place in Upper Italy, as well as all over Europe, I have felt the importance of being at my post with the least possible delay, and I shall leave this place for Sardinia by the way of Lyons & Savoy in the course of three or four days.

The astounding secret revolution in France, which is likely to change the face of Europe & perhaps of the world, in the current of its conquerors, has undoubtedly hastened the long anticipated revolt in Lombardy against the tyranny of Austria.

Inspired by popular successes elsewhere, the Lombards have shown prodigies of valor and patriotism worthy the ancestral glories of the league of the free cities of Italy in the 13th Century.

The whole Italian policy of Charles Albert, ever since he came to the throne, has had an eye to the eventuality of an outbreak in the neighboring Lombardo Venetian Vice-Royalty which might present an auspicious opportunity for the extension of his dominions to the Adige or to the Adriatic, as circumstance might favor. His army for this reason has been kept well provided with the materials of war and formidable in numbers.

But as Sardinia was a party to the treaties of 1815, it became necessary for her Sovereign to await the prospect of a successful general revolt before he could take an active part in the contest against Austria and justify himself for so doing before the other parties to the same treaties, on the ground of having only taken sides in a rupture already accomplished, and which the sympathies of his own people would no longer permit him to defer.

Hence the delay, which has been a good deal complained of in Lombardy, in the movements of the Sardinian Army to the relief of Milan. Two objects were, if possible, to be accomplished one to aid the people of Lombardy in attempt to throw off the Austrian Govt., the other to do this under justifiable circumstances, so as to

deprive the other nations who had collectively fixed the boundaries of their respective states from any obligation or apology for coming to the relief of Austrian authority.

Both these objects seem likely to be attained by the prudent but firm course of conduct avowed by the King of Sardinia. The Russian & Prussian Ministers at Turin, have, it is true, withdrawn from their posts, indicating the displeasure if not the hostility of their respective Governments at the intervention of Sardinia.⁴ But in view of all the circumstances of the case and the irresistible feeling of sympathy of all Italy with the long suffering of their Lombard brothers, now in open conflict for their lives & their liberties, together with the deranged state of their own local affairs, will probably dispose both Russia & Prussia & even England, to see in the general conduct of the Sardinian Government, a justifiable cause for the armed intervention in favor of Lombardy & Venice now in triumphant progress.

It may, therefore, be predicted with tolerable certainty, at least for the present, that the war in Lombardy will have no other parties to it than the Italian states, on the one hand, and Austria on the other. Early and decisive success on the part of the King of Sardinia is, however, necessary to prevent the struggle now going on south of the Alps, from becoming mixed up with the wars which are destined soon to spring up elsewhere & for which the elements are now in rapid course of preparation & development throughout central and northern Europe.

Poland is preparing to make a great & a last struggle to regain her independent nationality within her ancient limits, and it [sic] hardly possible that the liberal feelings of Germany & the democratic enthusiasms of France should not at once be brought into active cooperation against the power of Russia whenever Poland shall have risen in arms against her oppressor.

Aside from this cause of war, which is imminent, & may, on a sudden, convert France & Germany into one great military camp eager for the fray, there are other elements of profound disorder inherent in the existing state of things here, which cannot fail to bring on in their suite the disasters of civil & foreign war, should not an insurrection in Poland become the signal for a universal conflict.

⁴ La Germania era ancora talmente legata all'Austria che quando Arnold Ruge, al parlamento di Francoforte, osò augurare la vittoria all'esercito italiano impegnato contro l'Austria, sollevò grande indignazione.

Any other than hypothetical speculation is, however, blind in the presence of the great drama which is now so rapidly unfolding its surprising incidents to the amazement, contemplation & instruction of the world.

It may not be out of place to suggest the importance of our keeping a formidable naval force in the Mediterranean at this time.⁵ The mere presence of such a force may possibly divert war from the Mediterranean waters by an apprehension that we might in some way be drawn into it as a party, while the display of an American fleet on the shores of Italy, would afford great moral strength to the cause of Italian independence, an object of the very highest importance to the commercial interests of the United States.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n 1

Turin, May 9, 1848

Sir: I arrived in this City on the 26 ultimo, & had a first interview with the Marquis Pareto,⁶ Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the 28th I expressed to him the deep feeling of interest entertained by the American Government & people in the struggles now going on in Italy for the establishment of a common national independence, under the auspices of His Sovereign, Charles Albert, as well as on account of the enlargement of the popular basis of power, civil, political & religious liberty conceded in the late organic law, founding a Constitutional Government for the Kingdom.

I stated to him that altho it had become the fixed policy of my Government to avoid all interference to the prejudice of governments founded on principles at variance with its own, yet it could not refrain from the expression of its sympathy & admiration for those which admitted, as that of Sardinia had done, that great fundamental dogma the rightful sovereignty of the people.⁷

Such was the general tenor of my remarks on the occasion

⁵ Il governo degli S U stava a quel tempo negoziando con il governo sardo per avere il permesso di stabilire una base navale a La Spezia. Il permesso, accordato nel giugno del 1848, rimase in vigore sino al 1868. Vedi H. R. MARRARO, *Spezia: an American Naval Base*, 1848-1868, in *Military Affairs*, Washington, a VII (1943), pp. 202-208

⁶ Lorenzo Pareto (1800-1865), fu ministro degli affari esteri dal 16 marzo al 15 agosto 1848

⁷ Sulla profonda simpatia suscitata in America dalla lotta italiana per la libertà e l'indipendenza vedi H. R. MARRARO, *American Opinion*, cit.

of presenting my credentials. They were responded to by the Minister in expressions of great admiration for the government of the United States, whose example had done so much to enlighten mankind as to the extent to which the people would be safely entrusted with the exercise of political rights. He stated that they were now endeavouring to engraft our principles of Government upon their own Constitutional system, in as far as it could be done, without danger of reaction & with the security of the Kingdom. He expressed also the most ardent desire to cooperate in any measures tending to promote the mutual commercial advantage of our respective countries.

The King is absent with his Army, consisting of about fifty five thousand men, under the walls of Peschiera and Verona & in their vicinity. Several minor engagements have taken place between his troops & detached corps of the Austrian Army, in all of which, the Sardinian arms have triumphed.

General Radetzky, the Austrian Commander in Chief, has thus far, studiously avoided a fair encounter with his enemy in the open field. It is believed that he has a disposable force of forty thousand men of all arms, that he can bring into the field, without weakening the fortress of Mantua, Peschiera & Verona, within which strong positions his Army is concentrated. He is probably awaiting the advance of General Nugent, at the head of about twenty-four thousand men, before he will voluntarily venture upon a general battle.

The progress of General Nugent is, however, retarded by a hostile population in arms, tho without any efficient organization.

The regular siege of Peschiera which is situated at the source of the Minchio [sic], at the outlet of lake Garda, will be commenced as soon as the heavy guns can reach that place, which will be about the 12 instant. We may soon after expect the war to assume a more active character. The Sardinian troops are said to be in a very high state of discipline, in fine spirits & anxious to meet the enemy.

The disposition which was very generally evinced in Venice & Lombardy, immediately after the expulsion of the Austrians, to found definitive and separate republics is rapidly giving way before the danger of isolation & the encouragement of rival interests. The prevailing popular current of opinion throughout the interior of the Lombardo Venetian Vice Royalty is now strongly in favor

of a union with Sardinia under the Constitutional Sovereignty of Charles Albert.

The provisional Government at Milan has, however, shown a reluctance to come into this union without the previous establish [sic] of a Constitution of their own and the formal acknowledgment of Charles Albert, by a public act of a Constituent Assembly. But it is feared by the ministers here, & all the leading & most enlightened patriots of the country, that if the energies of the public mind should now be diverted from the War of Independence to the discussion of elementary organic Law, the great object may be lost sight of and its attainment sacrificed to political discord. In Modena, Parma & Piacenza the popular sentiment is said to be still more strongly in favor of an immediate union with this country & the adoption of its new constitution. The prospect, therefore, of an early incorporation of the whole of upper Italy, north of the Po, under the Constitutional Sovereignty of the King of Sardinia is probable. The sooner such a Union takes place, the greater will be the chances of success in the conflict with Austria. Thus far the principal burden of the War in men & in money has fallen on this country, and the sooner the executive authority of the King is acknowledged in Lombardy & Venice, the sooner an adequate numerical force of good troops can be brought into the field from those countries to ensure success. But while Sardinia stands alone the motive for exertion & sacrifice is weakened & the final result may be considered doubtful.

Some portion of the troops sent forward by the Governments of Naples, Rome & Toscana [sic], amounting in all to about thirty thousand men, have passed the Po, from the papal states, and are making their way east to cover Venice. All these troops will be under the command of Charles Albert, as soon as they cross the River Po, and together with his own, will soon present a force of between eighty & ninety thousand men, on & beyond the Minchio [sic]. Great diligence is being made in all parts of the Kingdom to raise an army of reserve, to meet the contingencies of adversity.

A universal desire seems to exist here in all classes & in all other parts of Italy, to bring this war to a successful close without the necessity of French aid or interference.

Yesterday the Sardinian parliament was opened by a speech from Prince Eugene Carignan, the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, in the absence of the Sovereign, in which he gave an account

of the condition of the country & suggested many legislative reforms.

This is a most important event in the history of this part of the world. Italy & Liberty have much to hope from this formal inauguration under very favorable circumstances of a most liberal constitutional form of Government, within these ancient boundaries of unbroken traditional & unmitigated absolutism.

Sardinia enters upon a constitutional career exposed to the dangers of an existing war that may circumscribe for a time reforms which under other circumstances might be more extensive & popular. But she is free on the other hand, from the greater hazards of those distracting theories of Communism & Socialism which threaten, most unfortunately, to sweep away the liberties if not the civilization itself of a great neighboring Republic.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n 2

Turin, May 16, 1848

Sir: The state of public sentiment in Lombardy, Venice, Parma & Plaisance, a propos of annexations to Sardinia, of which I gave you a succinct account in my despatch of the 9th instant, is rapidly bringing about a consolidation of the whole of upper Italy.

The Duchy of Plaisance has already decided in favor of an unconditional annexation to Sardinia, by a popular vote of thirty seven thousand in the affirmative, to three hundred in the negative, in a total population of two hundred thousand inhabitants. This result has been officially communicated to the King at his camp before Verona, by a Commission appointed expressly for that purpose by the Provisional Government. In a few days, it is probable, some official act of Charles Albert will have consummated this important event.

The Provisional Governments of Lombardy & Parma have submitted the question of annexation to the people, as that of Plaisance did before them, giving the right to vote on the subject to every male adult of 21 years of age. The vote of Parma will be known on the 19th instant.

The returns from all the communes & parishes of Lombardy cannot be collected before the 29th instant, which is the day fixed on by the Provisional Government for the official announcement of the result. There can be no doubt of the decision & favorable

character of the vote in both these countries, altho there may not be so near an approach to unanimity as in the Duchy of Plaisance.

The adhesion of Lombardy, Plaisance and Parma, will give to Sardinia an addition of more than four millions of inhabitants. Venice, with all its ancient continental territory, not actually occupied by Austrian troops will, most unquestionably, soon follow the example of Lombardy & the other two duchies, so that the consolidation of the whole of upper Italy, under the Sardinian Crown, may now be considered as certain as any accomplished fact.

This Government will then be in a position to raise armies for a continuance of the war to a successful issue, against all the power of its enemy, or to invite negotiations, backed by more than ten millions of citizens, resolutely determined to be independent & free.

The siege of Pesciera [sic] was to have commenced yesterday. Some few days will probably bring us intelligence of the fall of that strong & important position.

The difficulties at Rome, which, for a moment, excited some uneasiness here, have subsided under an arrangement which separates the secular from the ecclesiastic external relations of the papal Government.

But whatever may happen in Rome, the die is cast & Italy is lost to Austria, unless the question of the Tyrol, which has for several centuries, made part of the German Confederation, should, by some unforeseen combination, bring the united power of Germany into the war on the side of Austria. But such an event can hardly be anticipated. This is, however, the most threatening feature in the present order of the future fortunes of Italy.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n 3

Turin, June 4, 1848

Sir: Events, civil and military, are apparently hastening the question of Italian independence to a favorable issue.

Since my last despatch of the 16th ultimo, in which I had the honor to give you the result of the popular vote in the Duchy of Plai-

sance in favor of annexation,⁸ the same question has been resolved in the same manner, by the popular voice of Parma & Modena.

The whole number of votes enregistered [sic] in the Duchy of Parma was 39,703 of which 37,450 were given in favor of immediate annexation to Sardinia. The remainder were divided between an expressed preference for the reestablishment of the late authorities and annexation to the papal states and Toscana [sic]. One single vote was enregistered in favor of the establishment of an independent Republic. The total amount of population within the three duchies, over which the military authority of Charles Albert will, in a few days be extended, as well as the new constitution and the Sardinian tariff, is about five hundred & fifty thousand.

In Lombardy the question of annexation has been divided in the same way by an immense majority; but the process of examining the registers & recording the results is a work of some few days when we shall have a detailed statement of the vote. On the 29th ultimo, after it became known that the question had been definitively settled in favor of annexation, an attempt was made, in the City of Milan, by a few hundred desperate men, to overthrow the provisional Government by violence. But the leaders of the mob were arrested and order was soon restored. This violent demonstration of a disappointed few was taken advantage of by the party in favor of Italian unity, to show that vast numerical superiority, and it is said that from forty to sixty thousand persons, including the national guard, filed off, in the course of the afternoon & evening of the same day, before the Provisional Government, protesting against the violence that had been attempted & pledging themselves to support the existing authorities until the union should be legally accomplished.

It is supposed that this movement to put down the provisional Government was instigated by Austrian influence.

The advance of General Nugents [sic] army to the relief of Radetzsky, has been signalized by an obstinate resistance on the part of the Italian population & the allied troops from lower Italy, under the command of Durando, at all points which admitted of defense.

Several successive attempts to take the city of Treviso were defeated, and the Austrian commander finally decided to leave

⁸ Vedi sopra p 20

that post in the hands of its defenders & to proceed on his march to Verona by Vicenza.

He was met, however, before the walls of this last city & defeated with considerable loss. But the main object, the relief of Radetzky & his army was persisted in at the hazard of having Vicenza, like Treviso, in the hands of the Italians, and the main body of Nugents [sic] troops, it is supposed, succeeded in getting to Verona.

General Nugent himself left the army at Urbino & proceeded to Trieste to prepare for an anticipated attack of the united squadrons of Naples & Sardinia. The name of the General who commanded the Austrian forces that so valiantly fought their way from the Isonzo to Verona, is not known. The number of troops that entered Verona is supposed to be about twenty thousand.

Having been thus reinforced, Radetzky determined to try the fortunes of the open field

The extreme right of the Italian army, near Mantua, consisting of Neapolitan & Tuscan volunteers was attacked by an overpowering force on the 29th ult, & defeated after a sanguinary conflict in which it is said some five hundred of a Tuscan Legion of students from Pisa were left dead or wounded on the field. The rest succeeded in a retreat across the Mincio. On the following day, the 30th, the Sardinian Army was attacked at different points along its whole line from Goito to Rivoli. Thirty thousand Austrians attacked the positions at Goito & were defeated after a contest of seven hours, by a body of twenty thousand Piedmontese troops, commanded by the King, in person, who received a slight wound in the head. His eldest son, the Duke of Savoy, also was slightly wounded.

While the battle was raging at this point, the King received intelligence of the surrender of Peschiera, the relief of which was the immediate object of Radetzky. At the same time the Austrian troops, made a desperate, but an equally unsuccessful attack, upon the extreme left of the Sardinian army, at Rivoli.

The defeat of the Austrians seems to have been signal & complete for that day at least.

On the 31st, the Austrian troops taken at Peschiera marched out with the honors of war, & a Te Deum was performed in the presence of the King & the besieging army. As soon as information of these important successes became known to the Government

here, a hundred guns were fired from the Citadel & a grand Te Deum was executed in the principal church in the presence of the executive Government, the two Legislative bodies & all other civil & military authorities. It is impossible to describe the sentiments of joy, mixed up with forceful apprehensiveness for the loss of relatives & friends, which pervaded the whole city. The very best blood of the whole country is engaged in this last struggle for Italian independence. Count Balbo, the King's first Minister, has no less than five sons in the army. Villa Marina, late Minister of War, informed me that seven of his descendants were now in the field.

Notwithstanding the success of the 30th, we may soon expect a renewal of the contest. Radetzky cannot have less than fifty thousand men in and about Mantua and Verona; and he is not a man to surrender his troops or those strong positions without a desperate struggle. If, however, the Austrian Army should be made prisoners & Mantua & Verona fall into the hands of Charles Albert, the war may be considered as effectively at an end & the general peace of Europe saved from being disturbed by it. But, on the contrary, should the King be defeated & forced to retreat across the Mincio, the French Army, now stationed at Grenoble will immediately pass the Alps, and that event must lead to a general war in which England will be forced, at once, to take part against France.

The revolutionary movement in Naples of the 15th ultimo, was followed by an order to the Neapolitan fleet & army to return.

It is understood that about half the Neapolitan troops & the whole of the fleet obeyed the order.

This Government has given instructions to its ships of war in the Adriatic not to obstruct the commerce of Trieste or other Austrian ports, even under the Austrian flag.

The Pope has sent a Cardinal, his late Minister of Finances, on a special mission of conciliation to the Camp of Charles Albert & from thence to the Emperor of Austria.⁹ But from the position of the armies of the respective sovereigns it is probable the questions will be decided by the fortunes of war before negotiations can be entered upon, whatever may be the personal dispositions of the Emperor.

⁹ Allude alla Missione di Mons Corboli Bussi, che non era cardinale

Sir: At the date of my last despatch No 3, it was confidently expected that another and probably decisive field battle would immediately take place between the Austrian and Sardinian armies. This expectation was disappointed by the withdrawal of all the Austrian troops that had taken part in the battle of Goito, on the 30th ultimo, under the guns of Mantua and Verona. The military movements of Radetzky, in the interval between the first and ninth instant, it now appears, were conducted with a view to mask an intended march upon Vicenza. That city was attacked on three sides on the morning of the 10th instant, by twenty five thousand troops, and sixty pieces of heavy artillery, which left Verona the day before. Durando, who was in command of the town, after a vigorous and destructive defence for some twelve hours, decided to accept terms of capitulation and on the following day marched his troops out of the city under an engagement not to serve in the war within the next three months.

This condition granted by Radetzky, discloses his own belief that he will be enabled to reconquer the country within that time or that the war will be closed by a withdrawal of his army. Thus Vicenza after having successfully resisted five successive and persevering attacks, has finally fallen before an overpowering force, commanded by Radetzky in person. This victory opens the communications of the Austrian army with all the other military stations in the rear and exposes Padua and Venice. You will observe that this is a retrograde movement and perhaps indicates a determination to abandon future attacks on Lombardy. It is a bad compliment, however, to the Sardinian generals that it should have been made without their knowledge and that its success has disconcerted their plans.

Should this important advantage be followed up by the possession of Padua and Venice, the war will certainly be prolonged, if a worse consequence, that of French intervention, should not be the result. A law for the annexation of Lombardy was yesterday submitted to the Chamber of Representatives, accompanied with a provision for the call of a Constituent Assembly within a period of three months after the annexation shall have been consummated. The delegates to this Assembly are to be elected by universal suffrage throughout the whole extent of the Kingdom in

the proportion of one Representative to every twenty five thousand inhabitants, forty five per cent of whom can neither read nor write.

With what confidence this great work of establishing the principles of a constitutional monarchy can be confided to a population till now, wholly untaught in the study and unpracticed in the exercise, of political right is a question which time only can answer.

I confess that I look forward to the action of this body with some misgivings, both in the interest of Italian independence and in the substantial progress of political liberty. It is to be observed that on the continent of Europe, where every nation is exposed to dangers from without, that any movements in the sense of liberty, beyond the point of practical wisdom, necessarily lead to excessive reactions, in obedience to a sentiment of common apprehension. Thus if the new constituent assembly should refuse the veto to the sovereign, and, in the name of liberty, introduce principles into the Constitution subversive of the power and security of the Government and country, in the estimation of the great mass of the people, their work will sooner or later be repudiated at the call of the nation, which consequently may be thrown back into absolutism, under a system of laws still more stringent than ever.

The calling of this Constituent Assembly was made the condition of the vote in Lombardy in favor of annexation so that its acceptance becomes a political necessity.

The total vote in favor of annexation in all parts of Lombardy not actually occupied by Austrian troops with the before mentioned proviso was 561,002 Total vote in favor of delaying the question of annexation till after the close of the war was 681.

I have been officially informed by the minister of foreign affairs of the appointment of Mr. Mossi,¹⁰ to be his Majesty's chargé d'affaires to the United States, in the place of Mr. Montiglio, whose health and family affairs have not permitted him to leave this country.

Having learned on my arrival that Capt Read of the navy had requested Mr. Moro, the acting Consul of the United States at Genoa, to apply for the privilege of a naval Depot at Spezzia, but that no notice had been taken of the subject, I took occasion

¹⁰ Il cavaliere Luigi Mossi presenterà le credenziali come incaricato d'affari il 26 luglio 1848 e resterà negli S U fino al 6 aprile 1853 Il suo predecessore, il conte di Montalto, era stato incaricato d'affari a Washington dal 2 ottobre 1843 al 18 settembre 1846

to express the wishes of the Government to Mr. Pareto, minister of foreign affairs, and received from him assurances that every desirable facility should be afforded. As soon as I heard of the arrival at Genoa of the United States store ship supply I immediately renewed the application in person.¹¹

I have now the satisfaction to enclose a copy of his answer in accordance with our wishes.¹² Should the regulations established be found embarrassing or in any way unsatisfactory I have no doubt that they will be readily changed in any reasonable way that may be pointed out by the Navy Department.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n. 5

Turin, July, 2, 1848

Sir: In the communication of the Minister of foreign affairs to me of the 16th instant, concerning the Naval Depot at Spezzia, a copy of which I had the honor to communicate in my despatch of the 16th, the day of its receipt, you will have observed the privilege desired was provisionally accorded for the immediate landing of stores by the Supply, then just arrived at Genoa. I will now explain to you the reserve implied in that communication as I have it both from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and from the Minister of Finances to whom the decision of the question belongs.

They say that it is desired a United States Naval Depot should be kept at Spezzia, but that they wish to avoid importunities from European nations, to be admitted to the enjoyment of the same privileges. It becomes, therefore, necessary for this government to give the arrangement such a character as will justify it in refusing to France, England, Russia or any other European power, the facilities it accords to us. They propose to accomplish this by a formal concession of the privilege for a period, say of three years, to be continued indefinitely thereafter, from year to year, until one year after notice of a withdrawal of the privilege shall have been formally given.

Under this arrangement (which it seems to me ought to be

¹¹ Vedi, H. R. MARRARO, *Spezia, an American naval base*, cit

¹² Il testo originale, in francese, si trova negli Archivi nazionali di Washington. Esso espone le quattro condizioni in base alle quali era stata accordata la richiesta dal governo di Torino.

satisfactory to us, since I know the intention of the Government as well as its obvious policy, is to make it perpetual), the answer to European governments who may seek the like privileges would be: *this is a concession we have made only to a transatlantic power who has no ports of its own in the waters of the Mediterranean. We cannot concede it to other nations nearer home who have ports and accomodations of their own.* Should they be pushed to the wall by any one of the great maritime powers, they can say « *After all, this is but a provisional arrangement and if we are forced to do so, we shall bring it to a close according to the terms agreed on, rather than admit any European nation to like privileges.* This, sir, is the view taken of the subject by the ministry, and a formal arrangement, to this effect, can be had as soon as the pressure of affairs will admit its being put into shape. It is to be observed, in apology for the extreme caution noticed in the conduct of this government, that its affairs are in a very critical situation.

It can form no idea how strong or how weak it may be made by the chances of war and political changes in the course of a few months.

It having been announced on the authority of the Sardinian Admiral in the Adriatic, that the port of Trieste was to be strictly blockaded after a certain date, I sought an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs to ascertain the exact state of the case.

I was informed that commerce was not to be interrupted under any flag, except in articles contraband of war, in the strictest sense of the term. As I have had the honor to state in a former despatch, I was again informed that even Austrian vessels would not be interfered with unless they were found to have arms and munitions of war on board.

A most exciting debate in the House of Representatives on the terms of the annexation of Lombardy has just been closed by the passage of the law through that body which consummates this great event.

While the fever in favor of a common fusion of all the Italian States, north of the Apennines, into a common Kingdom prevailed and uncertainty existed as to its accomplishment, the old municipal spirit of traditional rivalry and hatred which has ever been the curse of Italy and the curse of all her misfortunes was suffered to slumber.

But as soon as the reality of a permanent Union presented

itself as a fixed fact, Milan, Turin, and Genoa, at once evinced the most bitter but till now concealed jealousies.

The Piedmontese, who are essentially monarchical in their principles, became offended that Milan should have imposed upon them the unwelcome and unnecessary condition of a constituent assembly with the suspected purpose of transferring the seat of Government from this ancient Capital to Milan and the crown from the head of their Sovereign to that of the people, by engrafting the dogma of popular Sovereignty into the New Constitution with the ultimate view of paving the way for the substitution of a Republic in the place of the present Monarchy.

Genoa was exasperated to rage that Turin should interpose her especial local interests and her high monarchical principles to the immediate union of the Lombards in their own plan; and in popular assemblies, denounced the Piedmontese and declared their sympathies for the Milanese.

The provisional Government of Milan insinuated their determination to call in the aid of Republican France and by uniting with Genoa, to throw off the connection with Piedmont and Savoy altogether, if the union on their own terms should not be immediately admitted

Savoy threatened to go off to France if the seat of Government should be changed from Turin to Milan and expressed fears as to the ulterior democratic designs of the partisans of a Constituent Assembly.

The angry spirits which hovered about this new ideal of Italian Union and seemed to threaten its very existence, have however, passed away for the moment, and the Union has been voted by a great majority, embracing also some of the western portions of the ancient Venetian territory where the popular vote had been taken, with the condition of a Constituent body restrained, however, to the acceptance of the Sovereignty of the House of Savoy in the male line, and leaving the question of the Capital untouched.

Common fears of isolation and ruin have thus effected a common, and it is to be hoped a permanent, as it certainly will be a beneficial Union of the whole of Northern Italy into one family, with the exception of Venice and the greater portion of its dependent territory.

It may well be doubted whether it is the policy of Sardinia

to desire a further extension of territory at present, toward the Adriatic, even if it were attainable without difficulty.

The Lombards have been subjected to foreign rule for more than four hundred years and seem to have lost all civic virtues except that of an untiring and an ever vivid hatred of the despotic authority to which they have been so long submitted.

The productiveness of their soil has rendered the nobles exceedingly rich, while the peasantry remain poor and ignorant. Successive generations of these wealthy men have passed away in the luxuriant and languid enjoyment of superfluous wealth without the corrective [sic] of high intellectual and manly pursuits. Untaught in the science and practice of civil government, grown up in habits of idle luxurious ease, with cherished sentiments of hostility to all authority, it is questionable whether a very great accession of such a people into the councils of this Government can be admitted without danger.

The population of Venetia is said to be still more depraved, effeminate and less enlightened.

The civil, military and religious virtues of the Savoyards and Piedmontese might be lost in the perponderating [sic] influence of the passionate unbridled ignorance and social conceptions of the whole Lombardo Venetian population, were they all at once, admitted to that ascendancy which their great numbers would give them, into the governmental affairs of the Kingdom, under a constitutional form. This reason alone should dispose the King to stop his progressive territorial acquisitions at the line of the Mincio or that of the Adige, till his new subjects shall have received that educational improvement in the civic virtues which the practice of free government and the military defense of a state are certain to give.

But, there are other reasons of high state policy which lead to the same conclusion. If Sardinia were to embrace the entire valley of the Po to the Adriatic and the river Isonzo, its maritime strength would undoubtedly excite the active jealousy of France, and England and perhaps of Russia also.

France would at once seek to indemnify herself by the possession of Savoy. But the loss of that dependency would be fatal not only to Sardinia; but to the whole of Italy.

When Sardinia loses the virtues of the Alpine races and is driven from her commanding military positions on the western declivity of the Alps, she can no longer defend herself against the

invasion of the more numerous northern races, which, from the fall of the roman [sic] Empire, have ever made the plains of Italy the object of their aggressive ambition.

For these reasons the true policy of this Government would be to treat with Austria for the line of the Adige, leaving Venetia to Austria. It is to be observed also that it must ever be the policy of Sardinia and the whole of Italy, to strengthen Austria as much as possible, without danger to themselves, as a barrier against the ever menacing and preponderating power of Russia.

If these considerations should guide the counsels of this Government and lead to an early adjustment of the present quarrel with Austria, Sardinia may be saved from the danger of being drawn into the great conflicts which are preparing in Northern and Middle Europe, and enter quietly upon the experiment of her constitutional and free system with a fair prospect of improving the social condition of her new population as well as enlarging the liberties of the older portions of the kingdom.

It is believed that the British Government is now exercising all its influence at Inspruck [sic] conjointly with the Pope's Ambassador to bring about an arrangement.

In the mean time the war will be systematically pursued. A new levy of 21 thousand troops has been called out and an army of reserve is being collected on the line of the Mincio, so as to prevent any new attempt of Radetzky on Lombardy, while the King, with the main body of his troops, will cross the Adige and endeavor to reconquer Vicenza, Padua, Trevisa [sic] and Rovigo. The troops in the three last cities fell back upon Venice after the fall of Vicenza and are now concentrated in that city under the command of General Pepe. All these four cities have annexed themselves to this country by a popular vote of their own and have been accepted by legislative action here.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n. 6

Pesio,¹³ July 27, 1848

Sir. The illness of Mrs. Niles and the excessive and overpowering heat of Turin have obliged me, for the moment, to take refuge, together with my family, in this place, under the shade of the

¹³ Pesio, o meglio, Chiusa di Pesio, con una popolazione di circa 5000 abitanti si

northern declivity of the Maritime Alps, situated at about ten hours distance from the Capital, but not so far as to prevent me from keeping myself informed of the political movements going forward in Turin and the military events taking place on the theatre of war.

Since the date of my last despatch, the successive reoccupation of all the continental Venetian towns and territory by the Austrian troops, has had the effects of overcoming the vain efforts and hopes of the city of Venice to maintain an independent nationality. A Representative body elected by the City and Province of Venice for the purpose of determining for the people on the wisest course of policy to be pursued in the embarrassing, not to say eminently dangerous position in which the city was placed with the enemy at every avenue except on the side of the sea, decided, on the 4th instant by a vote of 127 to 6, in favor of an immediate union with the states of Sardinia, on identically the same terms as Lombardy had been admitted; that is, on the condition of the reorganization of the principles of the monarchy under the House of Savoy by a Constituent Assembly to be elected by universal suffrage.

In accordance with this expression of the popular will the minister of the interior submitted on the 12 instant, the required project of a law to the Sardinian Chamber of Representatives and it was passed on the following day without debate and by a unanimous vote.

The territorial boundaries of this enlarged Kingdom may now be said legally though not defacto to extend to the banks of the River Isonzo, which forms the extreme limit of the exclusively Italian population on the east, and, with the exception of the Italian Tyrol, embrace the entire program of the union, as that term is understood by every body north of the Apennines.

It is deeply to be regretted that all Venetia did not sooner comprehend that their only certainty of escape from the return of Austrian rule consisted in a union with Sardinia and a vigorous effort to bring out and organize all their military resources and place them at the disposal of their adopted King. But instead of adopting that course at once, months have been lost in inaction, hesitation, and in cherishing idle hopes of escaping the inexorable

trova sulle rive del Pesio, un torrente che attraversa la valle di Pesio, in provincia di Cuneo, dal quale dista 14 Km circa.

alternative of submission to the Austrian yoke. Now, when their entire country is overrun, with the exception of the City of Venice, they claim the merit of a voluntary surrender of their own sovereignty to Charles Albert, and call on Sardinia in return to save them, without having made any reasonable preparation to sustain a conflict in which they are the parties most interested.

The angry discussion of the law for the admission of Lombardy, to which I adverted in my last dispatch, gave rise to misunderstandings and jealousies, in the existing Ministry and led to their resignation; but so difficult has the King found it to harmonise the new parliamentary and ministerial elements which must now enter into the composition of his Government, that he has not yet succeeded in forming a new Cabinet, altho no less than six leading men from different parts of the new Kingdom have been successively charged to form the Ministry.

It is beginning to be apparent that there are still surviving germs of ancient local antipathies of sufficient influence to thwart the harmonious establishment of a common constitutional Government for a people embracing so many large cities whose historical glories are traced but too often, to more or less successful wars upon each other. Still this great and most desirable work will not be despaired of. The great dangers to which the common interests and liberties of the whole country are exposed may yet produce the requisite degree of political cooperation to ensure the establishment of a very prosperous and powerful nation that may serve as a millitary [sic] Rampart against future invasions of the Italian peninsula from the north and a guarantee of the independence of the smaller states below the Apennines.

James Buchanan a Nathaniel Niles

*Istruzione n. 4*¹⁴

Department of State, Washington, 29 th July, 1848

Sir: I wrote to you on the 28th ultimo, and have to acknowledge the receipt since then of your despatches Nos. 3, 4 and 5. Extracts have been made from the two last, and communicated to the Secretary of the Navy, on the subject of the permission granted by

¹⁴ L'istruzione n. 3, Washington, 28 giugno 1848, accusava soltanto ricevuta dei dispacci n. 1 e n. 2

Sardinia to establish a Naval Depot at Spezzia, for the use of our public ships.

I had the pleasure yesterday to receive Mr. Mossi in the character of Chargé d'Affaires of Sardinia.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n. 7

Turin, August 2, 1848

Sir: The operations of the King's Army during the early part of July, seem to have been devoted to preparation for an attack upon Verona & the complete blockade of Mantua. On the 14th instant, with a view of diverting the King's attention from this battle object, Marshal Radetzky threw a body of about 6000 troops across the Po, into the papal states, near Farara [sic] apparently with a view to the reconquest of Modena. The King sent General Bava with some nine thousand troops to cut off & capture the austrians [sic], but they retired so quickly that they could not be reached. On his return from the expedition General Bava surprised a large body of austrian [sic] troops at Governolo, took two pieces of cannon, one standard & five hundred prisoners.

On the 22d, the very day the Sardinians had completed their plan of blockading Mantua, the whole line of strong positions occupied by the Sardinian Army, was attacked from Rivoli on the left, to Mantua on the right. The austrians [sic] were repulsed on that day at most points, but they succeeded in turning a division of the army at Castel-Novo, which is near the River Mincio & threatened to pass it. The battle was renewed on the following day & continued for ten hours with great spirit and tenacity, during which several of the strongest positions held by the Sardinians, were taken & retaken several times. But the austrians [sic] retained possession of Rivoli, which, as you are aware, commands the road to the Tyrol.

The struggle was continued with great desperation on the 24, 25, & 26, when the King, finding the enemy's army greatly superior to his own, and that a considerable body of them had succeeded in crossing the Mincio on his side, below Peschiera determined to retire with all his troops to the right of the Mincio by Goito & at other points above that place bringing with him all his material of war & about two thousand prisoners [sic].

These successive conflicts are universally spoken as having evinced the most courageous devotion on the part of the Savoyards & Piedmontese. The Lombards & Modenese behaved badly. On the 26th at night, the King gave General Sonaz [sic] discretionary orders to attack the austrian [sic] army that had crossed the Mincio & established itself at Volta, if he should not find himself too decidedly weak in numbers. The General took the risk & fought a very superior force through the entire night & got possession of Volta. But on seeing himself nearly surrounded by a superior force & without provisions, he took the counsel of his officers and determined to abandon it (Volta) and join the main body of the army on the Oglio at Bozzolo, where after five days fighting, the army still mustered forty five thousand troops.

It appears that the austrian [sic] succeeded, in the first & second day, in getting possession of a great portion of the provisions of the Sardinian Army, so the soldiers had to fight on half rations or none at all, many of whom it is averred fell dead of hunger & pure exhaustion.

The loss on either side is unknown, but it must have been great. One Sardinian General, Laverne,¹⁵ was killed, pierced by five bayonet wounds. His soldiers are said to have revenged themselves by almost a total destruction of the austrians [sic] opposed to them. On the 28th the King moved towards Cremona and from near that place returned suddenly upon his enemy, repulsed him, took a standard, three pieces of artillery & two thousand troops. The Headquarter of the Sardinian army was at Cremona on the 29th. The King had issued a proclamation calling on the people to have confidence in final success & had given orders for the whole body of the reserve to hasten from their various contonments [sic] to the field of danger.

I come now to the events of Turin.

In my last despatch dated at Pesio, the 27th, I gave you an account of the resignation of the Ministry & the difficulty the King had in forming a new cabinet, without, at that date, having succeeded. It appears, however, that on the 28th, the new cabinet was formed & unofficially announced to the public here. Its political complexion

¹⁵ Si tratta, probabilmente, del maggior generale Carlo Menthon d'Aviernoz (1793-1858), comandante nel '48 della Brigata *Cuneo* e poi di quella *Savoia*. A Sona, il 23 luglio, alla testa di pochi soldati si lanciò contro una colonna nemica. Fu ferito gravemente due volte e fatto prigioniero. Per questo suo atto di valore gli fu conferita la medaglia d'oro al Valor Militare.

did not very well satisfy the popular mind, being understood as excessively liberal and of supposed doubtful fidelity to the King.

The alarming news from the camps & the composition of the new ministry united to create great excitement in the City with all classes, but no signs of discouragement were given. The people assembled, however, in great numbers on the 28th, before the Chamber of Representatives & there signed petitions for the dissolution of that body & the restoration of all legislative & executive power to the King till the end of the war.

These petitions were read in committee on that day, & on the morning of the 29th a bill was brought in, placing the whole legislative & executive power in the hands of the King & his ministry under a reserved obligation to conform its exercise to the newly acquired liberties of the country till the end of the war. In a chamber of 141 members, 98 were in favor of the law, three voted against it & forty three declined voting at all.

This law was taken on the same day to the Senate & received its sanction, with an expressed understanding, however, that it was not to be understood as an expression of confidence in the present ministry, but in the King *personally* & in any Government to whom he might choose to confide the interests & the honor of the country in this supreme moment of danger & trial. The new ministry had just time enough to make an energetic & satisfactory exposé of their principles to each branch of the legislative body before it had the wisdom to dissolve itself, from a conviction prevailing with its members, as well as in the public mind, that its continued sittings would only throw new obstacles in the way of the accomplishment of the very objects most dear to them all. This voluntary surrender of individual importance & a very natural self respect & interest is one of the best evidences of patriotic wisdom which it is possible to witness in a popular legislative body. They have every confidence in their King & feel the liberties of the country are safe in his hands. They only feared to weaken those energetic efforts by which alone the national independence can be preserved, by continuing their legislative functions. Before dissolving themselves both branches concurred in the creation of a permanent consultative Committee of War, to enlighten & aid the government in its difficulties. Cassati [sic] the late chief of the provisional Government at Milan, is the President of the new Cabinet, two members of the late ministry remaining, viz Pareto & Ricci. The others are taken from the distinguished men from all parts of the new Kingdom, but most unfor-

tunately they are all wholly without experience in the management of public affairs except what they have acquired in their respective localities since March last.

As soon as the disasters of the Army were known at Milan, the authorities took the responsibility of making a direct appeal to France; and an agent of the Government here, was sent off to Paris for the same purpose, on the night of the 29th ultimo. Mr. Abercromby, the British Minister, left town on the 30th for the camp, with a view of being useful in causing a suspension of arms and bringing negotiations if possible. He has taken this step however on his own responsibility, but with the assent & implied wishes of the Sardinian Ministry. We have, therefore, the prospect of an immediate foreign interference and to what that may lead, no one can tell. Certain it is foreign aid has now become necessary for the establishment of Italian independence. Sardinia is too weak a power even with all her new acquisitions, wholly unorganized as are their resources, without allies, to cope with the immense military strength of Austria, which, notwithstanding her internal troubles, has found means to send forward, in small bodies at a time a very great amount of reinforcements to Radetzky, whose army is now taken to be more than double that of Charles Albert.

This astute General has most successfully conserved his strength till the moment when a necessary division of the King's forces, his being concentrated, gave him an opportunity to profit by his superiority in numbers. A new feature in the prospects of Charles Albert is showing itself in the incipient hostility of Bavaria & the Germanic Government at Frankfort. ⁽¹⁶⁾ This presents another reason why the aid of France should now be accepted, but it, at the same time, increases the chances of a general war.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n. 8

Turin, August 10, 1848

Sir: My last despatch left Charles Albert at Cremona, the Austrians hard upon his rear.

¹⁶ La Baviera favoriva una politica conservatrice e difendeva lo *status quo* in Italia. Quando la Spagna suggerì il progetto di una garanzia internazionale delle potenze cattoliche per il potere temporale del Papa, la Baviera lo accettò. Approvò anche l'idea di Ferdinando II di Napoli di invitare la Russia, la Prussia e l'Inghilterra a partecipare a un Congresso che si sarebbe dovuto tenere a Napoli e nel quale si sarebbe discusso del problema dello Stato pontificio.

Four months of exposure & severe service in the open field, the total privation of all provisions for forty eight hours, or more, within the previous few days & the fatigues of no less than seven battles in as many days, had so completely stripped & enfeebled the physical power of the Sardinian army that the King found it was not in a state to make a successful stand on the Adda, & he, therefore, determined to continue his retreat by Lodi to Milan, which he did in good order & without being molested.

At Lodi Mr. Abercromby had an interview with the King & then went to the Austrian Headquarters on the other side of the Adda. He endeavored to impress on the mind of Radetzky the importance of coming to an armistice, with a view to negotiations, as the only means of preventing the intervention of the French, which might & probably would lead to a general war. The old Marshal replied that he had measured all the consequences & should follow up his success to the utmost.

The interview lasted but a few moments and Abercromby returned to the Head Quarters of Charles Albert, left him in good spirits, & came immediately back to Turin. He states, as an indication of the want of patriotism & in proof of the debasement of the Lombard population, that he saw the Austrian flag & arms raised over shops & houses, along the road, as soon as the Sardinians had passed & the Imperial troops were reputed to arrive, and that these last, were received in the villages by loud & repeated *Vivas*. General Swartzenburg¹⁷ [sic] told him that the country people every where received the Austrians exceedingly well & voluntarily came forward to offer supplies of every kind, but that in the cities a universal sentiment of hatred was decidedly entertained.

The King arrived before Milan on the third & found to his surprise that little or no preparation had been made for the defence of the City. He received a body of some fifteen or twenty thousand militia & appealed to them resolutely to stand up to the duties of patriotism & honor, & told them that he & his sons were ready to sacrifice themselves in defense of their City & the cause.

He gave battle to the Austrians on the 4th, & repulsed them, took seven pieces of artillery, 300 prisoners, killed one General & many other officers. But in this glorious affair, the cowardly

¹⁷ Principe Felix Schwarzenberg (1800-1852), già ministro plenipotenziario a Torino, Parma e Napoli. Nel 1848 combatté contro il Piemonte e fu promosso tenente maresciallo; nell'ottobre dello stesso anno riportò l'ordine in Austria come primo ministro e ministro degli esteri.

Milanese took no part. The King, finding that his ammunition was gone had, by mistake, taken the direction to Plaisance, instead of Milan, & that no ammunition had been provided in the last mentioned City, and that he could not rely on the Milanese to afford him any aid in its defense. He capitulated & gave up the City, stipulating however, for the security of the lives & the property of its inhabitants. On the night of the 4th & fifth the King's House was surrounded by an enraged populace who attempted to set it on fire. He was probably saved from assassination by the seasonable arrival of a Piedmontese Regiment which had been called by an officer who descended from an upper window, by cords, into a back street. The Piedmontese army retired from Milan on the fifth to Vigevano, situated on this side the Ticino & there the King, on the 7th, published an order to his army and an address to his people, full of devotion, courage, fortitude & perseverance, well calculated to arouse the flagging [sic] spirits both of the army & the nation.¹⁸

The public sentiment here, under the impressions of these successive disasters, all of which were immediately caused by bad faith & want of patriotism in other parts of Italy, was that of deep disgust & an evident disposition to abandon the enterprise altogether, & to make peace if possible on the old limits of the state. But the firmness of the King & the true greatness of character which he has shown on all occasions during the war and displayed anew in these late days of severe trial, and with great brilliancy in his last proclamations will at once rally the heart of the whole country to him. And if the entire object aimed at, should not be attained by prolonging the war, the nation will at least be saved from a dishonorable peace.

The few hours that have elapsed since the King's proclamation came to hand has already changed the tenor of public feeling in favor of the prosecution of the war.

The King, with true magnanimity, conceals from publicity the morally degraded condition of the people he is attempting to serve and whose want of energy & destitution of all patriotic sentiments, has been his principal obstacle, well knowing that it is the long tyranny of a foreign yoke that has thus extinguished

¹⁸ La notizia della vittoria austriaca fu accolta con autentico rincrescimento dagli Americani, ma i più continuarono a credere che la causa per la libertà d'Italia aveva subito un semplice arresto per trionfare in un secondo tempo.

all the civic virtues & reduced them to the apathy & inertness of slavery from which he feels it to be his mission to redeem them.¹⁹

The ministers set off yesterday to give in their resignations, so as to leave the King to adopt any course of policy he may think best.

French intervention has been solicited by the King's Government & before this it is probable that the terms & conditions have been agreed on & that the army of the Alps is now on its march to the frontier. The King must now yield his personal disinclination & submit to the empire of circumstances.

The motives for French intervention are now more imperious than ever since the Austrians have again entered the Pope's dominion & are at present in possession of Farara [sic].

We are now brought down to a most interesting crisis in the political & military fortunes of this truly noble and spirited Sovereign (I may almost say, the only one, really worthy of a throne), which calls for an inquiry into the circumstances which have united to bring about such unexpected disaster.

The political causes will be found to have had their origin, almost all of them, in the Italian vice of intermunicipal jealousies, and in the want of unity in the objects & principles of the King's official advisers.

When the war began, two of his Ministers, Pareto & Ricci both sanguine and inexperienced Genoese, entertained, unknown to the King & to their colleagues in the Ministry, the preposterous idea of uniting all Italy into a single sovereignty & making him its King. When the Government at Naples & the Grand Duke of Tuscany perceived that such a prospect was seriously entertained by any portion of the Ministry at Turin & that there was a sort of propagandism to that end, going on throughout Italy, under their auspices, more or less apparent, they naturally felt a diminished interest in the military success of Charles Albert; and consequently were not so prompt in their movements and as liberal in their supplies as they otherwise would have been. A party opposed to this project immediately sprang up all over Southern Italy, as well as one in favor of it. The public journals became divided upon the great question of the practicability & the utility of reducing the whole peninsula to a single sovereignty.

¹⁹ Gli Americani non erano concordi nel giudicare l'abilità, la sincerità e il disinteresse di Carlo Alberto.

This scheme dampened the ardor of all that portion of the Italian population whose interests were in any way attached to the existing governments & capitals, south of the Apennines, & probably led to the recall of the Neapolitan troops, which was the first & fatal blow to the war of Italian independence.

Then came the division of power in Turin, between the Ministry & the Chamber; whose desire of sharing in the anticipated honors of the achievement in view, consumed weeks in useless debates, while the King was loudly but vainly calling for an army of reserve & personal supplies of every sort for his army already in the field.

Then again the Lombards must have an independent government of their own, for the time being, & required to be treated as allies & equals. They could do little or nothing for themselves & were slow in coming into the Union—then, & not till then, would the delegated authorities of this Government interpose to bring out & organize their resources. This process, indeed, had hardly begun when the recent disasters commenced. When Lombardy did come into the Union she imposed the condition of a Constituent Assembly, the discussion of which awoke a thousand dormant elements of discord, till then wholly unseen. The energies of the public sentiment, as well as the governmental mind, were thus, in a great measure, withdrawn from the war to irritating party municipal & personal questions.

For weeks the legislative body (the lower house) was occupied with no higher motives than to gratify a spirit of revenge toward times & things that are passed, in the discussion of a law for the banishment of the few remaining Jesuits & a dozen Ladies of the Sacred Heart who keep a school at Chambery, where they are beloved by the whole population.

The Genoese, too, most unfortunately got up a quarrel about some ports in their city, formerly constructed for the supposed purpose of overawing the population. This was another fire brand thrown into the councils of the country.

Venice very naturally worked, but very (unwisely) persisted in an effort to retain a republican form of government, when it was apparent to every sensible mind, that her independence was totally impossible under any form of government whatever. When this reluctance to coming into the Union was shown, the more intelligent portion of her population foresaw their fate & studiously abstained from taking any part whatever in public affairs.

By the working of these several causes, that spirit of generous enthusiasm and abnegation which, at the outset, throbbed through every Italian breast, instead of being taken advantage of by a spontaneous & universal effort to hasten the expulsion of an enemy depressed by defeat & discouraged by civil discord at home, was suffered to die out, & the war necessarily became a war of force, tactics & strategy, & here Radetzky was an over match for Charles Albert, situated as he was, in the possession of three of the strongest military posts in Europe.

The vice [sic] of the military position of the King consisted in occupying too long a line for the number of his troops, in view of the concentrated position of his enemy—and again in having no second line of defence to fall back upon & on which he could rally. If the Piedmontese had had an army of reserve, however small, on this side the Mincio, the Austrians would never have ventured to cross it. A few days will develop the future policy of the King; but I am inclined to the belief that the war should & will be carried on, altho there probably will be a very strong reactionary spirit in the country, silently at work to bring about a peace on any terms.

There is some reason to believe that France & England both of which seriously desire the continuance of general peace, may unite in using their influence with Austria to yield the line of the Adige, notwithstanding Charles Albert has been forced back within his own frontier. That line is indeed the true boundary of this country, for the reasons given in a former dispatch, and further as it is a mutually defensible one, and also for the reason that it leaves the natural rights of the Germanic Tyrol & Bavaria to a free access to the waters of the Adriatic, unobstructed. This line, I have grounds to believe, was offered sometime ago & refused, but now it will be gladly accepted. The action of popular sovereignty, recognised by Austria herself, as a sound principle, has placed the King in the legal possession of Lombardy & the duchies, and that principle will be invoked with great effect before such umpires as Republican France & Constitutional England, at a moment when both their interests & dangers of disorder at home so urgently impell them to profit by all means to avoid a general conflict. Every hour brings new proofs of the popular sentiment in favor of a prosecution of the war.

Sir: I feel it my duty to transmit the enclosed letter from the Vice Consul at Genoa, received some time ago. A desire to satisfy myself of the truth of the charges implied, induced me to withhold this letter till I could ascertain through other channels the general deportment of the consul in regard to the habits especially mentioned by Mr. Moro. I regret to say that there can be no doubt of the Consul's frequent incapacity for the discharge of any kind of business on account of his well known and habitual intoxication.²⁰

For some time past the consulate at Genoa has been filled by persons whose conduct has tended very essentially to diminish that respect for American character which it is so important for the country to sustain by the gentlemanly deportment as well as probity of its consular and other representatives. If the President should think proper to make a new appointment, and if there should not be a suitable candidate for the situation at hand willing to accept it, I will take the liberty to say that Mr. Albert Dabadie,²¹ formerly American Consul at Venice, now resides in this country to whom this appointment would be acceptable. I can only mark that he justly sustains a high character as a gentleman of intelligence and respectability. He has a family and possesses an adequate amount of property to enable him to give to the Consulate a degree of consideration and usefulness which it has never before had. I should think Mr. Dabadie's [sic] appointment would be in all respects a most suitable one and exceedingly creditable to the appointing power.

The retreat of the Piedmontese army within the Sardinian frontier and the conditions of the Armistice signed at Milan on the ninth by which the King found himself compelled to withdraw his troops from Peschiera and all other points in his possession in Lombardy, Venetia, and the duchies, has called forth a great deal of public dissatisfaction and severe recrimination between

²⁰ U. M. Moro in una lettera privata, datata Genova, 29 luglio 1848, descrive dettagliatamente l'incapacità di John McPherson di reggere il consolato data la sua costante ubriachezza. Chiese perciò a Niles istruzioni in materia. La lettera di Moro si trova con questi dispacci negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

²¹ Albert Dabadie, di Philadelphia, fu nominato console a Venezia il 9 gennaio 1837.

parties and newspapers that represent opposite extreme and violent opinions.

Treason and incapacity are terms prodigally applied to the commanding officers and chiefs of the commissary department, but however justifiable may be the charges of incapacity from the want of experience in the practice of war, there can be none for treason or the absence of the most heroic bravery on the part of officers of all grades, from the King down to the lowest subalterns. The general effect, however, of the late disasters has been a very extensive demoralization of the public sentiment and a diminished respect for the law and the constituted authorities of the country. Genoa, professing to apprehend the return to power of the party of absolutism, has, without the shadow of law, proceeded to the destruction of the Castelletto and fort George, both of which are alleged to have been erected to overawe the town. In general, however, the public confidence in the King, personally [sic], seems unimpaired and he and his two sons still remain the idols of the army.

A new ministry has been formed on the basis of the continuance of the war provided an honorable peace should not be concluded within the armistice of six weeks agreed to on the 9th.²² The joint mediation of England and France was promptly accepted by Charles Albert and will doubtless be assented to by Austria.

What terms for a reconciliation those two powers may propose are not known with certainty, but it is difficult to suppose that they can be other than the annexation of Lombardy and the duchies to Sardinia, with the assumption, by the latter, of a fair proportion of the Austrian debt.

Austria, as a constitutional power, cannot admit the principle of popular sovereignty in practice, so far as Lombardy is concerned, as an integral portion of the Empire without the certainty of its being turned against her in the form of a legally organized hostility likely at any time, to bring about another war. Nor can she presume to govern that country by an exceptional system of arbitrary military rule while her subjects in all other portions of the Empire enjoy the benefits of constitutional [sic] freedom. I hence infer that the Emperor will find himself under the necessity of renouncing his possessions in Italy on this side of the Adige. As both France and England disclaim all views of ambition and profess only to desire

²² Si tratta del Ministero presieduto da Cesare Alfieri di Sostegno.

the present and future tranquillity of Italy and its freedom from the continually recurring cause of disturbance in consequence of the unnatural and despotic influence of Austria, they will necessarily see that the object they have in view can only be attained by limiting the power of the Emperor on this side of the Alps to the defensible line of the Adige. Such an arrangement would give this country a population of nearly nine millions of inhabitants and enable it to keep on foot an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, in time of peace; a force fully sufficient to protect itself and guarantee lower Italy from the odious weight of Austrian influence. An attempt to make Lombardy independent would be preposterous, since its power for self defence as an independent state would be wholly [sic] inadequate. Besides, the unbiased sovereignty of that country has already by a popular vote formally declared its adhesion to Sardinia.

From these views of the state of the Italian question and its bearing on the obvious policy of all the parties interested in its settlement, it may be fairly presumed that the line of the Adige will be made the territorial basis of peace proposed by the mediating powers. Venetia will doubtless for the present remain to Austria, probably with a separate executive administration.

The question as to the amount of debt to be assumed by this country is one of great delicacy

In my personal relations with Count Ravel [sic], the gentleman who has formed the new ministry, I took occasion to intimate that the most certain way to satisfy the popular sentiment on both sides would be to submit that question to the decision of a chief magistrate of a popular government, meaning that of the United States.²³ This idea was immediately seized upon as presenting an easy, certain and satisfactory solution, without exposing either government to the suspicion of being subjected to undue influences.

²³ Niles, il 21 agosto 1848, rispondendo alla nota del generale Perrone del 20 agosto 1848 che gli annunciava la sua nomina a ministro degli affari esteri, esprimeva «una fiduciosa speranza che l'illuminato patriottismo, la saggezza e la fermezza di carattere che S. E. aveva portato nel ministero di Sua Maestà in questo momento critico, avrebbero aiutato la Sardegna a portare a termine la gloriosa missione intrapresa — l'indipendenza dell'Italia dall'autoritarismo e dal dispotismo dell'Austria — missione che aveva suscitato le più calde simpatie del governo e del popolo americano». L'originale è nell'Archivio di Stato di Torino. Il generale Ettore Perrone di San Martino (1789-1849) partecipò alla guerra del 1848 prima di far parte del Gabinetto e quando la guerra divampò di nuovo gli fu assegnato il comando della terza divisione. Morì nella battaglia di Novara.

Should any difficulty present itself in the settlement on this question, I am inclined to think it may be referred [sic] to the President.

It would, indeed, be a compliment worthy of record to witness two of the oldest monarchies in the world coming forward to submit a great question of international equity to the President of our glorious republic, as an impartial umpire emphatically entitled to the confidence of all the interested parties.

The King has not yet returned to the Capital. He is now at Alexandria, the strongest military position in the country, where he is organising [sic] his army anew and will at the end of the armistice, be able to renew the war at the head of one hundred thousand men at least if the attempts at negotiation now going on should fail. The popular sentiment, in contradistinction to that of the aristocratic classes, is most decidedly in favor of recommencing the war unless highly favorable terms should be accorded.

The country feels humiliated by the last disasters although it is conceded on all hands that the Piedmontese have not yet been once fairly beaten.

Great regret has been expressed to me that Mr. Moro should have failed to procure arms in America. It was thought, as the war with Mexico had been brought to a close, that the government might be willing to dispose of a considerable quantity of arms and that there would be no difficulty in getting a law through Congress authorising [sic] their sale at cost prices. Mr. Mossi, through agents, might in that case, have become the purchaser without in any way compromising [sic] our Government.

The English and French governments have I believe standing laws which authorise [sic] the sale of arms and it has never been charged as a complaint against either of them that these arms have been sold even to subjects of foreign countries in rebellion, since it is understood, that beyond a certain supply for their own use, the residue manufactured, are a legitimate article of commerce. The demand for arms in Europe is likely to be so very extensive that it is a question whether our Government should not be authorised to sell at any time the excess on hand, beyond a certain number wanted at home.

Sir: Since my last dispatch the mediation of England and France has been accepted by Austria, but not without considerable delay, which was employed in various unworthy attempts to deceive the governments of both those countries in the hope of gaining time and ultimately avoiding its necessity.

The first answer to the proposed mediation was, that the minister of foreign affairs being absent at Frankfort, the proposition could not be entertained without his presence. To this pretext ensued a professed ignorance of any legitimate object for a mediation, since the fortune of war had only restored Austria to the possession of her refractory provinces. Finally the Austrian Government resorted to a downright falsehood, by asserting that it was actually in course of negotiation with Charles Albert with a view to a treaty of peace, and consequently there could be nothing to mediate about. The humiliating discovery was soon made, however, that the appointment of their Ambassador to treat with the King bore date subsequently to that of the answer to the mediating powers, and, on a thorough investigation of the subject, it was clearly provided that there had never been the slightest intimation given by Charles Albert of an intention to treat with Austria, otherwise than through the accepted mediation.

This tergiversating policy observed at Vienna revealed the secret intentions of the Imperial Government and aroused the indignation of General Cavaignac who then unhesitatingly demanded a categorical answer within a certain date, intimating a firm resolution to engage in active hostilities if the proffered mediation should be refused. The reply to this demand was in the affirmative.

Since that time the armistice has been prolonged for a month ending on the 20th October. It is not publicly known what progress is being made toward a peaceful solution of the Italian question, but the prevailing opinion appears to be, with this Government, at least, that it will be satisfactorily adjusted. Still however there is no relaxation of efforts to meet the contingency of a renewal of hostilities. The King, who has returned to Turin, makes no secret of his firm determination to renew the war even at the risk of his crown,

²⁴ Il dispaccio n. 10, Torino, 24 agosto 1848, contiene l'estratto conto di Niles per il semestre scaduto il 1 luglio 1848.

if the independence of Italy should not be virtually admitted and secured by the negotiations now going on. Indeed the state of opinion here, and the efforts that are making to get up a war fever throughout all the states of Italy, north of Naples, will hardly allow the King to adopt any other course whatever its consequences may be.

The present ministry was formed under an implied willingness to make peace on honorable terms, without, however, fixing an ultimatum within the concession of which, the war would be renewed. The vagueness and uncertainty of this policy, and the known moderation of the personal opinions of the Ministry, have left open a field for successful agitation, and a very powerful party has sprung up headed by Gioberti, the great writer and apostle of Italian liberty with ramifications extending all over the country, who insist upon the union of all the states of Italy north of the Apennines and south of the Alps, into a single kingdom, making the prosecution of the war the alternative. In a condition of opinion like this, the sovereign cannot safely in language, at least, be less patriotic than any considerable enlightened body of his subjects. It is a sort of 54 40 question, and if he yields the point it must be under the political obligations imposed by the terms of an arrangement to be come to by the mediating parties.

By the terms of the armistice it turns out, much to the dissatisfaction and disadvantage of Austria, that Venice is excepted from the liability of being attacked and occupied by Austrian troops. Radetzky calculated upon entering Venice after the stipulated withdrawal of the two or three Sardinian regiments, but the interpretation of the armistice insisted on here, and acceded to as the correct one, by the mediating powers, gives this country and France immense advantages of a military character, in the event of a renewal of hostilities. France has already several ships of war off Venice, and the Sardinian fleet has only withdrawn to Ancona and can in a few hours not only reenter the waters of Venice, but completely cut off all the commerce by the Adriatic, of the whole, Austrian Empire. This state of things is favorable to France and Sardinia, since troops can be kept in the waters of Venice to act at any moment on the rear of Radetzky, may have a most favorable effect in inducing the Imperial Government to yield Lombardy and guarantee an independent administration to Venetia.

Immediately after the armistice, when it was presumed that Venice would be attacked by the Austrian army, I was waited on by a

Venetian gentleman in the name of the provisional government of that city, to ascertain whether an American ship of war could not be sent into its harbor to keep open the communication by water on which the city exclusively relied for support. I informed this gentleman that the American government as a perfectly neutral power could not in any way interfere with the belligerent rights of Austria, notwithstanding the deep feelings of sympathy universally entertained in the United States in favor of the Italian cause, but that if he thought it might tend to strengthen the hands of the provisional government to have an American ship of war in their waters and to receive from its Commander an acknowledgment of its de facto authority, he could write to our naval Commander then at Leghorn, who in the threatened interests of humanity might feel himself authorized to send a ship to the Adriatic. Whether this suggestion was acted on or not is unknown to me, but I perceive that the *Princeton* has visited Venice and that its commander has exchanged salutations with the provisional Government.

Having seen it stated in the public papers, that an American Consul had gone to Venice in the *Princeton*,²⁵ and having learned from General Perrone that it belonged to this government to grant Exequaturs, I wrote to that effect to the Consul of the United States at Venice, without having, however, any official information of the appointment of such an officer. I mention this incident to show that this government intends in as far as possible to make its authority coextensive with the annexation which took place in the interval of Austrian authority.

The same disposition has been manifested in official protests against all attempts to assume authority in the dutchies [sic] by their late sovereigns who have returned with the Austrian army.

The conduct of Radetzky has been as impolitic as it has been inhumane since his restoration to power in Milan. He has laid insupportably heavy contributions not only on the cities, but also on the rural population known to be much more favorable to Austrian authority than the inhabitants of towns. He has quartered his officers and troops in the vacant houses and palaces of all refugees and carried an impolitic tyranny so far as to make the inhabitants of houses responsible for written words or signs found upon their

²⁵ William A. Sparks fu nominato console degli S U. a Venezia il 18 dicembre 1845; ebbe il consenso del Senato il 3 febbraio 1846. (VII, Senate Exec Jour, 6, 8, 31, 41). Sulle dimostrazioni dei Veneziani in onore degli S. U e sulla partecipazione ad esse di Sparks, vedi H R MARRARO, *American Opinion*, pp. 36-37.

outward walls, injurious to his person, authority, his army, or the Empire, whatever may be the proved innocence of the alleged offence of the parties held liable.

The neighboring Swiss canton Ticino has shown great sympathy for their neighbors struggling in this war of freedom and independence, and that feeling has found expression through the Swiss press, and unwelcome language all along the frontier. Radetzky has endeavored to punish these offences by banishing all the Swiss population residing in Lombardy and thousands of poor laborers have thus been driven penniless [sic] to their native sterile mountains to live on charity or die of starvation. He has also interrupted all postal communications with Switzerland and prohibits the entry of the Swiss within the Lombard territory.

By this series of measures he has driven a great proportion of the Lombard population out of the country and all the towns of Switzerland, Sardinia, and Tuscany are crowded with emigrants who await with an easily conceived anxiety the result of pending negotiations concerning their ultimate fate. The Swiss Diet is making strong representations to the Government at Vienna and taking measures to meet the eventuality of active war. Should war recommence there can hardly be a doubt that Switzerland will take part in it against Austria.

With the exception of a riot at Genoa in consequence of the exercise of the legitimate, though perhaps impolitic expulsion of an obnoxious foreigner from that city who was occupied in openly disturbing the public tranquility by his language and his acts, this country has been tranquil, notwithstanding the relaxed authority of the law since the late military reverses. The government is however recovering its moral strength.

On the 17th instant I was informed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the lives of the Consul of Sardinia and of his family, at Leghorn might be endangered by the violence of the mob then in a state of great hostility toward this government from a rumored movement of Sardinian troops to put them down. He requested that in the event of danger, some one of our vessels of war then before the city might receive the consul and his family on board, and afford them customary²⁶ protection in like cases. I wrote to

²⁶ George Campbell Read (1787-1862), ufficiale di marina, nacque in Irlanda. Capitano nel 1825, comandò la *Constitution* nel 1826 e la *Constellation* dal 1832 al 1834, entrambe nel Mediterraneo. Dal 1846 al 1849 comandò la squadra navale africana; ritornò poi all'arsenale navale di Filadelfia dove rimase sino al 1853.

Commodore Read to that effect. But happily no such exigency has yet arisen, though the city of Leghorn still remains in the undisputed power of an excited people, but apparently without cause, against the central authorities at Florence.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n. 12

Turin, October 13, 1848

Sir: In my last despatch No 11, I had the honor to draw your attention to a new political society recently formed in this city, with Gioberti at its head. This society is composed of ardent politicians from the Papal States, Tuscany, Lombardy, the Dutchies [sic], the states of his Sardinian majesty, & of emigrants from Venetia. They are all professed monarchists, and aim avowedly at two principal objects: 1st, to prevent the success of any negotiations that shall not embody all the Italian population north of the Apennines and south of the Alps, into one kingdom: 2nd, to establish a federative system of all the Italian states, with a directing government at Rome.

The first congress of the members of this society from beyond the limits of Turin and its neighborhood, was held here on the night of the 10th instant, in the National Theatre, where they proceeded to organize, and to adopt preliminary regulations. The meeting was crowded and exceedingly enthusiastic.

In former dispatches I have succinctly given the outlines of the reasons why the first of these objects should not now be desired by Sardinia, even if it were attainable. But it is seriously feared by many sensible minds that if any portion of the Italian soil should be left in subjection to the dominion of Austria, that fact would be perpetually taken advantage of by party zealots, and prove a constant source of internal disorder, as well as of danger of recurring wars; and that the only way to settle the Italian question definitely is at once, and at all hazards, to withdraw the whole Italian population from the Austrian yoke. The scheme of getting up a confederacy of the Italian states, with a central directing government in Rome, has been the dream of Italian poetry for centuries past, but it has never at any time been a project within the reach of practical attainment, and it is now farther than ever from being realized. We have recently seen how reluctantly the municipal spirit of the revolted Austrian provinces of Upper Italy yielded to the idea of

Union with Sardinia even under the certain alternative of falling again beneath the despotism of their Austrian masters. With what shadow of hope can it be anticipated, therefore, that not only the municipal pride of many ancient cities and provinces to which we are to add several established nationalities (those of Sardinia and Tuscany for example), illustrated by arms and by arts, will voluntarily lay down their individual importance before a central government at Rome, whatever may be its character? Can it be for a moment believed, that the people of this, now the most ancient monarchy in Europe, would consent to abjure a government of their own, or to see it shorn of its independent authority, and to accept the dictation of a central power, which, from its geographical position, must necessarily be a total stranger to all their peculiar interests, prejudices and dangers? Who can believe that the Pope whose authority, now coextensive with Christendom, as chief of the Church, will consent to abandon the moral influence he wields over the Christian world, for that of a temporal direction over sovereign & states likely to be in a constant condition of rebellion or unwilling subserviency? The thing is too absurd to require refutation. Yet at first blush the idea is so captivating to the warm, imaginative patriotism of an inconsiderate people, that eloquent men will always be found to lead a large political party in vain efforts to realize this, the most idle of all political dreams. But the revival of this wild project under the auspices of Gioberti and many other ardent and visionary men, has had the effect to hasten the accomplishment of a most useful and practical plan which should long ago have been carried into execution—that of a commercial league with a common tariff—the removal of all intermediary barriers to inland commerce between the parties to it—the adoption of a common system of weights and measures and a uniform system of coins and currency. This system, going perhaps to the extent of a mutual guarantee of territory against foreign aggression, and mutual aid in periods of war, is now being the subject of negotiations between this government and that of Rome and Tuscany. The movement of the new party to which I have before alluded threatening as they are to excite the general popular mind of Italy to the prejudice of existing governments in favor of the impracticable scheme of a political confederacy with a central supervising and controlling power, has forced these respective governments to bring to a conclusion with as little delay as possible this system, easily realizable, which should present all the material advantages promised by the proper confederacy,

without in the least, interfering with the entire sovereignty of each of them within the sphere of their respective limits. It is to be hoped that a treaty embracing the provisions alluded to will be signed in time to be laid before the Sardinian parliament at, or soon after, the convocation of that body, which is to assemble again on the 16th instant. The anticipated treaty will stipulate for the full execution of its principles as soon as the requisite detailed regulations can be proposed and within a fixed period. The carrying into practice of a common tariff of a liberal character, and the removal of the existing barriers to internal commerce, cannot fail to have a great effect favorable to foreign trade and the development of commercial wealth in the advantages of which the United States must be large participators. The effect of this commercial league must tend very rapidly to efface those local jealousies and hatreds which have ever excited throughout all the towns of Italy, by opening a new and an extensive field for individual enterprise among manufacturers, producers and traders of all classes. A unity of feeling, of interests and of opinions, consequent upon an established, free and unrestrained commercial inter-communication, will soon give to this peninsula a common nationality which will be vainly hoped for from the establishment at Rome of a central authority with concurrent or superior powers to those of already existing governments. This measure, now upon the very point of being realized, may be considered more favorable to the development of all just notions of liberty, as well as an improvement in the material condition of the country, than any thing that has ever yet taken place south of the Alps. Indeed no country can be enslaved or its progress prevented where commerce and enterprise are free. On the subject of the pending negotiation there is little to be said and nothing favorable. All the reactionary influences in and about the Government at Vienna are doubtless being exercised to cause delay, under every conceivable pretext. After suggesting the propriety of treating the Italian question at a conference of special ministers, to be appointed for that purpose, by the two mediating powers, and the two directly interested parties, which was assented to, the Austrian government has raised a succession of difficulties about the place of their meeting, till at length General Cavaignac informed the Imperial Government that, as the season would soon become too far advanced for an army to cross the Alps, he should send his troops immediately into Italy, unless it should should [sic], at once, accede to some of the proposed places for the conference to meet,

and manifest a disposition to treat promptly upon the proposed basis. The answer to this ultimatum is not yet known.

In the mean time Radetzky has been endeavoring to arouse the national feeling in Germany against the Italians, by epistolary addresses to members of the Assembly at Frankfort. It may however be taken as an indication of his want of confidence in the firmness of the Government at Vienna, the Marshall should have thought himself called on to resort to such a measure. There may also be something significantly favorable to peace in the fact that the Vicar General, the Archduke John, has recently sent a Minister to this court. But notwithstanding these indications, the perturbed state of the whole empire, and the bloody revolution now enacting in Vienna and Perth, my own belief is, that the question will not be settled, and that a general war is likely to ensue in consequence. The German States are now engaged in an effort to found a central government in the name of a common nationality, and we should naturally expect, that they would concede to the Italians the justice and validity of the same principle of Union, on this side of the Alps. But it is to be feared, that the love of dominion will triumph over every sentiment of right and justice, and that we may expect the whole weight of German power will ultimately be thrown into the scale against Italy. Germany, as a manufacturing country, might derive great advantages of a commercial character from the permanent independence of Italy, so prolific of wealth, flowing from unrivaled agricultural resources, and so little disposed to enter upon a course of manufacturing industry. But these considerations of palpable interest will also be thrown away, in all probability, in a vain attempt to sustain the pretension of Germanic pride. Another great danger to the peace of the world, is to be found in the personal interests of the Austrian nobility, who must see that the only way they can possibly retain any portion of their ancient feudal privileges in the presence of that revolutionary spirit now raging around them, and which is sure in its course to sweep away all exceptional laws to their advantage, is to revive the military spirit and invoke the hazards of a general conflict. Their influence is secret, active, and untiring, and the more dangerous, as it now assumes the captivating disguises of an ardent patriotism. Besides, their own interests are plainly identified with the integrity of the Empire which is sure to crumble into fractions the moment constitutional principles and constitutions take effectual root.

The King is about to leave the Capital to place himself at the

head of his army on the frontiers where he will await events. The headquarters of the army is now at Alexandria.

The number of Sardinian troops now under arms, amounts to 110,000. But a great proportion of them are raw recruits, mere boys, in no condition to meet the well selected army of Radetzky, whose forces in Lombardy and Venetia may be computed at 140,000 men.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 5 and you will observe that in compliance with the intimation contained in it, I have taken pains to have my dispatches clearly copied out.²⁷

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n. 13

Turin, October 31, 1848

Sir. The assembling of the Sardinian parliament on the 16th instant presented an occasion which was immediately taken advantage of by the opposition, to call the ministry to an account, for the manner in which the royal authority had been exercised, since the vote of the 2nd of August, which invested the sovereign with dictatorial power.

Three grounds of attack have been brought into the parliamentary arena against the ministry, and sustained with no ordinary display of eloquence and argument, but on each of these grounds the opposition has sustained a signal, if not a definitive defeat.

The first attack was made against the government for an implied unwillingness, at once, to renew the war. The opportunity of doing so, was illustrated by portraying the distracted condition of the imperial government at Vienna, and the open renunciation of its authority in Hungary, and also the certainty of immediately drawing France into the quarrel, whatever might be the disposition of its government. These arguments were answered by the ministry and its partisans in the chambers, by an avowal on their part of an equal zeal to that professed by the opposition in the cause of Italian independence, and by the clear propriety of leaving to the executive the faculty of deciding on the precise moment when the war might be recommenced with the greatest chance of success. The obligations of this government to those of France and England whose

²⁷ L'istruzione n. 5, Washington, 31 agosto 1848, accusando ricevuta del dispaccio n. 7, aggiungeva che i dispacci di Niles erano « interessanti », ma esprimeva il desiderio che « la scrittura fosse più chiara ».

proffered mediation had been accepted, and whose friendly efforts were being energetically employed in the interest of Italy, were made to tell on the good sense and loyalty of the chambers.

After the defeat of the opposition on the question by a vote of 62 to 79, that of passing a vote of censure upon the minister for accepting the mediation was propounded. Count de Revel had been called to form a new Ministry on the 9th of August, and his appointment had been countersigned by a member of the cabinet which had resigned, but which continued to carry on the ordinary business of their respective departments, until their successors should be ready to take their places. In this interval the Count Revel accepted the mediation of England and France, on his own individual responsibility. This act of his, subsequently received the sanction of the entire ministry finally associated with him in the conduct of the government. The acceptance of the mediation by Count Revel, under these circumstances, was held by the opposition to be a flagrant violation of the constitution, since a pretended responsible ministry was then still in existence. But it was successfully contended, that the political responsibility of a retiring ministry ceases from the date of its resignation, and that the direction of the policy of the country belongs to their successors however incomplete in numbers, from the moment the appointment of any one of them has received the official countersign.

The next and third ground of accusation was the fact and the terms of a forced loan imposed by the ministry on the venal value of all property intended to realize the sum of fifty millions of francs to meet the immediately pressing wants of the treasury. But on this question, as on the preceding sound reasons of state necessity, and the equal justice of the measure, secured the assent of the Chamber by a still increasing majority. Thus a most animated debate of some ten days has ended in giving new strength to the government and a prospect of its continued existence beyond the hopes of its warmest friends.

In answer to inquiries made on the subject the ministry gave the Chambers an account of the state of negotiations a propos of the commercial league to which I had the honor to draw your attention in my last Despatch No. 12. The minister said he had not succeeded in getting the Pope to come into any joint measure in regard to a common defense of territory on the eventual prosecution of the war of independence, but in all other particulars the respective governments of Sardinia, Tuscany and Rome had come to an un-

derstanding, and that little was then required but to put that understanding into form, and give to it the force and obligation of a public international treaty. Since that time a new revolution in Tuscany has swept away the then existing ministry and the issue of this important question is again put at hazard. Still the realization of this league is of such obvious advantage in every point of view to the people of these respective countries that it is fair to presume that any ministry in Florence will gladly assume the honor of giving effect to so useful a measure notwithstanding it has been prepared by political rivals.

All parts of the kingdom have been tranquil with the exception of Genoa where repeated riots have taken place, and in some of them lives have been sacrificed both on the side of the public authorities and on that of the mob. The more liberal politicians of the city who were inclined some months ago to countenance these popular manifestations, made in the name of liberty, have at length found out that anarchy and pillage are the objects aimed at, and have consequently come round to the support of the government and the legally established local authorities. The recent riots were put down by the united forces of the regular troops and the national guard of the city, commanded by the late republican minister Pareto, who, in his turn, has been denounced by the communists and red republicans congregated in Genoa. A bill is now before the Parliament called for by the city authorities of Genoa themselves, to authorize the expulsion from the city of all such Lombard emigrants and other disorderly strangers, who cannot show adequate means of existence, unless they are willing to enlist in the army. The power of the government to keep down or suppress civil discord is evidently increasing.

A new insurrection has broken out within the last few days on the northern mountainous borders of Lombardy, at various points, in a distance of fifty miles, extending from the Valtellina to the heights back of Brescia, and the insurgents, it is confidently affirmed, have everywhere been successful in driving the small bodies of Austrian troops along that line from their frontiers. It is feared that this insurrection may become extensive, and prematurely lead to a renewal of the war. This government cannot with propriety engage in a new contest till the issue of the pending mediation is known. In the mean time Radetzky continues to practice the most hateful tyranny wherever his power extends. In Milan he has caused several citizens to be shot upon mere suspicions of conspiracy without any

proof whatever. He resorts to the most artful and dishonorable means to elicit the expression of hostility to his own authority for the mere purpose of punishing his unhappy victims with death. It is unquestionably true that he causes the more base of his own soldiery to circulate among the people as spies, professing to side with the Italians, for the purpose of catching up expressions of dissatisfaction and hatred, and those who have thus been made the victims of their own unsuspecting confidence have in numerous instances been subjected to all the rigors of military law, and shot for the mere thought of treason. There is nothing more odious than this in the history of the worst forms of oriental and barbarian despotism. An Englishman was in this way caused to be arrested, a few days since, but the British consul seasonably interfered, and by pointing out the certain dangers of punishing him, effected his release. The course of Radetzky is not only exciting the deepest feeling of revengeful indignation which is sure to be followed by bloody vengeance, but greatly weakening the cause of his country. In the presence of this state of things, both the English and French governments, will be likely to go to the full extent of their power, in an attempt by peaceful or forcible means to effect the liberation of every part of the Italian population from the Austrian yoke.

The Congress of politicians to which I referred in my last despatch, having in view a confederate government of all Italy at Rome, has broken up, and most of its members returned to their respective homes. The impracticability of their schemes seem to have become apparent on a more thorough examination, and the fears which were at one time entertained from the reunion of so many pretenders to superior patriotism and intelligence have entirely subsided.

Most of the Sardinian troops have taken positions along the frontier preparatory to a new campaign. The Ministry have dissuaded the King from again putting himself at the head of his army at least for the present, and General Bava has been appointed commander in chief.

The flight of the Emperor from Vienna and the want of any responsible ministry near his person, have prevented any known progress being made in the matter of the French and English mediation. The feeling is becoming more general that the disorders and revolutions prevailing throughout this continent must lead to a general war, notwithstanding that each individual power has an apparent interest in the promotion of peace.

Sir: No important political events have taken place within the limits of this kingdom since I last had the honor to address you on the 31st ult.

The most perfect order has been restored in the turbulent city of Genoa, and, with the exception of a single attempt to get up an antiministerial mob here, some few days ago, the whole country has enjoyed the uncommon advantage of undisturbed repose, notwithstanding the exciting and inflammatory language of ultra journals and visionary politicians. The Ministry in repeated trials of strength with an inveterate parliamentary opposition has thus far been sustained by increasing majorities. The policy of this government condemns it to temporary inaction. It can do no more than to prepare the treasury and the army for eventual war. This state of things naturally excites the more ardent minds in the legislature to complain of an apparent procrastination and want of decision, but as they have not been able to point out any other course of policy than that adopted by the ministry every new struggle has turned to the disadvantage of the opposition. Whatever is possible is being done to hasten negotiations between this country and Austria under the mediation of France and England. Brussels, I have reason to believe, has been agreed on by all the parties as the place where these negotiations are to be opened.

I was yesterday informed at the foreign office that Austria had even appointed a special minister to meet those of the other powers in conference.

It is greatly to be desired, in the interest of all parties, that this question of the independence of upper Italy should be settled as promptly as possible, as any considerable delay may bring about new complications unfavorable to the progress of liberty if not to the independence of every portion of Western Europe. It will be remembered that the Duke de Leuchtenberg the youngest son of Prince Eugène Beauharnais who married a Bavarian Princess, was united in marriage, some few years ago, to the daughter of the Emperor of Russia.

This son-in-law of the Emperor is the first cousin of Prince Louis Napoleon (the latter being the son of Hortense sister of Eugene Beauharnais) whom the French people are in all probability

about to make a president, as a stepping stone to the reestablishment of the Empire, and the sovereignty of the same personage.

Now it is found, within a few weeks past, that a party has sprung up in Paris, in Petersburg, and in Milan in favor of settling the Italian question by restoring to the Duke de Leuchtenberg, the Emperor Nicholas' son-in-law, the throne of Lombardy, once occupied by his father the Prince Eugene Beauharnais, as a Vice Roi of the Emperor Napoleon. If the preliminaries of an arrangement between this Government and Austria should not be decided on before the elevation of Prince Louis Bonaparte to the Presidency of France, takes place, there is every reason to believe that his whole influence will be directed to the accomplishment of the object to which I have adverted, and that influence, seconded by the power of Russia, can hardly fail to succeed. It is to be remarked that Russia is really the only power which is in a position to impose unacceptable terms on Austria, except at the close of a war in which the latter may find herself compelled to accede to such conditions as her enemies may propose.

Not so with Russia. Her gigantic military strength is a standing menace, to the very existence of Austria as an independent power. A refusal to comply with a proposal of the kind suggested, urged by the Emperor of Russia on personal, as well as on political grounds, would be exceedingly likely to be followed by worse consequences to Austria than even a compliance, dangerous as that would certainly be. The Emperor of Russia and President Bonaparte would doubtless invoke the popular sentiment of the Lombard population, with whom it is even now said this issue of the Italian question is viewed with general favor, to bring about a dynastic ascendancy which would be irresistible.

It would seem as if, England and Austria and even France as now governed, must see the immeasurably important consequences, all to the disadvantage of political liberty and the independence of every one of the nations of Western Europe which must naturally, if not necessarily, flow from the enthronement of Russian influence in Italy, in addition to the weight with which it now presses on the entire Austrian and German frontier from the mouth of the Danube to the shores of the North sea, especially if that influence should be seconded by Imperial France. In presence of this new and imposing aspect which the Italian question has but very recently assumed, the interests of Austria, England and those of France under Ca-

vagnac, as well as those of Charles Albert, should prompt all these parties to come to an immediate adjustment on any terms which shall exclude the predominance of the united influence of the Bonapartean and Russian dynasties in the affairs of Western Europe.

The armed insurrection along the Northern frontiers of Lombardy to which I adverted in my last has been put down, and the authority of Radetzky is now undisputed throughout the whole extent of the Lombardo-Venetian Vice Royalty, with the exception of Venice and its vicinity, where some unimportant contests have taken place with the Austrian troops, resulting, however, to the advantage of the Venetians. Radetzky, in the pursuit of a system of retributive and revengeful administrative measures, in violation of every principle of political justice, as it has been understood and practised on by conquerors since the dark ages, has recently imposed extraordinary and exceptional levies of money on a class of the rich men of Lombardy and other persons, who took either an active part in the recent revolution or aided in its accomplishment by their intellectual influence. These exceptional contributions amount in some instances to the sum of three hundred thousand dollars for a single individual and run through a scale of minor sums down to ten dollars, according to the wealth and imputed political culpability of the parties assessed. The property of these parties of whatever nature, is to [be] seized, confiscated and sold for the benefit of the Austrian treasury in failure of payment within a period of six weeks from the date of the Marshal's edict.

This decree of Radetzky is not only a violation of the principles of justice, but also in open violation of an imperial decree of the 2nd of September, countersigned by Wessenberg, in which the Emperor grants a free and unconditional pardon to all his Italian subjects. It also violates the provision of the Armistice signed by Charles Albert on the surrender of Milan to Radetzky which stipulated for the security of the property of its inhabitants. On these grounds the Sardinian Government conjointly with the Junta of Lombardy, established in this city to watch over the interests of their country, has issued its solemn protest against this cruel, inquisitous, and barbarian measure. In declaring its legal nullity it warns all purchasers that all transfers of property under the decree will be held to be invalid. It is thought that the government of France and England will also interpose their influence to prevent its being carried into execution.

It is said by the Lombard emigrants here, whose means of information are good, that the total amount of military imposition exacted and received by Radetzky since his entry into Milan is not less than fifty millions of francs.

The ministerial revolution in Tuscany mentioned in my last, was followed by a dissolution of the Representative body, and the call of a new chamber. The election took place on the 20th instant and resulted, it is said, in the return of a majority of conservatives or moderate men. The mob in Florence, anticipating the defeat of their own leaders, rushed upon the ballot boxes and destroyed them, as a means of annulling the election—broke into many houses and committed many other outrages against public order and decency.

The rallying cry of death to the late ministry and many other persons, whose liberalism was thought a few months ago, to be extreme, was raised. Against these disorders the ministry used no other means of repression than a threat to resign their places, if they should be renewed. The present Ministry at Florence, you will have observed, were put into power by the outrages of the mob at Leghorn, analogous in its principles and character to that which has so recently dishonored the city of Florence.

A bloody revolution broke out in Rome on the fifteenth instant. Count Rossi, the minister of the interior, was assassinated on the morning of the 15th as he was stepping from his carriage to the steps leading to the legislative assembly, and died in about an hour afterwards. During that and the following day a rally was made by the people and civic guard to attack and destroy the Swiss Regiment in guard of the Quirinal Palace, the residence of the Pope. Some twenty persons were killed in and about the Quirinal, among them Monseigneur Palma, the Pope's Secretary. On the 16th the contest was ended by a stipulation on the part of His Holiness to dismiss the Swiss troops and send them out of the country. The Pope subsequently assented to the appointment of a new ministry whose names were urged upon him by a standing political club, but he took the precaution to call about him the diplomatic corps to whom he announced that he must be held irresponsible for the acts of a government imposed upon him under such deplorable circumstances.

On the night of the twenty fourth and fifth instant, the Pope left Rome in the carriage of the French Ambassador for Civita

Vecchia, where he embarked on board the French Government War Steamer *Tanare*, which had been in port for several days. It is not certainly known what direction he has taken, but it is presumed that he will land in France and proceed to Fontainebleau where it is also said by the French Minister here, that apartments have been in preparation to receive him for several months past. It is known that the Pope applied to the French Government for protection and an asylum, in case of need, in June last, when popular violence first acquired ascendancy in Rome. The flight of Pius IXth is a great event. This is the second time in the History of the Church that the successor of St. Peter has been driven from the Holy City by revolutionary violence and the prostration of all governmental authority. The popular tumults and anarchy caused by the Guelph and Ghibbeline parties in the year 1309 led to the transfer of the Holy See to Avignon where it remained about seventy years. What political consequences may immediately or ultimately grow out of this event cannot be foreseen. It seems however to be conceded that some one of the Catholic powers must interfere to reestablish the papal authority as chief of the Church and sovereign of the Roman States.

If General Cavaignac possesses that decision of character and promptness of action which the occasion requires, he will at once send an army and a fleet to the mouth of the Tiber and having reestablished the Pope in his rightful constitutional authority, will guarantee its continuance, by leaving an adequate military force at the disposal of the Roman Government, to preserve public order as long as it may be required.

It is thought that this might be done at once, without exciting the jealousy of any other countries. But the interests of the Catholic Church, so clearly require the independence of the Pope, as a temporal as well as an ecclesiastical prince, that great dissatisfaction will inevitably spring up, all over Christendom if France should become his permanent, or even protracted residence.

We learn by last accounts from Rome that the entire body of the Cardinals, a great part of the deputies, and all the diplomatic corps, have left the city which remained under the authority of a political club, the civic guard, and the newly formed ministry.

Sir: I withdraw myself from beside the sick bed of my wife where she has been confined for the last three months and from which I am distressed to say she has a constantly diminishing chance of being restored, to resume my duty of keeping you informed of such political events of importance as have occurred since my last dispatch.

On the 17th instant an entirely new Ministry came into power under the celebrated Abbé Gioberti as President of the council. The retiring ministry had a steady majority of ten or twelve votes on all important administrative measures in a chamber of 130 members and might have continued to carry on the government through the session successfully, but they from the first, made the unparliamentary mistake of considering every question in which they felt an interest as involving the stability of the cabinet. As a consequence the opposition was constantly on the alert in hunting out grounds of attack and reproach. On the 3rd instant some university regulations published by the Minister of Justice and public Instruction by which students were prohibited from assembling in large bodies to discuss political subjects, were censured by a vote of the chamber.

The entire Cabinet made common cause with the Minister of Public Instruction and most unnecessarily not till after the laps [sic] of two weeks that the King found it possible to get together a new set of advisers whose political principles or rather pretensions afforded any guarantee of their acting in harmony. The principal ground of reproach against the retiring ministry on the part of their successors and their friends was an imputed unwillingness to renew the war for the liberation of Lombardy and Venetia. Their patriotism as Piemontese, in contradistinction to the larger term of Italians, it was believed would induce them, in the interest of Sardinia proper, to come to terms with Austria rather than take the risk of renewing the war for the benefit of a people who have already proved themselves as ungrateful for gratuitous aid, as they were incapable of helping themselves.

Notwithstanding their negations, it is probably true, that the Perrone ministry, just fallen, would have been glad to make a peace with Austria on the condition of getting the duchies, whenever the

mediation should have failed to give them the desired line of the Mincio or Adige. You will perceive, therefore, that the present Cabinet have placed themselves under a sort of party necessity of pursuing a more hazardous policy and lighting up the torch of war if the pending mediation should fail. Indeed the strength of the Italian question consists in the power which this country has of setting all Europe in a blaze if satisfactory terms shall not be obtained by the mediating powers. It is taken for granted that the war once recommenced, must bring in the aid of France, on the side of Sardinia, and lead to the final expulsion of the Austrians from the plains of Lombardy. In a recent and free conversation with General Perrone, the late Minister of foreign affairs, he stated his belief to me, that war would recommence, probably before the end of the winter, and that it would become general. He also expressed his belief that Russia would attempt the restoration of the Duke of Leuchtenberg to the throne of Lombardy and that France would cooperate in this design, with a previous understanding that her limits are to be extended to the Rhine. An attempt to accomplish this object presupposes a general continental war, in which Germany would be likely to be crushed between the colossal powers of France and Russia. It seems to be understood on all hands, that England will take no part in any war that may arise unless her territorial possessions or her maritime rights should be assailed.

The abdication of the late Emperor of Austria is considered as a maneuver to fortify the Imperial Authority by placing the youth who now wears the crown entirely in the hands of such men as Windischgraetz Schwartzberg²⁸ and Jellachich²⁹ the Ban of Croatia and others who like them are not only determined to maintain the integrity of the Empire, but in as far as possible to prop up & restore the old order of things. Prince Schwartzberg was long the Austrian minister in this place, and having failed to acquire for himself, or his government, that influence over the councils of Charles Albert to which he thought himself entitled as the represen-

²⁸ Il generale austriaco, Alfred Candidus Ferdinand Windischgraltz (1787-1862) guidò un esercito boemo che con quello di Jellacic della Croazia respinse le forze maggiori che avevano attaccato Vienna nel 1848. Più tardi condusse gli eserciti tedesco e ceco per appoggiare Jellacic nell'invasione dell'Ungheria

²⁹ Joseph Jellacic (1801-1859) Soldato e patriota croato, capo dei Croati e di altri slavi dell'impero asburgico. Sarà nominato governatore militare della Croazia e nel 1855 riceverà il titolo di conte.

tative of the great neighboring empire, he is known to have cherished from that time the deepest sentiments of hatred toward the King, Italy and the Italians. I mention this to show what strong personal influences will probably oppose the peaceful adjustment of the Italian question on any basis likely to gratify the ambition of the King of Sardinia.

Soon after the Pope's arrival at Gaeta, he appointed a governing Committee of seven persons to act in his absence from Rome, but that body never met, two only having accepted the appointment, and they were absent from the city. Their appointment was considered unconstitutional by the ministry and the remnant of the Representative government left at Rome which proceeded to appoint a triumvirate as a substitute for the papal authority. But we have as yet no information that this triumvirate has entered upon the exercise of executive authority and the last accounts from Rome state that the Senator Zucchini³⁰ who was one of them declines the appointment.

On the 18th instant Rome was thrown into great disorder by the reappearance of the popular clubs in the streets calling for the immediate establishment of a Constituent Assembly. The Ministry, finding themselves without a constitutional executive head, or a quorum of either branch of the Legislature, resigned, avowing their incapacity to carry on the Government or to answer for the security of public order. Thus society in the very centre of the Christian world is reduced to a state of perfect dissolution as a direct consequence of the wild extreme democratic opinions which have been of late promulgated throughout continental Europe. The anarchy now reigning triumphantly in Rome, and extending its influence to all parts of the Papal States, must soon be followed by reactionary movements which may restore Pius IXth to the Quirinal, and the exercise of undisputed authority. All attempts to found a republic in the Roman states or in any other part of Italy must fail. The Italian character is so thoroughly imbued with intolerance and sentiments of hatred personal and political, toward every thing that does not come up to the standard of unqualified approbation, as to forbid the establishment of any form of government founded

³⁰ Gaetano Zucchini (1806-1882) come Senatore di Bologna presiedette alle solenni cerimonie in onore di Vincenzo Gioberti. Negli anni seguenti rimase sempre fedele e leale verso il Papa dal quale nel 1850 ricevette il titolo di conte. Zucchini si occupò inoltre con autorità e competenza dello sviluppo delle industrie.

on mutual concession and a partial surrender of rights and of interests for the common good. This feature of Italian character is the true secret of all the misfortunes of Italy. Moderation, the greatest of political virtues, is always a defect, if not a crime, in the Italian mind. This is the only point of the peninsula where free government has the least chance of successful adoption, for any considerable duration. The idea of an Italian Constituent Assembly to harmonize the action of the different governments, in reference to national independence, continues to agitate the public mind with more or less violence throughout northern and central Italy. But no common understanding has yet been come either among the different governments, or political parties interested. The Ministry of Florence propose a constituent body whose members shall be elected by universal suffrage. The Government of Rome while Mamiani was at its head adopted a plan by which each government should be represented by delegates of its own appointment. Here, no steps have as yet been taken to realize the idea in any form, but it is understood that Gioberti and the Ministry under him are in favor of the Roman scheme. But, Sir, there will be no Italian Constituent Assembly legally organized, for the reason that the would be parties to it will be unable to agree, either on the powers it shall exercise or in the principles on which it may be organized. Yet it is probable that the *Constituent* will continue to be, as it has been for some time past, the rallying cry of the mob in Genoa, Tuscany & Rome. A dangerous popular revolt at Genoa was anticipated some days ago, but every thing has become quiet again.

Mr. Bertran de Lis, late minister of Finance at Madrid, has recently been appointed Spanish Ambassador to this government. In a conversation with this gentlemen [sic] a few days since the subject of the Spanish indemnity due to United States citizens came up, and I inquired of him what would be the probability of getting that indemnity paid off at once or by annual instalments. He stated in reply that it was very desirable for Spain to get rid of that debt as soon as possible for two reasons. First, said he, while there are any pending claims held by the United States against Spain, that fact will prove as a continual apology for newspapers and politicians favorable to the annexation of Cuba to the United States to avail themselves of any accidental delinquency continually to renew the discussion of that exciting subject, so well calculated to disturb the tranquility of Cuba.

Secondly, said he, 'There can be no possibility of restoring the credit of Spain, but by a reduction of her debt down to the capabilities of her financial resources, that the measure of liquidating all outstanding debts and consolidating them into a stock on which the interest would hereafter regularly be paid, was now occupying the attention of the Spanish cabinet.

But as the debt to the United States was an exceptional debt although held in the common five per cent perpetual rents of the country it became important to get rid of it at an early date, by some definitive arrangement before the question of a general consolidation of the Spanish debt came up for public discussion. For these reasons he stated his belief that if the payment of the whole debt of the United States in early annual instalments should be proposed and urged upon the Ministry at Madrid, he had little doubt of its being acceded to. He stated that if such an arrangement had been proposed to him while Minister of Finance, he should have felt it his duty to accept it.

This information, coming as it does from a gentleman who was himself but a few months ago, minister of Finance at Madrid, cannot but be interesting to the government, and may be useful as indicating the proper grounds on which to urge an early and definitive payment of the indemnity due from Spain to American citizens.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n. 16

Turin, January 4, 1849

Sir: In my last communication I briefly alluded to the severe and threatening illness of my beloved wife. Since that time she has been taken from me. She died on the 28th ultimo, after an illness of more than eight months. The complaint to which she finally yielded after this long and vain struggle, was probably caused by the fatigues of a too rapid and uninterrupted journey from Paris to this city.

In obeying a sense of official duty by hastening to my post prematurely left vacant by my predecessor, I little thought of endangering that life which I had ever cherished with the utmost care, so essential to my own happiness and the influence of a young family.

It would be out of place for me to attempt to describe here the loss which I and her children have sustained in the death of this angelic woman.

It is due to my own feelings to state that during the long illness of Mrs. Niles she received from the entire circle of our new acquaintances of this city, as well as from all the members of the diplomatic corps, the most consoling testimonies of affectionate, active sympathy and warm esteem of which myself and her surviving children have been the recipients on the occasion of and subsequent to her death.

The entire diplomatic body without a single exception united in paying to her remains the last honors due to her character and her virtues on the occasion of the funeral services.

Some days before her death she expressed a desire that her remains might be conveyed to Paris and there entombed by the side of a child and a sister who have preceded her to the grave. This wish is sacred for me, and I cannot doubt that the President will at a proper time grant me the necessary leave of absence to enable me to perform so solemn an obligation.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

*Dispaccio n. 18*³¹

Turin, January 16, 1849

Sir: In my last despatch bearing on political subjects under date of the 24th ultimo, I informed you of a recent and unexpected change of the ministry. But as this ministry had been created out of an acknowledged minority in the legislative bodies, it soon became apparent, that they could not go on with the Government without an expression of the popular favor in a newly elected House of Representatives. Accordingly, the old Parliament has been dissolved, and an election of new members is to take place on the 22nd instant. On the first day of February, the two chambers are again to assemble for the transaction of business. In the mean time the general course of ministerial conduct has not been such as to inspire confidence or to indicate the existence in the Government of that degree of statesmanship and capacity required by the

³¹ Il dispaccio n. 17 del 15 gennaio 1849, trasmetteva i conti degli stipendi e delle spese minute dell'anno 1848

difficulties and dangers of the occasion. As soon as the new ministers came into power, one of their number, M. Buffa, was sent to Genoa, clothed with the power of a Royal Commissioner, having full authority to exercise his own discretion in the adoption of measures for the tranquillity of that city. Among other things required by the mob of Genoa in their nightly parades through the streets, it was demanded that the regular troops should be ordered to leave the forts and stations in and about the city and that the guardianship of the citizens, as well as the national fortresses, should be confided to the national guard. Buffa, a young man, elated with his new dictatorial power and sympathizing to some extent, at least, with the wild street politicians of Genoa, issued a proclamation conceding to the mob every thing they had required, and ordered the regular troops out of the city to take the field whenever the war might be recommenced. This proclamation was in the highest degree offensive and insulting to the whole army. In vain, the ministry tried to explain it away or to mitigate the unfavorable excitement in the public mind, as well as in the army, by a partial denunciation of that act of one of their colleagues and most powerful friends. The fact that Buffa was not recalled, was taken as conclusive evidence that his conduct was approved, whatever the Ministry might say to the contrary in private interviews with military officers, and consequently, great numbers of them in the division of the army under the Duke of Genoa united in a protest against the language and conduct of Buffa, as a member of the Government, and as being clothed with all its authority in the district of Genoa. This protest was disapproved by the Ministry and held to be improper under the circumstances, by public opinion generally. But the Colonel of the eighth Regiment in the division of the army at Alexandria, under the command of the Duke of Savoy, heir to the throne, and a very brave and popular officer, called the officers under his command together and proposed to make a counter representation to the government in *favor* of the language and conduct of Buffa.

It is said that this step was taken at the suggestion of the Ministry. The general of division, the Duke of Savoy, hearing of what the Colonel had done, and viewing his conduct as a violation of every principle of military discipline, ordered his arrest. The Ministry took the side of the Colonel, and ordered his liberation, an act which created the greatest excitement in the army, and led

to the immediate resignation of the Duke of Savoy, and of the Duke of Genoa, both popular commanding generals and sons of the King. The Duke of Savoy felt himself the more in the right to make this arrest as representations to the ministry against Buffa had been reproved by them, coming from another division of the army; and as he himself had suppressed any manifestations of a like kind in his own command. The release, therefore, of the arrested Colonel, he took to be an insult to his rightful military authority, and as having such a demoralizing tendency upon the discipline of the army as to justify his withdrawal from the service, an act in which, as before stated, he was joined by his Royal brother the Duke of Genoa. It is however now understood that the resignation of the two princes will not be accepted, and as a partial offset to the disregard shown to military law and the discipline of the army, the Colonel of the eighth regiment is to be suspended from active service. In the mean time, the effect of these incidents has been most pernicious upon the spirit of the troops by creating among them a general feeling of hostility to the administration, to which they should show a passive, if not a zealous obedience.

The new ministry have also created a very general sentiment of dissatisfaction among the religious classes of society, by attempting through a public address to the Bishops and clergy, to deprive that body of their right, in common with all other citizens to express their opinions on public measures and public men. I mention these mistakes of the ministry as they are likely in my opinion to serve as elements of a reactionary movement at a future time, to the prejudice of the so called democratic party, and may perhaps lead to serious inroads on the constitutional liberties of the country.

The troops and the population of Savoy have recently made energetical representations against a renewal of the war in a cause which is not *theirs*. They avow their willingness to make any possible sacrifice of men or money, for the defence of the existing limits of the Kingdom, but virtually refuse to engage again in a hopeless struggle with a power commanding a military force and national resources of every kind, for the promotion of a war by land, superior to those of Sardinia in the proportion of eight to one, in the vain hope of aiding a population to throw off the yoke of slavery, who refuse to help themselves. A committee appointed by the Government, has been sent into Savoy, to calm the popular excitement and to explain the ministerial policy.

In the mean time, the King with a rare stoicism, intermeddles [sic] no further with the party contests going on around him than hand the reins of power to successive party leaders as they come forward, one after another, with reasonable pretension of adequate popularity and ability to wield it with success. His object seems to be, to give extreme parties opportunity to use themselves up, by showing the impracticability of their principles and policy, when brought into action. In this way, faction is being disarmed of its animosity and public opinion corrected of its errors, and the Sovereign preserves the character of being a strictly constitutional chief of the state and reserves his personal influence for any emergency that may arise.

Radetzky has recently put an entire stop to all communications with this country along the whole line of the frontier. Even letters are not permitted to pass except by private express and these are subject to the strictest examination. His probable object is to conceal his military movements, and prevent the introduction of arms.

The new conscripts, he is attempting to raise, are flying in all directions. Many have taken refuge in Switzerland and thousands are making their way into this country.

Two Ministers have recently been appointed by this Government to take part in the conference to be opened immediately in Brussels. One of these Ministers, the Marquis Ricci, represents Sardinia and the other, Count Toffetti, a distinguished Milanese gentleman represents Lombardy. These gentlemen leave today for their post.

It is quite impossible to predict what may be the results of this mediating conference. If Austria is governed by a wise regard to her own interests, she will consent to give up her possessions on this side of the Adige. It is certain she cannot retain Lombardy by any other means, than the repressive influence of arms, and experience has already often proved to her that she can derive no advantage from that territory, in a pecuniary, and financial point of view, whenever it becomes necessary to maintain in it an army of more than forty five thousand men. The frontier, on the side of Sardinia, is not defensible, and the elements of future disorder and revolt throughout Lombardy are now more deeply laid than ever, in the cruel and unmitigated tyranny which has been practised by Radetzky within the last year. An extension to Lombardy of

constitutional rights of the largest description, would in no way assuage the deep and all prevailing hatred which reigns throughout the population. Besides, as I have before stated, in previous communications, any constitutional liberties accorded to the Lombards would be certain to be made the cover of a quasi legal if not successful revolt on the first opportune occasion. Again Lombardy is so near to France that she can at any time when it may suit her policy, foment difficulties there, and entail upon Austria the necessity of a ruinously expensive military armament. For these reasons, Lombardy, both in a military and political point of view, may be deemed a point of weakness, for the Empire rather than of strength.

On the other hand, this country conjointly with Lombardy, is willing to take a fair proportion of the heavy Austrian debt, on the condition of the sovereignty of the country being yielded. And there can be no doubt, that France and England will press upon her the surrender of that sovereignty to some other independent prince if not to Charles Albert. But, we have abundant evidence to show how little sound reason and a wise public policy has to do with the direction of national affairs. It is not improbable that Austria will be blinded by a mistaken policy and the pride of dominion into a refusal to make any concessions whatever.

But while wars have been undertaken and friendly foreign influence invoked to rid Italy of Austrian domination the excesses of those patriots who thought they were cooperating in favor of national independence are likely to bring about the armed intervention of other powers in peninsular affairs.

I beg to invite your attention to the inclosed copy of a protest from the President of the Counsel [sic], by which you will see that Spain is on the point of sending an army to reinstate the Pope³² in his constitutional authority. I take it for granted that this protest has been made rather with the view of keeping up a consistency of language, a propos of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Italian States, than with an intention to oppose any active insistance to the Spanish forces by sea or land, should the Government of Spain forcibly attempt to restore order and the Papal authority, in Rome and the States of the Church. Still, no one can tell what may grow out of the Spanish intervention

³² Accelusa la circolare di Gioberti agli agenti diplomatici stranieri del 12 gennaio 1849. Vedila in V. GIOBERTI, *Epistolario* cit., vol. VIII, pp. 389-391

which I have every reason to believe is on the very point of being made. The occasion is most favorable for Spain as the eldest daughter of the Church, and for a long time a declining State, to give an evidence of her reviving power, & of the fidelity of her Government to the Catholic Faith. The contemplated measure, if carried through, is likely to be the very best means the Spanish Cabinet could possibly resort to to remove the causes of those civil wars, which have for fifteen years past almost continually desolated some portion of her northern Provinces.

An armament, military and naval, of considerable force, is also being fitted out at Toulon, but it is not yet known here, whether it is intended to aid the restoration of the Pope, or to proceed to Venice or Ancona, with a view to help the negotiations, now in progress at Brussels, for the emancipation of Upper Italy. It is also possible that a part, if not the whole, of that armament may be intended for the shores of La Plata, where, I have reason to believe, it is the determination of the French Government to establish and maintain its power.

Whilst these indications are being more or less manifest on the part of Catholic countries, to reestablish the papal authority in the Holy City, by force of arms, the successor of St Peter has resorted to an arm peculiarly his own to aid himself.

On the first instant, Pius IX issued an encyclical from Gaeta excommunicating all those who have taken an active part in attempts to destroy his temporal authority and substitute in its place a Constituent Assembly with sovereign power to alter and upset the bases of the Roman Government.

Although the direct effect of an act of excommunication emanating from the Pope cannot be considered as likely to be very great on the public mind at this period of history and civilization, yet, it is likely to be taken advantage of by so many persons interested in the return of the Pope to Rome, and in giving an effective check to the spirit of disorder, and those impracticable political theories which have of late been concentrated [sic] in the Roman States, that there is little doubt it will have the effect of putting an end to all further attempts to institute a new government in the Holy City, or at least so to divide the public sentiment on the subject as to bring on a civil war. It may therefore

be averred, with great confidence that the Pope will soon return to Rome, either by the effects of his own measures, or by the influence of foreign powers.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio [n. 19]

Turin, February 4, 1849

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a formal protest of the Sardinian Government against the many acts of despotism, bad faith and inhumanity which have characterized the conduct of Austria in the person of Marshal Radetzky since the Armistice of the ninth of August last. You will observe in this protest a more detailed account of the various arbitrary and illegal acts of the Marshal to which I have but succinctly alluded in my former dispatches.³³

The object of this Government in thus exposing to the view of all civilized countries the true state of the subsisting relations between Austria, Lombardy, and this country is undoubtedly to rally the effective opinion of the Christian world in favor of the emancipation of the Italian population from an implacable despotism which has no other justification than that which is found in its having already existed so long.

The feeling of antipathy toward the Austrian rule, as I have before stated, is daily becoming more and more profound and universal, extending through all classes from the highest nobility down to the lowest and pennyless [sic] peasantry.

As an instance of this feeling toward Austria, the want of confidence in her promises and the determination of all classes of the Italians to withdraw themselves from any connection whatever with the Austrian Government of their country, I will mention the fact, that notwithstanding the seventeen representative districts, into which the Lombardo Venetian Vice Royalty is divided, have been, three times, emphatically called on, and the last time with menaces of punishment for delinquency to elect deputies to the Austrian Constituent Assembly, that but two of them have chosen their delegates, both of whom refuse to accept.

³³ Acclusa la circolare di Gioberti ai rappresentanti delle potenze estere del 29 gennaio 1849. Vedila in V GIOBERTI, *Epistolario*, cit., vol IX, pp 111-117

It is equally true that the Italian population refuse all participation in the municipal government of the communes into which the whole country is divided. So that a ruthless unmitigated despotism prevails throughout the entire country.

The second session of the Sardinian Parliament was opened on the first instant by the King in person; and, in as far as his reception by the multitude assembled on the occasion as well as by both branches of parliament, affords a criterion to judge by, it is evident that His Majesty retains the warmest affections and highest confidence of his people.

The speech from the throne is vague and abounds in generalities, touching the foreign relations of this country; and is only decisive and clear in a determination to continue the policy of harmonizing the political institutions of the kingdom with the spirit of the age and the principles of constitutional liberty.

It is impossible to predict with certainty the political character of the new elective chamber just returned. Many of the members are wholly new men whose opinions have been supposed to be dangerously violent and exaggerated. But within a short time, the political events of Rome and Tuscany under a reign of terror, organized and kept up by clubs and usurping juntas, begin to open the eyes of the public of all classes to the danger of anarchy; and a reactionary feeling in favor of a policy of prudence and circumspection has become apparent here, even with the ultra Liberals, and it is thought that the Ministry, now nearly as moderate as their predecessors, may be sustained by an adequate working majority.

Within a few days past, Brofferio, the great champion of democratic principles, in this part of Italy, has been put down and expelled by a hitherto violent political club of which he was the originator and the President. This incident, together with many analagous evidences of the real state of popular feeling, goes to show that all attempts to disseminate republican ideas here, are equally vain and unwelcome to the people, the moment the slightest allusion is made to their practical application. In truth, as I have had occasion to remark in previous communications, the people of this country are eminently monarchical, and nothing has yet transpired in Europe, to lessen their partiality for this form of Government.

Contrary to the general expectation most parts of the Papal

States have elected delegates to a Constituent Assembly to be convened at the Campadolio [sic] in Rome to found a new government, notwithstanding the monitorial letter of the Pope, of the 1st ultimo. It is due to truth, however, to say that this act has only been accomplished by an extreme party under a system of violence and terror which will deprive the new Assembly of every pretence of being of a candid and fair expression of the popular sentiment.

The members of the Roman Constituent Assembly, by an ordinance of the reigning junta, are also to be members of a pretended Italian Constituent Body, embracing within its scope the political destinies of the entire Peninsula. The Government of Tuscany, under the pressure of mobs and dictatorial clubs, has joined the scheme of an Italian Constituent; and authorized the election, by universal suffrage, of twenty seven deputies, to proceed to Rome and then enter upon the discussion of some sort of central Government for the whole of Italy, or at least, for such parts of it as may be represented.

This visionary scheme meets with no countenance either with the Government or people of [sic] Sardinia. They have no idea of merging their interests or their institutions in the Utopian phantoms of Italian unity, or placing their politics or material fortunes into the hands of a set of men who are suspected of no better objects than those aimed at by the Communists of Paris in June last.

Immediately before the opening of the Chambers the King of Sardinia spent several days in reviewing the army stationed along the frontier from Alexandria to Novara. He states that the troops are every where in good spirits and ready for any eventuality. The entire force, now under arms, and fit for service, is said to be one hundred and thirty thousand men. We hear of extensive preparations in various parts of Lombardy, made in anticipation of a renewal of the war, should the pending negotiations of Brussels fail.

It is proper for me to state, that Commodore Bolton³⁴ has reported to this Legation his arrival at Spezzia where he came to anchor on the 19th ultimo in command of the *Jamestown*.

³⁴ William Compton Bolton fu nominato capitano il 21 febbraio 1831; morì il 22 febbraio 1849.

Sir: Several days ago, I received the visit of Lieutenant Gardner,³⁵ of the U.S. Navy from Genoa, sent to this place by Commodore Bolton, to possess himself of all possible information about the probable political state of Southern Europe, for some months to come, with a view doubtless, of enabling himself to form a sound judgment as to the most useful employment of the ships under his command, in the waters of the Mediterranean. Lieutenant Gardner was the bearer of a series of inquiries touching the state of Europe, and of Italy in particular in regard to which Capt Bolton desired my written opinions. Although I take it the Commodore is necessarily and entirely responsible for his own official actions, I presume it is proper for the Government to be informed of the character of the information and opinions which may possibly influence them. I therefore enclose herewith a copy of my letter to the Commodore in reply to his several enquiries and observations.

The revolutionary constituent assembly of the Papal States met at the Campidoglio in Rome on the fifth instant, and in the course of the three succeeding days proceeded to depose the Pope from the exercise of temporal authority, to organize a provisional executive consisting of three members, and to adopt a republican form of government. These several stages of revolutionary progress have been hurried through under the pressure and dictatorship of irresponsible clubs of young and visionary politicians backed by the brute force of the most worthless rabble of brigands and bravos who fill the streets of Rome. The momentous question as to the most appropriate form of government to secure the welfare of the state was not even admitted to the honors of a serious discussion. A system of terror and the menace of personal violence are said to have been the main instruments in pushing the revolution to its present extreme point in despite of the well known opinions of a great majority of the Roman people opposed to every step in this dangerous career, from the assassination of Rossi down to the declaration of a Republic and the deposition of the Pope.

³⁵ William Ross Gardner, nominato aspirante di marina il 29 dicembre 1831, promosso portabandiera (alfiere) il 15 giugno 1837; tenente l'8 settembre 1841. Morì il 22 aprile 1857.

It is by no means probable that this Roman Republic will be acknowledged by any regular government in Europe and perhaps not even in America, when it is borne in mind that the Pope is himself on the very confines of his own territory officially contesting the right of the usurping government to give laws to his subjects, a great majority of whom are alleged to be faithful to their allegiance, though quietly submissive for the time to a usurpation which they feel cannot last long.

There seems to be a great want of decision in the councils of Pius IX at Gaeta, but it is at the same time apparent that he relies on the final triumph of reason and on a return of correct moral and religious sentiments among his people, stimulated as such sentiments certainly will be by obvious and pressing interests for Rome without a Pope is deprived of its principal element of prosperity to effect his restoration, rather than on that physical force which several Catholic countries have placed at his disposal whenever it shall be found necessary to accomplish that object. But should this peaceful policy of the Pope fail and anarchy and crime continue to stain the progress of the new government there can be no doubt, that the Congress of the several Catholic countries now about to be held in reference to Roman affairs will decide at once to reinstate the Sovereign Pontiff in the seat of St. Peter by military force.

For about eleven hundred years it has been the established and undisputed law of Europe, apropos of the Papal Government, that its temporal control over the Roman States is essential to its existence as an independent spiritual institution. Without that independent support secured to the Pope by being the political chief of a limited territory with adequate revenues, he naturally and almost necessarily falls under the preponderating influence of some one of the great Catholic powers. Hence the necessity conceded by the whole Catholic world, of sustaining the Pope in his temporal authority over the states of the Church. So this is one of the essential bases of *the* great European compact which keeps the respective nations of the continent within their several orbits, in whatever relates to Catholicity, it cannot be presumed that so vital a principle will be set aside to conform to the will of a few hundreds or even thousands of visionary political utopiists sustained by ruffians without character, without principles, without any higher

objects than pillage, and the illegal possession of other people's property.

The political condition of society is still worse in Tuscany than in Rome. The Grand Duke finding it impossible to participate further in the revolutionary movement without compromising his own acknowledged rights and subjecting himself to the excommunication of the Pope, refused to sanction the bill authorizing the election by universal suffrage of thirty seven delegates to the Italian Constituent Assembly at Rome, clothed as they were by the terms of the law with unlimited powers to dethrone princes and substitute [sic] new forms of government. He decided on the sixth instant to leave Sienna [sic], the temporary residence of his family for St. Stefano, a small Tuscan port on the shores of the Mediterranean, where he has since remained under the protection of English ships of war. He has been followed to his new residence by all the Representatives of foreign powers with the exception of the English Minister who has been prevented from joining the rest by illness.

On the eighth instant the Ministers of the Grand Duke resigned their offices into the hands of an assembled mob mixed up with a few radical members of the chamber of representatives, but, three of them were by acclamation declared to constitute a Provisional Government. The new Government then proceeded at the instance of popular clubs to depose the Grand Duke.

Since that time anarchy, terror, and violence of every kind have prevailed in Florence and Leghorn. Several lives have been sacrificed, houses plundered, rail roads broken up, and many of the peaceful inhabitants who could find means to do so have sought safety in flight.

On the eighteenth instant the provisional government and the street politicians declared by a formal edict in favor of the annexation of Tuscany to the Roman Republic.

In my last despatch of the 4th instant I ventured to predict that the Ministry of His Sardinian Majesty would be sustained by the newly elected branch of the Parliament. But the events of Rome and Tuscany have thrown every thing here again into a condition of the utmost uncertainty and confusion.

Gioberti who has done more to awaken a revolutionary spirit in the Italian peninsula by his writings and his eloquence than any

other man, has within a few months and since he came to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, stopped short in that career. He is at length aroused to the dangers which threaten society and liberty itself from the excesses prevailing in Central Italy and has made up his mind to resist the further progress of the revolution by all the force of his great talents and immense popularity. The first steps taken by him in this new policy were first, a declaration of conservative principles before the legislative body, in which he fixed the terms and justifiable objects of the revolutions and, secondly, the suppression of the demagogical clubs in the City of Genoa. He then withdrew his representatives near the Provisional Government at Rome and refused to receive the diplomatic agents sent from Rome to Turin. Subsequently, he entered into negotiations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany at St. Stefano for placing a body of Sardinian troops at his disposal who were doubtless to have been employed to suppress the insurrection at Florence and to effect his restoration to power in the Capital of his own country. Gioberti's associates in the ministry, concurred in all these measures in council, but when the moment came for giving orders for the Sardinian army to enter Tuscany, they refused their assent, and Gioberti thus found himself isolated from the rest of the ministry, who were creatures of his own, and came into power as his dependents. He found himself therefore under the necessity of resigning his power and the King has been forced by the current of opinion to accept his resignation. The chamber of deputies yesterday by a large majority approved the conduct of the remaining members of the Cabinet in refusing their assent to the project of sending troops into Tuscany. Another question equally exciting and perhaps fraught with more danger, is now also agitating the public and legislative mind, and that is whether or not the Republic of Rome shall be acknowledged.

These questions bring us at once to a new division of parties, or rather give shape and cohesion to a totally different class of political partialities and sentiments, till now concealed or obscurely apparent under the rather indefinite classifications of conservatism and liberalism.

Gioberti is now attempting to accomplish what Mirabeau failed to do in the French revolution, that is to withstand and set back the torrent of radical principles and sentiments which he himself put in motion. He is resolved to save the monarchical institutions of

the country if possible and in this resolution he will be seconded by all the better classes of society. But it cannot be disguised that the dissolving principles of communism and a wild democracy have made and are making frightful progress among the lower orders of the people throughout all Italy.

No reasonable prediction can be made as to the result of impending political struggles among the parties into which society is divided, connected as they will be with the equally momentous question of war with Austria. It is truly wonderful to see how rapidly the public political mind becomes demoralized & broken up whenever the bases of an old and respected system of Government and social organization of society are suddenly changed or essentially modified. A few months ago every thing here indicated a veneration for the monarchy and reverence for religion from the highest to the very lowest classes of the people. But now, the opinions of all those classes who have no material interests at stake in reference to both these institutions seem to be afloat, and ready to rally to the support of any audacious leader of talent who may propagate popular theories, however visionary and impracticable.

Since the resignation of Gioberti, Turin has been the theatre of great excitement. Immediately on his leaving the Chamber, after the implied vote of censure, he was surrounded by many thousands of the best citizens of the place, who accompanied him to his residence with the most enthusiastic vivas and every other demonstration of popular love and confidence. Tables have been placed in the public squares where petitions are being signed by thousands of the inhabitants addressed to the King, soliciting his recall to the Ministry; notwithstanding the vote of the Chamber. What course His Majesty may adopt is uncertain, although his practice has thus far been to float along with the constitutionally expressed opinion of the country. The name of Gioberti is by itself a power in the state, and if he should be recalled to the head of a new Ministry, should dissolve [sic] the present Chamber and make a new appeal to the country, there cannot be a doubt of his being sustained.

Since writing the above, information has reached town of the entry of a body of ten thousand Austrian troops into the Papal States at Ferrara, under the Flag of the Pope. We also hear of

sanguinary reactionary movements in Rome, but I doubt the authenticity of these reports.

It seems to be the prevailing opinion with the Ministry and political men and of power, that the war will be resumed the moment the Government can get rid of its implied obligation to the conference at Brussels. The disposition evidently is with the Ministry as it now exists, to profit by the first justifiable pretext to break the armistice and to accept the hazards of another conflict.

Nathaniel Niles a William C. Bolton ³⁶

Copia

Turin, February 16, 1849

My Dear Commodore: I have had the pleasure to receive from the hands of Lieutenant Gardner, your dispatch of the 8th instant and a series of inquiries touching the probable political state of Southern Europe, during the coming Spring and Summer.

Without being able to predict what may take place in the course of a few months, I will nevertheless venture to make some observations bearing upon several inquiries in the order in which they are stated in the informal paper submitted to me by Lieutenant Gardner.

I am inclined to believe that England and France will succeed in effecting terms of accommodation between the King of Naples and the people of Sicily, without a further recourse to arms by either of the belligerent parties.

The Pope will most probably be restored to his constitutional authority as a temporal Prince by a successful reactionary movement of his own subjects, but if that should not happen it cannot be doubted that the Catholic countries of Europe will come to an understanding to reestablish the Pope in the plenitude of his spiritual and temporal power, as it existed at the time he was forced by a reign of terror and violence to quit the city of Rome which in the view of all these governments but the Bishoprick [sic] is of the Christian world, the independence of which they have all a common right and obligation to defend.

It is also in my view probable that Tuscany will soon be

³⁶ Allegato al Dispaccio di Niles del 22 febbraio 1849.

reduced to such a degree of distress and anarchy as to lead to the recall of the Grand Duke by the popular voice of the Tuscan people. The Provisional Government at Florence will not be acknowledged by any of the European powers, but they will on the contrary keep up diplomatic relations with the Grand Duke so long as he remains in any part of the Duchy of which he is the constitutional head.

But before the constitutional governments of Tuscany and of the Roman States should be again in force it is probable that both those countries may become theatres of great disorder and revolutionary violence.

In this perspective you will be able to decide how far the interests of our commerce and those of humanity may render it proper for you to keep a ship of war alternately before Leghorn and Civita Vecchia.

It appears exceedingly probable from all the information we get here that Austria is about to attack Venice, notwithstanding the great efforts the English Government has made and is still making to prevent it. France is collecting a great number of war steamers in the Adriatic which will be very likely to be brought into action in the interest of Upper Italy, and of Venice in particular should Austria persist in her designs. Venice has thus far been protected by the terms of the armistice signed at Milan on the 7th of August last, as that armistice has been interpreted both by England and France, as well as Sardinia, and it will be a serious offence to both those powers should Austria now attempt to violate provisions as they have been hitherto understood and acted on by all parties. As we have very important mercantile interests in the Adriatic, and, in common with all other powers, are under an obligation to do our part in keeping down piracy in that sea, where it is likely to reappear from the demoralized condition of the population on its shores, it would seem that we should have one ship of war, at least in the Adriatic.

The presence of a war steamer under the American Flag in the waters of Venice would certainly give a moral strength to the struggling cause of freedom and independence without subjecting us to the charge of illegal interference. I have reason to know that the appearance of an American ship of war in their harbor would be most acceptable to the Venetian authorities and if their city is destined to fall before the power of Austria, the mere presence

of such a vessel might serve to guarantee the rights of war and of humanity which might otherwise be trampled on.

I think it may be taken as the opinion of the present ministry here, that war will again ere long break out with Austria.

Under all the circumstances, it may be said that the Gioberti Cabinet has the confidence of the country to a greater extent than any other that could now be formed.

England is undoubtedly sincere in her professed desire to prevent war in every part of Europe and thus far she has been seconded by France. At present it is undoubtedly the policy of both these countries to act together, but should France be urged into active war to sustain the cause of Italian nationality and independence it is probable that England will not oppose her doing so by arms, although she may choose herself to stand aloof. England will not break with France if she should from policy or necessity, take part in any contests likely to arise on the continent.

The maritime forces both of England and France in the Mediterranean are, I believe unusually great, probably more with a view to the eventuality of a general war in which Russia may aim at the long desired object of possessing the Bosphorus, than with reference to any mistrust of each other. The more I reflect and inform myself on the respective conditions of England and France, the more I am satisfied that they must be friendly to each other, to the extent at least of cautiously avoiding to injure each others [sic] interests or infringe on each others [sic] rights. But cases may arise in which each may take a belligerent part in the affairs of Europe without having the approbation or incurring the hostility of the other. But in the hypothesis of a general war in which Russia should be a party then I believe France and England would be allied against her with a view of keeping her out of Constantinople. The policy of England, however, I think clearly requires her to keep out of any limited continental war. Not so with France; she will be likely to be drawn into any continental war that may occur.

I regard the new French Constitution as no better than a programme of future and necessary revolutions, all tending by successive struggles, however, to the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual, or in other words to the reestablishment of monarchy in its more arbitrary forms. The same result, in my opinion, is likely to be the upshot of the

revolutionary movements now going on in most parts of Europe. The truth is, the liberal politicians of the continent will not stop at a reasonable and practicable point of improvement in the political or social condition of the people; and by pushing their principles too far, one of two possible consequences is likely to occur, either that Europe will be reduced to a state approximating barbarism, or in what is little better, a reign of unmitigated military despotism.

In regard to Cuba, I have reason to believe that up to June last, no proposition had ever been made by our Government to that of Spain for the acquisition of that Island.³⁷

There is no probability of any unfavorable change in the relations of Egypt and the Ottoman Empire in consequence of the death of Mehemet Ali.

We have no means here of knowing the designs of England on Morocco, but it may be safely affirmed that they will not go beyond a legitimate punishment for the violation of the British Flag.

I am gratified to hear that our sailors on shore have behaved well. You will agree with me that it is the duty of American sailors as well as their officers to pay the greatest respect to existing governments, wherever they may go, especially in times of revolution. The King of Sardinia has been exceedingly liberal to our Government, and is disposed to do everything possible to

³⁷ Nel giugno del 1848 il Presidente Polk autorizzò confidenzialmente il ministro degli S U in Spagna, Romulus Saunders, ad entrare in trattative per l'acquisto di Cuba offrendo un prezzo massimo di 100 milioni di dollari. Purtroppo, a causa dei disordini interni spagnoli e degli enormi investimenti che Maria Cristina aveva fatto a Cuba, Saunders non riuscì nell'impresa. Nel 1849, quando i *Whigs* ritornarono al potere con la loro politica anti-annessionista, John Clayton, Segretario di Stato, non fece altri tentativi e aspettò che la proposta venisse dalla Spagna. Vedi A A ETTINGER, *The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soule*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp 28-29 T A BAILEY, *The Diplomatic History of the American People*, New York, F S Crofts, 1941, p. 307. Nel 1849 il generale Narciso Lopez, un venezuelano, soldato e avventuriero, preparò una spedizione per sottrarre Cuba alla Spagna ed offrirla agli S U. L'aiuto principale l'ebbe dagli espansionisti del Sud, dagli speculatori che possedevano titoli cubani e dagli inquieti veterani della guerra del Messico, attratti dalle piantagioni di zucchero e da altri beni cubani. L'11 agosto 1849, il presidente Taylor emise un proclama in cui proibiva qualsiasi colpo piratesco contro Cuba ed avvertiva che «tutti i cittadini degli S U che si compromettono in una impresa così palesemente contraria alle nostre leggi e ai nostri impegni internazionali dovranno subire le gravi conseguenze delle misure prese contro di essi dal Congresso e rischiano di perdere il diritto alla protezione del loro paese». Vedi J D RICHARDSON, *United States President, Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1903*, Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1909, V, p. 7.

La prima spedizione di Lopez fu prevenuta dalla vigilanza delle autorità degli S U; più tardi ebbero luogo altre due spedizioni, nel 1850 e nel 1851, ma senza successo.

render Spezzia and Genoa agreeable to American officers, and favorable to our naval interests. Under these circumstances it would be equally ungrateful and impolitic, either for officers or men to use language or express opinions prejudicial to existing authorities. American naval officers may be considered as armed diplomats, and should be bound by the same rules in their relations with foreign governments, that is to respect and sustain by language, at least, the authorities of the countries where they may happen to be. This, I suppose, is your naval law, as it is the rule of diplomacy.

Nathaniel Niles a James Buchanan

Dispaccio n 21

Turin, February 25, 1849

Sir: It is my painful duty to inform you of the death of Commodore William C. Bolton Commanding the United States Squadron in the Mediterranean.

This melancholy event took place at Genoa on the 22nd instant at half past six o'clock P. M. Captain Mercer,³⁸ a senior officer immediately took the command of the United States Naval forces, from whom as well as from the Vice Consul I have received an official statement of Commodore Bolton's decease.

I am also officially informed that Mr McPherson sailed for the United States on the 18th instant on board the Bark *Chulton*, having, as I understand, previously resigned his office. Mr. N. M. Moro, for some time past the United States Vice Consul, will continue to discharge the duties of the office until the arrival of a new consul.

I also avail myself of this occasion to inclose another protest of the Sardinian Government addressed to me, against the solicited interference of several Catholic powers for restoring the Papal Government in Rome.³⁹

In my last dispatch of the 22nd instant I had the honor to

³⁸ Samuel Mercer, fu nominato guardiamarina il 4 marzo 1815, luogotenente il 13 gennaio 1825; comandante, l'8 settembre 1841, capitano il 14 settembre 1855. Morì il 6 marzo 1862

³⁹ Questa protesta, lunga cinque pagine, datata Torino, 23 febbraio 1849, fu indirizzata a Niles dal ministro Chiudo e si riferisce alla nota indirizzata il 18 febbraio dal cardinale Segretario di Stato per informare il Governo Sardo dell'intervento armato di Austria, Francia, Spagna e Napoli per restaurare il potere temporale del Papa

inform you of the retirement of Gioberti from the Presidency of the Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Foreign Office has subsequently been definitively confided to the Marquis Colli.

The report of the entry of the Austrian troops into the Papal States is confirmed.

*Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton*⁴⁰

Dispaccio n. 22

Turin, March 14, 1849

Sir: I hasten to inform you that this government has at length concluded to renew the war. The armistice signed at Milan on the 7th of August last, one of the provisions of which required either party to give eight days notice before actual hostilities could be renewed was formally denounced at the headquarters of Radetzky on the 12th instant at twelve o'clock, M.

This information has been given to the public officially in the Chamber of Representatives by the Minister of the Interior within the last half hour.⁴¹ As the Sardinian troops have been in progress of concentration at their several cantonments along the frontier for some time past, it is probable that the war will immediately become active and desperate.

Charzanowsky,⁴² a Polish General of some celebrity, is appointed responsible commander in chief by an ordinance of his Majesty just read to the Chamber.

The King left town last night at 12 o'clock for Alexandria, and will doubtless share in every engagement where his presence may be permitted. It is said that the number of troops that this country can bring into the field amounts to between 80 and 100 thousand. The number of Austrian troops in Lombardy and Venetia is supposed to be considerably more.

I shall endeavor to possess myself of the military charts of the plains of Lombardy in season for the earliest conveyance so that

⁴⁰ James Buchanan si ritirò il 7 marzo 1849. Il nuovo segretario di Stato, John M. Clayton, del Delaware, fu nominato il 7 marzo 1849, si ritirò il 22 luglio 1850.

⁴¹ Il 12 marzo 1849, Niles inviava una nota al conte Domenico De Ferrari, nella quale dichiarava di aver ricevuto la sua nota dello stesso giorno nella quale lo informava di esser stato nominato ministro degli esteri, carica che ricoprì dall'8 al 27 marzo 1849. Nella sua nota Niles esprimeva «la calda speranza che la difficile impresa che il governo di Sua Maestà sta per intraprendere torni ad onore degli eserciti sardi e dell'indipendenza dell'Italia settentrionale». L'originale è all'Archivio di Stato di Torino.

⁴² Adalberto Charzanowsky (1788-1861).

the President may be able from the first to follow the movements of the respective armies.

P. S. I should have stated that both England and France have made every possible effort through their ministers here, to prevent this Government from renewing the war.

John M. Clayton a Nathaniel Niles

*Istruzione n. 9*⁴³

Department of State, Washington, March 17, 1849

Sir: Your despatch, No. 16 of the 4th ultimo, received at the Department, on the 8th instant, has just been brought to my attention, and I hasten to inform you that the leave of absence, asked therein for the purpose of conveying the remains of the late Mrs. Niles to Paris, is hereby granted.

Permit me, Sir, to offer to you, the expression of my sincere condolence upon the distressing bereavement which has visited your family in a foreign land.

Your despatches, Nos. 17 and 18 and that of the 4th ultimo, (not numbered) have been received.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 23

Turin, March 20, 1849

Sir: In my last despatch I had the honor to inform you that the armistice had been denounced at the head quarters of Radetzky on the 12th instant and that active war would probably be commenced on the 20th.

It may be interesting to you to be informed succinctly of some of the leading considerations and influences which have induced this Government to enter upon so bold and desperate an undertaking as a renewal of the war with a power commanding eight times the military force and resources of this country without the promised or anticipated direct aid of a single ally.

⁴³ L'istruzione n. 6, Washington, 30 settembre 1848, era semplice ricevuta dei dispacci n. 6 e n. 8 di Niles. L'istruzione n. 7, Washington, 12 febbraio 1849, trasmetteva la nomina di H. S. Paisley, dell'Alabama, a console a Genova. L'istruzione n. 8, Washington, 8 marzo 1849, informava Niles della nomina di John M. Clayton a Segretario di Stato. Vedila negli Archivi nazionali di Washington, *Instruction to Munsters, Spain*, p. 282.

Among these considerations was first, the influence of the Lombard emigrants amounting in all, within the several large towns of Sardinia, to about forty five or fifty thousand. These persons, many of whom are possessed of great wealth and ability, have seen no hope of being restored to their homes in safety, or reinstated in possession of their estates but in the prosecution of the war to a successful issue at every hazard.

Their utmost efforts, therefore, have been devoted, through the press and every means of personal influence, to keep the popular sentiment and sympathies of this country up to the fighting point.

Secondly, the army having been increased to a total of about one hundred and forty thousand troops under pay, could not long be supported in a state of peace without breaking down the finances of the country, under the impossibility of making other than forced loans—a resource which is now being appealed to for the second time within the last seven months. Under this view of the financial means of the country, it became necessary at once, to rally the military enthusiasm of the people, and to employ the army for the purposes for which it was raised to so great a number, or to adopt the alternative of dismissing some seventy or eighty thousand troops so as to bring the military expenses within the ordinary receipts of the Treasury.

Thirdly. The personal sentiments and influence of the King were in accordance with the party engagements of the present Ministry, whose predecessors had been successfully reproached by them and their partisans, at the late elections for an imputed unwillingness to renew the contest. The Ministry could not have held their places long if they had not declared for war as soon as the army was in a state to take the field, and the mediation had ceased to hold out any prospect for the protection of the rights and liberties of Lombardy.

Fourthly. The Monarchy itself, might have been endangered if it had failed on this great occasion, to come up to the measure of popular sentiment and expectation. It would have been subjected to the reproach of having entered upon the war last year with an army of sixty or seventy thousand men, badly prepared to engage in an active campaign, while it had not the courage to prosecute it with double that number of troops, after eight months of repose, devoted to the reorganization of the army, on the French system, and the supply of every requisite for its success.

For the Monarchy, under these circumstances, to have laid down its arms, and turned its back upon Lombardy, prostrate and bleeding, under the feet of a ruthless tyrant, without one more effort to rescue the victim, would have been a stain upon the House of Savoy, which would have lowered it so much in the estimation of this highly chivalric and military people, as to have exposed the whole system of government to the chances of probable revolution and total overthrow.

Fifthly. There was a decided propriety in taking seasonable advantage of the insurrection in Hungary, which is now carrying on a desperate, though doubtful war, to sustain its own independence. That war now employ no inconsiderable portion of the Imperial troops and the course of military events in that portion of the Empire, may prevent reenforcements being sent to Italy, and force Austria to relax her hold on Lombardy, if Providence should smile upon the generous enterprise undertaken by Charles Albert.

Sixthly. This government perfectly well understands that whatever may be the incapacity or aversion of France to engage now in war, in aid of Italian independence, her own safety will not force her to interfere at least, to protect the integrity of Sardinia under any circumstances, should the campaign prove unfortunate, and the King be pursued by a victorious Austrian army, within his own limits. Sardinia is the strong military outpost of France against Austria. It covers and effectually protects the frontier of France & Switzerland from the Mediterranean to the pass of the Simplon. The King of Sardinia holds the keys of all the Alpine passes within those limits, and France, whatever may be the form or policy of her government, cannot expose those keys to fall into the hands of her great Imperial rival under any circumstances whatever. This last consideration gives a sort of impunity to the audacity of Sardinia, since she can retreat with comparative security, under the aegis of France in the event of disaster.

All these considerations in favor of the war were opposed by England and France with the most persevering energy and earnestness.

France, being now unprepared for war, desired to keep the present military organization and strength of Sardinia intact, so as to be serviceable to her in the event of an anticipated general European conflict.

England, here, as every where else, pressed the policy of peace

with a zeal amounting almost to anger. Not being herself in a state to take a part in any European continental war, and desiring above all, that her neighbors and rivals should find no occasion of influence for aggrandizement to her disadvantage, she has made herself the great champion of conciliation between this country & Austria, as between Naples and Sicily and Denmark and the refractory duchies. But her efforts, be they general or interested, have thus far met with little success. Austria would promise nothing on her solicitation to the people of Italy, and nothing has been left to the chivalric King of Sardinia, as the champion, but to break a lance with Fortune.

The probable success of the coming campaign depends mainly upon the extent of the anticipated popular insurrection in Lombardy. Should it be general, bold, and persevering, Italy will be freed from the domination of Austria on this side of the Mincio. If not, Charles Albert, probably, will be again forced back within his own territory, even if he should succeed in driving the Austrians once more within the impregnable fortresses of Verona, Legnago and Mantua.

In a free personal conversation with the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur de Ferrari who has succeeded the Marquis Colli, I took occasion a few days since, to state, that there were probably many, young officers of the rank of Major or Colonel, in the American service, who might take so much interest in the cause of Italian independence, as to be willing to share the hazards of the campaign, if they could be assured before hand of a position in the Sardinian army, or in the staff, which would justify the hope of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. The Minister took the suggestion very kindly, and said he would converse with the Minister of War and President of the Council on the subject. I have just been informed by him that he has done so, and that he is instructed by the Minister of War to say to me that if it should be agreeable to the President to designate two officers for this service of the rank mentioned, familiar with the Italian or French language, they may be assured of a cordial reception and of being actively employed in positions conformable to their rank. I observed to the Minister the other day if such officers should desire employment, it would be as amateurs, and that they would not probably accept pay for their services. He remarked in answer to that observation, that their presence could not be more acceptable

on that account, as it would bring them within a rule of exception which might favor their desire of becoming acquainted with all branches of the service. I am so confident that, say two such officers would be received so entirely to their satisfaction that I have felt it my duty to communicate this information without delay, as it may enable the President to gratify some of the young American officers who have shared with him the glories of the Mexican war, and at the same time afford them an opportunity to acquire a degree of experience that may be highly useful to our country. I am certain that my personal influence with the government or indirectly with the Sovereign, will be adequate to securing them most eligible situations.

I learn from the Minister of Foreign Affairs that commerce with the port of Trieste will not be interfered with, under any flag, except in articles contraband of war. The reason for this leniency on the part of Sardinia, whose navy is abundantly sufficient to effectually blockade the whole Austrian coast, is the fact that Trieste is comprised within the Germanic Confederation, so that if Sardinia were to blockade that port, or attack its commerce the whole of Germany would at once become a party to the war in aid of Austria.

Information has just reached this Government that Sicily refuses to accept the ultimatum of the King of Naples, so that we may expect to see the torch of war again lighted up in lower Italy. It would by no means be surprising if the military events now in progress on this peninsula should be the signal of a general war; the elements of which are spread over the entire surface of the continent.

Russia is unquestionably preparing to play a conspicuous part in the anticipated drama at the proper time, and there are several very significant indications that it is her intention to enter upon the scene at an early period. Her troops are hovering along her entire western frontier from the North to the Black Sea. She refuses to withdraw her troops from the Danubian provinces of Turkey, and prevents all ingress to strangers of every class to any portion of the empire, except the cities, where they may have business. It is strongly suspected also that she is already in secret alliance with Austria and prepared to cooperate with her in the subjugation of Italy and in preventing the consolidation of the Germanic races in accordance with the plan of the Frankfort

Assembly, to the exclusion of Austria, under a central power to be exercised by the King of Prussia. But as events are now fairly on the march we shall soon see what parts the respective governments of the continent are to take in them.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

*Dispaccio n. 25*⁴⁴

Turin, April 2, 1849

Sir: My last dispatch touching upon political subjects, No. 23, gave you a succinct account of the real motives which led this government to denounce the armistice and enter upon the dangers of a new campaign, notwithstanding the arguments and influences urged against so desperate an enterprise by the governments of England and France, supported as they were, by the opinions of the population and military men in particular.

But those who predicted the most deplorable consequences from this rash attempt have already had their predictions much more than realized by the military events of the three days which followed the commencement of hostilities. Few persons, indeed, hesitated to believe that Charles Albert would be able to penetrate Lombardy, and that by the aid of a popular insurrection, more or less extensive, succeed in prolonging a struggle in which however the want of an adequate force clearly foreshadowed the certainty of ultimate defeat. Every ultimate hope of success was limited to the chapter of accidents and the contingency of foreign interference. But the campaign has proved to be one of the shortest and most decisive in the records of war.

On the twelfth of March when the Armistice was denounced, Marshal Radetzky saw the line of his enemy extending from Sarzana near the Gulph [sic] of Spezzia, to Arona on lake Maggiore, a distance of not less than one hundred and fifty miles. The strongest divisions of the Sardinian army were however stationed at suitable distances at and between St Giovanni on the frontier of Parma and Novara near which Charzanowsky and Charles Albert had established their headquarters and collected the flower of the army. A division of Lombardy under the command of General Ramorino had claimed the honor of being placed in a post of danger and responsibility.

⁴⁴ Nel dispaccio n. 24, Torino, 20 marzo 1849, Niles trasmetteva l'elenco delle spese sostenute dalla Legazione fino al 3 gennaio 1849, con le ricevute

General Ramorino was therefore stationed at Voghera with orders to be ready with all his forces to defend the passes of the Ticino before Pavia on the twentieth at twelve o'clock the hour at which the eight days notice expired.

Radetzky occupied the eight days in calling in all the troops he could spare from the garrisoned towns throughout Lombardy, leaving only four thousand men in Milan,—brought forward the several corps d'armée stationed at Mantua, Legnago, and Verona, ordering up his troops in Venetia to take their places, and thus concentrated all his disposable forces in and about Pavia opposite to the point which General Ramorino with his division of Lombards was to have defended.

The plan of Charzanowsky undoubtedly was to make so great a demonstration of force at or near Novara situated within something more than a day's march from Milan, and by presenting so formidable a resistance opposite to Pavia, as to oblige Radetzky to change his plan of operations and return to the defence of Milan, or rally his troops on the Adda. Chrzanowsky desired to bring the theatre of war up near Milan where he could at the same time have the advantage of and protect the popular insurrection which had been previously concerted all along the northern frontier of Lombardy. But all his plans were disconcerted in the very first hour of the war.

On the 20th at one o'clock Charles Albert, at the head of a large body of Savoyard troops, passed the Ticino into Lombardy at Buffalora and pushed his reconnaissance as far as Magenta and there his troops remained for the night, the King himself returning to the headquarters at Trecate. At the same hour one o'clock, on the twentieth, Radetzky threw a corps d'Armée of twelve thousand men on the Ticino before Pavia and met with no other resistance than could be made by a body of four hundred voltigeurs stationed on the line by General Ramorino, himself remaining behind at the head of his division at a distance of four hours march from the position he was ordered to defend with his entire force. After a loss of 30 men these voltigeurs gave way, and the Austrian troops had free ingress into the Sardinian soil from that moment. It is supposed that not less than eighty thousand Austrians crossed the Ticino at that point on the afternoon of the 20th and in the course of the following day. It is known for certain that on the morning

of the 21st fifty four pieces of artillery had already crossed into Sardinia.

As soon as these events were known at Chrzanowsky's head quarters he hastened to Vigevano accompanied by the King, where he arrived at one o'clock on the 21st. On the afternoon of that day the Austrians attacked Mortara and Vigevano, defended by the division under the command of General Bess [sic].⁴⁵ The defence of Mortara was desperate and sanguinary lasting till a late hour in the evening, but the Sardinians were outnumbered and finally gave way, notwithstanding the reenforcement of a brigade under the command of the Duke of Savoy. The Sardinians are said to have fought with great bravery, coolness and desperation and only to have yielded when they were entirely overwhelmed by numbers. They were successful, however, in the defence of Vigevano, which they voluntarily abandoned the next morning to concentrate upon the main body of the Sardinian army in their rear.

On the night of the 21st the head quarters of Charzanowsky and the King were transferred from Vigevano to Novara before which place the commander in chief hastened to rally all the troops he could command to meet the shock of a decisive field battle which he saw was not to be avoided. The Sardinian troops were hurried on to the ground by forced marches from all quarters on the day and night of the 22nd.

In the mean time the Austrians following the banks of the river Sesia which runs parallel to the Ticino, succeeded in cutting off all communication between the Sardinian Army and the capital, as well as with their principal depots of military stores and provisions at Casale and other points on the Po.

The morning of the 23rd found the two armies in presence on a vast plain situated at a short distance to the south of that city. At half after eleven the battle began and it lasted without intermission till six o'clock at night. Owing to political dissensions which have distracted the popular mind of this country and to causes less honorable, that portion of the Sardinian troops coming from Genoa, and along the shores of the Mediterranean, and from the Island of Sardinia, were found to be unavailable in the field, and took no active part in the conflict. But about thirty or thirty five thousand Piedmontese and Savoyard troops, it is agreed on all

⁴⁵ Barone Heinrich Hermann Josef Hess (1788-1870).

hands, fought like lions throughout the day. Radetzky has stated to a friend of mine since the battle, that four full corps d'Armée of twelve thousand Austrian troops each were engaged in the struggle. Sardinian officers of rank who had a part in the action, and English gentlemen of intelligence who went immediately to the ground in search of the most reliable information, state that not less than 60 thousand Austrian troops took part in the battle. One hundred and eight pieces of Sardinian artillery, principally 8, 12, & 16 were engaged. The number of Austrian guns is believed to have been considerably greater.

The discipline of the Austrian army is said to have been admirable, and the manner, in which such portions of it as were wanted were brought into the field most remarkable for coolness and precision. Such portions of the Imperial troops as were not wanted were carefully kept under cover till called for, while the whole body of the Sardinians are said to have been often uselessly exposed. A fresh body of Austrian troops were regularly brought into action every two hours through the day.

The Sardinians, having no reserve, stood their ground through the entire action, till they were forced to yield before a fresh body of Austrians brought on to the field at half, after five o'clock, soon after which the white flag was raised at the headquarters of the King, and a message was sent to Radetzky that Charles Albert had abdicated in favor of his son, the Duke of Savoy, who was ready to treat with him. In the course of the subsequent twenty four hours the terms of an armistice preparatory to a treaty of peace, were agreed to and signed by the new King and Charzanowsky, on one part, and by Radetzky on the other.

Charles Albert occupied the most exposed position throughout the day, and many persons fell by his side. Toward the close of the engagement General Durando who saw the King uselessly exposed, took him by the arm to withdraw him to a place of security. « General », said Charles Albert, « This is my last day, leave me to die. » When he witnessed the condition of his troops and saw that there was no possibility of further resistance, and that it was necessary to ask for a suspension of arms and that he would be subjected to terms revolting to his pride and his patriotism, he stated to those who stood around him, « My labors are ended—I can render no further service to my country to which I have consecrated eighteen years of my life. I have in vain hoped to meet death on the field

of battle and after mature deliberation I have decided to abdicate ». His two sons, a member of the Ministry, his aids and the Major General Charzanowsky who were present, earnestly entreated him to revoke his decision. Charles Albert firmly replied « My resolution is taken. I am no longer King—the King is my son Victor. He embraced and kissed his sons, and the bystanders who had faithfully served him, and withdrew. At twelve o'clock on the same night he left Novara, accompanied by only two servants, having refused to permit any other persons to follow him. Thus terminated the reign of the most generous, liberal, and enlightened prince in Europe.

We have not as yet any official returns of the number of killed & wounded on the plains of Novara; but from the best information we are here enabled to procure, the loss on both sides could not have been less than ten thousand. The loss in killed & wounded at Mortara and Vigevano is computed at five thousand more.

The Piedmontese had two General officers killed of great merit. General Perone⁴⁶ late President of the Council and Minister of foreign Affairs & Commander of the third Division of the army. He married successively two of the Miss de Maubourg, grand daughters of Lafayette. General Pasalacqua⁴⁷ who fell on the 21st at Mortara, was also distinguished for his high character and military and private virtues.

When the Sardinian troops withdrew from the field on the night of the twenty third, and entered the city of Novara, disbanded, broken down with fatigue, and half starved from the want of food through the day they were thrown into a state of rage and despair to find all the shops and houses shut against them, and no food or drink to be had. In an instant many shops and houses were broken into, & a scene of pillage and rapine of the most revolting character is said to have succeeded. A portion of the army still obedient to the laws of military discipline were called to the defence of the town against the disbanded regiments which had invaded it. Several of these disorderly soldiers have since been tried by military law and shot.

The Government and the Capital were deprived of all reliable information of the military events going on from the night of the 21st till the morning of the 25th, the Austrian cavalry having

⁴⁶ Ettore Perrone di San Martino (1789-1849)

⁴⁷ Giuseppe Passalacqua di Villaverma (1794-1849)

completely intercepted every means of communication, but it was in the mean time known that the Austrians occupied all the roads leading to Turin which it was feared would be shortly occupied by them.

The Government solicited the English & French Ministers to proceed with the Syndic or Mayor of the City, to the camp of Radetzky and endeavor to dissuade him from entering Turin, but on their arrival at the Marshal's head quarters on the morning of the 25th the armistice had been already signed.

The popular branch of the Legislative Assembly, particularly the party in it which had advocated and brought on the war, was thrown into the utmost consternation at the result of the battle, and the abdication of the King. A more moving scene can never be witnessed, than that exhibited when the Assembly met, and these two events were announced in detail by the Minister. Charles Albert received the honors of a martyr to his Country. An equestrian statue in honor of his patriotism, courage, and devotion to the cause of Italian independence was voted by acclamation, and a committee was appointed to draw up an appropriate address expressive of the deep sympathy and affectionate respect entertained toward him by the Chamber. No man ever received from a popular assembly higher or more eloquently expressed tributes of respect, love and veneration than were bestowed on Charles Albert on that occasion. The whole Assembly, auditors and all, was thrown into a scene of tears and suffocated sobs which cannot be described. Yet there was a firmness and resolution to pursue the great mission of withdrawing Upper Italy, from the yoke of Austria, manifested, which justified the highest admiration. It may be truly said that these are the only people descended from the Roman stock, who come up to the dignity, courage and devotion of their ancestors. Extravagant and unwise they certainly have been, but the highest military virtues, as well as individual & national abnegation and prodigal generosity of blood and treasure in the cause of their oppressed brethren in Lombardy and Venetia, cannot be denied to them. And the work they have undertaken, I am satisfied, will be persisted in as occasion may offer, till its successful accomplishment.

The new King Victor Emmanuel II reached Turin on the night of the 25th and immediately sent for General De Launay, an elderly Gentleman of great experience in Military affairs, and in the civil administration of the country, and entrusted to him the formation

of a new Cabinet. The new Ministry has been completed by the selection of men who represent constitutional principles but who are opposed to all violent or revolutionary measures.

In the course of the day of the 26th the National Guard of the City, and the remaining troops of the regular Army were assembled in fine military style in the public square and took the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereign. They were subsequently reviewed by the King, followed by the Queen and her children in an open carriage. It is quite impossible to give an adequate account of the enthusiasm exhibited by the soldiery, the citizens and the populace on this occasion. The young King is 29 years of age, has been well bred as a military man and has served in the campaign of the last and the present year with great distinction.

When it became known that the terms of the armistice stipulated that 20,000 Austrians were to remain on the territory of Sardinia, the fleet to be withdrawn from the Adriatic and the fortress of Alexandria to be occupied jointly by Austrian and Sardinian troops, in equal numbers, there was a burst of indignation in the Chambers without distinction of party, impossible to describe. The popular branch passed a resolution that it should be considered an act of high treason to admit an Austrian soldier into Alexandria or to order the Sardinian squadron out of the Adriatic. A committee was appointed to wait upon the new King and hear from him what account he had to give of the condition of the national forces which could justify such concessions. The next day the chairman of this committee gave the Chamber a verbal account of the interview with the King. His Majesty satisfied them of his own willingness to continue the war at all hazards if the Chambers could provide the means. He gave them such an account of the demoralized and disorganized state of the army as to leave no hope of prosecuting the war with the least chance of success. He assured them that he would make an effort to get the unacceptable terms of the armistice modified. The new Ministry declared that they could not accept the preliminary conditions imposed by Radetzky and that the respective ministers of France and England, together with a Minister of their own, would proceed immediately to Milan to attempt to procure the modification in a sense less repugnant to the military pride of the country.

What may be the result of this mission we shall soon know but it is not improbable, that Radetzky may submit to any mo-

difications which are thought necessary to enable the King, and the Ministry to sustain themselves in the present excited state of the public mind.

On Thursday the 29th the King took the oath before the United Chambers to observe the Constitution, and to render equal justice to all his subjects in the administration of the Government. He also made a short address in which he promised to give his best efforts to the defence of the honor of the country and the development of its political liberties under the Statuto granted by his father.

This was another scene of great excitement and interest, subsequent to which the two chambers were prorogued preparatory to a new election of deputies.

Thus in the space of nine days we have witnessed the commencement and the close of an important campaign, since it decides the fate of Upper Italy for the present, the fall of one Prince and the elevation of another, under circumstances of peculiar interest.

With the exception of Genoa, the advent of the new King has been hailed with enthusiasm throughout the provinces. But in that city the demagogical clubs have succeeded in creating disturbance under the pretext of a threatened invasion of the Austrians. Genoa is now partially in the possession of the populace, but an army of fifteen thousand men under the orders of General La Marmora is marching upon it, and order will doubtless be soon restored.

The popular animosity felt toward England for the double game she has played in Italian affairs has been carried to so great an extent in Genoa that the British Consul has found it necessary to order a body of Marines from the 74 gun ship *Vengeance* to come on shore for the protection of his office and person.

We have not at this moment any ship of war in that port.

I learn from the new Minister of Foreign Affairs since writing the above, that Radetzky, in as far as he is concerned, consents to such modifications of the armistice as have been proposed, and that he has written to Vienna for authority to make the changes desired.

The Imperial troops will not be permitted to occupy Alexandria and the 20,000 men which the armistice stipulated should remain on the Sardinian territory between the Sesia and the Ticino, till the conclusion of the peace will doubtless be withdrawn before negotiations are entered upon.

I avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No 7. covering the commission of Mr Paisley as Consul at Genoa. I have already taken the requisite steps to secure a prompt delivery of the necessary Exequatur by the local authorities of that place, as soon as he may present himself.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 26

Turin, April 14, 1849

Sir I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 9. (No. 8 not having come to hand) in which you grant me the solicited leave of absence to accompany the remains of my beloved wife to their final resting place. Permit me to thank you, Sir, for the promptitude with which my request has been granted, as well as for the kind expressions of sympathy with which it was accompanied.

Although I have as yet received no other official information of your appointment as Secretary of State than the fact of your signature to the before mentioned dispatch, I hasten to congratulate you and our country, upon your entry upon the high duties of your office under the peculiarly favorable circumstances of General Taylor's election to the Presidency.⁴⁸ Should that distinguished man succeed by the aid and cooperation of the able cabinet of which you are the head, in carrying out his principles he will render the country a greater service than any of his predecessors, and secure to himself and his associates in office a more enviable name on the pages of history than the founders of our republic.

The country has reason to be thankful that Providence has given us a President who is above the violent influences and obligations of party, and who is impressed with the true sense of the magisterial greatness and dignity of his situation.

My last dispatch gave you a generous account of the extraordinary campaign which terminated on the plains of Novara, and the inauguration of a new reign under Victor Emmanuel II. A mixed commission of military men and civilians has been appointed to report upon the circumstances and facts connected with the fatal

⁴⁸ Zachary Taylor, della Louisiana, fu Presidente dal 5 marzo 1849 al 9 luglio 1850.

issue of the war, and until their report is made we can have little more of interest than what has been already communicated.

The insurrectionary movements which succeeded the recommencement of the war all along the northern frontier of Lombardy, were for the most part easily put down, on the return of the victorious imperial troops. Brescia, the most important and courageous of the revolted cities, however, stood a regular siege and was only taken by storm. Scenes of the most brutal outrage are said to have taken place then upon the entry of the soldiery. The inhabitants generally of that city, of Bergamo, and of Como, were forced to pay several millions of francs, as a punishment for this last attempt to free themselves from their masters, while the conspicuous leaders of the revolt were subjected to the rigors of martial law, and shot in great numbers.

The extreme radical party which got possession of Genoa under the pretext of resisting a foreign enemy has been put down, and the orderly portion of the inhabitants are happy to find themselves again protected by the military authorities of the Government. A general amnesty has been granted to all who took part in this senseless civil war, with the exception of some twelve persons all of whom have taken refuge under the French, English or American flags. The *Princeton* has several of the ringleaders on board, among them a General Avezzana who commanded the insurrectionary troops

Those persons I understand are to be landed at Leghorn or at Civita Vecchia. I believe that our Vice Consul, Mr. Moro, and Capt Engle⁴⁹ conducted themselves with great prudence, during the period of the conflict, and that they have done nothing which has not met the entire approbation of the Government here.

This government has just sent two ministers to Milan to treat for peace with an Envoy from Vienna. It is presumed that the terms of the peace will be satisfactory to this country as it is clearly in the interest of Austria to conciliate the new King as well as the popular sentiment of the country.

I had the honor of a personal interview with his Majesty yesterday. He appears to be a man of strong sound sense, frank and open in the expression of his opinions, and resolute in his

⁴⁹ Frederick Engle, guardiamarina il 6 dicembre 1814, sottotenente il 13 gennaio 1825, comandante l'8 settembre 1841, capitano il 14 settembre 1855; commodoro a riposo il 16 luglio 1862, contrammiraglio a riposo il 25 luglio 1866. Morì il 12 febbraio 1868.

character. He does not consider the fortunes of his country, or rather the cause it has espoused by any means as lost. He fully appreciates the political embarrassments of a party & revolutionary nature that led to the misfortunes of this and the last year, but he looks forward to a general European war as likely to afford an opportunity for a more successful display of the military force of the country.

The late King, Charles Albert, has taken up his residence in Portugal with a view of withdrawing himself from all suspicion of intermeddling in the politics of Italy.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 27

Turin, May 1, 1849

Sir: In my dispatch of the 14th instant I had the honor to inform you that two ministers had been appointed by the Sardinian Government, to proceed to Milan to treat for peace with an Austrian Envoy, Mr. Brouck [sic], who had already arrived there from Vienna.⁵⁰

Greatly to the surprise of every intelligent and reflecting man, it was found that the Austrian Minister came forward with the project of a treaty drawn up in Vienna, containing stipulations, unjust, extravagant and wholly inadmissible.

The Cabinet of Vienna claimed a war indemnity of two hundred millions of francs, the appointment of a commission of three persons, two of whom were to be virtually named by Austria, though one nominally, by the Dukes of Parma and Modena, and the other by the King of Sardinia, to fix the amount of an additional sum to be paid to the Duchies of Parma and Modena, estimated at from fifteen to twenty five millions of francs more.

In addition to these exorbitant pretensions, so entirely beyond the capacities of this, or any other country of a like population, a still more revolting requirement was made of the King, namely, to revoke by royal decree all the laws which had been enacted by the Sardinian parliament apropos of Lombardy, Venetia, and the Duchies, since those countries had annexed themselves to the Kingdom of Sardinia, as they all did, by universal suffrage and almost

⁵⁰ Barone Karl Ludwig Ritter von Bruck

an entire unanimity, in the course of the last year. This was requiring of the King of Sardinia to violate his oath, and to abrogate the constitution of his country.

Besides these difficulties, another presented itself at the very outset. Radetzky had given his word that his influence should be used to prevent the execution of the third article of the armistice, which authorized the joint occupation of the town and citadel of Alexandria by Imperial and Sardinian troops. I have already in my dispatch No. 24, informed you how very susceptible the popular mind was on that subject, and on the strength of Radetzky's word it had been officially promulgated here that the Imperial troops were not to enter Alexandria.

But the Austrian Cabinet doubtless under the influence of Schwartzemberg, of whose sentiments toward this country, I gave you some account in my dispatch No. 15, annulled the quasi official agreement of Radetzky, and required the immediate and literal fulfilment of every article of the armistice.

In this state of things the Government refused to continue negotiations for peace, withdrew its two ministers from Milan, and published a manifesto, of which I send you herewith a translation, as it treats of an incident which is likely to become a turning point of great events, possibly nothing less than the occasion of a general, and perhaps an immediate European war⁵¹.

Neither France nor England were inclined to take a very active part in favor of Sardinia, while she persisted in making the late unnecessary aggressive war on Austria, in obedience to a radical and disorganizing party, but the tone of both those countries toward this, is wholly changed since the disaster at Novara, and the accession to power of a conservative constitutional Ministry at the commencement of a new reign. Both England and France have expressed their indignation at the unjust exigencies of Austria, and the latter, I believe, is preparing, if need be, to enter the field in aid of this country without delay, if these demands are insisted on.

France has the greatest possible interest in the territorial integrity of Sardinia. But in a political point of view, that integrity may be as effectually destroyed by overburdening its financial resources by excessive military contributions, as by military occupa-

⁵¹ Si tratta del proclama De Launay del 25 aprile 1849

tion. That principle of mutual security which lies at the bottom of the continental equilibrium of states, requires that Sardinia should be a strong military government, strong enough to defend the Alps. Every attempt to weaken this power below that point, in any way, is of vital interest to all western Europe, especially to France, and must be regarded by her as an act of aggression.

By requiring the King to violate his oath and virtually to annul the Constitution, the Cabinet of Vienna places the new Sovereign in a state of permanent hostility to his own subjects and forces him to rely, on the arms of Austria to support himself on his throne. Now that state of dependence would be equivalent to the annexation of Sardinia to the Austrian Empire, and France must sustain Victor Emmanuel in his firm determination to resist.

But there is another and a still more important aspect under which this high tone of the Austrian Cabinet with regard to this country, is to be considered. It is now clear that Austria has thrown herself entirely into the arms of Russia, and it may be that the language which the Cabinet of Vienna holds her as well as to Germany is intended by both Russia and Austria to bring about a *casus Belli*. To the first of these Governments it is a paramount object to keep out constitutional principles, to the second, it is equally essential to eradicate and efface the hold they have already taken with her population, composed of heterogeneous and hostile races, the harmonious union of which under a constitutional and representative form of government is justly thought to be wholly incompatible with the integrity of the Empire. The fear of free principles in the Austrian Cabinet has at length triumphed over that dread of Russian power which has so long weighed upon, and embarrassed its policy. It may therefore be inferred that both those powers desire to bring on a general war, under circumstances which present a reasonable chance of repelling or putting down those principles which threaten their existence. What moment can be more favorable to their views than the present, where the popular mind of Western Europe is distracted by antagonistic [sic] political opinions?

With these views the Cabinet of St Petersburg having no avowable cause of war of its own makes Austria the mouth piece of its policy and will come into the contest as an ally rather than a principal.

If this view of Austro Russian policy have any foundation in truth we may expect a general war, before the summer is over.

This no longer to be doubted alliance between the two great Empires of Russia and Austria is a most momentous fact in European politics. It presents the alarming spectacle for the first time in Europe, of more than one hundred millions of population in a compact body, liable to be at the disposition of a single will for aggressive or defensive war, and that will too, avowedly hostile to the existing constitutional liberties of Western Europe.

Whenever the anticipated struggle does come, England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Sardinia, must stand together, as the only possible combination capable of resisting an amount of physical force, and a perfection of military organization, under advantages of geographic position which the world has never before seen.

But whether my speculations may or may not be justified by coming events I trust, Sir, that they will not be considered as obtrusive or unwelcome.

The entry of the French army into Civita Vecchia has been followed by an order from Radetzky for a division of Imperial troops to occupy Bologna, and another to march upon Tuscany.

As an item of news, we are just informed through the Sardinian foreign office that a change has been made in the Ministry of the Sublime Porte at the instance and in the interest of Russia and that the passage of the Dardanelles has been accorded to the Russian fleet, so long shut up in the Black sea. If this news should prove to be true, it presents a speck on the political horizon that may of itself end in a tempest.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 28

Turin, May 26, 1849

Sir: In the last paragraph of my dispatch of the 24th of December, I had the honor to communicate to your predecessor an item of information of some importance touching the interests of the holders of the Spanish indemnity, which I have thought may have escaped his attention, in consequence of the press of business, at the moment of his retiring from office. If nothing had been commenced in regard to it by Mr Buchanan, I beg, Sir, to invite your attention to the opinions of Mr Bertrand De Lis, as

expressed to me in the conversation alluded to, in my dispatch No 15. Subsequent conversations with this gentleman, on the same subject, have confirmed me in the opinion that the present is a most favorable moment to procure a prompt and satisfactory liquidation of that indemnity in a series of annual but early instalments.

During the late bombardment of the City of Genoa, an American merchant ship, the *Ambassador*, received a cannon shot or bomb, which caused considerable damage to her hull and timber. Having been informed of this accident by our Vice Consul, I took occasion to mention the circumstance to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in conversation. He observed in reply that orders would be sent to Genoa to have accurate surveys made of that and other like injuries which the vessels of friendly nations might have suffered, and that full indemnity would be made in all such cases. I have now the satisfaction to state, that ample indemnity in the case of the *Ambassador* was promptly made to the owners of that ship without any other claim being presented on my part, than a cursory statement of the fact of the injury, in an unofficial conversation with the Minister.

It is my duty to inform you that the recently appointed Consul for Genoa has not yet made his appearance, and it has occurred to me that he may have decided not to accept the appointment. Should such be the case, and a new selection be required, I beg to invite your attention to the importance of naming some man of unexceptionable character, in regard to probity and honor, in all his business affairs, as a sort of indemnity due to ourselves, as well as to the Genoese, for past delinquencies in this regard. It is perhaps improper for me to say more than that we have been exceedingly unfortunate in our selections for the Consulate at Genoa. Although this Consulate is of no great importance on account of the revenues it now yields, it can nevertheless be made most useful to our commerce if a man could be found to fill it who would command the confidence of the merchants and manufacturers of our country.

There is no better place in the Mediterranean for a depot of American manufactured cottons of the cheap and more substantial kinds, which could not fail to find a market in great and constantly increasing quantities, in the Levant, along the coast of Africa, and in the Black Sea where the almost numberless small vessels

belonging to the Genoese, carry on an active commerce in all sorts of assorted cargoes made up of goods found in the free port of their city.

An American merchant of high character, such a man as could command the confidence and the business of the great manufacturing establishments of the Eastern and Middle States, as well as the shippers of cotton and tobacco from the South, would give a greatly increased activity to American commerce in Genoa, and indirectly, through the channels I have mentioned throughout the eastern Mediterranean waters.

Having had the honor some years ago, to open diplomatic relations with this country, and to sign the first commercial treaty ever entered into by it with any other nation in a short service of three months, I have never ceased to feel a warm interest in the progressive developement [sic] of American commerce which was greatly augmented by the liberal provisions of the treaty alluded to. I am satisfied that a cautious selection of enterprising, honest, and responsible American merchants, to fill consular vacancies as they occur, would almost every where tend greatly to benefit our commercial interests. Such appointments ought never to be made as mere rewards for party services, as those of Genoa have been for the last ten years. I took the liberty to draw Mr Buchanan's attention to this subject in the course of the last year, and I trust, Sir, that my remarks now, will not be considered as beyond the scope of my duties, since they are made entirely in the interest of the public service without any reference to parties or persons.

I take the liberty, Sir, to enclose a list of books and other property belonging to this Legation, which would have been forwarded months ago, but for a singular and almost laughable circumstance. Many years since, just after I had concluded a treaty of commerce with Sardinia, Mr. Van Buren, in total disregard of my universally acknowledged paramount claims to this post, appointed a mad politician, by the name of Gold Rodgers [sic]. That man, no more insane than those who procured his appointment, thought it to be a first duty, in accordance with the popular idea of the time, to purchase an iron safe, or subtreasury. This iron chest I found locked, when I came here, and succeeded in finding the effects of the Legation, and it was not till within the last few months, that I found an artist who had wit enough

to open it. But till I knew its contents I could not forward an inventory of the property of the Legation. It was found to contain nothing but old newspapers. I mention the fact, as the only reason for my delay in the transmission of the inclosed paper.

Allow me, Sir, to request that despatches and newspapers addressed to this Legation, may be forwarded by the New York & Havre weekly line of packets to the care of our Consul. Through this channel they will reach me in an equally short space of time without being subjected to great expense, and frequent impossibility of procuring them through London, owing to the want of any post office treaty between Sardinia and England.

General Ramorino whose disobedience of orders, in not placing his division of the army in a position to defend the Sardinian frontier opposite to Pavia on the 20th of March, was sentenced on the third instant by a Military Court to be hanged. This sentence was mitigated by the King to the more honorable death of being shot. But the General interposed an appeal to the Court of Cassation on the ground that an armistice is a time of peace, and that therefore according to the laws of the country, the decision of a military tribunal had no validity till the regularity of the trial, and the justice of the sentence had been verified by the civil courts. It was decided, however, that an armistice is a time of war, and the original sentence as modified by the King was carried into effect on the 22nd instant. It is due to the memory of this unfortunate man, whose culpable neglect of duty changed not only the fortunes of the campaign, but has probably sacrificed the independence of the Italian race for a long time to come, to state, that he behaved with great personal courage on the occasion of his death.

He walked to the fatal spot, exhorted the soldiers to obey the obligations of military discipline, and to serve their King with fidelity, took his position, laid down his hat, and gave orders to his executioners to take deliberate aim and to fire.

Since I last had the honor to write to you, the Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio has been called to the Presidency of the Council, and the post of foreign affairs.⁵² This is the eighth change in the foreign

⁵² Il 28 maggio 1849, Niles ringraziava il marchese d'Azeglio per i ritratti del Re e della Regina di Sardegna, assicurando che « li avrebbe conservati a ricordo di un regno, alla nascita del quale aveva assistito ed al quale augurava di essere, con la benedizione della Divina Provvidenza, felice per le loro maestà e prospero per la nazione ». L'originale in Archivio di Stato, Torino.

office within the year past. Mr d'Azeglio is a gentleman of great talent and well established liberalism. His writings with those of Gioberti and Balbo, gave the first spring to that generous effort throughout Italy, which last year aimed at the independence of the Italian peninsula from the hated and oppressive yoke of Austria. That effort had it not run into every imaginable form of demagogical extravagance would most unquestionably have been successful.

One of the first acts of the new minister was to send Count Balbo on a mission to the Pope, with a view of dissuading him, on his anticipated restoration, from entering upon a reactionary movement to the prejudice of those constitutional liberties in the Papal States which he honored his own name by being the first to concede to his own subjects. In the despair of realizing the independence of Italy Mr d'Azeglio will spare no effort in conjunction with France, to save from the wreck those constitutional forms of Government, which were granted by the respective Italian sovereigns and which are now so much endangered by the ascendancy of Austria.

A body of 20,000 Imperial troops have entered Leghorn, and another body of 17,000 taken possession of Bologna.

What new events may grow out of the French intervention in consequence of the late elections, cannot be foreseen. Certain it is, that the probability of joint harmonious occupation of the States of the Church by the Imperial and French troops is very much diminished.

This Government has formed a Camp of 25,000 men at St Maurice under the Duke of Genoa for exercise and improvement, and to be ready to meet those threatening eventualities with which the political atmosphere is every where charged.

No progress has been made toward a peace between this country and Austria, any further than a proposition on the part of the Cabinet of Vienna to accept one half of the amount of the war indemnity claimed at the outset. But this Government has not as yet consented even to reopen negotiations, on the subject; it wants to see what is to be the policy of France in regard to the intervention of Russia in Hungary, before it will renew negotiations at Milan with a view to peace.

Unfortunate Venice, although invested by a formidable force both by sea and land, still holds out.

We have not as yet any certain news of the entry of the French troops into the city of Rome, but we are led to believe that General Oudinot will not be able to come to terms with the Triumvirate, & that he will yet be obliged to take the city by force.

Inventario dei Libri e di altre Proprietà della Legazione degli Stati Uniti a Torino ⁵³.

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⁵³ Allegato al Dispaccio n. 28 del Niles.

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Journal of Federal Convention	1
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Register	
Two chairs & one Desk—containing an Iron	
Subtreasury—	

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n 29

Turin, June 24, 1849

Sir: After a careful study of the present condition of Europe and a calculation of the probabilities of an early general continental war which might relieve this country from the onerous exactions of Austria, the Sardinian Ministry has decided that a prudent policy requires it to second the amicable dispositions of the cabinet of Vienna, intimated through unofficial channels, and to come to terms with the neighboring Empire.

The embarrassments of England and the successive revolutionary struggles taking place in France which absorb her military resources for the preservation of domestic tranquillity, and which are destined to continue till all political power shall be legally vested in the hands of a single military ruler, render them alike incapable at present of engaging in a great contest, however justifiable by a wise forecast, that shall not command the unanimous and zealous support of their respective populations.

It seems even probable that the alarm justly excited in both those countries, and every where else in Western Europe by the alliance of Austria and Russia, and the march of several hundred thousand Muscovite troops towards the eastern frontiers of Germany and upon Hungary may yet waste itself in diplomatic notes and protests.

The truth is that the demagogical spirit which has invaded almost every part of the continent with the exception of Russia under every conceivable disguise likely to catch the immoral and groveling popular mind, has so completely paralyzed most of the governments of Europe, that they are so incapable of initiating or carrying out any system of policy whatever. They all seem to live from day to day and month to month with no other present aim than the hope of surviving the revolutionary storm which still threatens to upset them and throw the continent back into the dark ages of barbarian and the last inevitable resource against anarchy—unmitigated military despotism. The time even seems to have gone by when an organized general war might have been got up, and would have been a remedy to the social evils of Europe, as it certainly would have been a preventive, had it occurred ten years ago. Austria desirous of hastening the subjugation of Hungary, and avert the dangers of a possible coalition against herself and her northern ally, and to this [*parola illeggibile*] of withdrawing her troops from Lombardy, to come down in her pretensions of a pecuniary character to seventy five millions of francs, less than one third the amount originally demanded as a war indemnity, which this government has gradually risen in its offers from fifty to seventy millions of francs, as an ultimatum. But as a prelude to the renewal of negotiations the Sardinian Government insisted on the previous evacuation of the city and fortress of Alexandria. That condition even has been yielded by the Austrian

plenipotentiary at Milan, and the Imperial troops were withdrawn on the seventeenth instant.

By a preconcerted arrangement the Sardinian Ambassadors, General da Bormida, and the Count Buon Compagnia,⁵⁴ were so placed as immediately to enter the city of Milan, the moment they should receive official information that the evacuation of Alexandria had actually taken place.

The negotiating parties are now in presence of each other, and it is not probable that the mere difference of five millions of francs between the sum offered on the one hand and demanded on the other, will be permitted to defeat the conclusion of a peace.

But there are other conditions embodied in the project of the treaty furnished by this Government to the Sardinian negotiators that may possibly lead to difficulty. One of them requires Austria to stipulate to grant a full and universal amnesty to all her Lombardo-Venetian subjects who may have in any way taken part against her in the late war. Another condition is that she shall stipulate to preserve to her Italian population all those constitutional political liberties heretofore promised. The amnesty I have reason to believe will be made a *sine qua non*, and a strenuous effort will also undoubtedly be made to force the Imperial Government to renew by a treaty stipulation its previous promises of granting to the Italians a constitutional form of government and system of administration peculiar to the Lombardo-Venetian Vice Royalty.

As these proposed stipulations treat of subjects which properly belong to the dominion of municipal sovereignty, it will not be surprising if the Austrian cabinet refuse to admit that quasi protectorate of Sardinia over the political interests of Lombardy and Venice which such stipulations would virtually concede. Here I think lies the danger of a rupture.

But the exigencies of both parties are such that it is most probable peace will be made on some terms, and thus an end be put [to] this memorable, though unfortunate struggle to withdraw upper Italy from the corruption and oppressive dominion of a foreign race. Still, as I have before had the honor to state, this country, strong in its geographical position and in its political alliance with France and England, not to say the whole of Western Europe, stronger in the wants, antecedents and passions of the

⁵⁴ Giuseppe Dabormida (1799-1869) e Carlo Bon Compagni (1804-1880).

people, will continue to be the example and the hope of the whole Italian race. The late failure is clearly traceable to that impracticable demagogical spirit which is the character and the calamity of the times. With these lessons to guard and guide future efforts, it may reasonably be expected that new and not very remote attempts to establish the independence of Italy may be successful—especially as the character of the whole population of the peninsula for personal courage and a ready acceptance of the burdens of war has been greatly increased by the experience of the last two years.

In central and lower Italy the Italian tricolored flag has everywhere been given up, probably by the influence of Austria, and the old flag of Naples, the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, substituted in its place. But this government will never submit to a like dishonor.

The red, white and green flag of Italy, united by the cross of Savoy, will continue to float at the mast head of every Sardinian ship, the towers of Genoa, Alexandria, and the passes of the Alps, as the emblem of future hope and the rallying point for a final and an avenging effort.

An artificial and forced state of political relationship among nations cannot be permanent, and the convulsions to which the world is always liable continually present recurring opportunities for the rupture of unnatural connections and the establishment of affinities which are just and natural.

Ancona fell into the hands of Radetzky on the 18th instant after standing a regular siege of some weeks. The whole of the Pope's territory on this side of the Apennines and the Adriatic is now in the possession of Austria. Venice still holds out, although she has been forced to abandon the fort of Marghera—her only strong hold on terra firma. It is expected that she must soon yield as the Austrian flotilla have the means in the present calm season, so completely to block up the lagunes [sic] and all communication with the sea as to cut off every channel through which it is possible for her population to receive supplies of any sort.

The King is now rapidly recovering from a severe and protracted attack of acute and rheumatic gout, remotely caused by exposure in the camp during the campaign of the last and the present year.

The popular feeling has been greatly excited by the alarming illness of Charles Albert at Oporto, and the churches are all thrown

open to receive the prayers of the pious for his recovery. Even the Jews as a body in gratitude to their benefactor have united in the same object, according to their peculiar forms of worship. The Prince Carignan and the King's physician and others personally attached to the late sovereign have left Turin for Oporto.

Our last accounts from Rome bear date the 18th instant at which time a vigorous defence was still kept up. But the total overthrow for the time, of the radical party in Paris on the 13th instant on which success the insurrectionists at Rome relied, to modify the policy of France, will doubtless lead to an early surrender of that city. We have not as yet seen any announcement of the arrival there of our newly appointed Chargé d'Affaires.⁵⁵ I mention this fact to account for my continuing to advert to Roman affairs.

The Austrian troops may be said to be in the entire possession of every part of Tuscany. As the Grand Ducal Government took an active part with Sardinia in the campaign of last year, this invasion of Tuscany may be justified by the rights of war, although it was not necessary for the reestablishment of the Grand Duke in the plenitude of his constitutional authority.

With the exception of an unimportant riot in Turin some nights ago every part of this kingdom has remained perfectly tranquil, since I last had the honor to address you. Yet great apprehensions are entertained that the new Chamber to be elected here within the coming month will be of a violent and menacing character.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

*Dispaccio n. 30*⁵⁶

Turin, June 30, 1849

Sir: The extraordinary development of commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans which is to be a necessary immediate consequence of the rapid settlement of the North West coast of the American continent from California to Vancouver's Island, by an active and enterprising population gives an increasing and

⁵⁵ Il 6 gennaio 1849, il segretario di Stato Buchanan nominava Lewis Cass Jr. incaricato d'affari al posto di Jacob L. Martin. Cass arrivò a Roma il 2 aprile 1849 e rimase fino al 27 novembre 1858, Per lo svolgimento della sua missione vedi LEO STOCK, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*, cit

⁵⁶ Nell'originale di questo dispaccio vi è una nota che dice «Pubblicato nel *National Intelligencer*, 3 agosto 1849, come lettera da un signore in Europa.

pressing interest to the great subject of a ship channel between the two oceans, not only to the United States, but also to the whole commercial world. Were such a channel to be opened on a scale commensurate with its present and prospective importance, it is probable that before the lapse of any great length of time the amount of commercial transactions through it would be greater than has at any time been carried on through the straits of Gibraltar [sic]. The magnitude of the commercial interests to be affected by this artificial medium of communication through all time to come, presents an unanswerable reason why the work should be executed upon a most extensive scale.

It is evident that such a channel of commercial communication should not inure to the exclusive advantage of any one nation, or to any limited number of nations or be subjected to the liability of interruption by the eventualities of war. It should be a common international thoroughfare, always open and always free on equal terms to the commerce of all nations, great and small, the weak as well as the powerful, those nations that are situated at remote distances as well as those in its immediate vicinity.

To secure these objects it is necessary that it should be constructed by means of a common fund, and effectively placed under the guardianship of a universally acknowledged law of nations.

As yet no plan has been presented to the public which at the same time suggests a practical means for the accomplishment of this great object on a scale that is likely to meet the wants of the commercial world and secure to all nations a common and perpetual benefit in its advantages when completed. Notwithstanding the United States have an especial interest in the early realization of this enterprise, and possess perhaps the means of executing it upon any desirable scale, yet in view of the implied rights of others and the jealousies and ultimate hostility which could not fail to be engendered among other nations were it to be carried through as an exclusively national work, an elevated sense of international justice as well as a wise policy requires that it should not be taken in hand without previously extending an invitation to all the commercial nations of the earth to become joint proprietors and to participate in its construction under such circumstances of equitable contribution to the object as will give to it the character of being a common property and a common passage

open to all upon such conditions as shall forever prevent the work from becoming obstructed, or falling into the hands of any one government or combination of governments.⁵⁷

The only way to insure that paramount object is to make the whole matter of this proposed canal the subject of an international treaty, in which the governments of all the commercial countries in the world shall be invited to become parties.

In view of the foregoing considerations of international equity and in regard to the establishment of a practical administration for the execution and preservation of this work under the common authority of nations, I have drawn up after mature reflection a plan which seems to me well calculated to meet all the requirements of the case. It is embraced in the form of a series of propositions each resting on reasons that will be apparent to every reflecting mind. This plan I solicit the honor herewith to submit to the consideration of the President and trust it will not be found unworthy of his attention and approval.

In the summer of the year 1847, I had the honor to read this scheme to the late President and Secretary of state both of whom I believe were favorably struck with it, but it has not in any way been given to the public, and I now submit it to the Government in the hope that it may receive that consideration in the coming congressional discussions on this general subject, or in executive action upon it, to which it may be thought to be entitled.

It appears to me, Sir, that the character of the American Government cannot be exhibited in a more exalted and honorable light than by taking the lead in proposing any practicable plan for a vast ship communication between the two oceans, the advantages of which it designs shall become common and perpetual to all countries. Such an example of abnegation of selfish and exclusive interests would be the more striking and admirable when exhibited by a great and powerful country thus voluntarily preferring to accept the sovereignty of the great principles of natural justice among nations in reference to work of almost incalculably vast importance rather than attempt to secure those advantages to itself which its geographical position and its power would perhaps enable it exclusively to possess.

⁵⁷ I lavori per l'apertura del canale di Panama si iniziarono nell'aprile del 1904 e furono completati nel 1914. Il canale fu aperto al traffico nel 1915, il suo costo si aggirò sui 2 bilioni di franchi.

Project—

For uniting the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, by a ship channel through the Isthmus of Panama, or at some other point—

1st. It is proposed that the work shall be executed by the united contributions of the commercial nations of the world, or such of them as may agree in the undertaking.

2nd. It is proposed that the ratio of contributions among the parties shall be that of their respective amounts of tonnage engaged in foreign commerce or some analogous basis of equality that may be agreed on.

3rd. That the work shall be executed under the direction of seven commissioners to be appointed one by each of the seven powers paying the highest amounts of contribution.

4th. That the said commissioners shall be empowered to explore the several proposed localities proper for the construction of the Canal, and that a majority of them shall decide upon the points best adapted for the execution of the work, as well as on the scale on which it is to be made.

5th. That the contracting parties shall empower the said commissioners to treat with the state through the territories of which it is contemplated to construct the Canal for the cession of the required extent of territory with the entire sovereignty thereof, from sea to sea — say a belt of six miles in width reaching from shore to shore.

6th. That the work shall be completed within a fixed number of years— say eight or ten — from the ratification of the Treaty of agreement for that object by the contracting parties.

7th. That each of the contracting parties shall pay into the hands of a banker to be selected by them, one eighth or one tenth of the estimated cost pro rata of said work each year for the eight or ten successive years — the estimates to be made by the said commissioners previous to the commencement of the work.

8th. That an exact account of the detailed expenditures on the work shall be annually made by the commissioners to the government of each of the contracting parties.

9th. That the vessels of the country ceding the required territory and sovereignty shall have a free passage through said canal forever without charge whatever.

10th. That the said Canal shall be open to the navigation of the vessels of all nations upon the payment of a duty according to the value of ship and cargo, or some other equitable principle, calculated to meet incidental expenses of administration, keep the works in repair and ultimately, repay to the contracting parties their respective advances pro rata.

11th. It is to be stipulated that any attempt of any one of the contracting parties or of any other power to get forcible possession of said Canal, shall be considered a flagrant aggression upon the rights of each, and all the other parties to this convention.

12th. It is to be stipulated that in times of war between any of the contracting parties, no seizures made within two hundred miles of either mouth of said Canal shall be considered lawful prize.

13th. That ships of war shall not be permitted to approach or pass the Canal with their guns mounted.

14th. That it shall be the duty of the said commissioners to establish all needful regulations touching the interests of the canal, and, that said regulations shall be binding on the citizens or subjects of the several contracting parties and on all other persons.

15th. That no forts or buildings of any kind shall be constructed upon the ceded territory, but such as may be thought necessary by the commissioners to carry out the objects of the proposed convention.

16th. That crimes against persons committed within the ceded territory shall be turned over for punishment to the country ceding the territory, and that the rights of extradition be accorded to all governments in regard to their respective subjects who may have sought to avoid the payment of debts, or to escape from criminal justice at home, by taking refuge on the said territory.

17th. It is proposed that the work be commenced as soon as a convention to that effect shall have been concurred in by seven of the principal governments — other parties being permitted to the provisions of said convention to share in the execution of the work at any period during its progress.

18th. That the contracting parties agree to lend the aid of their individual friendly instances near the government holding the desired territory to induce it to make the required cession.

19th. That it shall be duty of the Board of Commissioners to take into consideration all representations made by either of

the contracting parties touching the police regulations of the Calad [sic] and that a majority of them shall at all times have power to change or modify such regulations.

20th That the expenses of the commissioners and persons employed by them shall be paid by the governments appointing them respectively until the surveys are completed and the work entered upon, but that there after they are to be paid from the common fund.

21st. That the President of the United States propose to the maritime powers of the world through simultaneous instructions to our diplomatic agents in foreign countries, to unite in the execution of the work.

22nd. That the governments signifying their assent to the general outlines of this project, be invited to empower their respective plenipotentiaries at [lacuna] to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a joint convention to that effect with the United States.

Although the above propositions do not include all the stipulations the introduction of which might be required in the proposed convention, yet the general scope of the undertaking, the means for its execution, as well as the mode of initiating and bringing about the prerequisite negotiations are I flatter myself, sufficiently clear and explicit.

The present would seem to be an appropriate time for a candid and prompt consideration of the subject by the governments of Europe, as the prospect of carrying through an enterprise fraught with consequences so favorable to the rapid extension of Christian civilization throughout the eastern hemisphere, and the opening of so many new and prolific sources of private wealth and general public prosperity, would, in no small degree, serve to divert the excited and distempered popular mind of Europe from the pursuit of those visionary and impracticable political theories, so dangerous to the whole fabric of society now so prevalent in this part of the world.

If, Sir, in presenting this scheme, I have stepped beyond the strict line of my diplomatic duties, I trust an ample apology will be found in the importance of the subject to which the administration cannot be indifferent.

Sir: A new representative Chamber was elected on the 15th ult. and the Parliament was opened by His Majesty in person on the 30th. His Majesty was equally well received by both branches of the Legislature and by the multitude assembled to witness the opening of the first parliament of the present reign. In his speech on that occasion he does not conceal from the country the embarrassments which two unfortunate campaigns have entailed. He trusts that the school of adversity may teach lessons of wisdom, and tend to invigorate the national character. He invites the Legislature to submit with becoming fortitude to the decisions of that adverse fortune to which it appealed. Several important modifications are recommended in the various branches of the public service, particularly in the army and in the administration of justice. But above all the King invites the attention of the Parliament to the importance of adopting all possible measures for the improvement of the condition of the poorer classes of society. He recommends the establishment and enforcement of a system of popular instruction as essential to the progress of civilization and the security of a popular form of government.

His Majesty's announcement of the early conclusion of a treaty of peace with Austria was received by the Assembly, as well as by the people, in silence. All parties were prepared to accept such hard terms of pacification as the victor has a right, within a certain measure, to exact of a vanquished enemy. The signature of the treaty has since been officially announced to the chambers and although the terms are not yet promulgated, I can state that a war indemnity is to be paid by this government of seventy five millions of francs. Austria came forward, on the renewal of negotiations, with a claim for this sum as the minimum to be paid into her treasury, and insisted, besides, on an indemnity being also made to individual sufferers by the war, upon an estimate to be made by a joint commission for that purpose. This last proposition was wholly refused: but on its relinquish-

⁵⁸ Il dispaccio n. 31, del 7 luglio 1849, trasmette conti di Niles per lo stipendio e le spese straordinarie

ment finally consented to pay the seventy five millions, as a definitive settlement of all demands.

The subject of the amnesty was, as I foresaw, the main cause of difficulty and of danger. Sardinia strongly persisted in her endeavors to incorporate a general amnesty in the body of the treaty, but the Austrian Cabinet could not be made to yield to the pretensions of Sardinia in this respect, but, at the same time, declared its willingness to grant a very general amnesty. Negotiations were well nigh being broken off in consequence of the difficulty of coming to an understanding on this subject. It was a primary duty of Sardinia in putting an end to the war by a treaty of peace, to cover as nearly as possible, all those Italians in the Lombardo Venetian Vice Royalty, who had, at her instigation, and under the prospect of success held out by the power of her armies, taken part with her in an attempt to throw off the Austrian yoke. Austria, on the other hand, could not well admit any imputations upon her pretensions to an unqualified sovereignty over her Lombard & Venetian subjects. In this state of embarrassment it was finally agreed by this government to stipulate for the payment of the indemnity on the written declaration of the Austrian Government that a general amnesty should be proclaimed before the ratifications of the treaty of peace should be exchanged. The Austrian Cabinet would not consent to make the amnesty universal. It insisted on making exceptions, and it was finally agreed between the parties that the numbers of persons to be excluded should not exceed one hundred. All these conditions of the peace are recorded in the history of the negotiations, and although they are not found in the body of the treaty, the pride and the obligations of this government are sufficiently satisfied.

The Governments of France and England were kept exactly informed of every step in these dangerous negotiations, and their influence was felt on both governments in finally bringing them to terms.

The course of these negotiations gives a practical and an instructive illustration of the policy which guides the great powers of Europe in their interference, in the affairs of the secondary and smaller states—a subject which it is difficult for an American statesman to understand, in all its importance. In the case before us, if France and England had stood aloof and openly avowed their determination to take no part in the dispute, directly or

consequentially, Austria would doubtless have invaded this country, enforced her own terms, and taken permanent possession of the entire territory. Such an event would have endangered the independence of France and fatally weakened the West of Europe in capabilities to resist the encroachments of the North & East. Hence the necessity of a combined action on the part of those great powers whose interests, in this respect, are identical. Austria was made to feel that if she pushed her exactions beyond a reasonable point a continental war would necessarily ensue. In the presence of this danger she lowered her demand and has, at last, contrived to get round all the other difficulties in the way of a desirable pacification. Advantage has been taken in the treaty to adjust some old and vexatious difficulties between the parties in regard to the commerce of salt and of wines. The duchies are invited to accede to the peace on the status quo ante bellum.

The announcement of the death of Charles Albert has been received with deep emotions of sorrow by all parties and all classes. He was undoubtedly the most enlightened, and the most successful sovereign this country has ever had, both as a lawgiver, and a wise and just administrator. This country has made greater progress in the development of every branch of civilization, during his reign of eighteen years, than in a much longer period in any former times. Ambition, justice, and humanity were the leading characteristics of the late King as a ruler. He raised himself to the true dignity of his position as the chief Magistrate of the state, and felt the full weight of moral obligation to make the strictest principles of justice the guide of his conduct as between individuals, and an exclusive regard to the best good of his people the index of his public policy. Selfish or revengeful consideration were never imputed to him. Not a voice is heard to denounce any act of his as ungenerous or unjust. He was ambitious, but his was not the mere ambition of exercising power or of exhibiting a personal superiority to others. No man was more simple and unpretending in all his personal habits. He had the praiseworthy ambition of connecting his name with great and philanthropic achievements. With this view he labored, throughout his whole reign, to assimilate all the virtuous and intelligent classes and to break down the many unworthy distinctions which had grown out of the pretensions and privileges of an old and proud nobility. He codified the laws of

his country and abolished the last remnants of feudalism in the island of Sardinia as well as on the continent. He gave communal institutions to his subjects, established district and parish schools for the poor, promulgated the liberal constitution of the country, and what is more honorable still, could never for a moment, under the most difficult circumstances, be induced to swerve from a strict observance of its provisions and obligations. As a soldier he was as bold and as chivalrous as the bravest and most chivalresque of his race. His political morality will always be questioned by a certain school of statesmen, that class of politicians whose respect for the status quo is superior to that of right. With this class of men, the great sin of Charles Albert was his known aspirations for the liberation of Italy from the Austrian yoke. He is accused of violating the very treaties by which his branch of the House of Savoy came to the throne and by which was secured to his kingdom the important accession of the Duchy of Genoa. The revolt of the Greeks against their foreign rulers of another race has been sanctioned by the opinion of the Christian world, as was that of the Spaniards against the Moors. Belgium rose in successful rebellion against an unnatural and odious alliance with Holland created by the same treaties of 1815 by which it is pretended that Charles Albert should have felt himself bound to keep the peace with Austria. The sounder opinion is that the right of revolt against the dominion of a foreign power is inherent in any people who are willing to accept its hazards. Sardinia makes a part of the Italian family and when the moment appeared auspicious, Charles Albert, as the leader of her military forces, was clearly justified in the efforts he made to liberate Lombardy and Venice from the most tyrannical and corrupting government in Europe. It was the misfortune of the chivalrous prince to fail in that just and glorious enterprise. Had he succeeded in establishing the barrier of an enlarged kingdom against the power of Austria, universal contemporaneous opinion as well as that of history, would have bestowed unmeasured plaudits on his conduct.

The different branches of the Government are occupied in preparations to do becoming honor to his memory on the arrival of his remains, which are to be conveyed by water from Oporto to Genoa.

During an absence of some days from the excessive and overpowering heat of this city at the distance of a few hours only,

for the benefit of my own health and that of my children, Mr. Brown, our consul at Rome, arrived in Turin with his suite, among was the notorious Sterbini, in the character of a domestic servant. Mr. Brown had given American passports to members of the political fugitives from Rome on the occasion of the entry of the French army several of whom arrived in the port of Genoa, but notwithstanding the manifest disposition of this government to accord every proper consideration to the *seal* of the United States, it could not admit the right of these persons, of more than doubtful character, in all respects, to claim in virtue of it, admission to a residence on Sardinian soil. They were therefore refused admission, notwithstanding their American passports, which should in strictness, never be found in the possession of persons whom they cannot protect.⁵⁹

I have reason to believe that there has been a great abuse in the granting of passports in the Italian ports within the last two years. This is a subject which calls for more exact instructions from the State Department to our consul than they have hitherto had. The temptation of consuls to grant passports to political outcasts with whose opinions they may happen to coincide is exceedingly great, but it may well be questioned whether an American passport should in any case, be given by our foreign functionaries, except to American citizens, in the legal sense of the word. Any other rule of conduct in regard to granting passports must necessarily tend to lower the respect for the seal of the country which it is our policy every where to maintain.

The new consul Mr. Paisley reached Genoa some time since, and owing to some irregularities in the offices in Genoa he was delayed for two or three weeks, in getting possession of the requisite exequatur.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

*Dispaccio n. 33*⁶⁰

Turin, August 27, 1849

Sir: In my last dispatch I had the honor to inform you that a treaty of peace had been concluded between this Government

⁵⁹ Nicholas Brown, Console degli S. U. a Roma dal 26 luglio 1845 al 29 maggio 1849. Per la sua partecipazione agli affari romani di questo periodo vedi: LEO F. STOCK, *United States Ministers* cit., pp. 46-49, 59 XXII, XXIV e LEO F. STOCK, *Consular Relations between the United States*, cit., pp. 128-177, 178.

⁶⁰ Accluso a questo dispaccio vi è il testo della pace di Milano del 6 agosto 1849.

and Austria, a copy of which, I now transmit, cut from the official newspaper.

The exceptions to the general amnesty promised as a preliminary to the ratification of the treaty, were published before that event took place. The list contains eighty three names among which are those of many of the most respectable, wealthy and influential persons in Lombardy.

There was some ground to apprehend, soon after the election, that the new Chamber of Deputies might attempt to thwart the execution of this treaty, by refusing the means to carry out the financial engagements it contains.

But the general success of armed repression in Italy, in Germany, and particularly in Hungary, has had a tendency to moderate the anticipated violence of that body, and, in the hopelessness of all further efforts to avoid a compliance with the hard conditions of a victorious enemy, the pecuniary provisions of the treaty will undoubtedly be met by a vote of the necessary funds, placed at the disposition of the Government.

This adjustment with the Empire is most opportune, for had the Emperor's army or rather that of Russia been so entirely successful in Hungary previous to the conclusion of the treaty, it cannot be questioned that still more onerous terms would have been imposed.

Venice has finally yielded. The articles of surrender were signed on the 22nd inst. All officers formerly holding commissions in the Austrian army, and others, foreign to the country, as well as a certain number of individuals named, were to leave the city before the entrance of the Imperial troops, as the sole condition of the capitulation.

So that the whole Austrian Empire may now be said to be restored to order, and obedience to the government at Vienna.

It is true however that this great object has been attained at the expense of Austrian honor and the independence of the Empire. While the contest lay between revolt in distant viceroyalty and the central government, the policy of that government was clear, if not easy of execution. No other course was left to it but to put down revolt by all the means in its power. With an inadequate military force of its own, great as it was, to accomplish this object, Austria preferred the sacrifice of its honor to that of its existence, by calling on Russia for aid.

With a view to quiet disaffection and to preserve the allegiance of as great a portion as possible of the population, the Emperor found himself last March constrained to promulgate a liberal representative system of government. Rebellion having now everywhere repressed throughout the Empire, the Government of Vienna enters upon a new order of embarrassments incident to its obligations to Russia, and its promises to the people.

The more difficult, not to say impossible task now presents itself of governing those distant and powerful Vice Royalities, and an every where heterogeneous population, according to the forms and principles of the promulgated constitution. After an open conflict of eighteen months duration, preceded by an angry parliamentary quarrel of more than twenty years standing, Hungary, with her twelve to fourteen millions of people, fresh and proud from an almost equal contest of arms, will almost assuredly avail herself of any political liberties she may possess to weaken and destroy the central government at Vienna.

The numberless acts of brutal and barbarian violence, crying injustice and ruthless tyranny, which have signalized the Austrian Government throughout the Lombardo Venetian Vice Royalty, during the last two years, has naturally engendered the deepest and most undying feelings of hatred throughout the whole Italian population, and whatever constitutional parliamentary power they may enjoy will be turned to good account in making a systematic war in every conceivable way upon the Imperial Government.

That the government at Washington may be able to form a correct and clear idea of the odious character of the Austrian Government in Italy, I have caused to be translated from the official Gazette of Milan the 23rd inst [See paper marked (A)]⁶¹ an account of the punishments inflicted a few days before upon a number of citizens for insulting the Austrian colors and other insignia hung out in the streets in honor of the Emperor's birthday.

The kind of insults offered consisted, as I have been informed from reliable authority, in grimaces and language without any overt, illegal acts whatever. The mode of punishment consists in stripping the victim, placing him at length on a bench, face

⁶¹ Accluso al dispaccio vi è la traduzione dell'ordinanza del Governo militare di Milano, 23 agosto 1849 contro i compromessi nella dimostrazione per il genetliaco dell'Imperatore

down, when two soldiers, one on each side, under the orders of an officer, apply alternate blows as hard as they possibly can, with a heavy stick or cudgel on the exposed bottom.

Government like this justifies rebellion and vengeance, and calls for the open reprobation of insulted humanity. The Turks whose cruelties to the Greeks aroused the sympathetic indignation of the Christian world never committed greater atrocities than these.

Now the united population of Lombardy, Venetia and Hungary constitutes half, if not more of the whole Empire and it is evident that the rights and the power conceded to the people of those countries by a representative system of Government will induce them to coalesce to break down the Empire and redress the wrongs they have suffered.

In the alternative of the Imperial Government, shrinking from its engagements to bring into practice the constitution already granted, it may fairly be presumed that disaffection and rebellion will soon become coextensive with the entire Empire.

But aside from these especial causes of danger which the Government at Vienna has to encounter in an irremediable hostility in Hungary and Italy, Austria of all the countries of the continent is the least fitted for a representative system of government, whether it be one of centralization or federative in its character. The reasonableness of this assertion rests on the fact that her population is made up of several distinct races of men, speaking different languages, professing different religions and entertaining toward each other the most hostile traditional antipathies, without any common interest to bind them together. Military force alone has hitherto preserved the integrity of the Empire. It is not hazarding too much to predict that a free constitution will effect that dissolution of the Austrian power which a revolution and the simultaneous rebellion of Hungary and Italy, have failed to accomplish.

Besides all these difficulties Austria has an account to settle with Russia in the adjustment of which western Europe may be called on to take a part, especially if by any circumstance she should prolong her occupation of any portion of the Austrian Empire, as such an occupation would dangerously unsettle the balance of international power.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany has fallen into greater disgrace

with his subjects than ever. He has imprudently, either by force or influence, loaded the military chiefs of Austria, now in occupation of his own territory, with crosses and other insignia of social distinction. This, whether an evidence of voluntary or forced subserviency, to the Austrian authority, has brought down upon the Grand Duke so great a degree of popular displeasure that it is more than probable he will be obliged, for a long time to rely on Austrian troops to keep himself securely in his place, especially, if the Constitution, which he has declared since his return a full determination to respect, should become the medium of the popular discontent.

The Pope sustained in his own views of his pontifical rights and obligations by the great talents and exquisite tact and address of his Minister of State, Cardinal Antonelli, considers himself, as his predecessors have done, the temporary possessor of a sovereign supremacy which he has no power, either to abdicate or to diminish—the head of the Church—a head that he cannot permit to be divided or shorn of any of the attributes of sovereignty essential to perfect transmissible independence. The mission of Count Balbo, to which I referred in a former dispatch, No 28, sent by this government to induce the Pope to preserve or extend a constitution to his subjects, in harmony with the exigencies of the times, and to avoid a reactionary policy, has failed, as have also several successive missions from France, aiming at the same objects, notwithstanding they were backed by the influence of General Oudinot in the actual occupancy of the eternal city [sic]. Pius IX is unyielding in his determination to return to Rome, if he returns at all, unshackled by previous concessions or even unwritten or implied promises to concede them after his restoration to the Quirinal. He and his Minister consider many of the concessions formely granted as having been made under duresse and consequently null. I have from Count Balbo who has returned to Turin, the most undeniable evidence that the Pope so far as he is influenced at all, is exclusively directed by Cardinal Antonelli who is an absolutist, both in the Church and in his ideas of government.

As there is an almost irresistible tendency in all governments, whatever may be their form, to look for the remedy of existing political evils in the extension of the acknowledged principle on which they are founded, it may reasonably be feared that a

disastrous reaction, in the sense of absolutism, is likely to take place in the Roman States, should the Pope come to absolute power, with the ideas he avows and the influences which surround him.

This state of things may require a protracted occupancy of Rome by the French troops, for the preservation of public order, while a rival and antagonistic policy will keep an Austrian army in Bologna and the Marches of Ancona.

With the exception of some slight disorders which lately occurred at Genoa between some insulted officers of the army and a few citizens of that place, this country has remained in a perfect state of tranquillity since my last.

Mr. Paisley, the Consul at Genoa, sailed for the United States from Leghorn a few days since on board the Bark *Walter R. Jones*, bound to New York.

In answer to his letter to me on the subject of his return, giving as a reason for his doing so the state of his health and the requirements of his private interests in Alabama, I assumed as on a previous occasion that the diplomatic agents of the Government have no power either to grant or refuse to consuls the liberty to leave their posts—that such a step must always be taken upon the exclusive responsibility of the consul himself, unless in cases where the diplomatic agent has received special instructions from the State Department. Mr Paisley avows his intention to return in about ten months. I have not hesitated to express to him my opinion that there should be an American citizen as Consul at Genoa at all times, not only on account of our increasing commerce in that place, particularly in the articles of tobacco and cotton, but also, in consequence of Spezia being made our naval depot in the Mediterranean.

I regret to state that the cholera has appeared in several towns along the lower Po.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n 34

Turin, September 22, 1849

Sir: The increased necessity of our Government being minutely informed concerning European political events, in consequence of our greater proximity to the theatre of their occurrence caused by the power of steam, induced me to send through the post an official printed copy of the late Treaty of peace between Austria

and Sardinia, accompanied by a detailed account of the various phases of the negotiations which preceded its conclusion.

The seventy five millions required to pay the war indemnity have not yet been voted by the Chambers notwithstanding the first instalment must be paid in the course of the coming month; but there is no doubt of the passage of the law authorizing a loan for that object in the course of a few days.

The popular branch of the legislative has thus far wasted a great part of its time in useless and puerile interpellations addressed to the Ministry on almost every branch of the administrative Government. The erroneous sentiment seems to prevail in that body that it is a legal and constitutional censor of all the acts of the other powers of the state, forgetting the fundamental principle, that a mutual independence among them all, is essential to the successful working of a constitutional system, that in fact, under a constitutional system, the sovereignty is in the *law*, and no where else, the execution of which belongs to the Ministry, under its responsibility to the lower house, as an accusing power, and to the senate by which ministerial delinquencies are to be judged

When it is borne in mind that till within the last two years no such thing as a constitutional representative system has been known in this part of the world, you will not, Sir, be surprised that the importance of many elementary principles that the working of such a system, are, with difficulty, understood. The at once logical and poetical mind of the Italians, cannot easily comprehend that a system like the one they have now the happiness to possess here, can only work well in the interest of liberty and the preservation of the political power in the hands of the people, through a series of checks and embarrassments mutually imposed by the action of the respective powers in the state. The lower House, professing to come from the people, would seem to think that a proper respect for popular sovereignty requires the Executive, as well as the Senate, to conform to its declared will in whatever way it may be expressed. The Senate, too, has hitherto felt as if it were a sort of constitutional nullity. Till within a few days, that body has never ventured to seriously thwart the popular branch of parliament. In a word all the powers of the state are in a course of pupillage which, however, I am happy to say, promises the successful and early attainment of the requisite practical

knowledge to ensure the permanent and advantageous establishment of a system of constitutional government that shall, at the same time, be strong enough to meet the exigencies of the country, as a military state, and yet, free enough to admit the considerate will of the people as the general guide of the policy of the administrative government.

This, however, is a problem of the greatest difficulty, especially in times of excitement and war. Indeed I am forced to the conviction, that in all the countries of Europe where it is found necessary to keep up standing armies for the safety of the state, in the last resort the representative branches of the government must be subordinate to the monarchical principle under whatever name that principle may be clothed. The great difficulty is to ascertain how far the principle of popular sovereignty can be practically admitted without endangering the safety of the state from without or inducing a state of anarchy within.

But as this country is now the exemplar government for the rest of Italy, and its only remaining hope, and as it has the strongest possible motive to preserve all the forms, as well as the realities of freedom, consistent with security and national defence, as a most successful means of thwarting Austria in the government of Lombardy and Venetia, it may reasonably be anticipated that the good sense of the people will ensure a wise and necessary moderation in the practical application of the new political theories admitted in their present system.

All the most thoughtful and most prudent statesmen of Sardinia feel that the most successful way of ensuring to the other portions of Italy, with which they so deeply sympathize, particularly Lombardy and Venice, the benefits of good government, and of annulling the reactionary and arbitrary policy of Austria, is to give an example of good and free government here.

If liberty should fail in Sardinia by its excesses, the principle of absolutism will become again triumphant throughout Italy under the worst forms of Austrian influence. But if a good representative government should be established here, Austria will be obliged to concede a like degree of freedom to the neighboring territory of Lombardy and Venice, and, to that extent, become powerless on the peninsula.

As yet the people of this country have not learned to appreciate the primary duty of going to the polls. In many departments not

more than one eighth of the electors have taken part in the choice of representatives. One representative took his seat the other day in virtue of a unanimous vote of six electors — all others, in an electoral college of several hundreds, having abstained from voting. This state of indifference is one of the worst features in the condition of popular opinion and sentiment in many parts of Europe, as it has the necessary effect of throwing the representative power of the people into the hands of a few political agitators who give a false and exaggerated coloring to the real sentiments of the population. An elective body based upon so limited an expression of the wishes and interests of the electors cannot command the respect and consideration of the country. Instead of being, as such a branch of the parliament should be, in time of peace, the leading power in the state, it is the weakest—so weak indeed as to expose the monarchical principle to the constant temptation to trample on the theoretical rights of that body on which it should mainly depend to expound the common national interests.

These observations, Sir, will enable you to appreciate some of the difficulties which lie in the way of the establishment of a substantial representative government in this Kingdom.

There have been no parliamentary incidents here of serious importance since my last. Garibaldi, whose arrest on his return to this country through the passes and bypaths of the Apennines, caused some little excitement in the chambers, has voluntarily left and gone to Tunis. There was no popular expression of sympathetic interest in his favor here in any other part of the Kingdom.

Many of the Lombards who fled from their homes during the last year to avoid the Austrian conscription have taken up their residence in the island of Sardinia where they will become useful agricultural citizens.

Switzerland has become the rendezvous of about eight thousand of the turbulent revolutionary spirits of the times who have been driven from France, Baden and other parts of Germany, from Austria and the various Italian states. These persons are associated in all sorts of schemes to disquiet the surrounding governments. The cabinets of France, Prussia and Austria, as well as several smaller German states have made a common appeal to the central government of Switzerland to expel them or to render their

residence there harmless, by requiring them to take up separate abodes in the interior of the respective cantons where they now are. The government at Bale has complied with this request by making a formal demand on the different cantonial governments to conform to this requisition. Should this demand not be yielded to in good faith, there can be no doubt that compulsory measures will be resorted to by the complaining governments. Sardinia has taken no part in this attempt to overawe and menace the independence of Switzerland, although it feels the inconvenience of having such a body of men near its frontiers. It has preferred to leave the odium of this measure with other powers, as it has a standing interest in the preservation of amicable relations with the Helvetic republics in reference to the contingencies of war.

Tuscany is now fairly in the grasp of the government at Vienna. Although the Austrian cabinet, in its public language, professes to respect the independence of the Tuscan Government, it insists on keeping a body of not less than ten thousand imperial troops in different parts of the Duchy. I have means of knowing through reliable private channels of intelligence that this requirement has been forced upon the Grand Duke's ministers in despite of their most energetic remonstrances. In the vain hope of being entirely freed from the uncalled for presence of an Austrian soldiery and the still less acceptable draft on the Tuscan treasury for their support, the ministry at Florence is now endeavoring to get the number of the imperial troops that are to occupy Tuscany reduced from ten to six or, four thousand and also to procure a stipulation on the part of the Government at Vienna that they shall be withdrawn within a limited period of time. But it is not likely that Prince Schwartzberg will yield any thing on those points which Austrian predominance in Italy may be thought in his mind to require. The cabinet at Vienna also insists through the personal communications of its plenipotentiary at Florence, Baron Hugel⁶², with the Grand Ducal Government, that *it* shall be consulted as to the extent of the political liberties to be preserved or hereafter accorded by the Grand Duke to his own subjects.

The Pope has left Gaeta and arrived at Naples where it seems to be his intention to reside till the conditions of his restoration shall in some way be made acceptable. I have just seen a gentleman

⁶² Barone Karl Alexander Anselm von Hugel (1796-1879) Rappresentante austriaco a Firenze dal 1850 al 1859 e a Bruxelles dal 1859 al 1869

who was at Naples and witnessed his reception in that city. He informs me that the evidence of popular displeasure toward the Pope were very general and significant whenever and wherever he appeared in public.

It is greatly to be deplored that Pius IX did not at once, on the expulsion of the insurrectionary government from Rome, make such political concessions to his subjects as the epoch and the peculiar exigencies of the circumstances in which he is placed, require. This protracted struggle from a more or less extensive temporal sovereignty, is having the effect, throughout Catholic Europe, of dividing the Church on a subject eminently calculated to enlist the passions of the public and to destroy the moral influence of the Catholic faith, which it would seem to be the first duty of the successor of St Peter to preserve intact, especially now as the prevailing disorders of the social system and the dissolving influence of irreligious doctrines emphatically call for the united power of all forms of Christianity to repress, or keep them in check, as the only means of saving civilization.

In regard to the general political aspect of European affairs there is little to be said except that Western Europe seems now fully awake to the dangers of the increasing power and influence of Russia. But these dangers, it is to be feared, are seen too late. Although the Emperor Nicholas voluntarily withdraws from Hungary, he does so with a tone and under circumstances which show him to be the master of his own policy in that respect. His moderation, even, tends to increase the moral weight of the Muscovite government in the political affairs of Western Europe. Indeed the party of absolutism and reaction throughout the continent seem to look to Russia as the champion of sound political principles, and every new triumph of Russian policy increases this party, and is regarded by it with especial favor.

But nothing can be reasonably predicted with regard to coming events while France is without a stable government. The late revolution in France, under the defective governments that have succeeded, has rendered her influence almost null throughout Europe. An evidence of this is seen in the restoration of Austrian power in Italy and the successful intervention of Russia in Hungary. What domestic and foreign consequences may grow out of impeding and necessary revolutions in France cannot be foreseen. But it would seem almost impossible that a contest between the liberal

principles having their centre in Paris, and those of despotism, emanating from St Petersburg, should be long deferred. Whenever this great struggle does come western Europe will see the political necessity of carrying the boundary of this country to the Adige, as a means of resisting the great antagonistic Muscovite power.

It may not be uninteresting to you to be informed that all the statesmen here with whom I have had occasion to converse on the subject, have expressed their decided approbation of the ground assumed by the President and his cabinet in regard to the Prussian Steamer, *United States*, as well as in the case of the projected invasion of Cuba. Nothing is better calculated to raise the character of the American Government in Europe than a strict observance of all the great principles of international morality.

Some months ago I had occasion in personal interviews with influential business men, to recommend the establishment of a line of steamers from Genoa touching at Gibraltar [sic] Cadiz and Madeira to the United States, under the auspices of this government and with a view, at the same time, of giving activity to the trade of the Mediterranean and augmenting the maritime [sic] strength of the country. This plan has met with decided favor and a company is being formed and the government occupied in making the preliminary studies for the execution of the proposed object. It will probably be decided to run the line to New Orleans touching at Havana in addition to the places before mentioned. This intelligence cannot but be agreeable to Louisiana as well as the intermediate points.

The Minister of Spain left this city for Madeira a few days since on a temporary absence and will second the scheme with all his influence at home, and, it is hoped, be able to secure to the parties interested, substantial encouragement from the Spanish Government.

I regret to inform you of the death of Mr Sparks, our consul at Venice. He died about twelve days ago of the cholera, after an illness of fifteen hours.

Diplomatic relations between this Government and Austria, Prussia and probably Russia are about to be resumed. Count Pralormo well known in the diplomatic service of this country goes to Paris and the Marquis Brignole late Sardinian Ambassador in that city is designated for Vienna. The nominations for Berlin and St. Petersburg have not yet been made.

Sir: The remains of the late King arrived at Genoa from Oporto on the 4th instant, and the funeral ceremonies, on the occasion, took place there on that day. All classes of the citizens united in rendering the highest honors to the memory of a parental Sovereign, a benefactor and a patriot, who had, in the course of an absolute reign of eighteen years, administered the affairs of the country with extraordinary wisdom and acknowledged success, & who afterwards voluntarily laid down the sovereign authority and admitted his people to a most liberal, if, indeed, not a preponderating participation in its exercise. His subsequent adventurous championship of Italian independence and the sacrifice of his throne and his life, consequent upon that effort, were all circumstances well calculated to call forth the deepest and better feelings of every patriotic and generous heart. Such, indeed, seems to have been the unequivocal effect of the presence of the remains of the late King upon the entire population as they were conveyed in a continuous triumphal funeral march from the shores of Liguria to the Capital. The sepulchral car, bearing the body of Charles Albert, was arrested in every town and village on the way, to receive the most universal and impressive testimonies of respect which popular veneration and affectionate sympathy could devise.

The strikingly imposing religious rites of the Catholic Church, as well as triumphal arches decorated with the emblems of respect and of sorrow, funeral orations and sermons were brought into contribution in honor of the defunct sovereign. Streets were every where hung in black—sisters of charity, barefooted monks, as well as the clergy, bearing wax torches preceded the procession at the entrance and departure of the cortege as it advanced from city to city till its arrival in Turin, on the 12th instant, after a continuous march of eight days, accompanied all the way by such marks of popular honor and regret as have very rarely, if ever, been shown to the character and memory of a departed monarch.

A gorgeous funeral arch of grand and beautiful proportions was erected somewhat in advance of this city, in the direction of Porta Nuova, surrounded by an extensive amphitheatre, where the military chiefs of the army and navy, the legislative bodies, deputations from all the provinces of the Kingdom, the municipal

authorities, judicial officers, professors of the royal colleges, and directors of all the principal corporate institutions of the Capital, as well as bishops and the higher clergy, were assembled to receive the venerated remains of their beloved and magnanimous Sovereign.

Along the distance between this arch and the City, there were erected on each side of the way twenty pyramidal structures and an equal number alternately placed of Grecian architectural façades, each bearing the arms of some one of the forty principal cities of the kingdom, surmounted by eagles and fasces [sic] of flags dressed in mourning. To these succeeded monuments in the form of colossal pedestals, crowned and ornamented in like manner, each of them bearing the ancient arms and representing some one of the several duchies or principalities now composing the Kingdom of Sardinia.

Oriflammes dressed in mourning with the national flag floating at half mast aided to give an imposing effect to these artistic decorations, got up for the occasion. The sepulchral car of great magnificence, gilded in every part, was drawn by eight black horses in gilded harness & clothed in crape, with waving black plumes on their heads—each horse having a palefrenier in mourning at his side. The occupants of the amphitheatre beforementioned formed in advance and constituted the procession as it entered the metropolitan church of St. John. The streets and public places through which the cortege passed on its way to the church were lined with black cloth fringed with gold lace. The concourse of people assembled on the occasion from every part of the kingdom was immense.

The metropolitan church was decorated in a style of melancholy grandeur of surpassing beauty and taste, interspersed with mottoes illustrative of the life and actions of the illustrious defunct. A gilded Gothic temple of classically chaste proportions enriched by all the ornaments belonging to that style of architecture, was constructed before the principal altar. Within this temple on an elevated mausoleum the coffin was placed, and there exposed to the view of the public for three days during the whole of which time the church was lighted up by tens of thousands of wa lights. Choirs of vocal and instrumental music which alternated with the chants of the clergy and the ceremonies of absolution and benediction, tended powerfully to subdue the excited imaginations of

the spectators of all classes brought together to show the last honors to fallen greatness and frail humanity returned to dust.

On the morning of the 15th the procession was formed anew to accompany the body of the unfortunate King on its way to the church of Superga. This highly embellished and magnificent church is a votive temple constructed on the most elevated point of the neighboring heights, as a grateful memorial of the intervention of Providence for the deliverance of the city of Turin from the besieging forces of Louis XIV in the year 1706, in the war of the Spanish succession after a desperate resistance of an entire year, exposed to all the horrors of famine and disease, by the appearance of Prince Eugene of Savoy, with his army on the spot where the Church now stands. The vaults of this structure have served to entomb a long line of Sardinian sovereigns from that time to the present.

Two lines of female orphans, poor women, and Sisters of Charity, four hundred in number, clothed in black with long white veils on their heads, succeeded by as many monks wearing sandals on their feet and bare headed, all bearing lighted waxen torches, opened the procession. At suitable intervals in the wide space which separated these lines, crosses were carried veiled in black.

Then came twelve heralds with muffled trumpets, on white horses dressed in crape. These were succeeded by a body of six hundred of the clergy of various grades, in their sacerdotal costumes bearing waxen torches, the lower orders in advance.

The members of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate followed, preceded by the royal mace.

Next in this melancholy train was seen the late King's principal Aide de Camp on horseback bearing his Majesty's sword. General officers, chiefs of the various branches of the public service, members of the cabinet, aides de camp, chaplains of the royal household, and a deputation from the ancient order of the Annunziata [sic] followed.

Then came the hearse, or funeral car, drawn and decorated as on its entrance into the city, behind which followed a large number of the higher orders of the clergy, accompanied by four Bishops and the Archbishop of Chambery preceded by a splendid cross hung in mourning. Next followed the war horse which Charles Albert rode for the last time on the fatal field of Novara.

The procession was closed by detachments of all arms and

divisions of the army, followed by a long dense mass of mourning citizens of every grade.

The whole procession passed between two lines of national guards to the point where it became necessary to substitute carriages for the ascent to the heights of Superga.

There was nothing in this most imposing spectacle more touching than to witness that universal feeling of popular respect for the late King, evinced by a shower of wreaths, bouquets and flowers thrown upon the funeral car, and along the line of the cortege from the windows of the inhabitants of the streets through which it passed, of every grade of society, from the poor daily laborer to the rich proprietor.

This universal feeling of veneration for Charles Albert with the popular masses is being evinced in every possible way. The poor soldiers of the army, who can hardly earn enough to pay for their tobacco, have contributed several thousand dollars, in sums of a few cent each, to erect a national monument worthy of their admiration and love for their late leader.

The rational liberal mind of Italy considers Charles Albert as the impersonation of a bold, just and generous enterprise for the achievement of Italian liberty and independence. His name is the symbol of a nation's sufferings, its efforts, disasters, and hopes. No chief of a state, in modern times, has been followed to the grave by more general and unaffected sorrow and none will live longer in the affections and admiration of his country men.

You will be enabled, Sir, to form some idea of the magnificent grandeur of the funereal honors bestowed on the late King, in obedience to the more liberal popular sentiment of the country, when I inform you that the expenses of the central government on the occasion amount to nearly four hundred thousand dollars or two millions of francs. Nearly as much more has certainly been incurred by the towns, villages, and individuals along the way from Genoa to Turin.

The government was seasonably authorized by the Chambers to negotiate a loan to meet the early instalments due to Austria on account of the war indemnity of 75 millions. The greater part of the loan was taken in Paris by the House of de Rothschild, at the rate of eighty two per cent, specie, for a five per cent stock. A part of the loan of 45 million francs, was issued here, at the rate

of eighty three per cent, payable in government bonds and other paper. When the entire indemnity shall be paid up, the total debt of this country will amount to about 350,000,000 of francs only, or about two thirds the indebtedness of Pennsylvania in proportion to the population. Nearly three-fourths of this sum will have incurred [sic] in the prosecution of the late war.

Monsieur Bois le Comte,⁶³ the recently appointed Minister of France near the United States Government, has represented his country here for the last eighteen months. He is a very gentlemanly man, of strict honor, and great frankness of character. Madame Bois le Comte is a most ladylike and amiable person well calculated to merit and to win the esteem and the affections of the society of Washington. Most unfortunately neither of them possess a familiar knowledge of the English language. As Mr Bois le Comte has been absent from the city for some time on a tour to Venice, Bologna and Florence, with his family, I have had no means of knowing through him when he is likely to embark for his new post.

A propos of the difficulties which have grown up at Washington on account of the extraordinary language of Mr. Poussin,⁶⁴ it is proper for me to state that in a conversation yesterday with Monsieur d'Azeglio, Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council, he expressed considerable apprehension that the dismissal of Mr. Poussin interpreted by undue susceptibility of the French character might lead to delay in the recognition of Mr. Rives,⁶⁵ and as a consequence to an international misunderstanding of a serious character. This he deplored, particularly at the present moment as any prospect of a rupture between France and the United States, would undoubtedly have great weight with the Emperor of Russia in deciding his policy in reference to a war with Turkey. He expressed a desire to be

⁶³ Ernest André Bois Le Comte, militare e diplomatico francese. Nel 1848 fu nominato ministro degli esteri nel gabinetto Lamartine, fu poi ministro plenipotenziario a Napoli, a Torino e, nel settembre 1849, a Washington. Presentò le credenziali il 18 marzo 1850 e lasciò gli Stati Uniti il 6 maggio 1851.

⁶⁴ Guillaume Poussin. Inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario francese a Washington. Presentò le credenziali il 5 agosto 1848, ma il 14 settembre 1849 fu avvertito dal governo degli S U che il passaporto era a sua disposizione e che il presidente non l'avrebbe più ricevuto. *State Department Register*, p. 112. J. DISTURNELL, *United States Almanac and National Register*, New York, 1850, p. 96.

⁶⁵ William Cabell Rives, fu inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario in Francia il 18 aprile 1829; la sua missione terminò il 27 settembre 1832, fu nuovamente nominato il 20 luglio 1849 e diede le dimissioni il 19 marzo 1853.

useful if it were possible, in any way as an intermediary in the prompt removal of any existing embarrassments to a good understanding between our government and that of France.

When I reflected that most of the principal governments of Europe have an interest in creating difficulties in the way of France, at the present moment, and that difficulties such as may exist between the two governments, are often protracted to the detriment of all parties, for the want of a mutually friendly and discreet channel of intercommunication, I did not feel at liberty to discourage so decided a manifestation of kind feeling on the part of this distinguished minister toward our government. He will probably write today to the Count Pralormo Sardinia's Minister at Paris, to seek an early occasion to offer his services in any way to Mr Rives that he may think useful in bringing about a prompt and cordial understanding between the two Governments. Count Pralormo is a gentleman of great diplomatic experience and has on several occasions manifested great tact in the management of the most delicate international relations.

A slight change in the personal of the ministry is daily expected. It will not however entail any change in the internal or external policy of the government.

The gold fever excitement it appears has had the effect of disposing many Italian emigrants to Chile and other parts of South America to transfer the theatre of their enterprise to the gold regions of California. This Government is about to send a consul to St. Francisco in order to protect in as far as possible, the persons, rights and interests of these emigrants.⁶⁶

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 36

Turin, November 10, 1849

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 10 covering the commission of J. B. Wilbor Esq. recently appointed Consul of the United States for the city and district of Nice in this kingdom.⁶⁷ The necessary steps have already

⁶⁶ Con il censimento del 1850 risultò che gli Italiani che vivevano negli S. U. erano circa 3645, dei quali 228 in California

⁶⁷ L'istruzione n. 10, Washington, 10 ottobre 1849, comunicava l'incarico di J. B. Wilbor e accusava ricevuta dei dispacci del 4 febbraio e del 22 febbraio, senza numero, ma che erano da ritenersi i numeri 19 e 20 e i dispacci dal n. 21 al n. 33

been taken at the Foreign Office here, to insure the early delivery of the exequatur by the local authorities at Nice, to whom Mr Wilbor is required by usage, to present his commission, and to make application.

Since I last had the honor to address you, there have occurred some slight changes in the personnel of the Ministry here. Mr. Pinelli, minister of the interior has retired, and given place to Mr Galvagni ⁶⁸ in the hope of conciliating the more moderate portion of the opposition in the lower chamber. General Bava has retired from the War Department on account of his disposition to reduce the army below that number which his colleagues have thought it prudent to maintain in the present unsettled state of the continent. This country must always have an army on foot sufficiently numerous and well organized to protect its neutrality or to weigh heavily, if not decisively, whenever the fortunes of surrounding countries are thrown into the balance of war. A wise forecast requires it, at all times, to maintain an army of about sixty thousand men of all arms. General Bava was for reducing it to forty thousand, and on this ground only, he retired to give place to La Marmora, the General who put down the rebellion at Genoa, and who has till now remained in command of that military district.

Radetzky has been appointed Military and Civil Governor of the Lombardo Venetian Vice Royalty. He has transferred the official capital from Milan to Verona, with the professed object of chastising the Milanese for their irreconcilable hostility to the Austrian authority. But when it is borne in mind that Lombardy can only be held by military force, and that there is no chance of conciliating a friendly feeling toward their masters, it is clear, that the only secure point from which a new rebellion might not again expel the Austrians, is on the Adige. The selection therefore of the fortress of Verona, as the capital of the Vice Royalty, is made, more in reference to the possible recurrence of a new outbreak than with a view to inflict a useless injury on unwilling subjects. This choice may possibly, even be regarded as a retreat, and a preparatory movement toward the final abandonment of Lombardy, or a separate organization of that country. Certain it is, that Austria, as a military Empire, would be stronger, in any

⁶⁸ Giovanni Filippo Galvagno (1801-1874)

great continental struggle, entrenched as she is, on the Adige, than on the Tessin, the present indefensible frontier. Lombardy has, at all times, cost the Austrian Government more blood and treasure than it is worth, in a financial point of view. It has, in all former wars, been a point of indefensible weakness, rather than of strength. The national limit between the Austrian Empire and Italy, is the Adige.

The fears that were entertained here, on account of the attitude assumed by Russia toward the Sublime Porte, have subsided for the moment. The pretext under which Russia threatened a war with Turkey was such an [sic] one as would have enlisted the moral sentiment of all Western Europe against the Muscovite. Still it appears to be exceedingly galling to Nicholas to feel himself obliged to recede, in his pretension, before the menace of a Franco-English intervention in behalf of Turkey.

A good deal of dissatisfaction has been entertained and expressed by the government and people of this country, in regard to the *Motu Proprio* of Pius Ninth.⁶⁹ But as the discussion progresses here and elsewhere, it is found, as I long since had the honor to predict in my dispatches, that the great object of effecting and securing the independence of the Pope, must be obtained in the interest of the Catholic world, and that this fundamental necessity presupposes the Pope to be the Master of his own will. Any forced interference with his decisions, as a sovereign temporal prince, instituted as such, in the interest of the Catholic Church by common consent, sanctioned by eleven hundred years of undisputed supremacy presupposes a fundamental revolution, in the whole Catholic system of religion, and such a revolution no one of the Catholic powers is prepared to undertake or to tolerate. What political liberty has to hope in the States of the Church, must flow from a protracted state of tranquillity in Italy, and a well proved disposition of the Roman people not to abuse such privileges as may be accorded to them. But in every event, in the last resort, the Pontiff must be supreme. This state of things it must be confessed is doubtless unfavorable to the development of political liberty in Italy, and an immense weight on those energies which the Italian people might otherwise combine, for effecting the independence of their beautiful country from foreign domination.

⁶⁹ Si riferisce probabilmente al *motu proprio* di Portici del 12 settembre 1849

We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that whenever the Pope returns to Rome, he will do so as an absolute sovereign. It is undeniable that the constitution of the Roman Church has unfortunately outlawed the Roman people from the enjoyment of constitutional freedom as completely as the people of Washington are outlawed from the benefit of a direct representation on the floor of Congress, by the Constitution of the United States. Both these exclusions rest on the same foundation, that of a real or a supposed necessity.

Prince Lucien Murat ⁷⁰ has recently arrived in this city as the successor of Mr. Bois le Comte who had been designated to succeed Major Poussin. The relationship of this gentleman to the President gives a peculiar interest to the language he holds in regard to the objects of that functionary, and the personal party from among whom, his new ministry is composed. The prince does not hesitate to say that the Empire, or the presidency for life, is the programme to be carried out, objects which he regards as even more important to the welfare of France than to the family of the Bonapartes.

The position the President has assumed excites great interest here. The alternative under which he places the partisans of each of the other pretenders to a restoration, of either going into the streets, and taking the hazards of a new revolution, by open rebellion, or, of giving him a necessary, though unwilling support, seems likely to accomplish, it is thought, the great objects in view, if the President is not deficient in constancy and tact, and shall turn out, in the management of a personal policy, to have the courage of his opinions and the audacity of his ambition.

Mr. Bois le Comte has left Turin with his family, for Paris, as he supposes, on his way to Washington.

Mr. Joseph Valerio ⁷¹ has recently been appointed Secretary of the Sardinian Legation in the United States and has left Turin for Washington.

⁷⁰ Lucien Murat (1803-1878), dopo aver passato 24 anni negli S. U., ritornò in Francia nel 1848 e divenne deputato nelle assemblee costituenti e legislative. Dall'ottobre 1849 all'aprile 1850 fu ministro a Torino.

⁷¹ Giuseppe Valerio prestò servizio come incaricato d'affari *ad interim* dal 6 aprile al 20 luglio 1853 e dal 12 aprile al 28 giugno 1855.

Sir: The Treaty of Peace finally came up for discussion in the House of Deputies on the 12th instant and was brought to a close on the 16th by a vote to postpone any further consideration of the subject till after the ministry should have brought forward a project of a law for the naturalization of all those persons who had taken refuge in this country in consequence of or subsequent to the law passed last year by which the Lombardo-Venetian Vice Royalty and the duchies of Parma and Modena were annexed to and became legally incorporated into the Kingdom of Sardinia. This extraordinary vote led to the prorogation of the Chamber on the morning of the 17th, which was followed by a decree of dissolution on the 20th, and the call of a new Chamber which is to be elected on the 9th and convened on the 20th of next month.

While every thing remains unsettled in Europe and the violence or errors of parties may possibly be the cause of a general war, or the greater or less development of constitutional systems of government on the continent, I take it for granted that it must be desirable for you, Sir, to be able to seize and comprehend the leading features of party movements in every part of Europe. This presumption must be my apology for a few remarks illustrative of the condition of parties in this country and the motives of party action in regard to the unparliamentary and unconstitutional vote above mentioned.

The law of annexation enacted last year not only made citizens of all the inhabitants of the countries incorporated into this, but made them also eligible as representatives from any part of the Sardinian territory proper.

In virtue of that law many politicians belonging to the annexed countries have been elected to represent towns and districts in Sardinia. These persons have generally attached themselves to the party of extreme opinions. It was under the empire of their influence in the legislature and in the government, aided by their party associates at large, that the war was recommenced in March last. On the defeat of Charles Albert in July 1848 the emigration of Lombards, Modenese and Parmesans to Sardinia amounted to fifty or sixty thousand persons and that number has been considerably augmented since the definitive reestablishment of Austrian

authority. A great proportion of these persons sympathize and act in concert with the extreme radical or loco foco party in this country. The additional strength which the native opposition has acquired by the aid of these foreign votes and the eligibility of talented demagogues from the lately annexed countries has thus far given that party an undisputed ascendancy in the representative branch of the legislature. Without this foreign aid of talents and votes at the polls it is believed by all who know the temper of the country that the moderate constitutional party would prevail at the elections and send to Turin a representative body that would concur with the Ministry in the establishment of a practical system of representative government without menacing the destruction of society and at the same time hold out an example of prudence and forecast beneficial to all the rest of Italy.

In this view of the real sentiments and opinions of this country you will at once perceive, Sir, that it was a matter of primary importance for the demagogues here to secure and legalize the foreign aid which has hitherto given them their ascendancy. With a view to effect that object by making all these Lombard emigrants citizens, a law was initiated by the lower house some time since and carried through of so liberal a character as in fact to comprehend all refugees without regard to their means of subsistence or the nature of the causes which might have induced them to leave their respective homes. The delay in voting the appropriations for the fulfilment of the pecuniary stipulations of the treaty was caused by the refusal of the opposition or radical party to take up that subject before this law naturalizing the Lombards and all other Italian refugees in mass should have passed the Senate and received the royal signature. But the Senate boldly rejected that law in despite of these unconstitutional menaces which at the same time struck a blow at the independence of the Sovereign as well as that of the upper Chamber. It was only at the last moment when the engagements of the Government with Austria were about to be compromitted [sic] and a just ground afforded for the renewal of hostilities that the representative Chamber finally voted the requisite sum to enable the Ministry to execute the more early and pressing clauses of the Treaty. The opposition having thus failed to secure the important party object of a sweeping naturalization of the whole mass of Lombard emigrants and refugees on whose votes at the polls the personal consideration and political aspirations

of many of their number wholly depended, these same men resorted to every conceivable means to attach to the acceptance of the Treaty, some conditions [which] should have the effect to naturalize these foreign political allies now in Sardinia. The Ministry desirous of conciliating the Chamber and of rendering justice to the emigrants many of whom are among the most respectable men in Italy, avowed their determination to bring forward at a future time a very liberal law on the subject of naturalization which they hoped would be satisfactory to all reasonable parties in the country, but would not consent to any rider being attached to the Treaty as a condition of its acceptance or ratification by the Chamber. In this state of the case the opposition voted to suspend any further consideration of the Treaty until the Ministry should have brought forward the liberal law of naturalization which they had declared a determination to submit. This proposition was carried by a majority of four votes and as might have been expected it led to a dissolution and an appeal to the country.

The Ministry have felt a great reluctance to recur to a new election in the fear that the people may have become so entirely fatigued with the working of the elective system as wholly to refuse to go to the polls and thus cause the return of a merely illusory Chamber.

With a view to force the electors to come forward and vote, the government under the authority of the King requires that lists of the electors who do, and of those who do not take part in the elections, should be transmitted to the Ministry of the Interior from every part of the Kingdom, probably with the intention of publishing them. It is hoped that this sort of menace of civil political degradation will have the effect of disposing a greater proportion of the people to come to the polls than have hitherto taken part in the elections. You will doubtless agree with me, Sir, that this general popular reluctance to go to the polls augurs ill for the success of a constitutional representative system of government here.

The preceding remarks will, Sir, I trust afford you a sufficiently distinct idea of the state of parties here especially in reference to the present crisis.

The King has come forward with a very appropriate proclamation, declaring his firm determination to adhere to the Constitution conceded by his illustrious father and to maintain it against

internal as well as external enemies. But at the same time he strongly urges his people to take their share of the labor of a representative system by going to the polls and doing their duty as good citizens worthy of the constitutional liberties they enjoy, and which are in danger of being lost by their neglect.

But to return to the Treaty. You will, Sir, very naturally inquire why it was submitted to the Chambers at all, especially after its financial engagements had been acceded to by a legislative vote. The answer is that the Statuto or Constitution provides that whenever treaties impose obligations on the Treasury or make any change in the territorial limits of the Kingdom they shall be submitted to both legislative branches.

As this was the first instance of the conclusion of a treaty embraced by the article of the Statuto alluded to, it would undoubtedly have been wiser to have given a more practical import to the constitutional exactions in this regard and more in accordance with all sound principles, if the Government in making an official communication of the treaty had presented projects of laws the enactures of which were essential to its execution. They would thus have avoided the dangerous example of intrusting a treaty already clothed with all the forms of a legal ratification and universally acknowledged to be binding, to the vague and irresponsible discussions and decisions of a popular assembly. The Ministry seem not to have seen that treaties are in their very nature, when formally ratified by the executive chief of the state beyond and above the reach of the legislative branches in any system of government. This example of political juvenility may hereafter be the cause of great difficulty and embarrassment to the Executive government in its relations with other powers.

It may, however, be said in apology for the course the Ministry adopted in this regard, that they very naturally felt a strong desire that the responsibility which they had assumed under the most embarrassing circumstances, of making a treaty which required large payments of money and the surrender of all those territories so proudly incorporated into the Kingdom of Upper Italy while the arms of Charles Albert were victorious, should receive the sanction of the nation by a vote of its representatives.

It may also be said that as these foreign territories had been annexed by legislative action, Austria might, herself, consider that

the surrender would not be unreservedly made by the nation without formally expressed consent of the Chambers.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of 25th ult. No. 11. covering the commission of Mr Daniel Leroy recently appointed United States Consul at Genoa. I shall immediately take the necessary steps to hasten the delivery of the exequatur by the proper local authorities at Genoa, to whom Mr. Leroy will be required to present his commission, after it shall have passed under the view of the government here.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio senza numero

Turin, December 2, 1849

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith diplomas of several of our most distinguished citizens who have recently been elected corresponing members of the Royal Academy of Political and Moral Sciences in this place.⁷² This Academy of Science in all its branches is inferior to none on the continent except that of Paris. I hope, Sir, the liberty I have taken in mentioning your name in connection with those of other gentlemen of great intellectual powers and attainments will not be disagreeable to you. Your position as the head of the Cabinet will enable you to confer a great favor on the members of the Academy by sending to it copies of such useful publications on political or analogous subjects as may be at your disposal. Works of that kind placed in the hands of the Sardinian Consul or Chargé d'affaires at New York would be sure to find their way here.

I esteem it one of the most agreeable circumstances, if not an implied duty, connected with foreign service, to be useful in bringing the eminent men of my own country into useful relations with the leading minds of other countries, and this satisfaction I now enjoy in transmitting the accompanying diplomas in the persuasion that it will give you pleasure to communicate to Messrs Cass, Webster and Sparks the diplomas bearing their respective addresses.

⁷² La Real Accademia delle Scienze di Torino cominciò come società privata fondata nel 1757 dal conte Saluzzo da Lagrange e Cigna. Nel 1783 il re Vittorio Amedeo III la riconobbe come Reale Accademia delle Scienze divisa in due sezioni: a) sezione di fisica, matematica e scienze naturali, b) sezione di storia, morale e scienze filologiche.

Sir. I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No 12⁷³ covering a letter from the President to His Majesty Victor Emmanuel. I had the honor on the 18th instant of a private audience to deliver the President's letter. His Majesty desired me to inform the President that he was most grateful for the friendly sympathies which the Executive head of the American republic had had the kindness to express on the occasion of the death of his father Carlo Alberto. I assured His Majesty that the whole American people, as well as their illustrious Chief Magistrate, had evinced the deepest interest in the person of the late King, as well as in the cause he had so nobly espoused and to which he had given his throne and life as a sacrifice. I assured His Majesty also that the New World looked upon him as a worthy successor of the magnanimous founder of Italian liberty, and that no doubt was entertained that he would be able to carry through the renovating reforms upon which the country had entered under the auspices of the Statuto. The King expressed himself highly satisfied to learn through me, that the real character of his father had been properly appreciated by the American government and the American people. He avowed that he had felt no little anxiety lest a false impression of his father's character should have been made on the American mind by the very unjust and false estimate which extreme parties, those of despotism and radicalism, had endeavored to attach to his name.

The young sovereign then entered into a discursive conversation on the general state of public affairs in his own kingdom, and seemed to be pleased with the present prospect of a gradual development of the principles of free government without incurring the dangers of their excess.

The recent elections have resulted in the return of a very decided conservative or ministerial majority.

The appeal made by the sovereign to his people to come

⁷³ L'istruzione n 11, Washington, 25 ottobre 1849, trasmetteva la nomina di Daniel Leroy di New York a console degli S U a Genova e accusava ricevuta del dispaccio n 34. L'istruzione n 12, Washington, 15 novembre 1849, trasmetteva una lettera del Presidente a Vittorio Emanuele II, in risposta alla comunicazione che gli annunciava la morte di Carlo Alberto

forward and vote at the polls had a magical effect upon the whole country. Notwithstanding the day fixed for the choice of representatives was one of the most tempestuous ever known, more than two-thirds of the entire voters throughout the kingdom took part in the elections.

The Chambers were opened on the 20th inst by His Majesty in a short but exceedingly appropriate and effective speech, on which occasion he was most enthusiastically received by the assembled masses of the population as well as by the two branches of the legislature in whose presence he stood.

Thanks to this fair expression of national sentiment the cause of political liberty in this country is now confided to a moderate but progressive legislative body. The importance of this result cannot easily be over estimated. Had a radical and revolutionary chamber been returned, the reactionary party—the party of absolutism throughout Italy would have taken that result as a clear and decisive evidence of the total incapacity of the people in any part of the Italian peninsula to share in the work of self-government and the alarm which would have been excited by the election of such a body would at once have given that party a decided ascendancy in every part of Italy.

Now, on the contrary, a practical proof seems to be given, at least as far as this country is concerned, that the Italians are as capable as any other people on the continent of carrying on a constitutional form of free government. It is to be remarked, however, that the people of Sardinia are the Yankees of the Italian race, and the puritans of the Catholic faith, or in other words that they are eminently a people of order, enterprise, and religious convictions, qualities not to be found in the pleasure loving, thoughtless, or profane inhabitants of lower and southern Italy. Constitutional freedom may therefore work well here and yet fail in Tuscany, Rome and Naples. Still, however, the favorable turn which the late elections have taken will everywhere revive the hopes of the Constitutional party throughout Italy, and sooner or later, if we are not disappointed in our expectation of legislative prudence in the Sardinian Chambers, force the respective governments of those countries to put their several constitutions, now in abeyance, again into practical operation.

Austria, too, will not long be able to withhold from Lombardy analogous forms of government. As I have had occasion to remark

before, this is the exemplar country for the whole Italian peninsula. On the success or failure of free institutions here depend the political fortunes of the whole population south of the Alps.

The new Chamber has a legal duration of five years, and a conservative, though progressive course of policy through that period of time may do much to prepare the people to comprehend the principles of self-government and to cultivate those civic virtues which that system requires at their hands. Still, however, as this is, and must remain a military country the monarchical branch of the government must as necessarily have a preponderating influence.

All past as well as contemporaneous history proves the necessity of sustaining the monarchical principle in the ascendant wherever it becomes necessary to maintain standing armies, whether such armies are necessarily kept up for the preservation of internal tranquillity, or for defence against foreign aggression. There is no point in Europe where a disregard to this fundamental truism would be so certainly and suddenly fatal to national independence as here. Were this country to be weakened in the control of its military capacities by the party divisions incidental to an elective chief magistracy, the inevitable result would be that either France or Austria would at once seize upon the military line of the Alps, and in either case the population of Piedmont and Savoy would be as completely enslaved as those of Lombardy are now by the dominion of foreigners.

This is not perhaps an improper occasion to observe by way of illustrating the condition of Europe in reference to the practicability of an indefinite extension of political freedom, that this necessity common to all the nations of the continent, of keeping up standing armies is the true and unanswerable reason why no one of them can ever permanently become a republic and preserve its independence. The nations of the continent may be said to be in a constant state of war with each other, though not always in actual conflict, but each standing with its armies ready, for attack or defence. It is apparent therefore that this state of things requires the chief executive authority to be vested in hands not liable to the fluctuations or influence of party. Kings will always be found necessary for the safety of a state wherever the necessity exists for maintaining large standing armies, as is the case throughout the continent of Europe.

I am aware, Sir, that these views are not in accordance with the popular sentiment of either party at home, but I take it, Sir, that it is a matter of duty in a public servant abroad to give the candid results of his own observations and convictions, whenever he may think, they may be useful in enabling his government to form correct and sound opinions. I trust I shall not have exposed myself to censure for this example of honestly entertained convictions, the result of long reflection and a thorough analysis of the relations in which the nations of Europe stand to each other.

The Austrian government has consummated by treaty a customhouse union with the duchies of Modena and Parma, and it is understood that an effort is now making in Vienna to embrace Tuscany and the States of the Church also, in the same arrangement. Should the cabinet at Vienna succeed in carrying its commercial frontier to that extent, it will cause serious injury to the commerce of both England and France. Such an increased ascendancy of Austrian influence and interest in Italy can hardly fail to become the prolific cause of jealousies, and perhaps even an open rupture.⁷⁴

Marshal Radetzky, now eighty-five years of age, retires from the Government of the Lombardo-Venetian Vice Royalty, and is to be succeeded by General Hess.

The new Austrian Minister has been received here quite as well as could have been expected, with all the forms of politeness and cordiality.

Some days ago, the apostolic Nuncio near this government read to me a dispatch from Cardinal Antonelli in which he spoke of the half established diplomatic relations with the United States.⁷⁵ At my suggestion the Nuncio handed me a copy of the paragraph of

⁷⁴ Trattati fra Austria, Modena e Parma nel 1849. Il 3 luglio una convenzione stipulata con Parma riguardava le spese per il mantenimento dei soldati di uno degli Stati nel territorio dell'altro (n. 310 delle leggi dell'Impero); il 3 luglio, convenzione postale fra Austria, Modena e Parma (n. 311); 3 luglio, convenzione con Parma riguardante la sovranità delle isole che si erano formate sul Po (n. 312); convenzione fra Austria, Modena e Parma per una lega doganale da concludere fra questi Stati (n. 313), la convenzione doganale con Modena del 23 gennaio 1848 fu sostituita da un trattato permanente al quale partecipò anche Parma, confrontare con il decreto del ministero delle finanze del 7 settembre 1849 che include il trattato di cui sopra e che fu reso valido per Parma il 1 settembre (n. 384), anche con gli altri Stati italiani (Toscana, Stati pontifici, ecc) erano in corso trattative per la navigazione del Po.

⁷⁵ Per la parte avuta da mons. Benedetto Antonucci negli affari sardi durante questo periodo vedi CARLO BAUDI DI VESME, *La diplomazia del regno di Sardegna durante la prima guerra d'indipendenza. II Relazioni con lo Stato Pontificio*, Torino Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Comitato di Torino, 1951

the Cardinal's dispatch referred to bearing date the 27th ultimo. I have now the honor, Sir, to transmit this extract, together with a translation, as it may possibly be of use.

The American ship *Louisa*, Capt Rich, was recently seized at Genoa for smuggling, in the article of tobacco. The technicalities of the law were so clearly violated and the charges so well sustained by circumstantial evidence that the confiscation of the ship could hardly have been avoided, had I not possessed the advantages of immediate and free personal intercourse with the Minister of Finance, or perhaps the still greater advantage of being personally on the most friendly terms with the Government. I succeeded in getting the ship clear on the payment of a small nominal fine. She would certainly have been sacrificed if her case had passed into the forms of written protests and correspondence.

A conference between the representatives of the great continental powers is about being held in Paris to consult on the best means of expelling the political refugees from Switzerland at the head of whom is the well known Mazzini. This government has been invited to take part in that conference, but M. d'Azeglio although willing to cooperate by the use of whatever moral influence his wishes may have, to induce the Swiss Government to remove this source of disturbance and outbreak in the surrounding countries, has declared that he cannot do so in the use of any violent coercive means to effect the object. Should an attempt be made, as was the case twelve years ago, when Louis Bonaparte was the obnoxious personage, to hermetically close up the Swiss Cantons, Sardinia can justify her refusal to take part in that measure by falling back on her engagements to the United States in the 14th article of the treaty of commerce, which I had the honor to sign, and which secures to us and to Switzerland, the advantages of a free transit through the Sardinian territory. It was in reference to this eventuality of a renewal of such schemes on the part of the absolute powers that I based my efforts at the time to secure this privilege which virtually gives a free sea port to Switzerland and secures to this country the advantage of preserving the friendship of that country whilst the other powers are conspiring against her independence.

Il nuovo Incaricato d'affari degli Stati Uniti non è, per quanto io sappia ancor qui giunto. Suppongo che le rigorose leggi sanitarie di questo Governo Napolitano glielo avranno impedito. Sua Santità, cui tanto sono a cuore gl'interessi della nostra Santa Religione, già aveva divisato inviare un suo Rappresentante negli Stati Uniti di America, ad oggetto di provvedere al bene de' numerosi Cattolici ivi stabiliti, divisamento, che per le passate luttuose vicende non ha potuto eseguire. Spero, però, che ristabilite meglio le cose da noi, Nostro Signore non tarderà a porre in effetto quanto Le accennai, volendo così dare una testimonianza di paterna sollecitudine a quei buoni Cattolici, che tanto interesse mostrarono alla situazione, in cui il Padre Comune dei Fedeli si ritrova.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 40 ⁷⁷

Turin, January 27, 1850

Sir: Since I last had the honor to write, the Sardinian Chambers have been definitively constituted by the slow preliminary process of verifying all the circumstances of the election of each individual member as in France, a process that consumed several successive weeks. But since the organization of Parliament has been completed the best possible disposition has been manifested to proceed with due diligence in the performance of its legislative labors.

A law was promptly enacted authorizing the Ministry to carry into execution the late treaty with Austria.

An important electoral law has also been enacted, the object of which is to give the electors of small communities the right to vote in their respective communes, whenever the number of electors shall exceed forty, instead as formerly of being under the necessity in many cases of going to great distances, over mountains and through gorges to the chief city of the department. Strange to say, this law so reasonable, and so entirely conformable to the interest of the people in every respect was stoutly opposed by the

⁷⁶ Allegato al dispaccio n. 38 del Niles.

⁷⁷ Il dispaccio n. 39, Torino, 12 gennaio 1850 contiene i conti degli stipendi e delle spese straordinarie degli ultimi sei mesi.

minority or radical party. The pretext was that this manner of voting by communes would deprive the people of the advantage of personal intercourse with the political illuminati or more properly speaking demagogues of large towns. Here, as almost every where else in Europe, the demagogues care little for the extension of political liberty which does not ensure their ascendancy, or in some way, turn to their advantage.

The Ministerial programme embraces a system of improvement calculated to develop [sic] and extend the material resources of the country as well as many legislative modifications necessary to bring the judicial and administrative systems into harmony with the requirements of enlightened opinion and the provisions of the Statute.

It is contemplated to extend a branch of the Genoa rail road, now within 18 months of its completion from that city to Turin, and on which cars are now running daily from the capital to Novi 2/3 of the distance from here to Genoa, from Alexandria through Mortara to the Lake Maggiore on the confines of Switzerland. From that point it is calculated the road will be continued through the mountains to Lake Constance, either by individual enterprise exclusively or by the cooperation of the Swiss cantonal governments. This road when completed will unite the valley of the Rhine with that of the Po, and afford to Southern Germany an easier communication with the sea than it now has through Rotterdam or the Hanseatic cities, and must add greatly to the maritime [sic] prosperity of Genoa and indeed to the power of this Kingdom in all respects.

The Genoa and Turin railroad is to be continued by Susa through Savoy to the frontier of France towards Lyons. The execution of this work will require the opening of a tunnel under Mount Cenis to Lauslebourg of thirty nine thousand feet or about 7 1/2 miles. It is estimated that this tunnel can be completed in 6 years, unless some unforeseen and hitherto unknown difficulties should be encountered in this long subterranean cut, by far larger than any yet constructed, the cost of which alone is put down by the most scientific engineers at 36 millions of francs. The expense of the whole work from Turin to the limits of France will amount to about one hundred millions of francs or twenty millions of dollars. The completion of these two great lines of railroad will have a great effect both upon the business prosperity

and political fortunes of upper Italy. That to France will virtually efface the Alps, whenever the policy of this country and that of France may require their joint action for military purposes in Italy, by giving easy admission to any number of French auxiliary troops that may be deemed necessary to encounter Austria or any other power on the plains of Lombardy. This consideration which deeply interests the patriotic sentiments of the entire population, in addition to its equally evident commercial advantages, will, I think, ensure the completion of this great enterprise in the course of the next eight or ten years.

It is understood that the execution of both these lines of railroad will be entered upon as soon as authority shall have been granted to the Government to contract the money loans, and appropriations for these especial objects shall have been carried through the legislature.

The Bank of Genoa instituted some years ago and that of Turin put in operation since the termination of the war, have been recently united under the title of the National Bank with an aggregate capital of eight millions of francs. This establishment issues bills of one thousand francs, five hundred francs, two hundred and fifty francs, and one hundred francs or twenty dollars.

The popular sentiment, however, is unfavorable to the circulation of paper money in any form, or of any denomination, so that the principal sources of revenue of the Bank will be derived from the negotiation of Bills of Exchange on London, Paris, Marseilles and other commercial cities. As this institution is exclusively in the hands of wealthy men of the most undoubted probity, it has occurred to me that it might be a very safe place of deposit for the government funds required in the Mediterranean for the service of the squadron.

The President's message has been received here, and I believe every where on the continent with especial favor. The total absence of all those fulsome self laudations to catch the popular favor at home, and of those invidious comparisons to the disadvantage of European Governments and European society which have too often characterized preceding messages, to say nothing of the finespun theories in defence of doubtful principles in politics and political economy put forth with the same object, have attracted the favorable observation of governments, the press, and the people. I

subjoin a translation of one of the numerous articles⁷⁸ which have appeared in the Italian papers on this message mainly because it indicates an important characteristic feature in the state of American society, evinced by the message in an appeal to and a reliance upon the Divine Providence, as the Supreme Governor. This sentiment which lies at the bottom of political, as well as all moral obligations, seems to have become so entirely inefficacious on the continent as to furnish just ground of alarm for the safety of the social system. It is a painful acknowledgment to make, yet it is so nevertheless true, that Christianity, in all its leading principles, seems to have pretty universally given way throughout Europe as a basis of government. This is one of the points where the religious sentiment and Christian faith still maintain their ascendancy, and are enabled successfully to resist the influx of those political and infidel heresies which, emanating from France and Germany, threaten to reduce the old world to a state of barbarism.

This country is now in a remarkable state of prosperity. Every branch of trade and manufactures is in a condition of great activity. Commerce and navigation at Genoa were never more flourishing. Laborers, mechanics and artisans of every kind were never better paid or more universally employed. The public revenues feel the favorable effect of this general prosperity, as all the sources of indirect taxation have been unusually productive during the last year. This unusual and generally favorable state of the internal condition of the Kingdom is owing without doubt to two principal causes.

First, to the immigration of a large proportion of the rich capitalists who were excluded from the amnesty by the Austrian Government. These persons alone who have thus been forced to leave their palaces in Milan and other parts of Lombardy bring with them and expend, it is computed, revenues to the amount of six or seven millions of francs. They have principally taken up their residence in this city and in Genoa. Many other families of wealth who were not compelled to leave Lombardy have voluntarily given up their ancient homes, to take up a residence under this free government, in various parts of the Kingdom. Many intelligent worthy and wealthy citizens who have either been expelled from Sicily and

⁷⁸ Si tratta della traduzione di un articolo de *L'Istruttore del popolo*, Torino, 19 gennaio 1850.

Naples, or have reason to fear the reactionary violence of the Neapolitan Government, have also taken refuge in this country, as have many persons of character and the duchies of Parma and Modena. The spectacle which this country now gives of free and good government contrasts most invitingly with the tyranny of Austria and Naples on the one hand, and the subservient weakness of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the anomalous condition of things in the territories of the Pope on the other.

This constantly increasing immigration from the other portions of Italy above mentioned is doubtless a principal cause of the prosperous condition of the country generally. But another cause consists in the fact that that general revolutionary excitability which seized this country in common with the whole of the continent so unaccountably two years ago, has been effectually let off by the war, and its inhabitants generally having full confidence in the stability of their present institutions find themselves quite ready to enter upon their various branches of business without restraint or apprehension. The very reserve of all this prevails in all the other parts of Italy, a condition of things of which it is not easy to foresee the end. The great question of what is to be done with, or for the Pope does not seem to approach a solution, and until some understanding is come to among the Catholic powers in that regard, lower Italy must remain subject to that stagnation in business and derangement of society incident to uncertainty and apprehension. It is clearly apparent that the Pope's protracted and unaccountable absence from the legitimate seat of his pontificate, is operating very much to the disadvantage of his pretensions to an unqualified restoration to his temporal authority.

It is not probable that the Roman question can be definitively settled, till the rest of Europe can be brought again into a normal state. But before regular governments capable of taking the initiative, and acting in concert, in all questions of common interest to the continent, can be established in France, Germany and Austria, it is greatly to be feared that all these powers will be subjected to new revolutions, or perhaps to the less dangerous chances of general war. Although a general lull of political excitement prevails throughout Europe, there never has been a time when the future has been more obscure than at present.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 41

Turin, February 13, 1850

Sir: I have the satisfaction to transmit herewith a very important report on the subject of the railroad through the Alps to which I alluded in my last despatch No. 40.⁷⁹ The details relating to the execution of this great enterprise cannot fail to interest in a high degree the distinguished engineers connected with our government. One of the accompanying maps exhibits the whole tissue of Railroads already in operation or in progress in France, Belgium and Western Germany in connection with the proposed road through Mont Cenis and with that from the Lake Maggiore to the Lake of Constance, thus uniting the whole with Italy. It will at once be perceived that the opening of the proposed lines to Lyons and Geneva on the one hand, and to the Lake of Constance on the other, must tend greatly to augment the importance of Genoa as the maritime [sic] point of contact for the commerce between the new world, and all the central portions of continental Europe.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 42

Turin, February 24, 1850

Sir: Nothing of any especial political interest has taken place within the limits of this kingdom since I last had the honor to address you.

Authority was given by the Chambers to the Ministry to negotiate a loan to the extent of four millions of francs annual interest on the best terms it could make, to enable the government to meet the final instalments of the war indemnity due to Austria and to carry forward the railroad enterprises in which the country is now engaged. The new loan was issued in a five per cent stock and twenty nine millions of it were taken in this city at the rate of eighty eight francs capital for five francs interest. The remainder of the loan has been taken by a company of capitalists in Paris of which the House of de Rothschild [sic] is the head, at a rate still more advantageous to the government.

⁷⁹ Il rapporto non è stato trovato negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

I had the honor to inform you in the course of last summer that a number of passports had been granted by our consul at Rome to political refugees of all countries who had signalized themselves in the civil commotions of that city, to facilitate their escape from punishment, on the entry of the French army. Many persons holding these passports found their way to Genoa and might have remained there if their conduct had not been such as to give uneasiness to the local authorities and to create a source of embarrassment for the central government. Several of these persons having received orders to quit the city, addressed themselves to Mr. Moro, our Vice Consul, in the temporary absence of Mr LeRoy. Mr Moro, not being satisfied what course he ought to take in the premises, addressed himself to me for instructions. Although no directions from the department bearing upon this question have ever to my knowledge been given to our diplomatic or consular agents, I did not hesitate to express to Mr Moro in reply, the opinions conveyed in my letter to him of the 18th instant of which I enclose a copy, marked (A).⁸⁰

I take it the principle I have assumed is just and indisputable.

The question of the political refugees congregated in Switzerland, to which I adverted in former dispatches, has been the subject of notes between Austria, Prussia, France and this country. The language held by the two first of these powers toward the Swiss central government has been of a menacing character. France, on the contrary, has endeavored to effect the object aimed at, by the influence of friendly representations and persuasion toward Switzerland, while on the other hand, the President has endeavored to assuage the anger of the Germanic powers by indicating the dangers to which the peace of Europe would be exposed if any attempt should be made to expel these refugees by an occupation of the Swiss cantons by Prussian and Austrian troops. The course taken by the Prince Louis Bonaparte seems likely to be successful both in Switzerland and at Vienna and Berlin. It is understood that these emigrants, which so much endanger the surrounding [sic] countries, particularly Austria and Southern Germany, are being removed.

Mr. d'Azeglio has communicated to me his answer to the

⁸⁰ Si veda p 168.

Governments which have called on Sardinia to cooperate in effecting the expulsion, a copy of which I have the honor herewith to transmit marked (B). You will perceive, on reading it that he quietly intimates to the complaining powers that the first thing which they should do, is, so to perfect their respective social system as to render the number of persons in open hostility to them, as few as possible.

His allusion to the last expedient that of effecting the emigration to the new world of the malcontents with European society and governments, as at present constituted, is important. It is, indeed, a little surprising that this remedy for the social evils of continental Europe should not long ago have occupied the attention of the statesmen of France, Germany and Italy. There can be no doubt that the extraordinary dangers and difficulties under which the continental nations of Europe are now exposed grow out, more or less directly, of a superabundant population. That despair and desperation, a natural consequence of the complete blocking up of all the careers to success in business, in the professions, in the arts and even in agriculture and manufactures drives thousands of individuals who would be very good subjects in a condition of things like ours in America, to look exclusively for an improvement in their favor to the chances of revolution and disorder. This agglomeration of an involuntarily idle population in all the great cities on the continent serves as a hotbed for generating those false and impracticable systems of political philosophy which have already torn down the great pillars on which alone the social system can rest in safety, viz, that sentiment of moral responsibility growing out of a belief in God and a future state of existence, respect for the law and the authority emanating from it, and a regard for the rights of property.

Now relief for this state of things is to be found in a comparatively uncultivated continent, capable of supporting hundreds of millions of inhabitants, situated at the short distance of from twelve to twenty five days steam navigation. There, this dangerous surplus population, in every part of Europe, would find congenial climate and a welcome reception—there they could found families and establish the independence and happiness of their descendants for centuries to come.

It is undoubtedly the constant drain of a superabundant population from England to her various colonies that has saved her

morality and her power. The successful working of the English system of colonization should have served as a seasonal example to the continent.

If some great system of emigration for the Latin races is not soon practically entered upon according to the suggestion of Mr. d'Azeglio, nothing better presents itself to the central and southern nations of Europe than the cruel alternative of accepting as a permanent principle of policy the cutting of each others [sic] throats, or in other words of making habitual war on each other.

It is perfectly clear to my mind, in opposition to the generally entertained opinion in the United States, that nothing is to be hoped for the improvement of any class of continental society in a mere change of political systems of government. The evils which affect the old world would indeed be more directly destructive to all interests and every degree and kind of liberty, under more popular systems of government than under such as now exist. Suppress what remains of authority in existing forms of government and admit the revolutionary principles which overthrew Louis Philippe and now prevail with a large portion of the French population, and all the continent would be one vast scene of robbery, violence and murder in a very short time. Every practicable degree of liberty for the citizen compatible with public order and personal security and a perfect equality before the law is all that the most liberal forms of government should or can give. These objects most of the governments of Europe have labored sedulously to attain, by a gradual process of improvement, ever since the first French revolution, but none with so complete success as the government of Louis Philippe. Nobody engaged in effecting his downfall ever thought of substituting an elective for an hereditary chief of the state. The single exception, in his person, to absolute equality, was never made a ground of complaint. Louis Philippe's government fell from the working of the causes to which I have adverted—causes so active and so widely extended that they will successively undermine any government that may be established in France except perhaps a most vigilant and unrelenting military despotism. To this complexion France has come at last, notwithstanding her political reformers and innovators have had their own way and carried democratical principles to a greater practical extent than they have ever been carried before in the history of the world.

The failure of France to find relief for the social diseases that

pervade her whole body politic in revolution, or in the unrestrained application of the largest principles of democracy, should satisfy every enlightened [sic] statesman who seeks to know the truth, that some new process of cure must be resorted to, to save the patient. The process at once the most natural and easy of application, as well as the most promising will be found in the opening of new careers for ambition and prosperity, by the encouragement of emigration on a large scale. Many other nations of Europe may be saved by this means, before their cases become as desperate as that of France, if it shall be seasonably adopted, but the disease is gaining every where and the fear is that the remedial measure suggested, may not be resorted to, until it is too late.

The foregoing cursory observations have been suggested by Mr. D'Azeglio's paper and by that profound interest and apprehension which the present moral condition of Europe is so well calculated to excite in every thoughtful and observing mind. To what social and political changes this state of things may lead is the great problem which time alone can solve. But in the meanwhile no statesman in America can be an indifferent observer of the revolution still going on in the old world. Our continually increasing proximity to every part of Europe in point of time and the popular sympathy at home with events transpiring here in consequence of the increasing facilities afforded by steam navigation, will in all probability bring us within the sphere of those violent political convulsions which may be reasonably anticipated. Hence it would seem that new duties are imposed on our foreign diplomacy in this hemisphere, as well as new and high responsibilities on the government at Washington; the former to furnish correct and ample information on many subjects touching the state of society every where in Europe, formerly deemed unimportant, as well as sound opinions formed in presence of the facts, on which the latter may be called on to determine the wisest course of national policy, whatever events may come.

This view of European affairs and our probable connection with impending conflicts and changes, as presented to my mind, will, I trust, serve as a satisfactory apology for the frequent unsolicited expression of my reflections on the general subject of European politics.

Turin, February 18, 1850

My dear Sir: In answer to your inquiry what course you are to take with regard to those Italian refugees who present themselves to you for protection, on the strength of passports granted by our late consul at Rome, I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that you cannot in any way interfere to withdraw the bearers of those passports from the action of the law and police regulations of the Sardinian Government or local authorities.⁸² In regard to whatever concerns the public safety, every government is an unqualified sovereign on its own soil. In accordance with this principle you could not interfere even to protect American citizens against any edict of the Government which might require their expulsion, if it were found that their presence became a just ground of apprehension for the public tranquillity. Much less can you interpose any consular authority to aid foreigners in an attempt to evade the laws of this country. But as these persons may have been deluded into the belief that Mr Brown's passports would protect them here or elsewhere, it will be proper for you in disabusing them of this error to inform them individually that they are at liberty to disembark any where in the United States, if they choose to go there, without any passports whatever being required of them—that our whole country is open to them, and that by industry and virtuous habits, they can neither fail of success nor to make themselves acceptable in their new abode.

If these persons are really desirous of going to America, and are to your knowledge making preparations to embark, and are only waiting an opportunity to do so, it will be a becoming act of humanity in you, so to state to the local authorities, and to request in their behalf that they may not be deprived of this advantage by an immediate expulsion. The fact that these persons may have been deceived into a false security by the possession of Mr. Brown's passports would seem to entitle them to this degree of interest at our hands.

⁸¹ Allegato A al dispaccio n. 42 di Niles

⁸² Per quanto riguarda i problemi legali e politici sorti a causa di questi rifugiati italiani negli S U, vedi H. R. MARRARO, *American Opinion*, cit., pp. 165-185.

[Torino, febbraio 1850]

Le Gouvernement de S. M. le Roi de Sardaigne reconnaissant la nécessité de prendre en considération la question des réfugiés en Suisse et de coopérer à une solution satisfaisante qui écarte les dangers dont leur présence dans ce pays menace le Piémont reconnaissant également qu'il est de l'intérêt général de bien déterminer l'étendue et l'exercice du droit d'asile, de même que les devoirs de la neutralité accordée à la Suisse par les Traités, est prêt à s'associer aux mesures qui seraient adoptées d'un commun accord par les grandes Puissances.

Il croit néanmoins devoir lui soumettre à ce sujet les considérations suivantes.

Quelques événements récents offrent un exemple frappant des mouvements qu'amène la manque de prévoyance, comme le défaut d'un plan bien arrêté et mûri préalablement, dans les interventions internationales.

Le Gouvernement du Roi pense qu'en obtenant de la Suisse l'expulsion des réfugiés, le problème ne sera qu'à moitié résolu et qu'il est également important de déterminer d'avance quel sera le sort de ces individus.

Le but des Puissances de délivrer l'Europe des menées socialistes ne saurait être atteint si on ne faisait que promener à travers l'Europe les chefs qui les dirigent. Expulsés d'un pays, ils se réuniraient dans un autre et avec les fils dont ils disposent avec le secours du parti qui dans tous les pays est constamment prêt à seconder leurs coupables projets, la conspiration permanente de la démagogie continuerait à suivre son cours et elle n'aurait fait que changer de place.

Une chasse [sic] donnée aussi aux démagogues, quelque justifiée qu'elle soit par leurs doctrines et leur conduite récente dans tous les pays aurait cependant quelque chose d'odieux et peut être d'injuste aux yeux du public si l'on n'y mettait les deux conditions suivantes:

1° de faire entr'eux des distinctions d'après le degré de leur culpabilité;

2° de fixer leur sort à venir et les conditions de leur existence.

⁸³ Allegato B al dispaccio n. 42 del Niles

On ne saurait se dissimuler que la plus importante de toutes les questions est en ce moment celle de la restauration du principe de l'autorité et des moyens de l'asseoir sur des bases solides, comme de la faire accepter en ne l'imposant par la force que dans les cas d'absolue nécessité.

Il ne serait ni juste ni exact d'attribuer l'ébranlement général que l'autorité a subi en Europe au seul déchaînement de coupables passions. L'autorité a été ébranlée parcequ'elle était ébranlable, parceque dans bien des cas elle s'est déplacée de sa base naturelle, la justice.

Dès lors il est important que les gouvernements se préoccupent de la pensée de témoigner dans leurs actes, du désir et de la résolution bien arrêtée d'exercer l'autorité dans des vue d'équité et d'intérêt général. Le seul moyen de faire que l'autorité soit respectée c'est de la rendre respectable, et de même si l'on veut qu'elle soit acceptée, il faut la rendre acceptable. Ceci posé, il en résulte que les mesures qu'on prendrait à l'égard de la Suisse contre les réfugiés politiques ne sauraient atteindre le but qu'on se propose, la consolidation du principe de l'autorité qu'autant qu'elle revêtirait un caractère d'impartialité et de justice au lieu de se présenter simplement comme l'exercice du droit du plus fort ou comme la liquidation, pour m'exprimer ainsi, de la victoire d'un parti.

Sans vouloir se faire le défenseur des doctrines professées par l'émigration démagogique, et encore moins celui des moyens qu'elle emploie pour les faire triompher, il est pourtant juste de reconnaître qu'il existe une grande variété et une différence essentielle entre les causes qui ont fait bannir de leur pays les individus appartenant en ce moment à cette émigration.

L'opinion publique, même la plus modérée, ne saurait mettre sur une même ligne les griefs soulevés dans les différents Etats de l'Europe qui ont fourni leur contingent à l'émigration contre leurs gouvernements respectifs. Elle ne pourrait par conséquent regarder comme équitables les mesures qui frapperaient cette émigration en masse sans distinction des causes qui l'ont produite et du degré de culpabilité qui en a été la conséquence.

Sans entrer dans des détails et dans des explications qui pourraient être blessantes pour quelques Gouvernements on ne saurait disconvenir sans mauvaise foi que dans la masse des réfugiés, s'il y en a beaucoup qui ont été poussés vers la démagogie par leur mauvaises passions, il s'en trouve également beaucoup qui dans

l'origine se sont jetés entre ses bras par le seul fait de souffrances aussi injustes que réelles.

Il serait par conséquent également injuste de confondre dans une seule et même mesure les différentes catégories des réfugiés. Ce serait en même temps une faute de la part des Puissances qui doivent avant tout viser à se ménager l'approbation de l'opinion honnête et modérée.

Au lieu d'employer envers la Suisse des sommations et des menaces qui devraient nécessairement blesser sa dignité comme son amour propre et augmenter les difficultés intérieures, menaces dont l'exécution pourrait amener de graves complications et qui laissées sans effet deviendraient ridicules, il serait peut-être plus convenable de faire des propositions qui tout en sauvant la dignité de la confédération seraient de nature à concilier aux Puissances l'estime et l'approbation générales.

Ces propositions pourraient se réunir de la manière indiquée dans le plan qui suit:

1^o demander les listes des réfugiés d'après les renseignements qui seraient donnés par les gouvernements respectifs, les diviser en catégories, en séparant les chefs, les influents, les incorrigibles, en un mot, les hommes réellement dangereux de ceux qui ne le sont que relativement et par des nécessités de position.

2^o s'entendre avec les gouvernements du continent américain pour les engager à faciliter l'établissement chez eux d'un nombre donné d'émigrants. Il est à présumer que cette mesure ne rencontrerait pas de graves objections de la part de ces gouvernements.

3^o organiser sur une échelle proportionnée au chiffre de l'émigration le moyen de transport, et fixer à chaque individu pour frais de premier établissement une somme qu'il toucherait à son arrivée sur le sol américain.

Si après de pareilles propositions la Suisse se refusait à obtempérer aux justes réclamations des Puissances, l'opinion publique les absoudrait incontestablement de ce qu'il pourrait y avoir de factieux dans les mesures qu'elles détermineraient de prendre en conséquence de ce refus.

Les frais occasionnés par l'exécution du plan qu'on propose seraient sans doute considérables, mais si l'on calcule l'énorme déploiement de forces qu'exige l'état actuel de l'Europe et ce qu'il coûte aux finances des différents Etats, on peut hardiment assumer

qu'avec le quart de cet argent on débarrasserait l'Europe de ses ennemis les plus dangereux.

Les mesures qu'on voudrait adopter envers la Suisse, le blocus, l'occupation compteraient certainement des sommes bien supérieures à celles que suffiraient pour réaliser le plan qu'on propose. L'histoire offre de nombreux exemples de peuples qui divisés chez eux par des dissentiments politiques ou religieux, ont pris la résolution de se partager et dont la plus faible partie [sic], est allée chercher fortune ailleurs. On peut citer l'émigration anglaise en Amérique du temps de Cromwell et les nombreuses et grandes expatriations de l'Espagne, de la France, de l'Allemagne et de la Hollande qui ont eu lieu pour cause de religion. Il est de l'intérêt de tous dans les cas semblables de se prêter à de pareils arrangements et de supporter quelques sacrifices pour les rendre possibles.

L'Europe est arrivée à ce point qu'il n'est plus possible de s'aveugler sur les conséquences de la position actuelle et qu'il est indispensable de prendre un parti. On est réduit à choisir entre l'alternative de s'entregorger indéfiniment ou de séparer des éléments qui sont devenus incompatibles.

Quoique de prime abord cette mesure paraisse présenter des complications, et surtout des proportions capables de faire mettre en doute la possibilité de son exécution, il est facile en l'examinant avec soin de se convaincre que ces apparences sont fort exagérées. Les mouvements démagogiques qui tout récemment ont eu lieu en Europe pourraient sans doute donner l'idée que le chiffre de ce parti est beaucoup plus grand qu'il ne l'est en effet. Si cependant à ce chiffre on oppose celui des propriétaires, parmi lesquels il faut aussi classer les ressortissants de la propriété et tout ce qui est intéressé à son maintien, on trouvera que ce dernier parti constitue l'immense majorité.

Mais en supposant même que le parti contraire soit encore fort considérable, il ne serait nullement nécessaire de lui appliquer dans son intégralité les mesures dont il était question. Il suffirait de le séparer de ses hommes les plus influents et les plus dangereux pour que le reste rentrât dans l'ordre et ne donnât plus d'inquiétudes. Il ne s'agirait par conséquent que d'une fraction, ce qui réduirait de beaucoup les proportions de la mesure proposée.

Le gouvernement du Roi pense que la victoire que la Providence a accordée en Europe au parti de l'ordre, ne sera assurée dans l'avenir qu'autant qu'on n'en abusera pas et qu'on s'en servira dans

des vues d'intérêt général, de modération et d'impartialité. Guidé par ces principes, dont l'expérience qu'il vient de faire dans les transactions antérieures lui a démontré l'utilité, il a cru son devoir d'appeler l'attention des Cabinets étrangers sur la question de l'émigration en général et plus particulièrement de celle qui est rassemblée en Suisse. Confiant dans l'esprit de justice et d'humanité qui président aux conseils des grandes Puissances, il ne doute nullement qu'elles ne veuillent prendre en sérieuse considération les principes et les idées qu'il soumet à leur examen; ainsi que la ligne de conduite qui devrait en être la conséquence.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 43

Turin, February 29, 1850

Sir: I have the honor herewith to transmit a brochure⁸⁴ with an atlas in which the author Major John Cavalli,⁸⁵ of His Sardinian Majesty's Artillery Service, explains an improved system of constructing cannon on the principle of the rifle, with the facility of loading at the breech.

Some twenty of these pieces are now mounted for the coast defence of this country mainly at or near Genoa. The greater distance to which guns of this construction carry as well as the greater destruction caused by the rotary motion of the projectile, has attracted considerable attention with scientific men and connoisseurs in the art of gunnery.

Major Cavalli has been officially invited by the English Government to go to England, whither he has permission to proceed without delay, and there to continue his experiments and to assist at the construction of cannon for the British service.

Taking it for granted that all improvements that concern coastal defence, and the armament of ships of war, are especial objects of attention in the appropriate departments at Washington, I have thought it my duty to send forward the accompanying pamphlet and plates to your care, and remain, Sir, with sentiments of the most distinguished consideration.

⁸⁴ Questo opuscolo non è allegato al dispaccio negli archivi nazionali di Washington.

⁸⁵ Giovanni Cavalli (1808-1870) Dopo la guerra del 1848 fece parte della commissione nominata per esaminare il progetto di un tunnel sotto le Alpi a Modane. Nel 1850 fu invitato in Inghilterra ad assistere alle prove compiute dal suo cannone e da quello di Wahrendorff. Al suo ritorno in Italia fu promosso luogotenente colonnello e assegnato al laboratorio chimico dell'arsenale di Torino.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a translation of an ordinance of the Austrian government establishing certain regulations concerning the entry of ships of war into the waters and ports of the Empire, which I have thought to be of such a character as to entitle them to your notice.

These regulations bear the official date of the seventh of January, but they have only been promulgated within the last few days. Whether these regulations infringe the laws of nations may be doubted, but certain it is that they are in express contradiction to the rules of amnesty among civilized nations in their relations with each other in times of peace, and indicate an extraordinary distrust of some unknown, and hitherto unsuspected enemy.

To my mind they are a convincing proof that Austria has entered upon a new line of policy in her political alliances, and that she has definitively abandoned all expectation, if not desire, of reestablishing her friendly intimate relations with Great Britain. Hitherto through a long series of reigns the British sovereign has been the guardian of the rising maritime [sic] importance of Austria, as well as her natural ally to counterbalance the power and influence of France on the one hand, and of Russia on the other.

But the threatening convulsions which have taken place in almost all parts of the Austrian Empire within the last two years, and the sympathies which have been so openly expressed alike by the British Ministry, the Parliament, and the people, of England, in favor of her revolted subjects, drove her for a moment at least, to seek the aid of Russia and these regulations which are evidently aimed at England, would seem to show that the Cabinet of Vienna is determined to adhere to the Russian alliance, and is preparing to meet the contingencies of this change in its hitherto established policy.

These precautionary, and to say the least, exceedingly stringent measures would never have been taken without the knowledge and assent of the British Ministry, if the policy and power of England were not looked upon as likely to be hostile and dangerous.

If we enquire what reason Austria has to fear England, the

answer is only to be found in the presumption that Austria has herself changed her own relations with her old and faithful ally, and that change can only be in the adoption of the alternative alliance with Russia.

This view of the case furnishes the key to the true import of these regulations, especially when it is borne in mind that the English Government has at all times practised on the principle that when a war is foreseen to be unavoidable, either of the prospectively belligerent parties have [sic] a right to strike the first blow, without giving the other party the advantage of any previous notice whatever.

If British ships of war were to continue the habit of coming to anchor in the inner port of Venice and other Austrian cities and remaining there as heretofore without apparent object, on the strength of an established friendship between the two nations, it is easy to see that in the event of England's becoming hostile to Austria, she might at any time seize upon Venice and thus possess herself of an immense advantage in any war that might ensue.

Danger from the United States, France, Sardinia, or the ships of war of any other country cannot have been apprehended by Austria while she continued under the maritime [sic] protectorate of England. It is the abandonment of this protectorate, and the entering into other political combinations likely to bring down upon her the hostility of her old ally that can alone account for the fears which these unsocial and semibarbarian measures so clearly evince.

The irresistible inferences, therefore to be drawn from the adoption of the measures in question are

First That Austria has deliberately changed her position in the political balance of European states, and has definitively decided to unite her fortunes and her forces with those of Russia. Now as there is no mistaking the general scope of Russian policy, it is easy to foresee the dangers which this combination presents to the constitutional liberties of Western Europe.

Second. That the Austrian Government apprehends a general war, at no distant period, in which England is to be an enemy and that it is taking preliminary measures to avoid a surprise or a sudden attack from the British navy on Venice and other Austrian maritime [sic] cities.

If I am right in my interpretations of these regulations which bear a quasi hostile character towards all maritime [sic] powers, an important step has been already taken, toward the preparation of a new act in the great revolutionary drama, that of a general continental war. If I am wrong, your intelligence, through other and more enlightened sources of information, will enable you to correct the impressions I have advanced.

Regolamento riguardante le navi da guerra straniere nei porti austriaci⁸⁶

I. The following are declared as ports of war, viz,

1. The *port of Venice*, under which denomination is composed the tract of coast which extends from the pharos of lighthouse of Cavollino to the port of Brondolo, within the distance of cannon shot.

2. The *port of Pola* on the coast of Istria, comprising all the neighboring ports and anchorages situated between the northern point of the Brioni islands and the point of Promontore.

3. The *port of Lissa* in Dalmatia, comprising all the anchorages and roads which are found around the whole island.

To said ports and anchorages, as a general rule no foreign ship of war can come except in the urgent case of distress, which being evident, the vessel constrained to enter, will possibly be obliged to take refuge at the principal port, to cast anchor at the mouth, and to wait, from the local maritime [sic] authority, the designation of a better place to anchor, if it should be necessary.

If circumstances should constrain a ship of war to anchor in one of the secondary points or anchorages, it will be the duty of the commander of the same, to give information of it, as soon as possible, to the commandant of the principal port, or of the military post, and to wait his orders.

II. The port and road of Trieste including the bay of Muggia to the Punta Grossa, remain open to vessels of war of friendly powers, but only on the following conditions.

a. Not more than one ship of war of heavy tonnage or two sails or steam vessels, of the same nation, of light burthen,

⁸⁶ Allegato al dispaccio n. 44 del Niles

that is manned with a less number than three hundred men, shall, at the same time, be admitted within the space commanded by the batteries of the port, except the case in which in consequence of a previous understanding of the respective government with that of Austria the latter may have granted permission.

Such is the situation of Trieste and the bay of Muggia that the urgent case of distress cannot serve as a motive for entry.

b. Every foreign ship of war, whether of sails or steam, must anchor precisely in the place which shall have been assigned to it by the competent officer of the port, and if a vessel of war shall have been constrained to cast anchor before such assignment of place, it must change its station when the captain of the port conformably to his instructions, may find it indispensable.

c. If a ship be sufficiently armed, or if it belong to the class of those which make salutes, it must immediately salute the Imperial Austrian flag.

Return salutes will be rendered with an equal number of guns.

d. On the arrival of every ship of war of foreign flag, its commander must inform the governor, or the superior military commander of the motive of his coming, as well as of the duration of his stay, at least approximately.

Without a stringent necessity, and without the authorization of the governor, or of the superior military commandant, a ship of war shall not prolong its stay beyond the term which shall have been fixed in concert with the governor or superior military commandant for the accomplishment of a declared purpose.

e. It is not permitted to foreign vessels of war to fire a morning or an evening gun.

f. Except the officers and sub officers who usually wear side arms, the crew of a foreign man of war will not be permitted to land unless unarmed and in very small detachments.

III. Under the observance of the above regulations, it is permitted to single foreign ships of war to arrive at, and to remain in all the other fortified ports of the Istrian Croato-Dalmatian, and Austro-Italian coasts, and suitable instructions to that effect will be sent to every port-captain.

IV. Except the case of special convention with the respective government, no foreign vessel of war will be permitted to take a fixed station in any port of the Austrian states.

V. Observing these conditions and the prescriptions in force

in every port to maintain the port police, the sanitary regulations, and the postal and customs laws, foreign vessels of war of friendly maritime [sic] powers can calculate on being received and treated as guests conformably to the customs of civilized nations.

VI. With a view to prevent all uncertainty or equivocation, the pilots and port officers in the fortified and in the non-fortified ports are obliged to inform the commander of a foreign vessel of war of the contents of these regulations, as well as of the ordinances of police enacted for the port subject to their supervision.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 45

Turin, March 19, 1850

Sir: American citizens traveling through Italy have complained to me and doubtless to the Department also of the expense to which they are exposed of paying two dollars to each of our consuls at Nice, Genoa and Spezzia on their way through this kingdom for the visa of their passports. Taking it for granted that it must be your desire to relieve them in as far as possible from the expense and embarrassment of unnecessary consular visas, I have availed myself of an interview with the Minister of the Interior on the subject to solicit him to exempt all American passports from more than a single visa by American authorities within the kingdom. He at once and in the most handsome manner acceded to my request, and has accordingly given orders to all the local police officers that the visa of the Legation here, or of any one of the American consuls at the before mentioned places, is hereafter to be considered by them as sufficient. Our countrymen who enter Italy by Turin will be freed from all expense for American visas on their way through this kingdom in any direction; those who enter by Nice, Genoa or Spezzia will only have to pay for a single consular visa, instead of two or three as formerly.

I trust this arrangement will be satisfactory to our countrymen, as it saves them from an average expense of two to four dollars each.

I have the honor herewith to transmit a translation of an official act of the Austrian Lombardo Venetian Government applicable to those who took part in the late revolutionary movement, as well as to emigrants generally who desire to remain abroad.

The threat of the confiscation of the property of all such persons as may not return to their homes within a given time is certainly a measure of extreme barbarity and is well worthy of the attention of civilized nations every where. There is no government in the world more artful and persevering in the invention and practice of legalized cruelty and injustice than that of Austria in those parts of the empire acquired by conquest and maintained by military force.

The Imperial Government at Vienna has indeed adopted the savage jurisprudence of Russia in respect to absentees who remain abroad against the will of the authorities however innocent they may be of all imputed political or other errors. Austria insists not only that Italy as a country shall wear her yoke, but that every individual subject shall be present to feel and submit to its weight.

The most extraordinary revengeful measures of taxation have been adopted for raising a revenue in that country. It has been decided that a tax of three & a half per cent shall be paid into the Imperial treasury upon all successions or inheritances over and above heavy imposts under every other conceivable form which already oppress her Italian subjects.

These violations of every sentiment of justice, every sound principle of political economy, or of any other than the policy of breaking down the spirit of the people by a most unmitigated and cruel despotism foreshadows the rising power of Russia and clearly indicates what Western Europe may expect from the unchecked dominion and influence of the Austro-Russian alliance.

In referring to my last dispatch No 44, I have to state in confirmation of the opinion therein conveyed, that the Austrian Government is now actively engaged in fortifying all the islands which line the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, as well as the Italian shore down to Ancona of which she has possession.

The conduct of England toward Greece has excited, in this part of Europe, a very deep feeling of surprise and disapprobation.⁸⁷ The British government has lost as much in the estimation of the public by its extraordinary and unaccountable attack upon

⁸⁷ Nel gennaio del 1850 il Foreign Office britannico decise di obbligare la Grecia a pagare il debito pubblico che aveva contratto con i banchieri inglesi. Una squadra navale, nel gennaio, aveva bloccato il Pireo. Il 17 gennaio la camera dei Lords condannò la politica estera del governo greco; il blocco fu tolto solo dietro intervento della Francia.

this weak Kingdom as Russia and Austria did by their wholesale demand on Turkey for the delivery into their hands of all political refugees who had been engaged in the Hungarian war.

Notwithstanding all that has been said, the real motives of the British Cabinet are not yet satisfactorily apparent. The question at issue is not certainly one of indemnity merely. Ever since the Kingdom of Greece was founded by the treaty of the 7th of May 1832 and King Otho raised to the throne, to which treaty England, France and Russia were parties, Athens has been the theatre of the intrigues of these respective powers to possess and maintain an ascendancy in the councils of the Greek government. In order to understand the value which these parties have given to an ascendant influence in Greece, it is necessary to bring to mind the policy of each of these powers, respectively, in the Mediterranean Seas. The primary object of Russian policy is the possession of Constantinople and ultimate supremacy in the Mediterranean. This policy explains the efforts direct and indirect made at the time by the cabinet of St Petersburg to detach Greece from the Turkish empire. The same policy made it desirable to bring the growing maritime force of the new Kingdom, amounting at present to from twenty five to thirty thousand good sailors, and 400,000 tons shipping, under the direction of Russian influence. France and England, as against Russia, have the same interest in maintaining the Turkish Empire and keeping Russia within the Black Sea, although they each as against one another, strive for maritime superiority every where within the Straits of Gibraltar [sic]. France seeks to maintain a counterbalancing political influence in the south of Europe, as against Germany and Russia and to keep open the most important channels of her commerce. To this end she possessed herself of Algeria, on the permanent occupancy of which, she now tacitly claims to make the Mediterranean a close sea. England aims at ascendancy in the same waters to keep open her communications with India, and to secure a countervailing political influence in the south of Europe as against France as well as Russia, and also to assure to herself a legitimate share of Italian, Oriental and African commerce. To all these parties, therefore, the chance of having Greece as an ally at some future time is a matter of great importance. Now all these rival interests and ambitions have been actively engaged

to acquire a moral ascendancy over the counsels of King Otho with a view to this eventual advantage, ever since the day he acceded to the throne. In this contest England has been worsted, and has been getting sour for many years past. Finding her diplomacy irreparably and hopelessly in default, she appears to have seized upon the pretext of Don Pacifico's⁸⁸ and Mr Finlay's⁸⁹ claims to strike a fatal blow at Grecian commerce and to effect that subjection to her policy by the power of her navy, which she has vainly sought by the exercise of pacific and less efficient means. Lord Palmerston seems to have been mistaken as to the effect of the severe measures to which he so imprudently resorted. He doubtless calculated that a bold dash would settle these claims at once and leave a profound impression of the irresistible power of the British navy among all the Mediterranean states, as well as with the Greek Government, before either of the other parties interested in the welfare of Greece could come to her aid. This attack upon Greece it will be seen therefore, makes part of the Eastern question, and may perhaps be considered as an indirect blow to Russia herself. At any rate, it discloses the inveterate sentiments of hostility among the parties to it which have hitherto been partially concealed. It is much to be regretted by all the friends of constitutional government that this course has been adopted by England, as it has most certainly greatly weakened her moral force, and, per contra, given strength to Russia throughout the continent. It has subjected the English cabinet to a severity of language from that of St Petersburg, to which Great Britain has never before had occasion to submit. It is not believed here that the Russian note or the affairs of Greece will immediately lead to a rupture. It is, however, quite apparent from the imperious character of Count Nesselrode's⁹⁰ communica-

⁸⁸ Don Pacifico, ebreo portoghese e suddito inglese di Gibilterra, intentò causa al governo greco reclamando 26 000 sterline quale compenso della sua azienda di Atene che era stata distrutta nel 1847 in un moto antisemita. Lord Palmerston ordinò alla squadra navale del Pireo di imporre con la forza questo ed altri reclami contro il governo greco. Il primo ministro britannico pose un embargo su tutte le navi greche del Pireo e nel 1850 le sequestrò usando la forza perché i Greci cedessero.

⁸⁹ George Finlay (1799-1875), storico inglese. Si stabilì in Grecia nel 1823 per occuparsi intensamente della storia e della politica greca.

⁹⁰ Karl Nesselrode (1780-1862), Conte e diplomatico russo. Dopo esser stato in diverse ambasciate, tedesche e francesi, Nesselrode divenne virtualmente il capo della diplomazia russa sotto Alessandro I, a partire dal 1812. Ebbe un ruolo importante nel trattato di Parigi del 1814 e nel congresso di Vienna del 1815; nel 1816 fu nominato ministro degli esteri in Russia. Contribuì a formulare il trattato di Unkiar-Skelessi nel 1833 che assicurava alla Russia una forte posizione nel vicino oriente. Nel 1844 fu fatto

tions, so perfectly in harmony with Russian assumption of a universal protectorate on the continent, that the Emperor is prepared to take the field, should England chose to forcibly dispute his pretensions.

This state of the case throws the onus of making an open breach upon England which in the present state of her own internal affairs, and the general derangement of her political alliances on the continent, she will hardly venture upon at present. But whenever the great and inevitable struggle between Eastern and Western Europe occurs, Russia, Austria and Prussia will be found acting together, so irresistible will be the moral influence and physical force of the former over the governments of the two latter powers.

I cannot refrain from the expression of the opinion founded upon the growing interest of eastern politics and the probability that they will ere long, light up the flames of a general war, (if it should not occur from some more proximate cause) that the Cabinet at Washington should have the benefit of the intelligence which it would derive from the establishment of a permanent Legation at Athens.⁹¹ Besides, there can be no question that the protection which such a Legation would afford to American Commerce would greatly augment its amount, in that region.

I am officially informed by the Apostolic Nuncio near this Government that Pius IX is to be in Rome in the course of the first days of April next.

*Articolo della Gazzetta di Venezia dell'8 marzo 1850*⁹²

The Lombardo Venetian subjects who in consequence of political disorder had fled to foreign states, were encouraged to return to their country by the proclamation of the 30th December

cancelliere dell'impero e nel 1848 salvò l'Austria dalla rivoluzione ungherese con un intervento armato. Il trattato di Bolta-Luman assicurò alla Russia il potere sui principati danubiani. La guerra di Crimea del 1854-56 diede un colpo all'egemonia russa che Nesselrode aveva aiutato a potenziare nell'Europa orientale e nell'Asia occidentale. Dopo la firma del trattato di Parigi, il 20 marzo 1856, lasciò la cancelleria e rimase solo come membro del consiglio imperiale.

⁹¹ Sebbene gli S. U. avessero riconosciuto la Grecia nel 1837, solo nel 1867 vi stabilirono una legazione. Il primo ministro degli S. U. in Grecia fu Charles K. Tuckerman di New York che fu nominato ministro residente l'11 marzo 1865 e lasciò l'incarico il 4 novembre 1871. Vedi: H. M. WRISTON, *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, p. 660; *State Department Register* 1874, p. 80.

⁹² Allegato al dispaccio n. 45 del Niles

1848 and by that of the 12th of August 1849, in each of which was assigned a peremptory term within which they might return with the favor of complete amnesty.

In the first of those proclamations the effects of the sovereign patent of emigration were particularly mentioned, by the second it was expressly granted to those persons who might prefer to abandon their country forever, to demand a permit of emigration. Many availed themselves of concessions so gracious, either reentering into the Imperial Royal States, or demanding their expatriation, in the modes prescribed, others have remained deaf or contumacious to the voice of authority.

As every act of grace must have its limit, as it cannot be longer allowed to those who are still absent to demand, whenever it may please them, a permit of emigration, and as it cannot be a matter of indifference to the government that subjects so contumacious should enjoy the rights of Austrian citizenship, His Excellency Field Marshal Civil and Military governor General of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, Count Radetzky decrees as follows.

1. The periods granted by the proclamation of the 30th December 1848, and by that of the 12th August 1849 to Lombardo Venetian subjects, absentees on account of political events, for their free return into the Imperial Royal States exempt from penalty having expired the provisions of the sovereign patent of emigration of the year 1832 will now, according to the menace formerly denounced in the first of said proclamations, be applied against all those who though not excluded from the amnesty have not hitherto returned to the Imperial Royal States, and have not obtained a regular permit of emigration.

2. Since by the terms of the seventh article of the said patent, said absent subjects must be regarded as emigrants without authorization immediately after the publication of this Notification, their property, moveable [sic] and immoveable [sic] will be sequestered, according to law.

3. Save the exceptions indicated in the following paragraphs, the property of those persons who have demanded permission to emigrate, but to whom for some reason, it has not been granted, will be subject to the same sequestration.

4. Henceforth permission to emigrate will be granted only to those I. I. R. R. subjects absent for political reasons, whose petitions for emigration may have been hitherto rejected merely on account of a temporary impediment independent of their will.

5. His Excellency, the Field Marshal Governor General Count Radetzky, however, still reserves to himself the liberty of granting the favor of return into the I. I. R. R. States, without punishment on the petition of individual persons, when a) it is proved by legal documents that the petitioner was hindered from availing himself of the accorded amnesty within the preestablished periods, or

b) when the absent person declares himself ready to give bail for his subsequent conduct with half of his present and future estate, in such manner that he may retain the free management and usufruct [sic] of that portion of his property, but be hindered from alienating it, until he shall have substituted for it another adequate part of his estate, or until he shall have obtained from His said Excellency, absolution from that obligation, by having given satisfactory proofs of his political sentiments.

In case of new political offences, the property pledged as above mentioned, will be subjected to sequestration, or,

c) when, the petitioner being destitute of fortune, another subject of His Majesty gives suitable guaranties [sic] of the petitioners's political conduct.

6. Permission to return into the Imperial Royal States, exempt from punishment, will not be granted to individuals who were in the employment of Imperial Royal government.

7. The property of military deserters still absent of every grade, who, as it is evident, can neither hope to obtain permission to emigrate, nor to return freely into the I. I. R. R. States, will be subjected to sequestration.

8. The above provisions will not be applied to the city of Venice and to the territory recovered by its reoccupation in which the above mentioned proclamation of the 30th December 1848 and of the 12th of August 1849 were not published except in conse-

quence of the edict of recall which will be contemporaneously published for this part of the Venetian territory .

Venice March 7th 1850

Barone Puchner ⁹³

Imperial Royal General of Cavalry,
Military and Civil Governor
& Lieutenant for the Venetian Provinces

Proclamation.

In consideration that the proclamation of the 30th December 1848, and that of the 12th of August 1849 were not published in that part of the Venetian provinces, which was reoccupied by the Imperial Royal troops in consequence of the capitulation of Venice, and wishing to extend to this portion of the Venetian territory the same benefits which were conceded to erring subjects in other parts of the kingdom, His Excellency the Field Marshal, Civil and Military Governor general, Count Radetzky decrees as follows:

1. Subjects belonging to the city of Venice and to the territory reoccupied in consequence of the capitulation of the said city, or who were there resident during the siege and who are now absent in foreign countries on account of political disturbances can return freely and with impunity into the Kingdom during all the month of April next, except the I.I.R.R. officers who have served in arms against their legitimate sovereign, and the civil individuals named in the notification of the 24th August 1849, of the then Gubernatorial commission of Venice.

2. Those who shall not, within the period as above determined, return into the kingdom, or obtain the regular permit of emigration, shall be treated as emigrants without authorization, and their moveable [sic] and immoveable [sic] property will be subjected to sequestration according to the laws now in force the present proclamation supplying the place of edict of recall contemplated in the sixth and twenty seventh articles of the sovereign patent of emigration of the year 1832.

3. After the expiration of the said period, all the other provisions contained in the Notification of this day against emi-

⁹³ Il barone Antonio von Puchner, generale di cavalleria, assunse il posto di Luogotenente Generale delle provincie venete, in Venezia, il 18 novembre 1849.

grants without authorization, will be applied to the city of Venice, and to the above mentioned territory.

Venice March 7th 1850

Baron Puchner.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 46

Turin, March 30, 1850

Sir: Allow me to solicit your deliberate attention to the subject of the present dispatch in which I will, in as few words as possible, developpe [sic] a plan for opening a new and most important branch of commerce, affecting the most sensitive and influential interests in our community, those connected with the art of printing. The long duration of peace in Europe has had among its best effects to encourage and extend the knowledge and use of foreign languages, and of none perhaps more than of the English. There are many hundred thousand natives of the continent who now read and speak that language. But the supply of English literature is exceedingly [sic] limited, owing to the high prices of books printed in England, in addition to heavy duties. The market for works in the English language is, however, so great that many millions of francs capital are engaged in the business of republishing in Paris and Germany, the more popular productions of American & English modern writers. But notwithstanding this resource, standard English scientific, historical, and classical works in every branch of intellectual labor are rarely to be found, and only at great expense. Could the continental market for works published in the English language in the United States be opened so as to admit them free from all duty, there can be no doubt that many thousands of volumes would be annually supplied by the publishing houses in the various cities of the United States. The intrinsic value of this new proposed outlet is not to be judged of merely by the increased sale of works now published in America. A new and greatly enlarged sphere would be opened to the publishing business in the reproduction of all standard English works, ancient and modern, which have never yet come from the American press. If an American publisher is asked why he does not get up any particular work of science in the first style

of the art, his reply is that the number of purchasers in the United States is too limited, that he could undertake to do so if he had a reasonable assurance of disposing of only a few hundred copies more than he can now calculate on selling to public libraries and rich individuals. But for the want of this additional market he dares not undertake the enterprise in the face of an almost certain loss. Hence a poor cheaply got up edition is thrown off, or perhaps the work is not republished in the United States at all and we are obliged to rely on importations from England to supply American readers. Now the effect of opening the continent to all works published in the United States in the English language free from duty would be to supply this additional market, and thus enable our publishers to reprint many English classical works which have hitherto been neglected, as well as greatly to improve the typography and general style of all reprints that are intended for select public and private libraries. The number of public and well selected private libraries on the continent, to be supplied, is immense, to say nothing of a certain and large consumption among general readers, who seek for the current English and American literature of the day, of a cheaper character, in the book stores.

These observations will suffice to illustrate the advantages which would accrue to our publishers, if this new and wide field could be opened, unembarrassed by any taxation, to American enterprise.

I will now proceed to state by what means I propose to effect the object in view. I propose that we shall say to the government of this Kingdom, in which the Italian and French languages are in use, and in which a considerable business is carried on in the publication of French and Italian works, that if it will admit all books in the English language published in the United States free of duty, we, in return, will admit all books published in this kingdom, in the Italian and French languages, free of all duty into the United States. You will perceive, at once, Sir, that the publisher of Italian books in Turin or Genoa would have a decided advantage over the publisher of the same works in Milan, Florence, Rome or Naples, in consequence of his being enabled to send a considerable number of copies of his publications to the cities of the United States in payment for English publications which

he could readily dispose of here, while his competitor in the cities last named is deprived of that facility.

The same advantage would be enjoyed by the publisher of French works in Savoy, over the publisher of the same works in France, Belgium or elsewhere as long as he enjoys this privileged outlet for his extra copies, and receives free of duty American books in return.

I propose that the same offer should be made to Switzerland, where the German and French languages prevail, and a large business is carried on in the publication of books in both those languages.

Now there can be little if any doubt that the above mentioned proposals would be accepted by the governments of both these countries. In regard to the Sardinian Government I will state that immediately after my arrival here I took occasion to converse, informally, with no less than three of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who rapidly succeeded each other, each of whom was struck with the benefits which all parties would derive from a free interchange of intellectual labor in the form of books in the respective languages of the two countries, and manifested a strong desire to see the project realized at once. One of them went so far as to cause the different chambers of commerce to be consulted as to its effects upon the book trade. The answer was in every instance in the highest degree favorable. But the political state of the country has hitherto been so unsettled, and so frequent personal changes have been made in the ministry, that I decided to omit writing to you on the subject at all until the government here should present some chance of stability. That time has now arrived.

You will perceive, Sir, that conventions of the kind suggested with this country and with Switzerland also, to which we have a free transit by treaty stipulation, embrace a provision for the opening of the American market for books in the three principal languages of continental Europe, viz, the French, Italian, and German. Now as there is a general feeling in Europe, as with us, that intelligence in the form of books in all languages should be considered as *raw material*, subject to be worked out into a thousand methods of productive and taxable industry, and therefore proper to be admitted every where duty free, it is apparent that Germany, France, and the other Italian states must follow the example which

is proposed to be exhibited to them by the before mentioned powers, or submit to the alternative of seeing their publishers excluded from our markets by the privileges which the proposed conventions concede.

Before leaving the United States, I took occasion to confer with several of our most eminent publishers on this subject who expressed themselves to me in the strongest terms of the advantages which would result from the realization of the plan, upon the book trade in all our large cities, in consequence of the extensive interchange which would at once spring up between the publishers on both sides of the Atlantic.

The sums collected upon books imported into the United States are exceedingly small, and the duty collected on books generally was imposed indiscriminately, rather as a means of encouraging the printing business at home, than as presenting an item of revenue. There is nothing, therefore, in the policy of our government in hostility to the proposed measure, especially as it aims to enlarge a branch of native industry which from the origin of the government it has been an object to encourage.

I am aware that legislative action on both sides will be required to give efficacy to the proposed conventions, but that difficulty can easily be overcome by making the final ratification by executive action contingent upon the necessary modifications in existing laws, and I feel quite certain that there is no party in congress or the country that will refuse a ready cooperation in carrying out a plan that promises such decided benefits to the most influential interest in the country. This mode of effecting a mutually free trade in books, by making a *fulcrum of this country and Switzerland*, occurred to me eleven years ago when I was engaged here in making a treaty of commerce, and has occupied my attention ever since, and I now submit it to your consideration in the confident belief that it will be approved by the President as well as by yourself. Certain I am that no measure can be better calculated to excite a warm and active feeling of satisfaction among literary men and all those classes of citizens in any way connected with the public press on both sides of the Atlantic. You will observe, Sir, that this plan does not offer even the objection of displacing any rival in the commerce of English books.

It opens an entirely new field, and upon conditions so liberal as to admit of its universal adoption to the common benefit of all.

In a word it presents no objectionable features and cannot become the cause of complaint from any quarter.

If Sir, as I doubt not, the President should think well of the proposed object, it will be most agreeable to me to receive from you a full power with authority to proceed in the negotiation.

As to Switzerland, I am induced to believe that no attempt should be made there till I shall have succeeded here. If it shall then be your pleasure to intrust me with similar negotiations with the central government of the Swiss cantons it will only be necessary to furnish me with a temporary letter of *credit*, and full power to that effect, without at all interfering with the duties of my position here. Success here would enable me to put the case strongly and successfully to the Swiss government and perhaps might enable me to accomplish in a short time, what a new hand might achieve with difficulty. But I have no other personal wish in this matter than to promote to the fullest extent in my power the interests of the country, and the success of the administration which I have the honor to serve.

John M. Clayton a Nathaniel Niles

Istruzione n 13

Department of State, Washington, April 24, 1850

Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that the President has thought proper to confer the appointment of Chargé d'Affaires to Sardinia upon Mr. William B. Kinney of New Jersey.⁹⁴ You will, therefore, as soon as convenient after receiving this notification, take leave of the Government of Sardinia, by delivering to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the enclosed letter, which is accompanied by an office copy, advising him of your recall. You will assure His Majesty's Government of the desire of the President to maintain, in their full vigour, the amicable relations, which now so happily exist between the two countries.

The Bankers of the United States in London have been instructed to close your credit upon them for your salary and for the contingent expenses of the Legation, upon the day you take leave

⁹⁴ William B. Kinney del New Jersey fu nominato incaricato d'affari il 22 aprile 1850 e richiamato, dietro sua richiesta, il 1 giugno 1853. Lasciò Torino il 5 agosto 1853. Ne parleremo più distesamente

of the Court, near which you have resided; of which day you will give them, as well as this Department, due notice.

If you should still be at Turin on arrival of your successor, you will deliver to him the archives, books and property of the Legation. In case of your departure before Mr. Kinney reaches Turin, you will, of course, leave for him in safe keeping, the property referred to, as well as all the Despatches from this Department to you, and a record, or drafts of your letters to the Department.

I take this occasion to acknowledge the receipt of your Nos. from 36 to 40; 42, 44, 45 and 46. You will perceive that Nos. 41 and 43 have never reached this Department, and you will, therefore, supply this deficiency by transmission of copies.

With reference to the amount of postage still due to the Post Office at Turin from your predecessor, (mentioned by you in your letter of the 30th ultimo, to the Fifth Auditor) you are, herewith, authorized and requested to pay the sum of one hundred and eighteen francs and twenty eight centimes and to charge them to the contingent expenses of the Legation.

I cannot close this paper, without expressing to you my thanks for the interesting communications, which you have made to this Department, and which bear testimony, to your zeal as well as to your circumspection and ability.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 47

Turin, April 30, 1850

Sir: Since I last had the honor to address you on political subjects the Sardinian parliament has passed several legislative enactments indicative of progress and a salutary reform of old laws which, however wise and necessary at the time of their adoption, had become exceptional abuses, as hostile to the spirit of equality characteristic of the times as they were offensive to the express stipulations of the Statuto.

For a period of many hundred years the authority of the Bishops shared with the temporal tribunals in the civil and criminal administration of the country. Crimes committed by or upon the clergy were exclusively amenable to episcopal jurisdiction. All cases growing out of the administration of property belonging to the Church and monastic establishments came within the cogni-

zance of the ecclesiastical courts. Debts contracted by the clergy between one another or with lay citizens could only be enforced by the same tribunals. Delinquents before the civil or criminal law who took refuge within the walls of any consecrated church, episcopal palace or other ecclesiastical buildings could not be arrested but by the assent of the Bishop formally obtained. All these exemptions and privileges had been accorded to the Church at different times in its early history and by different concordats entered into between the Sovereign and the Holy See.

In feudal times this partial sovereignty of the Church within that of the civil state, served as an invaluable example for the more enlightened application of just principles of judicial and administrative government and tended to qualify in a most salutary manner the reckless violence and ignorant barbarity of that epoch. But the gradual perfectionment [sic] of civil government in reference to human rights and obligations and the principles of justice which regulate them all over the christian world, had long ago left this exceptional system of clerical jurisdiction an anachronism and an intolerable abuse. Analogous episcopal authority extended throughout all the Catholic countries of the continent till modern times. But these privileges and pretensions were swept away in Austria and its dependencies by the high handed authority of the Emperor Leopold 2nd.

In France, Spain and Portugal they were trampled under foot by the revolutions which have so fundamentally modified the social and political organization of those countries in all other respects. The power of Bonaparte forced the then Pope to enter into a concordat by which these privileges of the Church were formally given up, together with many other Church observances found to be incompatible with the interests of the people and the advanced state of civil polity. In conformity to the principle laid down by Jesus Christ of rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's the Pope had also in Spain, Portugal and Spanish America conformed the exigences [sic] of the Church in all these respects to the actual state of the civil government in all these several states, and had renewed diplomatic relations with them on that basis, notwithstanding the violent manner in which his authority had been superseded.

But in regard to this country, it was the prevailing belief at the Roman Court that the attachment of the people to the Holy

See was so great that violent innovations could not be made, and it was found impossible to get the papal government to yield pretensions which had been formally abandoned in France and tacitly in many other countries.

In 1842 the last concordat between this government and the Pope⁹⁵ was entered into by which the criminal jurisdiction was abandoned to the ordinary tribunals, with the reserved stipulation however, that no sentence of the criminal courts against the clergy should be carried into effect without a previous examination of the proceedings by the Bishops and the privilege of addressing observations in regard to them to the executive authority. Further than this, after repeated attempts, it became apparent the court of Rome would not go, and it was decided to cut the Gordian knot by legislative enactments. Count Siccardi the Minister of Justice, accordingly brought forward the project of a law covering the whole ground of clerical jurisdiction, bringing priests and the administration of ecclesiastical property, under whatever denomination, within the action of the common statute law, and according to the police authorities the right to seize criminals within churches &c.

This law was passed by very large majorities through both branches of the legislature, amidst great popular enthusiasm and received the immediate sanction of the King. It was resisted however with a good deal of ability in a well sustained debate of several days in which, on the one hand, the injustice and impolicy of violating by legislative enactments, without the previous consent of the Pope, the provisions of a succession of concordats entered into by former sovereigns in ancient times, were strongly urged as an infringement of the article of the Statuto or Constitution which acknowledges the Catholic religion as the religion of the State. It was well urged that it especially becomes smaller states to exhibit an inexorable fidelity to all the obligations consecrated by Treaty stipulations, inasmuch as the rights which international law establishes constitute their principal security and the chief weapon against the invasion and triumph of force. On the other hand it was ably and successfully contended, that concordats with the Pope, as the spiritual head of the Church, are not to be considered in the light of international treaties—that a divided sovereignty in a constitutional state was an intolerable anomaly in direct conflict with that article of the Constitutional which places all the citizens upon a common level before the laws.

⁹⁵ Il concordato è del 1841.

The court of Rome, however, most unwisely chose to consider the rights and privileges of the Church invaded, and gave orders to the Apostolic Nuncio to withdraw immediately from Turin in the event of the final passage of the law. The Nuncio accordingly left this city the day after the law received the royal sanction.

Diplomatic relations will, however, be kept up at Rome through the Minister of this country who will remain at his post.

The course which the Papal Government has taken in this matter affords another striking proof of its weakness and folly, as well as the total absence of that popular sympathy which alone sustains it as a temporal institution.

Indeed, the events of the last two years have tended to spread the idea very generally through the Catholic world that the Church should be divested of its temporal power and reduced to what it was intended to be—nothing other than the spiritual supervisor of the interests and principles of christian morality. If the problem could in any way be solved as to how the independence of the Pope as the chief Bishop of Christianity could be maintained, the common opinion of Catholicity would soon disrobe him of all temporal authority.

Another measure has also been carried through the Sardinian Chambers indicative in a most remarkable manner of the conservative character of this people. The civil list for the present reign has been legally established, and the sum of four millions of francs or nearly eight hundred thousand dollars granted by the concurrent vote of both Chambers amounting to unanimity.

You will hardly fail, Sir, to express surprise that such a grant in so small a Kingdom should have been made in these revolutionary times without any opposition, notwithstanding as I was informed by the ministers, the King gave them express orders that they should in no way interfere to influence the decision of either branch of the parliament. But Sir, your surprise will be somewhat diminished when you bring to mind that for a period of eight hundred years the House of Savoy has furnished a most exemplary race of dukes and kings, who through that whole period of time have administered every branch of the government with consummate ability and success. They have always respected the principles of justice between man and man, as well as between the subject and the state. Their whole conduct has been guided by an exclusive reference to the happiness of the people and the common national

weal. It is a most striking fact in the long history of the House of Savoy that many of its ruling chiefs have voluntarily descended from the throne and sought the obscurity of private life without wealth, display, or pretensions of any kind. They have always been distinguished for personal courage and a prompt disposition to share in the dangers which a state of war brought upon their subjects. Frugal in their lives, and charitable in their dispositions, they have descended to their graves leaving nothing behind them but venerated memories, the evidences of their philanthropy, their heroism and their patriotic devotion to the real or supposed interests of the nation.

Although this family reigned as absolute sovereigns for more than eight hundred years, their property accumulated through that long period of time does not amount to more than sixty thousand dollars a year, a sum far below the revenues of many private gentlemen in various parts of the Kingdom.

The House of the Medici governed Tuscany for about 150 years, and at the end of that time, something like half the property of the state belonged to that family.

When the conduct of the House of Savoy in respect to disinterestedness is brought into comparison with most other reigning families, and to this is superadded their exemplary piety, and heroism in the field, it is not surprising that even a democratic Chamber fairly representing the people, should feel that any sum placed in the hands of the descendants of such sires would be wisely disposed of. It is to its characteristic civil and military virtues that the House of Savoy owes its long and never disputed possession of power, as well as its present popularity with all classes.

In an old country like this the vicissitudes of fortune, leave in their train thousands of cases of hidden calamity, of virtuous and hopeless poverty in every class, that cannot be reached through the usual channels of municipal bounty or individual charity. All these cases appeal by petition to the philanthropy of the sovereign who keeps up an organized system for the examination into, and the relief of all such cases as are found to present worthy claims for succor or encouragement. So that this large civil list turns out after all to be little more than a general and liberal grant for the relief of private suffering.

The enactment of these two laws with the preceding remarks will, I trust, serve to throw light upon the internal state of the country. In the main the Sardinian legislature has conducted itself with exemplary moderation, intelligence and forecast. It proceeds with measured and cautious steps in the way of reform without any attempts to throw off what centuries have proved to be good institutions. It seems to be sensible that the greatest danger popular liberty has to encounter is that of going too fast and too far in the way of innovation and change. It seems to comprehend the great political truth, that all solid structures, in the way of government, must be built up by slow degrees and that every new advance toward improvement should receive the sanction of the quiet, sober, and unimpassioned judgment of an enlightened and moral public mind. How few examples we have seen in recent times of such exemplary deliberation! Thus far it may truly be said that the Sardinians have proved themselves better fitted for constitutional free government than any other people on the continent with the exception perhaps of the Dutch.

The general aspect of the political affairs of Europe, viewed from this point of observation, seem, at least for the time, to have assumed a somewhat more pacific character. Diplomatic relations are now renewed with the sublime Porte both by Austria and Russia. The troops of this last power are being withdrawn from the Danubian provinces of Turkey. The last accounts represent the Greek question of indemnity as being nearly at rest, and it is evident that Great Britain has no intention now to press her claims to the islands of Cervi and Sapiientia.

The Pope has got back to Rome without his return having caused any open misunderstanding between Austria and France, although it was by the influence of the latter power that the Holy Father is again replaced upon his temporal throne in despite of the secret efforts of the Austrian Cabinet to prevent it.

The vacillating policy and tergiversation of the King and Government of Prussia under the influence of Russian representations if not menaces, justifies a confident belief that the difficulties existing between Prussia and Austria in reference to the organization of a more or less restricted northern confederacy under the control of the first of these powers, will be amicably arranged. It seems equally probable that the tempest in a Tea Pot got up between Denmark and the refractory duchies will be allayed by the simulta-

neous, though independently exercised influence of England and Russia. Political refugees have either escaped from or are quiet and concealed in Switzerland.

Most of these causes of anxiety and danger to the peace of Europe have been disposed of by the authoritative language of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, backed by the show of an army of eight hundred thousand regular troops with an implied disposition on the part of the Emperor to bring them into the field should his wishes be any where openly and violently disregarded.

By the exhibition of this great force and the bold tone of its advice and remonstrances to all the parties concerned, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has succeeded in making its influence irresistible as far west as the Rhine, and all this has been accomplished with so much astuteness as to furnish no direct and justifiable cause of offence on the part of Western Powers.

Russia may truly be said to be now the arbiter of the fortunes of all continental Europe. Should the Samson power of France long remain paralyzed under the spell of spurious Republicanism, and the equally fatal influence of agrarian demagoguery, the predictions of Napoleon will soon be realized and the entire continent must become permanently Cossack.

The displacement of any just equilibrium of power by the ascendancy [sic] of Russia over Austria, Prussia and the small German states which revolve about these acknowledged centres, breaks up all those guaranties of mutual independence which it has been the common policy of all the European powers to establish and maintain ever since the treaties of Westphalia. Whether this immense incubus of Moscovite power can ever be shaken off, or how it can be done if at all possible, are questions, which time alone can solve. It seems indeed more than probable that if the Russian Government is wise enough not to tread too hard upon the springs of liberty, and to leave the lights of science in Western Europe undisturbed, as she finds them, she will remain permanently enthroned in undisputed Empire. But on the other hand, events likely to occur in France may at any moment change the condition of Europe, by exciting sympathies and hostilities which may at once bring on new revolutionary convulsions or general war. That country stands apparently on the very brink of inevitable crises, the result of which no one can venture to predict. She seems to be placed between the acknowledged impossibility of preserving

a republican form of government as it now exists—the impossibility of recreating the Empire, the impossibility of restoring monarchy under either of the discarded branches of the House of Bourbon. But the most imperious of all these impossibilities is that of a continuation of the present state of things. This condition of France keeps all the governments of the continent in a constant state of alarm, and imposes on them the necessity of maintaining their armies upon a formidable war footing, and of making ruinous exactions [sic] in the way of taxation for their support. England as yet seems to have no decided policy in reference to the continent. Indeed she exhibits many indications of an ultimate purpose to abdicate all attempts at influence or control over the policy of continental nations, and to direct her efforts exclusively to the maintenance of her maritime [sic] ascendancy, so as to make her invulnerable at home, and leave her free to pursue that course of commercial prosperity which seems to be secured to her, at least while the industry of the continent may be more or less suspended by prevailing disorders, and the fear of revolutionary wars.

During the absence of the Grand Duke of Tuscany from his states and the occupancy of the city of Leghorn and the subsequent military operations of the Austrian troops to regain possession of that city in the name of the legitimate sovereign, considerable damage was done to English mercantile interests in that place. Some months since the British Government presented to the Grand Ducal Government a bill of damages the payment of which was refused and an offer made to submit the decision of the question to the Emperor of Russia.

Lord Palmerston declined this offer and proposed the friendly mediation of the Sardinian Government instead. This in turn was refused by the Grand Duke. It is now understood that France has proposed that the matter should be referred to the King of Belgium, and I have reason to believe that Lord Palmerston has acceded or will accede to this proposal.

The Duke of Genoa, the King's brother, has recently married a Saxon Princess and is to make the tour of the northern German capitals before he returns to Turin. He is expected to arrive in this city with his bride about the 25th of next month.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n. 48

Turin, June 1, 1850

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No 13 informing me of the appointment of Mr Kinney as Chargé d'Affaires near this Government, and covering my letter of recall. Acting on the presumption formed on declarations made by the President to distinguished members of Congress of his own party, that it was the intention of the administration to continue me in office for some time at least, I ventured last autumn to take and fit up a house. As I am now unexpectedly called on to break up my establishment, I shall proceed to do so, with all convenient dispatch, although it is not likely that I shall be able to leave the city before the probable arrival of my successor. The instructions contained in your dispatch above referred to will be strictly complied with, and whatever duties may devolve upon me while I remain will be faithfully discharged.

I beg you, Sir, to accept my best thanks for the terms of commendation in which it has pleased you to express yourself in regard to the character of my official communications. It is gratifying to me to possess this record under your hand, that I have not been removed from office from any want of ability, diligence or fidelity in the discharge of its duties. I can only regret, as you, Sir, doubtless do, that a state of things exists in our country which renders the interests of the public service subordinate to the unintelligent exigencies of party. For one I most sincerely deplore that the President has found himself so totally unable to resist this demoralizing evil in the working of our political system. What indeed can be more fatal to the moral and political interests of a great country than the periodical sacrifice of both to the alternate revengeful action of rival and exasperated parties? Yet this is evidently becoming the chief moving principle in our political machine.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Nel decennio 1840-1850, la netta separazione fra i democratici, come partito del basso ceto e di massa, e i *Whigs*, come partito dei benestanti e degli intellettuali, cominciò a confondersi attraverso divisioni interne. Il significato politico di queste divenne chiaro nelle elezioni del 1848 con l'apparizione del *Free Soil Party*, che fu formato nel Nord da una coalizione di Abolizionisti, di *Whigs* anti-schiavisti del New England, e di Democratici dissidenti a New York. Il partito non vinse ma tolse ai Democratici dello Stato di New York tanti voti da permettere ai *Whigs* di vincere con una piccola maggioranza. Nel 1849 i dissensi di parte e le crescenti minacce della secessione sudista si concentrarono sulla possibile ammissione della California come Stato non schiavista, dissensi che furono

Nothing of especial interest has transpired since my last communication except the visit of the King to Savoy the ancient birth place of his family and a residence for several centuries, where he has been received with extraordinary and universal popular enthusiasm. The King was accompanied on his tour by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and some of his colleagues. The party will probably recross the Alps in the course of a week accompanied by the Duke of Genoa, and his young bride a Princess of the House of Saxony, to meet whom the royal visit to Savoy was ostensibly undertaken at the present time.

Nathaniel Niles a John M. Clayton

Dispaccio n 49

Turin, July, 13 1850

Sir: The grain trade carried on within the Mediterranean waters from time immemorial has been one of the principal sources of the commercial prosperity of Genoa. Genoese ships have had the protection of differential duties to the effectual exclusion of vessels under all other flags. These long existing privileges in favor of Sardinian navigation had the effect of preventing the government of this country from entering into treaties of commerce with other nations, until I had the good fortune to get round the difficulty in the treaty of commerce which I had the honor to sign in Genoa in November 1838, by the provisions of the separate article of that treaty which served as a mode for similar stipulations with most of the other commercial nations of the world. The progress however of free opinions on the subject of commerce has at length induced this country to abandon the differential protection hitherto afforded to Sardinian vessels in the corn, oil, and wine trade, to

sedati solo dal compromesso del 1850 riguardante l'immediata ammissione della California libera, l'organizzazione di governi federali nell'Utah e nel New Mexico, senza menzione di schiavitù, una nuova rigorosa legge sugli schiavi fuggiaschi e l'abolizione del mercato privato degli schiavi nel distretto della Columbia. Questo compromesso tuttavia, creò altre scissioni fra i partiti, i Democratici l'accettarono, i *Free Soilers* e gli Abolizionisti furono contrari e i *Whigs*, a loro volta, erano internamente divisi. Il risultato di ciò fu che, nelle elezioni del 1852, i *Southern Unionists*, adirati per la posizione antischiavista dei *Northern Whigs*, passarono ai Democratici creando un fronte democratico. Questo segnò l'inizio della fine del partito *Whig* e la comparsa di quello democratico come partito conservatore nazionale, guidato da piantatori del Sud e mantenuto con i voti del Nord, Vedi S. E. MORRISON e H. S. COMMAGER, *The Growth of the American Republic*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1950, Vol. I, pp. 553-55, 609-610

which it was limited for the first time by our commercial treaty. On the strength of the enclosed letter from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, it can now be officially announced to the commercial public that American vessels can engage in the grain carrying trade, as well as in all other kinds of commerce between Genoa and other ports within the Mediterranean and Black Seas, on the same footing with Genoese vessels. The separate article of the treaty alluded to, with its reserved rights of retaliation, consequently becomes a dead letter. You will perceive Sir, from the letter of the Secretary, that he desires a declaration to that effect from the United States Government.

Massimo d'Azeglio a Nathaniel Niles ⁹⁷

Turin le 12 Juillet 1850

Monsieur,

Le Parlement national vient de rendre une loi qui a reçu la sanction Royale le 6 du courant, par laquelle tous les droits différentiels de navigation et de commerce qu'on percevait jusqu'à présent dans ce Royaume au détriment des pavillons étrangers demeurent supprimés en faveur des nations qui accorderaient au pavillon Suède une parfaite réciprocité.

D'après cette loi, la réserve qui formait l'objet de l'article séparé du traité du 26 9mbre 1838 vient de cesser. Des ordres en conséquence ont été donnés aux autorités de nos ports pour que cette mesure reçoive immédiatement son entière exécution en faveur du pavillon Américain. Je ne doute pas que de son côté votre Gouvernement ne s'empresse de donner à celui de S. M. l'assurance qu'il regarde.

Nathaniel Niles a Daniel Webster ⁹⁸

Dispaccio n. 50

Turin, August 21, 1850

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that my mission near the Government of H. S. Majesty was brought to a close yesterday

⁹⁷ Allegato al dispaccio n. 49 del Niles

⁹⁸ Daniel Webster del Massachusetts, fu nominato Segretario di Stato per la se-

by the presentation of my letter of recall to His Excellency the Chevalier d'Azeglio, His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council accompanied by one of my own of which I enclose a copy. The books, archives and other property belonging to this Legation will be delivered into the hands of the Hon. W. B. Kinney who, as I understand, is to be officially received today at the foreign office.

In closing my connection with this Legation and the Department of State, there seems to be a propriety in my giving to you, Sir, a succinct account of the actual state of the Kingdom in regard to its internal condition and its relations to circumjacent [sic] countries.

The Kingdom of Sardinia is singularly prosperous in every branch of industry. The establishment of a free constitutional government here, upon what may be hoped a firm basis, together with the absence of any such government in any other part of Italy, has had the effect to concentrate in the various cities of the Kingdom, not only a great number of political refugees, expelled from Lombardy, Venice, the duchies of Plaisance, Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, the Roman States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, on account of recent political troubles in those countries, but has also presented an inducement to many families of respectability and wealth, disconnected from politics, from every part of Italy, to take up a residence here. The total number of strangers thus brought into the country amounts to more than three hundred thousand, no inconsiderable number of whom are in possession of very large revenues. Sardinia is likely to derive the same advantages from the political distraction and misgovernment of other parts of the Italian peninsula which Holland and Protestant Germany derived from the repeal of the edict of Nantes in the time of Louis the XIV. The annual outlay made by this great number of strangers in the country, cannot be computed at less sum than about two hundred millions of francs, or forty millions of dollars annually. This amount of expenditure superadded to the ordinary sources of wealth has had the effect of giving a decided character of permanent activity to all business pursuits. To this general prosperity may be attributed in a great degree the prevailing

condo volta il 22 luglio 1850; prese possesso della carica il 23 luglio 1850, morì il 24 ottobre 1852.

tranquillity in every part of the Kingdom. Although it is due to the character of the people to say that they are essentially an order loving and a law observing population, a natural result of a schooling of ages under a strict though just system of absolutism. This government is determined to observe with the utmost exactness all its engagements with the neighboring Empire of Austria without, however, disguising the hope that the time will yet come, in the order of providence and political convulsions, when the Italian race will be emancipated from the despotic and hated yoke of Vienna. It feels that the most effectual means of weakening the Austrian influence in the peninsula is by an example of force and good government here a system of policy that shall at once secure to the people all the advantages of national liberty without enfeebling the hands of the sovereign for all purposes of national defence. Nothing indeed, as you will perceive, can be more galling or embarrassing to the Austrian Government than to have on the frontier of Lombardy a successfully working constitutional and representative government, while its Italian subjects can only be kept in subjection by the constant employment in the Lombardo-Venetian Vice Royalty of some eighty thousand troops, and the exercise of the most rigid military authority.

With the Grand Duke of Tuscany this Government is on easy terms of friendly intercourse, although the Tuscan Government and territory are fairly under the foot of Austria. A treaty has been concluded between the Grand Duke and the Emperor by which ten thousand Austrian troops are to occupy the principal cities of the dukedoms for a period of ten years. These troops, by the treaty, cannot be withdrawn without the consent of the Grand Duke nor be sent away by him, without the consent of the Austrian Government. The Grand Duke has also entered into stipulations at Vienna not to modify the political institutions of his country, in the sense of free representative institutions, without previous concert with the Emperor.

With the Pope this Government has serious difficulties. In my dispatch No 47, April 30th, I had the honor to give your predecessor some account of the abrogation of the legal privileges of the Church—a measure which was very badly received by the reactionary or high ecclesiastical party; but without producing any other disorder than refractory declarations on the part of several Bishops two of whom were arrested, tried and punished, by fine

and imprisonment, for the intemperance of their published addresses.

Some weeks since, Santa Rosa, one of the ministers, a man of exemplary piety, fell ill and in the last period of his life expressed the wish to receive the Viaticum or last sacrament. The curate of his parish was called to officiate.

Aware that Santa Rosa had participated actively in the laws abrogating ecclesiastical courts, and abolishing the privileges of the clergy, the curate addressed himself for instructions to the Archbishop of Turin, who had recently left the prison in which he had been incarcerated for the violence of language above alluded to. The Archbishop prohibited the curate by a written communication from administering the last sacrament to the dying minister, unless he would previously sign a paper expressive of his repentance at having been instrumental in the enactment of the laws before mentioned. Santa Rosa refused to modify his opinions on that subject, but declared himself a good Catholic and wished to die in the observance of all the rites of his Church. While the discussion was going on between the family of Santa Rosa, the curate and the Archbishop as to what was to be done, the Minister died, deprived of the consolations of the religion in which he was a fervent believer. This aroused the popular indignation to the highest pitch. The clergy were insulted by popular imprecations, but no important acts of violence were committed. The government found an apology in this popular agitation for interfering. The apartments of an order of monks residing adjacent to the Church St. Charles to which the curate belonged were entered. There the Archbishop's letter was found, and other papers, clearly proving that there was a concerted purpose on the part of the Archbishop and others to disobey and trample on the recently enacted laws. These monks were sent off under a military escort to save them from the enraged multitude to an associated convent at Pinerolo. The Archbishop was also arrested and sent to the strong fortress of Finistrella [sic] situated in the Alps. Within the twenty four hours, however, all these rather arbitrary police proceedings had been brought within the requirements of the law touching the personal liberty of the subject, in the shape of a formal process against the monks and the Archbishop.

Mr. Pinelli, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, has been sent on an extraordinary mission to the Pope, probably with the

view of effecting the removal of the Archbishop from Turin, to some other See but, as by the laws of the Church, the rights of a Bishop are inalienable, there is little probability of Mr. Pinelli's success. The disaccord between the Government and Rome is producing division in the Church itself, and gradually weakening the moral influence of the Pope in this country. Indeed, Catholicity all over Europe is becoming more protestant, or I should rather say more self judging, and less respectful of the temporal and episcopal authority of the successor of St. Peter.

The events above mentioned called forth the most bitter attacks from the press especially from the very powerful pen of Mr. Giovanni Bianchi,⁹⁹ a Lombard, who, under the act of Union had been elected on two occasions as representative to Parliament, although not a naturalized citizen. The language of this writer was so violent and so vulgarly abusive of the Pope personally that the Ministry have found themselves under the necessity of expelling him from the country. This seasonable act of justice toward the chief of the Catholic Church which is the constitutional religion of the state, may have a good effect at Rome, as it affords a positive evidence that while on the one hand the Ministry are determined that the Constitution and the laws of the country shall be permanent in its civil relations with the Church, they are equally determined to save it from abuse and dishonor whenever they can do so within the legal exercise of their own authority.

There is a prevailing coolness between the Sardinian government and that of the Two Sicilies, growing out of the late revolutionary events. It will not have escaped your recollection that the Provisional Government of the Island of Sicily, two years ago, offered the crown of that Island to the Duke of Genoa, the brother of the present King of Sardinia. The gentlemen who were sent to make this offer, and great numbers of others more or less compromised [sic] in the late rebellion in Sicily and Naples, reside here, are kindly treated by the Government and highly respected by the citizens. They find a channel for their complaints and severe criticism on the acts and policy of the Neapolitan Government, through the free press of this country. The successful working of a constitutional government here, is also a cause of inquietude to the King of Naples, and of threatening aspirations on the part of his

⁹⁹ Si tratta di Aurelio Bianchi Giovini.

people. All these things, superadded to traditional antipathies and rivalry, have tended to mar that harmony between this government and that of Naples which the political interest of all Italy so much requires. Could these two governments be brought into the adoption of a harmonious policy with regard to Austria based upon a reliable feeling of mutual friendship between the two nations, there would be just ground to hope for the early establishment of Italian Independence. But while sentiments of mutual jealousy and hatred are suffered to embitter their relations, Austria must necessarily have a predominating influence throughout all the smaller states of the peninsula. It is a leading feature of Austrian diplomacy in Italy to excite and cherish these mutual discords and jealousies by which all her courts have been characterized, ever since the period of the Italian republics. But for these surviving hostile sentiments the whole of Italy would have been liberated from German oppression two years ago.

But the political relations of Sardinia are by far more important with France than with any other country. This country is a tête du pont of western Europe, in the rear of which France is the main army. When that army is disorganized or badly commanded, this tête de pont is necessarily in a precarious condition. This indeed is the present condition of the French Republic. The antagonistic dynastic parties by which that country is divided have agreed in nothing but in establishing a constitution which fetters the efforts of each, while it has rendered the status quo impossible and virtually annulled the power of the country, as one of the great states of Europe. To this unhappy genius of the present form of the French government may be attributed that total destruction of the balance of power on the continent which we now witness in the preponderating influence of Russia as far west as the Rhine. To the same cause must be attributed the reassumption and extension of Austrian domination on the Italian peninsula.

While France is thus weakened by her internal divisions and the feeble organization of her power, Sardinia can have no other policy, even in relation to the rest of Italy than that of keeping quiet, and making herself as inoffensive as possible to Austria and the northern powers. As these powers recover their own strength, and security, it is even doubtful to what extent they may permit Sardinia to preserve her present constitutional forms of government if France should continue for any great length of time in her

actual state of internal division and powerlessness abroad. Nothing indeed but the volcanic character of that country and the uncertainty as to the time and effect of new eruptions, restrains and moderates the reactionary policy of Eastern Europe in its influence on this, and other minor states of the west of the continent.

The opinion is universal among all reflecting men that the French Republic is on the eve of some great change. All agree that her present republican form of government is as generally unpopular at home as it has proved itself fatal to the power and influence of the country abroad.

Indeed no nation on the continent can, by any possibility, adopt an entirely representative system, embracing the executive branch of government, and preserve its influence and independence.

The monarchical principle must be again restored in France before she can be restored to that influence among the great powers of the continent which her own security and the interests of all the smaller states require.

This opinion is weighing so powerfully on the French mind, that it may burst forth in the form of new revolution on any occasion that may rally the excited and concurrent sentiments of the country.

Nothing indeed keeps up the present system in France but the equal pressure of rival and antagonistic parties. Whenever either of these parties yields to despair, from any cause, one of the other two will leap into ascendancy.

The probability is still in favor of the reestablishment of the Empire. A government of that sort would find a broader popular basis in its plebeian origin and traditions and promise greater vigour and less exclusiveness in the system of administration both in reference to persons and to parties generally. But by what coup du hazard this event is to be brought about cannot be foreseen.

Now the future political fortunes of this country depend in a very great degree upon the course of anticipated and necessary revolutions on the other side of the Alps. It is yet possible, if not probable, that no solution to the embarrassments in which France finds herself may be found but in war, and if no issue should be found from them before many months the slightest pretext will be likely to be seized upon to open up new and more decisive destinies for that country and the rest of Europe by an appeal to arms.

Before closing this despatch and my relations with the Department of State allow me to solicit your attention to two communications made by me to your predecessor, the first bearing date the 30th June 1849, numbered 30, the other bearing date the 30th March of the present year marked No. 46. The first mentioned of these dispatches suggests a practical scheme which is worthy of the attention of any American statesman: and I feel confident that it cannot fail to arrest your own. I will only say that in my intercourse with my colleagues here I have had occasion to disclose the main features of this scheme, and that I have received assurance from them all, that their respective governments would in all likelihood cordially cooperate in carrying it forward to a practical and satisfactory result, should actual negotiations be initiated by the United States Government for that purpose. It does not belong to the occasion, nor to me to give the reasons why the various schemes hitherto suggested will be found inefficient if not wholly impracticable.

The second dispatch to which I allude treats summarily of a plan on the practicability and utility of which there can be no doubt. I feel a deep regret that my sudden and wholly unanticipated removal deprives me of all hope of carrying forward either of these schemes, so well calculated to honor and benefit the country, and my motive now in drawing your attention to them, is the hope that they will meet with your approval and that their initiations at least if not their final execution may add new reputation to that great name which you so rightfully enjoy by so many titles.

Allow me to add in taking a final leave that it will give me pleasure to be useful to my successor the Hon. W. B. Kinney in every possible way while I remain in this city.

*Nathaniel Niles a Massimo d'Azeglio*¹⁰⁰

Turin, August 20, 1850

Sir: It becomes my duty to communicate to your Excellency the enclosed letter from the Secretary of State of the United States which puts an end to my mission near the Government of H. S. Majesty.

¹⁰⁰ Allegato al dispaccio n. 50 di Niles.

I am instructed by my government to avail myself of this occasion to renew to your Excellency in behalf of the President of the United States his anxious desire to extend and preserve by all possible means the relations of friendship and interest which now so happily subsist between our respective countries.

In performing this last official act I cannot refrain from the expression of my individual wishes for the continued success of your Excellency's administration, so wisely based on the principles of equality before the law, and the concession of the largest degree of liberty to H. M. subjects for the development of private enterprise and consequent national wealth, consistent with public order, and the subserviency of the collective powers of the state under its sovereign head for the purposes of national defence, whenever dangers from without may threaten the safety of the Kingdom.

While the administration of the country is guided by these principles your Excellency will have the satisfaction to witness the rapid development of the sentiments of personal dignity, and of the national resources and commensurate augmentation of the political responsibility among the citizens, as well as an increase of the national resources and commensurate of the power and moral weight of the Kingdom among the constitutional states of the world.

It is not without emotion that I beg to assure your Excellency in closing this communication, that I shall bear with me, wherever I may go, the most agreeable and heartfelt recollections of the many marks of kindness and esteem which it has pleased your Excellency to bestow on me, in the course of our official and personal intercourse.

With the most sincere expressions of the warmest wishes for your individual happiness, I have the honor to subscribe myself
Your Excellency.

WILLIAM B. KINNEY

23 aprile 1850 - 1 giugno 1853

John M. Clayton a William B. Kinney

Istruzione n. 1

Department of State, Washington, May 6, 1850

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo, ¹ in which you inform me of your acceptance of the appointment as Chargé D'Affaires to Sardinia, and, now, transmit to you:

1. Your commission.

2. A letter of credence addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sardinia, and an office copy of the same for your perusal. In presenting the original you will avail yourself of the occasion, to repeat to the Government of Sardinia the assurance, which has been heretofore given to that Government on every occasion of the deep interest and earnest desire, by which the President of the United States is animated, to maintain unimpaired the very friendly relations so happily subsisting between the two countries. The President confides on your zeal and discretion in aiding to preserve that mutual regard for each other, which has so far proved so beneficial to both.

3. A special passport for yourself and suite.

4. A letter of credit on the Bankers of the United States in London, authorizing them to pay your drafts for your salary, as it becomes due, and for the contingent expenses of the mission. The latter credit is to be used for expenses actually incurred; and these are limited to the sum of five hundred dollars per annum.

¹ Il 23 aprile 1850, Clayton informò Kinney che il presidente, su proposta e con il consenso del Senato, lo aveva nominato incaricato d'affari presso la Corte sarda. Il 24 aprile 1850 Kinney rispose accettando l'incarico. Questa comunicazione si trova negli Archivi nazionali di Washington con gli altri documenti che riguardano la missione di Kinney. Nato a Speedwell, presso Morristown, New Jersey, nel 1799, Kinney entrò nell'Accademia militare di West Point per desiderio del padre. Ma, alla sua morte, il giovane Kinney studiò legge, ben presto si accorse di essere portato per gli studi letterari e si dedicò al giornalismo. Divenne redattore del *New Jersey Eagle* (Newark), consigliere letterario di Harper & Brothers, bibliotecario della Biblioteca mercantile, redattore del *Daily Advertiser* di Newark, consigliere dell'università di Princeton e delegato alla Convenzione *whig* che scelse il generale Harrison. Nel 1843 fu candidato *whig* per il Congresso nel quinto distretto, ma non riuscì. Per ricompensarlo dell'appoggio costante che aveva dato al partito nel suo giornale, il presidente Taylor lo nominò incaricato d'affari a Torino. Vedi H. R. MARRARO, *William Burnet Kinney's Mission to the Kingdom of Sardinia* (1850-53) in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, ottobre 1946, pp. 3-31. Il cav. Luigi Mossi, incaricato d'affari a Washington, nel riferire all'Azeglio la nomina di Kinney, in un dispaccio confidenziale datato 25 maggio 1850, che si conserva nell'Archivio di Stato di Torino, approvava senza riserve questa nomina, facendo presente che il segretario di Stato aveva dato la facoltà a Kinney di scegliere fra Torino, Vienna e l'Aja e che Kinney aveva fortunatamente scelto Torino. Come giornalista, Kinney avrebbe fatto conoscere in America le vere condizioni dell'Italia e degli Italiani, giacché i giornali americani erano male informati sulle condizioni della Penisola.

In availing yourself of this authority, you will be careful to conform strictly to the rules laid down in the printed letter giving directions on the subject of drafts drawn by Diplomatic Agents of the United States.

5. A printed copy of personal instructions to the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in foreign countries, with the supplements thereto, to both of which your attention is especially invited.

Also, marked A and B two printed circulars; the one giving certain directions to be observed by the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in drawing bills on public account; the other establishing a rule respecting the salary of those Agents, when absent from their posts.

6. A list of the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States in foreign countries.

Your salary is fixed by law at the rate \$ 4,500 per annum, with an amount equal to one year's salary for an outfit, and an amount equal to one quarter's salary for your return to this country. By a general rule, the salary of ministers to foreign courts, commences on the day of their leaving their residence to prepare for their departure on their mission, and ceases on their taking final leave of the courts, to which they are accredited, after having received orders or permission to return home.

In your case it will commence on the 22nd ultimo, the date of your commission, provided you proceed upon your mission within thirty days after that period, unless you should receive permission from this Department to delay your departure beyond the time fixed.

Enclosed is a copy of a despatch addressed to your predecessor, of the 24th instant, which you will deliver to him, if he should still remain at Turin. If he should have left that city, the archives and property of the Legation will of course be delivered to you by the person in whose charge they may have been placed by Mr. Niles. An exact inventory of all the property of the Government which may be transferred to you, will be transmitted by you, as early as convenient to this Department.

Instruction given to your predecessor, as far as they continue applicable, or may remain unexecuted, are to be considered as a part of your own.

Further instructions will be sent from time to time, as occasion may require.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you of my arrival at this capital, after a journey protracted beyond my expectations by an indisposition from which I am not yet entirely recovered. I sought the earliest opportunity after my arrival some days since to wait upon my predecessor, Mr. Niles, who took his leave of the government here the day after, and introduced me this day, by appointment, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Chevalier D'Azeglio, who is also President of His Majesty's Council, who received me with every mark of courtesy. I embraced the occasion of presenting my letter of credence to repeat the assurance, which has been given to this government of Sardinia on every occasion, of the deep interest & earnest desire by which the President of the United States is animated to maintain unimpaired the very friendly relations so happily subsisting between the two countries; adding an expression of my personal gratification in being honored with a mission to a kingdom which presents to the world such a conspicuous & enlightened example of constitutional government, & that I should esteem myself still more fortunate if I could prove instrumental in preserving & promoting that mutual regard which has thus far proved so beneficial to both.

These friendly sentiments were reciprocated in the most cordial manner by the Minister, who expressed the utmost desire for the perpetuation and extension of these amicable relations, than which, he said, he could ask nothing better for Sardinia.

I avail myself of this, the first opportunity, to acknowledge the receipt of despatches Nos. II, III, & IV, viz:

No. II of July 3d., covering a letter from the President to the King of Sardinia in answer to a communication from His Majesty, announcing the marriage of his brother, the Duke of Genoa,² & which I shall embrace the earliest opportunity after His Majesty's return from his country residence, where he is at present confined by indisposition, to deliver in person, agreeably to instructions.

No. III. of July 10th. announcing the bereavement of the country

² Questa istruzione, n 2, Washington, 3 luglio 1850, si trova negli Archivi nazionali di Washington, assieme ai documenti riguardanti questa missione.

by the decease of Zachary Taylor, late President of the United States;³ and.

No. IV. of July 23d. informing me that you had entered upon the duties of the Office of Secretary of State by the appointment of his successor, by & with the advice & consent of the Senate.

In acknowledging the receipt of these despatches, I am constrained to offer you, Sir, an expression of my congratulations upon the uninterrupted progress of the government, notwithstanding the mournful death which the country & the world have so much reason to deplore, and especially that the administration of its affairs has been committed to hands possessing the very highest claims to public confidence & support.

Herewith I enclose a despatch from Mr. Niles,⁴ who, I take pleasure in adding, has extended to me every necessary courtesy in entering upon the duties of the mission.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 2

Turin, October 5, 1850

Sir: Herewith I have the honor to transmit sundry papers pertaining to the case of four American seamen, named John William Brown, Thomas Betton, & Harry Messon, who were recently arrested at Genoa, in the Kingdom of Sardinia, at the instance of the authorities of France at Marseilles for the alleged murder of a French boatman named Rougier. The case was officially brought to my notice on the 15th of the last month by a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (a copy of which marked No. I. is enclosed) informing me that the Legation of France had demanded the extradition of the prisoners, and asking my consent, as the representative of the United States Government, agreeably to the provision made for such cases in the treaty between Sardinia & France, in order that the proceedings instituted against them at Marseilles might be pursued with « all desirable promptitude. »

In my reply to this note, (a copy of which marked No. II. is enclosed), I intimated a disposition to give the case the most

³ L'istruzione n. 3 del 10 luglio e l'istruzione n. 4 del 23 luglio 1850 si trovano negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

⁴ Questo dispaccio non si trova negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

respectful consideration, & asked for «a copy of the legal proceedings upon which the demand is founded.»

Having ascertained through other sources of information that three of the prisoners were deserters from the Mediterranean Squadron under the command of Commodore Morgan, I addressed him on the subject, (a copy of my letter, marked No. III. being enclosed), & at the same time requested the American consuls at Marseilles & Genoa to furnish me with all the information within their reach in relation to the case. You will see by Com. Morgan's reply, (a copy of which, marked No. IV., is subjoined), that the three deserters above referred to, had been transferred from the Squadron to the U.S. Store Ship *Erie* for "unconquerable, disorderly conduct, for the purpose of being taken home & there legally discharged from the naval service." "I understand," the writer adds, "that they deserted from *that* ship at Marseilles in France, where report says they murdered a man & fled to Genoa." The replies of the consuls at Genoa & Marseilles, (marked A. among the accompanying papers), corroborated the report referred to, & furnished fresh assurance of the disorderly character of the men.

Some days after the receipt of these letters, I received a note from the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (a copy of which marked V. is enclosed), communicating certified copies of "all the official papers in the hands of the judicial authority at Genoa," & renewing the request for my consent to the extradition of the prisoners.

It appearing by these documents, which you will find among the accompanying papers, marked B., that there was reasonable ground for the request, & that the prisoners had been accused, pursued, and taken in the process of law, I felt constrained, in a note of the 4th inst, to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, (a copy of which, marked No. VI. is enclosed), to «assume the responsibility of yielding consent to the surrender of the prisoners to the Government of France, in order that they may be brought to a fair and impartial trial before the judicial tribunals which alone have cognizance of the case»; & in doing so, embraced the occasion to renew the assurance, heretofore given of the readiness of the Government of the U. S. to cooperate with that of H. M. the King of Sardinia, in the observance of those principles of courtesy & justice upon which depend the peace, prosperity, & harmony of the world.

In assuming this responsibility, after becoming satisfied of the reasonableness of the demand of the Government of France, I acted in conformity with the proverbial disposition of the Government of the U. S. to observe, in its intercourse with friendly foreign powers, a well known principle of the law of nations, in relation to fugitive offenders, & in thus recognizing the importance of a free & unobstructed administration of justice, presumed of course upon your approbation.

Massimo d'Azeglio a William B. Kinney

Turin, le 15 Septembre 1850

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires.⁵

D'après une demande adressée au Gouvernement du Roi par la Légation Française à Turin, on a arrêté dernièrement à Gênes quatre matelots américains les nommés John Williams, William Brown, Thomas Betton, et Harry Messon accusés d'assassinat commis à Marseille vers le milieu du mois dernier sur la personne d'un batelier Français le nommé Rougier qu'ils ont volé et jeté à la mer, se sauvant ensuite avec le bateau le *St. Jean Baptiste* qui appartenait à ce malheureux.

Des mandats d'arrêt réguliers ont été lancés par le tribunal compétent de Marseille contre les quatre prévenus, et la Légation Française vient d'adresser au Gouvernement de S. M. une demande formelle pour leur extradition.

La convention conclue entre la Sardaigne et la France pour l'extradition des malfaiteurs ayant établi que lorsqu'il s'agit de sujets étrangers à ces deux pays leur extradition pourrait être accordée lorsque le Gouvernement du pays auquel ils appartiennent y donnera son assentiment, je crois devoir vous informer, Monsieur, de ce qui précède, en vous priant de vouloir bien consentir au nom de votre Gouvernement à l'extradition des quatre sujets Américains susmentionnés afin que la procédure qui s'ins-

⁵ Allegato I al dispaccio n. 2 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

truit en France concernant le crime qui leur est imputé puisse avoir son cours avec toute la promptitude désirable.

Agréé, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, les assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

William B. Kinney a Massimo d'Azeglio⁶

[Copia]

Turin, Sept. 19, 1850

The Undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, embraces the first opportunity to acknowledge the receipt at this office, of your Excellency's letter of the 15th inst. asking his consent to an application from the Legation of France⁷ for the extradition of four American seamen, who have been arrested and imprisoned within the kingdom of Sardinia for the alleged murder of a French boatman, during the last month; and the undersigned hastens to say, that, while he presumes the application to be well founded, and therefore entitled to his most respectful consideration, it would be more agreeable to his sense of duty to receive, before giving the consent asked for, a copy of the testimony in the case, or the legal proceedings upon which the demand is founded, for the information of his government, and he is constrained respectfully to ask for the same.

William B. Kinney a Charles W. Morgan⁸

Turin, Sept. 20, 1850

Dear Sir: The French Legation at this Court has just made a demand upon the Legation here for the extradition of four seamen, named *John Williams, William Brown, Thomas Betton* and *Henry*

⁶ Allegato II al dispaccio n. 2 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

⁷ La legazione di Francia a Torino era affidata alle cure di Charles-Adrien conte His de Butenval (1809-1883). Nel 1830 segretario del Gabinetto del ministro degli esteri, l'anno dopo (1831) assegnato alla divisione politica e, nello stesso anno, nominato segretario a Napoli, fu poi trasferito a Londra e a Lisbona. Nel 1838 fu primo segretario *ad interim* a Londra e nel 1841 a Costantinopoli. Nel 1849 inviato straordinario e ministro plenipotenziario a Rio de Janeiro; nel 1850 ebbe la stessa carica in Sardegna, e nel 1853 in Belgio. Nel giugno del 1853 fu nominato senatore e consigliere di Stato.

⁸ Allegato III al dispaccio n. 2 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Messon, now in prison at Genoa, and charged with the murder of a French boatman at Marseilles during the last month, and my consent is asked by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Sardinia. As three of these men are said to have belonged to vessels under your command, I have deemed it expedient & proper to ask your counsel in the case and to enquire whether you have any information in relation to the prisoners, that would warrant me, as the American representative here, to consent to their deliverance to the authorities of France for trial. Let me ask the favor of an early reply.

Charles W. Morgan a William B. Kinney

Flagship *Independence*, Bay of Spezzia, Sept. 22, 1850⁹

My dear Sir: I am this moment favored with your letter of the 19th inst. dated at Turin, and informing me that the French Legation at that Court, had just made a demand upon the government of Sardinia, for the extradition of four American seamen named *John Williams*, *William Brown*, *Thomas Betton* and *Henry Messon*, now in custody at Genoa, charged with the murder of a French boatman at Marseilles.

Three of the above named men, were transferred from this Squadron to the U. S. Store ship *Erie*, for unconquerable, disorderly conduct, for the purpose of being taken home, and there legally discharged from the naval service. I understand that they deserted from *that* ship at Marseilles, in France, where report says, they murdered a man, and fled to Genoa.

I have no other, or further information upon this subject, than is gained by general report. Any action in the case, would seem to depend, almost wholly, upon the Government of Sardinia, in due process of law, in reference to identity &c

If France, on her part, offers sufficient assurance of identity of the persons in connection with the murder, said to have been committed by them, I would not embarrass the Government of Sardinia by unsubstantial objections. You, however, who are more skilled in criminal law than myself, may perceive more in the case than I do; and I beg leave therefore, to refer the matter back to you.

⁹ Allegato IV al dispaccio n. 2 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Genoa, September 21, [1850]

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 19th instant requesting information on the 4 American sailors arrested on Board the Sardinian Royal Steamer *Otheon*.

On the date of 15 August ultimo, I received communication from the U. S. Vice Consul at Cagliari, that 4 Am. seamen reached the shore near Porto Torres on the Isle of Sardinia in a boat, and having been put in quarantine, they wrote to him the enclosed letter, begging to assist them.¹¹ The Vice Consul soon requested the local authorities to attend on them, and to ship by the first convenience to Genoa and payed the passage.

The 20 Augt. a day previous their arrival in this port, this French Consul informed this Consulate¹², that a murder on a French Capt of a boat, Rougier, has been committed at Marseilles on suspicion of four American Sailors of the U.S. ship inclosing the description of the Parquet of Marseilles. The same, the French Consul, remitted to the police here and British Consul. On the 22 Augt the Steamer *Otheon* arrived from Porto Torres with the four seamen with the boat; and the police arrested on suspicion. Having been examined they gave faulse [sic] names excepted Wm. Betton, and no nation-

¹⁰ Allegato A al dispaccio n 2 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

¹¹ La lettera, del 10 agosto 1850, è scritta in un inglese incomprensibile e firmata Thomas Betton, George Robberts, James McGuery e James MacKey.

¹² La segnalazione del console francese è la seguente.

« De Quatre Individus inculpé d'assassinat

Au Parquet, le 16 août 1850

1) John Williams, 21 ans, 5 pieds 7 pouces $\frac{1}{2}$ (mesure anglaise), cheveux roux, teint clair

2) William Brown, 21 ans, 5 pieds 8 pouces $\frac{1}{2}$, cheveux et teint bruns.

(Ces deux individus sont déserteurs de la frégate américaine la *Constitution*, capitaine Conover ils sont portés sur le rôle d'équipage comme natifs de la Grande-Bretagne)

3) Thomas Betton, 18 ans, 5 pieds 7 pouces environ, teint clair, mince dans sa personne déserteur de l'*Erie*, bâtiment de commerce américain, capitaine Porter.

4) Harry Messon, garçon Américain, 16 ans, de complexion maigre, jeune homme actif et intelligent.

Ces quatre hommes ont quitté Marseille dans la soirée du 31 Juillet dernier, sur le bateau le *St Jean-Baptiste*, après avoir assassiné le patron Rougier et jeté son cadavre à la mer. Le corps n'a été retrouvé que 12 jours plus tard; il portait des traces certaines de violences

Tous les Officiers de Police judiciaire sont invités à prescrire les recherches les plus actives et, en cas d'arrestation, à faire conduire les individus ci-dessus désignés à la disposition du Procureur de la République de Marseille - Des mandats ont été décernés ».

ality, and no papers having been found on them, therefore the police gave any notice to this Consulate of their imprisonment [sic], and in consequence I have made any steps for them being the murder committed in a foreing [sic] country.

I call to day on the General Avocat of the Royal High Court, as well to the Questore for having some information, but they said, that these 4 seamen being on suspicion of the murder on the Capt Rougier, have been requested by the French Gov. and he, General Avocat informed the Govt in Turin to have the consent of their extradition. This is all that I am able to communicate to you on the subject.

P.S. I received letters from the Com.r of his arrival in Spezia at 12 o'clock in the night, having sailed from this port at 3 o'clock in company with the *Constitution* that arrived there the following morning at about 11 a. m. the 20th. The *Mississippi* sailed at 4 o'clock, and joined the *Independence*, carrying her in the Gulf. *Cumberland* shall be admitted in pratique to morrow 22d.

John L. Hodge ¹³ a *Thomas H. Stephens*

Consulate of the U S of America, Marseilles, 24 th Sept. 1850 [Copy] ¹⁴

Sir: Your letter of 19th inst. post mark 22nd same, reached me this day.

In compliance with the request of « Mr. Kinney, the Chargé d'Affaires of the U. S. » I give all the details I possess in regard to the foul murder to which you allude.

It is in my correspondence with the U.S. Government & the «Procurence » of the Republic; extracts of both you have enclosed, to which I refer ¹⁵.

No further details have since been received.

¹³ John L. Hodge era console statunitense a Marsiglia e Thomas H. Stephens *attaché* alla Legazione di Torino.

¹⁴ Allegato A al dispaccio n. 2 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

¹⁵ Questi estratti, scritti in un inglese incomprensibile, si riferiscono alle circostanze dell'assassinio e all'arresto dei colpevoli.

Turin, le 29 settembre 1850

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires

Je m'empresse de vous transmettre le dossier ci-joint que je viens de recevoir du Ministre de la Justice, et qui contient des copies de toutes les pièces qui se trouvent entre les mains de l'autorité Judiciaire à Gênes, concernant les quatre metelots américains, arrêtés dans la dite ville et dont le Gouvernement Français demande l'extradition. La pièce marquée No. 2, est la copie du mandat d'arrêt décerné par le Juge d'instruction près le Tribunal de Marseille, et vous y trouverez spécifié le crime dont les quatre individus susdits sont prévenus. L'imprimé joint à la pièce No. 3 pourra, aussi, vous fournir quelques renseignements à cet égard.

Dans l'espoir que ces documents puissent satisfaire au désir que vous m'avez exprimé par votre lettre du 19 de ce mois, et que vous serez ainsi à même de consentir, au nom de votre Gouvernement, à ce qu'il soit déféré à la demande que le Gouvernement français a adressée à celui de S.M. pour l'extradition des prévenus sousmentionnés, je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, les nouvelles assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

Regia Segreteria di Stato
per gli Affari Esteri
Divis.^e 1^a No. 551

Domanda d'extradizione dei 4 marinai americani arrestati a Genova ad istanza del Governo Francese.

Torino li 9 settembre 1850

A seguito delle già fatte istanze per l'arresto dei nominati John Williams, William Brown, Thomas Betton e Harry Messon, marinai americani inquisiti d'omicidio sulla persona di certo Rougier e di furto del di lui battello, ai quali si riferisce la pregiata nota di codesto Dicastero del 25 agosto, Dir.^e 2^a, (Numero 5760) la legazione francese ha diretto al sottoscritto, Presidente del Consiglio Ministro Segretario di Stato per gli affari esteri, formale domanda pella

¹⁶ Allegato IV al Dispaccio n. 2 di Kinney. Si conservano negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

estradizione dei detti individui trasmettendo in appoggio i mandati d'arresto spiccati dal Giudice istruttore presso il Tribunale di Prima Istanza di Marsiglia contro i medesimi, ed ha nello stesso tempo domandato che siano dati gli ordini affinchè gli abiti che indossavano al momento del loro arresto siano conservati per essere trasportati a Marsiglia allorchè vi sarà condotto il battello che apparteneva all'infelice Rougier.

Mentre pertanto il sottoscritto si fa carico di ragguagliare di queste Domande l'Ill.mo Sig.r Guardasigilli, Ministro Segretario di Stato per gli affari di grazia e di giustizia e di rimmettergli qui acclusi i quattro mandati di cattura sopramentovati, egli stima pure di dovere accennare alla S.V. Ill.ma che non ha ommesso di far presente alla Legazione Francese l'osservazione contenuta nella nota sovracitata, vale a dire che giusto l'articolo 1º della Dichiarazione faciente seguito alla Convenzione del 23 maggio 1848, richiedesi per la estradizione degli incolpati di cui è caso, che il Governo del paese al quale dessi appartengono, dia alla medesima il suo assenso, e riservandosi di far conoscere alla S. S. Ill.ma i riscontri che riceverà in proposito dalla detta Legazione, lo scrivente ha l'onore di ripeterle gli atti del suo distinto ossequio.

Per il Ministro — Il Primo Ufficiale
(firmato) JOCTEAU

Per Copia conforme all'originale esistente presso l'Ufficio dell'Avvocato Fiscale Generale

Genova, 26 settembre 1850

Il Segretario di detto Ufficio
A. TRAVERSA

Tribunal de Première Instance
de Marseille
Dep.^t des Bouches du Rhône

Mandat d'Arrêt
de par la Loi

Nous Jean Michel Edouard Martin, Juge d'Instruction près le Tribunal de première instance de l'arrondissement de Marseille,

vû les pièces du procès et les conclusions de M^r. le Procureur de la République en date ce de jour.

Mandons et ordonnons à tous huissiers ou agents de la force publique d'arrêter et de conduire à la maison d'arrêt de Marseille les nommés.

Betton Thomas, âgé d'environ 18 ans, matelot américain, débarqué de la Corvette de charge américaine l'*Eric*

Messon Harry, âgé d'environ 16 ans, matelot américain

Williams John, âgé d'environ 21 ans, matelot anglais, déserteur de la frégate américaine *La Constitution*

Brown William, âgé d'environ 21 ans, matelot anglais déserteur de la frégate américain *La Constitution*

domiciliés à

taille d'un mètre	centimètres,	front	nez	yeux
bouche	menton	figure	sourcils	
cheveux				

prévenus d'avoir à Marseille, dans la soirée du 28. Juillet 1850, conjointment et de complicité

1^o Commis un homicide volontaire sur la personne de Joseph Marius Rougier, batelier du port de Marseille, — d'avoir commis cet homicide avec préméditation

2^a Soustrait frauduleusement une somme d'argent au préjudice du dit Sieur Rougier, après l'avoir homicidé, ainsi qu'un canot avec sa voile et ses agrès —

crimes prévus par les articles 295, 296, 297, 302, et 304 du Code pénal

Enseignons au gardien de la dite maison d'arrêt de les recevoir. Requérons tous dépositaires de la force publique auxquels le présent mandat sera exhibé, de prêter main forte pour son exécution; à l'effet de quoi nous avons signé le présent mandat scellé de notre sceau. Les officiers de police judiciaire chargés de l'exécution du présent sont priés de saisir et de faire ramener au port de Marseille, pour y être tenu à la disposition de la justice, le canot monté

par les inculpés, lequel portait au moment du crime, le nom du *St. Jean Baptiste*, et le N° 728.

Fait au Palais de Justice à Marseille,
le 26 Août 1850
(firmato) Ed. Martin.

Vu la signature de M^r. Martin, apposée d'autre part
Paris le 31 Août 1850

Par délégation du Ministre de la Justice
(firmato) le chef de Bureau
Aubusa

Per copia conforme all'originale esistente presso l'ufficio del-
l'Avv. Fiscale Generale
Genova, 26 settembre 1850

Il Segretario di detto Ufficio
A. TRAVERSA

*William B. Kinney a Massimo d'Azeglio*¹⁷

Turin, October 4, 1850

Having read, with due attention, the certified copies of the official papers in the case of the four American seamen, arrested and imprisoned at Genoa, at the instance of the police authorities at Marseilles, as fugitives from justice, communicated by M Iochau on the 29th ult: in answer to his note of the 19th of that month, the undersigned Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, recognizing the importance of a free and unobstructed administration of justice, is constrained to assume the responsibility of yielding his consent to the surrender of the prisoners to the Government of France, that they may be brought to a fair and impartial trial, before judicial tribunals which, alone, have cognizance of the case; and the undersigned embraces the occasion to renew to His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the assurance of the readiness of the government of the U. S. at all times to co-operate with that of His Majesty, the King of Sardinia, in the observance of those fundamental principles of courtesy and justice upon which depend the peace, prosperity and harmony of the world.

¹⁷ Allegato VI al dispaccio n 2 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

Sir: Although the Royal family has not yet returned to the capital from its summer residence, the King has been pleased to afford me an opportunity of presenting in person the letter of congratulation from the late President of the United States upon the marriage of the Duke of Genoa; an official copy of which was some time since communicated to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. I embraced the occasion to repeat the assurance, heretofore made to the Secretary, of the friendly feeling of the people & Government of the United States, & received in reply a strong expression of His Majesty's appreciation of our institutions, & his earnest desire that the political & commercial relations subsisting between the two countries may be preserved & extended. The interview was altogether gratifying to me & complimentary to the country.

It is pertinent to add, that the people & government of Sardinia appear to entertain alike the highest respect for the institutions & policy of the United States, & it is, I believe, the prevailing desire to cultivate a friendly intercourse. The country is just now singularly peaceful & prosperous. The King & his ministers manifest a firm attachment to the Constitution, & appear to enjoy the full confidence of the people. No uneasiness, or disposition for change, is visible in any quarter. The failure of M. Pinelli's mission to Rome, though it leaves Sardinia exposed to the indignation of the Holy See, has not produced the least apparent disturbance, and the constitutional laws abolishing the ancient civil immunities of the clergy, and making all men alike equal before the law, will, without doubt, be steadily maintained.

The national Parliament will convene on the 5th inst., when a favorable exposition of the state of the Kingdom is anticipated.

I enclose an inventory of the property of the Legation, including that which was received from my predecessor in office, and the contents of several boxes of books just procured from the public store at Genoa, where they had been permitted to remain for some months anterior to my arrival here.

Elenco dei libri esistenti alla Legazione ¹⁸

List of Books received by the U.S. Legation at Turin from Nathaniel Niles Esq. the Late Chargé d'Affaires. Turin, September 1, 1850.

Senate Documents 1839-40	.	.	Vols.	8
» » 1840-41	.	.	.	5 and ½
» » 1841	.	.	.	1
» » 1841-42	.	.	.	5
» » 1842-43	.	.	.	4
» » 1843-44	.	.	.	6
Senate Journals 1839-44	.	.	.	6
Executive Documents 1839-40	.	.	.	7
» » 1840-41	.	.	.	6
» » 1841-42	.	.	.	6
» » 1842-43	.	.	.	8
» » 1843-44	.	.	.	6
Reports of Committees 1839-40	.	.	.	4
» » 1840-41	.	.	.	1
Executive Docs. & Reports 1841	.	.	.	1
Reports of Committees 1841-42	.	.	.	5
» » 1842-43	.	.	.	4
» » 1843-44	.	.	.	3
American Archives 1774-76	.	.	.	5
American State Papers, viz:				
Finance	.	.	.	3
Naval Affairs	.	.	.	1
Claims	.	.	.	1
Military Affairs	.	.	.	2
Commerce & Navigation	.	.	.	2
Public Lands	.	.	.	3
Foreign Relations	.	.	.	4
Indian Affairs	.	.	.	2
Post-Office	.	.	.	1
Miscellaneous	.	.	.	2
Secret Journal of Congress 1775-78	.	.	.	4
American State Papers 1781-1818	.	.	.	12

¹⁸ Allegato al dispaccio n. 3 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Spark's Diplomatic Correspondence .	Vols.	12
Diplomatic Correspondence 1788-89 . . .		7
Am. Diplomatic Code 1774-1834 . . .		2
Commercial Regulations		3
History of American Navy		2
Dictionary of Commerce		2
Encyclopedia of Geography		2
House Journal 1839-44		6
Laws of United States to 1839		9
» Index		1
Messages of Presidents		1
Statistics of the United States 1840		1
Sixth Census of United States 1840		1
Compendium of Census		1
Journal of Federal Convention		1
Map of the United States		1
Volumes		180

Certified, Correct,
Oct. 29, 1850

In addition, this Legation has received from Mr. Niles:

- 1 Secretary containing an iron safe, with loose papers and notes.
- 2 old chairs, in bad condition.
- 1 volume Civil Code of Sardinia, unbound.
- 1 volume Census of U. S. Pensioners.
- 5 volumes of Registers of the Legation.

Certified, Correct, Turin Oct. 29th 1850

*List of Books now in the Library of the U. S. Legation at Turin,
Oct. 29, 1850.*

On my arrival here, learning that a quantity of books belonging to the Legation were at Genoa, I caused one parcel of three boxes to be forwarded, Aug. 22nd 1850: the vice-Consul informed me that other packages still remained in Porto Franco there, having been several years in store, without any orders being given to forward to

Turin, although several notices had been sent to this Legation. They were subsequently received.

Number of volumes received from Mr. Niles, late Chargé, as per list accompanying, marked A. 180.

In the 3 Boxes from Genoa viz:

	<i>Vols.</i>
Executive Documents 1846-47	4
» » 1847-48	9
» » 1848-49	7
Senate Documents 1846-47	3
» » 1847-48	10
» » 1848-49	8
Senate Journals 1848-49	3
American Archives	1
» Almanac	1
Vols. . . .	46

Received for Mr. Niles 180

Brot. forward fm. last page 46

Reports of Committees 1846-47	1
» » 1847-48	4
» » 1848-49	2
House Journal 1846-47	1
» » 1847-48	1
» » 1848-49	1
House Miscellaneous 1847-48	1
» » 1848-49	1
Magnetic Observations 1840-45	3
Magnetic Plates 1840-45	1
Vols. . . .	62

on the 26th Oct. the other 3 boxes came to hand, the charges on all being unpaid.

These 3 boxes contained as follows viz:

Executive Documents 1844-45	5
» » 1845-46	8
Senate Documents 1844-45	10
» » 1845-46	9

					<i>Vols.</i>
Reports of Committees	1844-45	.	.	.	1
»	»	1845-46	.	.	4
House Journal	1844-45	.	.	.	1
»	»	1845-46	.	.	1
Senate Journal	1844-45	.	.	.	1
»	»	1845-46	.	.	1
				<i>Vols.:</i>	103

Received from Mr. Niles 180

Brot. forward from last page—vols. 103

United States Statutes et large— 8

American Archives 4th Series 6th Volume 1

Making the total I have received from Genoa 112

and paid the charges from my Contingent Fund—Forming
a grand total now in the Library of Vols: 292 also: received
from Mr. Niles:

Civil Code of Sardinia unbound

Census of U. S. Pensioners, unbound

5 Registers of the Legation

1 Secretary with iron safe within

2 old arm chairs.

I certify that this is a correct enumeration of all the property
of the U. S. Legation at Turin, now here.

Turin, Oct. 29th 1850. Wm. B. Kinney.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

*Dispaccio n 5*¹⁹

Turin, Nov. 23, 1850

Sir: The national Parliament which convened in this capital
on the 5th inst. adjourned within a few days thereafter, having
completed the formal business which demanded its attention, and
another session was opened this morning by the King in person.
This imposing state occasion was accompanied by every practicable
mark of popular favor, and of harmony among the several depart-
ments of the government.

The two Houses assembled in the spacious Senate Chamber
at 11 o'clock, and the speech from the throne was frequently

¹⁹ Il dispaccio n. 4 datato Torino, 9 novembre 1850, trasmetteva il resoconto delle
spese correnti, aggiungendo che non vi era nulla di importante da comunicare.

interrupted by cordial expressions of gratification from the august assemblage, which included the chief civil and military officers of the Kingdom, the diplomatic corps, and many of the most eminent citizens. It was diffused through the city within a few minutes thereafter by a free press, & received from all parties and classes of the people, the same measure of approval with which it was heard from the lips of the King.

You will perceive by the copy ²⁰ which I have the honor to enclose, that it contains some carefully framed sentences that indicate a high regard for popular rights, and a firm determination to adhere to the Constitution, and the accordant legislation of Parliament involving the controversy with the Court of Rome. These careful intimations, I am personally assured, do but indicate the deliberate purpose of the Government, in which all branches, the King, Ministers, & Parliament, concur.

Daniel Webster a William B. Kinney

Istruzione n. 5

Department of State, Washington, December 4, 1850

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches from No. 1 to 4, inclusive.

In No. 2, of the 5th October, you acquainted this Department with the course pursued by you in compliance with the wish of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sardinia, as expressed in his note of the 15th Septbr., last, to give your consent to the extradition of four American seamen, claimed from the Sardinian Government by the authorities of France for trial for the alleged commission of a criminal offence within jurisdiction of the French Republic.

I transmit to you, herewith, a copy of a note from this Department to Mr. Boislecomte dated the 23rd October, in answer to a demand made by the French Minister, under date of the 26th, of the same month, similar to that contained in the above mentioned note of the Chevalier Azeglio.

The account & vouchers for contingent expenses, which accompanied your No. 4, have been transmitted to the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury.

²⁰ La traduzione del discorso della Corona è allegata al dispaccio

Sir: I have the honor to enclose to you by the mail a newspaper copy of a Commercial Treaty recently concluded between the Plenipotentiaries of Sardinia & France.²¹ Its professed object is to cultivate more intimate commercial & maritime relations between the two countries, & to place their respective flags on "a footing of perfect equality in all that concerns the taxes of navigation." You will see by the provisions of the Treaty that considerable reductions are made, reciprocally, in the Custom House duties on certain natural products of the respective countries. A Convention between the same contracting parties, supplementary to existing treaties, concerning 'Works of Art & of Mind,' will also be found in the same journal. It affords no encouragement to the desire entertained by some American publishers for a more favorable arrangement in relation to their products of our press.

Among the recent public measures showing the remarkable advance in the progress of opinion in this Kingdom, are two that seem to me to be worthy of special mention. I refer to an Act opening the public schools & universities to Jews & Protestants of every name, on an equal footing with the adherents of the Church of Rome, which has just passed both Houses of Parliament, & to a ministerial bill now before the popular branch of that body, abolishing without reserve "*fidei commis, primogenitures et majorats*." This bill has already passed the Senate by a large Vote, & it will, without doubt, receive the fullest sanction of the Chamber. Some of the ancient families of the Kingdom appear to be much concerned about the consequences of such important changes in prescriptive rights, but, it is not too much to say, they are in entire accordance with public sentiment. These measures, & other kindred expressions of liberal opinions, of more notoriety, have not escaped the attention of the other powers of southern & western Europe, which exercise a jealous watchfulness over the domestic policy & progress of this insulated kingdom. The ministry will,

²¹ Il 5 novembre 1850 fu concluso un trattato di commercio con la Francia. Esso riguardava i diritti di navigazione, le tasse doganali e la proprietà letteraria. Il trattato era favorevole alla Francia in quanto esso conteneva molte clausole ispirate ai principi protezionistici del trattato del 1848. Una convenzione aggiuntiva del maggio del 1851 e un trattato del febbraio del 1852 introdusse il principio del libero scambio nelle relazioni commerciali fra il regno di Sardegna e la Francia.

however, it is believed, in conducting the affairs of the country on the basis of the existing liberal constitution, continue to exercise a wise forecast, & studiously avoid giving any just occasion of offence to their neighbors, or unnecessarily exposing themselves to the hazards of another war. It is not believed, however, in well informed circles, here, that the present peace in Europe is destined to be of long continuance.

It seems pertinent to add that Austria & her allies have adopted the strongest measures to secure the perpetuity of absolutism in the Papal States of peninsular Italy, & that there is not at present the remotest prospect of any amelioration in the system. Nevertheless, though there be no such thing in history as the regeneration of nations, there are indications, perhaps, that these historic communities have not yet sunk beneath the point of possible self-restoration. Their present condition is, however, an instructive commentary on the famous doctrine of the conservative virtue of the arts; & in contemplating it we may well suspect a morality that has no other guarantee than taste, especially when it is considered that the Arts have seldom, if ever, gone hand in hand with political freedom & civic virtue, for it is the essence of Virtue to exist without foreign aid.

During a recent friendly personal interview with the Austrian Envoy at this Court, the Count D'Appony,²² he took occasion to refer, & not without emotion, to some recent expressions of feeling in the United States towards the government of his country, & specially called my attention to the alleged reception on board the U. S. Frigate *Constitution*, which sailed for home a few weeks since, while in the Bay of Spezia, of four Hungarian deserters, in their uniforms, from the Austrian forces in Tuscany, as a further indication of national hostility, inferring that the American Squadron in the Mediterranean had become, if not designed so to be, the receptacle of fugitives from justice, & that its presence might therefore be regarded as offensive to the countries bordering on that Sea. In protesting my ignorance of the incident referred to, I did not hesitate to deny his right to either inference drawn from it. He was pleased to regard, moreover, the recent consent of the agent of our government here to the surrender of four American seamen to the authorities of France for a murder

²² Il conte Rudolf Apponyi (1812-1876)

committed at Marseilles, as indicating a just sense of public justice. It was opportune also to refer to the general orders of Commodore Morgan, which were submitted to me by that officer during a brief visit to the squadron while it lay at Genoa. The accomplished diplomatist appeared to be satisfied, & the subject was dropped. The case, however, it appeared during the conversation, had been deemed of sufficient importance to be made the basis of a correspondence with this government, within whose jurisdiction the imputed offence was committed. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, I was led to infer, disavowed any responsibility on the subject, & was probably not at all disposed to unite with the Austrian representative [sic] in any formal action in relation to it.

An envoy from the Bey of Tunis, Garon Raffo, has recently arrived in this capital, and M. His de Butenval, who has been some years connected with the French Legation at Constantinople, has been received within a few days as Minister of the Republic of France in place of M. Barrot, who has returned to Paris to resume his seat in the National Assembly.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of the President's message at the opening of Congress on the 2nd. inst. by the mail which arrived this morning, & shall take care to see that it receives the publication here, since it affords the friends of free government abroad fresh assurance of the high conservative character of a Republic in which the world has as deep an interest.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 7

Turin, Jan. 18, 1851

Sir: Since the date of my last despatch I have had the honor to receive your No. V., acknowledging the receipt of my previous despatches from this Legation, & enclosing a copy of the note from the Department to M. Boislecomte, in reply to the demand made by the French Minister for the consent of the government of the United States to the extradition of the four American sailors claimed from the Sardinian Government, for trial, for the alleged murder of a French boatman at Marseilles. This note, as I understand it, virtually justifies my final answer to the request addressed to me in the same case by the Sardinian Minister of

Foreign Affairs, though I am instructed by its more cautious & considerate terms.

It is now, I believe, generally conceded, that, in the absence of treaty provisions, the extradition of fugitive offenders is simply a matter of comity or courtesy. Certainly "no government is understood to be bound by the positive law of nations to deliver up criminals who have sought an asylum within its limits," yet there may be occasions, surely, in the relations of friendly powers, when a due regard to the claims of justice may require the exercise of a wise discretion. Such a case, I venture to say, is presented in the correspondence, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose to you, concerning the recent murder of an American sailor named William Cromey, in this Kingdom, by a Portuguese subject, who subsequently fled to France. It comprises a considerate report of the case by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, shewing the disposition of his government to effectuate justice, and the obstacle presented by the refusal of the representative of Portugal to consent to a demand upon the authorities of France for the extradition of the murderer, and my reply.

In relation to the complaint made to me by the Envoy of Austria at this Court, of the reception of four Hungarian deserters from the Austrian forces in Tuscany, on board the U. S. frigate *Constitution*, referred to in my last, I am now authorized to say, by a confidential letter from an authentic source, that no such deserters were taken by that frigate; though it is true that four refugees from Hungary who had been sometime within the jurisdiction of this Kingdom, were received on board the Store-Ship *Lexington* at Spezia as passengers for the United States, with the privity of the Sardinian authorities on the coast, & that the Austrian commander in Tuscany, being within thirty-five miles of Spezia, & having established means of daily intercourse, "knew that they had been or might be so admitted to such passage two or three weeks before the sailing of the *Lexington*." If a simple intimation had been given to the Commander of the Squadron, then in the bay of Spezia, that these persons were deserters from the Austrian Army in the neighborhood, they would have been refused a passage.

Several appeals have recently been made to me by individuals, & in one case by the government here, from decisions of the vice consul who has been left in charge of the U. S. Consulate at Genoa

for the last six months, in relation to the nationality & claims of certain seamen in that port. Though I have not seen any occasion to interfere, & have no specific complaint to report, I deem it proper to call your attention to the importance of the presence of a responsible consul, whose general judgment & known acquaintance with our maritime usages and obligations would be likely to secure public confidence in his conduct. Mr. Moro, the acting consul, is intelligent & well meaning Genoese, & seems anxious to discharge the duties of the office satisfactorily, but the fact that he is not an American citizen, or possibly the circumstance of his being merely a subordinate, rather than any personal incompetency, perhaps, seems to deprive him of that degree of consideration which it is so desirable that so important an officer should possess; especially at a post which was, for a number of years previous to the appointment of the present absent consul, very discredibly occupied.

Many remonstrances have been sent from various parts of this Kingdom into Parliament against the ratification of the Commercial Treaty with France, a copy of which accompanied my last despatch, & they will occasion some discussion when the question rises. The Chamber of Deputies is just now engaged in the discussion of a bill to tax mortmain property—the ministerial measure abolishing, without reserve, “*fidei commis, primogenitures, et majorats*”, heretofore referred to, having become a law.

A pamphlet copy of the Acts & Resolutions of the First Session of the 31st Congress, & the American Almanac for the current year, have been duly received at this Legation from the Department.

Massimo d'Azeglio a William B. Kinney ²³

Turin, le 11 janvier 1851

Monsieur

Dans la nuit du 28 octobre dernier un matelot américain nommé William Cromey appartenant à l'un des bâtiments de l'Escadre des Etats-Unis stationnée dans le golfe de la Spezia, se trouvant à terre dans l'endroit dit delle Grazie fut mortellement blessé d'un

²³ Allegato al dispaccio n 7 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

coup de stylet et malgré les secours qu'on s'empresse de lui donner il cessa de vivre le 31 du même mois à 3 heures du matin. L'autorité judiciaire ayant aussitôt fait les démarches nécessaires pour découvrir l'auteur de ce crime, il en résulta de très graves soupçons à la charge d'un nommé Antoine Soares, natif de Porto, âgé de 22 ans, matelot portugais engagé à bord de la bombarde le *St. Jean Baptiste* Capitaine Ignace Bensa, portant pavillon français, arrivée récemment à la Spezia provenant de Trieste et dirigée sur Marseille pour où ce bâtiment fit voile le lendemain même du meurtre surmenctionné. Un mandat d'arrêt fut décerné contre ce prévenu, mais comme il était déjà parti pour Marseille sur le dit bâtiment Français, il devenait nécessaire de demander son extradition au Gouvernement de la République Française, ce qui d'après la convention en vigueur aurait pu avoir lieu sans l'assentiment préalable du Gouvernement dont le dit Soares était sujet. D'après les communications qui me furent faites à cet égard par le Ministre de la Justice, je me suis empressé de m'adresser à la Légation de Portugal dans cette capitale pour avoir l'assentiment de son Gouvernement à l'extradition du dit matelot portugais, mais cette démarche n'a point eu le résultat que j'en attendais et la dite Légation vient de me répondre que le Gouvernement de S. M. très fidèle croit devoir refuser le consentement qui lui était demandé.

Dans cet état de choses, le Ministre de la Justice m'ayant prié de vous faire connaître ce qui précède afin que, si vous le jugez à propos, Monsieur, vous puissiez informer votre Gouvernement des démarches que les autorités Sardes ont faites à l'occasion du meurtre du dit matelot américain, ainsi que du motif qui empêche de demander au gouvernement Français l'extradition du prévenu, je m'empresse de vous adresser dans ce but la présente communication, et je vous prie en même temps d'agréer. Monsieur, les nouvelles assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

William B. Kinney a Massimo d'Azeglio ²⁴

Nota 2. Risposta

Turin, Jany 15, 1851

The undersigned has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed to him by His Excellency, the Minister of

²⁴ Allegato al dispaccio n. 7 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Foreign Affairs, on the 11th instant concerning the proceedings of the government of H. M. the King of Sardinia for the arrest of one Antoine Soares, a Portuguese subject charged with the murder of William Cromey, an American sailor, near the Gulf of Spezia, and who subsequently escaped on board a French vessel bound to Marseilles, and while the undersigned begs leave to express his satisfaction with the disposition manifested by H. M. Government to secure the arrest of the supposed murderer, he will not withhold the expression of his regret that the apparent claims of public justice should be postponed by the inability of the representative of His Most Faithful Majesty to give the necessary consent to a demand upon the authorities of France, for the extradition of the fugitive.

The undersigned will not fail to make the circumstances of the case known to his Government, and in the mean time seizes the occasion to renew to the Chevalier d'Azeglio the assurance of his very high consideration.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n 8

Turin, Feb 15, 1851

Sir. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, since the date of my last despatch, of your No. VI. of January 15 th, communicating a printed copy of a correspondence between the Department & the Representative of Austria at Washington. This correspondence it is proper to add, is most opportune, & has proved of essential service to me in my intercourse with the representatives of the absolute powers of Europe at this Court. It has also been reproduced by the press here, & been generally read in intelligent circles with unqualified satisfaction, being regarded on all sides, so far as I have been able to learn, as a complete & honorable vindication of our country, not only in relation to the particular case which was made the occasion of it, but of the general spirit & policy of the government in regard to foreign powers. No one in official relations here, not even the honorable Representative of Austria, has ventured after reading the correspondence, to question the reasonableness of the lively interest taken by the people & government of the United States in movements & events abroad which « appear to have their origin in those great ideas of responsible

& popular government on which the American Constitutions are founded,» or to doubt the pledge that this sympathy « does not proceed from any disposition to depart from that neutrality toward foreign powers, which is among the deepest principles & the most cherished traditions of the political history of the Union. »

The newspaper rumor of a great concentration of Austrian troops, « amounting to some 100,000 men », on the borders of this Kingdom, I am authorized, by the highest authority in the Cabinet here, to say is at least premature. It is true, however, that Austria has been diligently engaged for some months past in strengthening its forces & defences on the Ticino & along the dividing lines between Piedmont & its Lombardo-Venetian & other Italian dependencies; & it would scarcely occasion surprise if some pretext should ere long be found for an attempt to check the progress of opinion & policy in this Kingdom. The present crisis in France is regarded with deep interest here, & its possible consequences are contemplated with some apprehension. No one ventures to calculate with any degree of confidence upon a long continuance of the present peace in Europe.

Count Siccaldi, whose name, as Minister of "Justice & Public Worship," has been so honorably connected with the series of laws by which Parliament, in fulfilment of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, deprived the Church of its ancient civil prerogatives, & made all men equal before the law, has been constrained within a few days by the increasing infirmities of a broken constitution, to retire from the Cabinet. This resignation has not unnaturally given rise to some speculation in certain quarters, but I am assured by those who cannot be mistaken, that the inference of a reactionary disposition in the government is wholly gratuitous. A difference of opinion between the minister & a portion of the Parliament in relation to the immovability of judicial magistrates, except for cause, was, perhaps, made the immediate occasion of a step which had been sometime contemplated for the reason above indicated; the retiring minister preferring to signalize in this way his sense of the importance of preserving the judiciary from fluctuating popular influences. His place has not yet been supplied.

An Envoy Extraordinary & Minister Plenipotentiary of the Sultan, Mr. C. Musurus, has arrived here within a few days charged with rich presents & friendly messages, & been duly received at

Court.²⁵ He appears to be an accomplished gentleman, of European education. It may also interest you to know that a steam frigate has been despatched by this government from Genoa, loaded with the products of the prospering industry of this country, for the great Exhibition in London.

Herewith I have the honor to enclose to you the accounts of this Legation to the 21st. of January, and shall take care to see that they are hereafter transmitted at the close of every quarter.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 9

Turin, April 19, 1851

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your note of the 14th ult. (being No. VII. from the Department),²⁶ enclosing the commission of Mr. George G. Baker, of Ohio, as Consul of the United States for the port of Genoa, & have taken the proper steps to secure for him the necessary exequatur, which he will receive, together with his commission, when he presents himself at the post.

I have also the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of the « Circular » of the 20th. ult. covering a printed copy of the concluding letters of the correspondence between the Department & the Representative of Austria at Washington.²⁷ Permit me, Sir, to offer you my congratulations on a result so honorable to our government. I shall communicate it without delay to His Sardinian Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, that his government may have

²⁵ Costantino Musurus (1807-1891) nacque a Costantinopoli e servì nella diplomazia turca fino al 1885. Tradusse la *Divina Commedia* in greco.

²⁶ Nell'istruzione n. 6, Washington, 10 gennaio 1851, Webster aveva trasmesso a Kinney una copia stampata della corrispondenza fra il Dipartimento di Stato e il rappresentante dell'Austria a Washington. L'istruzione n. 7 era datata 14 marzo 1851. Gli originali sono negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

²⁷ Nella circolare del Dipartimento di Stato del 20 marzo 1851, vi è acclusa una lettera del cavaliere J. G. Hulsemann a Daniel Webster dell'11 marzo 1851, nella quale l'Austriaco dichiara che gli argomenti della nota di Webster del 21 dicembre 1850 non hanno mutato le idee del Gabinetto imperiale sulla missione di Dudley Mann, secondo le opinioni già espresse nella sua nota del 30 settembre. Aggiungeva di non volerne discutere oltre per timore che la discussione su questo « noioso incidente » guastasse le relazioni diplomatiche senza risultati pratici. Nella sua risposta del 15 marzo 1851, Webster dichiarava che anche il Governo degli S. U. non desiderava prolungare la discussione che aveva avuto origine dalla nota del cavaliere Hulsemann del 30 settembre. Nella sua risposta a quella nota Webster aveva stabilito le basi sulle quali il governo americano impostava le sue giustificazioni in rapporto alla missione di S. Dudley Mann e alle istruzioni che erano state date a quest'ultimo.

due notice of the manner of the settlement of a question in which it naturally felt some interest & because it affords a fresh & conspicuous example of the spirit & policy of the United States in relation of popular movements abroad.²⁸

Important commercial treaties have been recently negotiated by the plenipotentiaries of this Kingdom with those of Belgium & England, respectively: & both passed the Chamber of Deputies on the 16th. inst., after an earnest opposition from a portion of the manufacturing interest, by the strong vote of 114 to 14; having been defended in a speech, which occupied three entire sittings of the Chamber, by the Minister of Agriculture & Commerce. In this remarkable discourse, which showed a profound study of the present commercial affairs of the world, as well as an intimate acquaintance with the condition and capabilities of his own country, Count Cavour declared it to be the purpose of the Ministry to make the nearest practicable approximation to a free & unrestricted commercial intercourse with all maritime nations, which he held to be the paramount policy of Sardinia. With this view he avowed its readiness to treat with other powers on similar terms. These conventions were, indeed, distinctly said to be model treaties, which would form the guide or basis of future negotiations if they received legislative sanction. It will be seen by the copies, which I have the honor to enclose to you by this mail, that large reductions are made by the treaty with the Belgians in Custom House duties on the products of the respective countries & other articles of commerce, though that power concedes equality in navigation only in direct trade, & reserves, besides, a protection of ten per ct. in favor of its own flag. The duties on iron, zinc, copper, & metallic manufactures are reduced about one half, & large abatements are made in the imports on cotton, woolen, & linen fabrics, which, however, still bear a tariff in this Kingdom of some 20 or 25 pr ct. All these advantages are conceded in the treaty with England, which extends

²⁸ Il 16 aprile 1851, Kinney inviò all'Azeglio una copia stampata della corrispondenza fra il Governo degli S.U. e il rappresentante austriaco a Washington. Kinney spedì pure una copia del giornale con le istruzioni date al rappresentante degli S.U. a Costantinopoli, che riguardavano il rilascio di Kossuth e dei suoi compagni. Acclusa vi era pure una lettera della Legazione austriaca a Washington dell'11 marzo 1851 al segretario di Stato, una copia della risposta di Webster del 15 marzo 1851, copie dei sommari della corrispondenza fra il ministro austriaco e Webster a partire dal 30 settembre 1850 e un ritaglio del *Newark Daily Advertiser* (12 marzo 1851) contenente un dispaccio di Webster (28 febbraio 1851) al ministro americano a Costantinopoli, riguardante Kossuth (La lettera del Kinney e gli allegati sono nell'Archivio di Stato di Torino).

to the commercial marine of Sardinia the full benefit of her navigation laws. All restriction on maritime intercourse between the two countries, is in truth completely abolished in the treaty with England. Sardinian vessels are exempted not only from all British Government duties, but also from duties imposed by communes, corporations, and individual enjoying prescriptive rights, not imposed on the British marine, indicating light-house taxes. (See article 5.) And in order to secure these benefits against ministerial charges, the treaty is made binding for a period of twelve years.

It is pertinent to add, in this connection, what I learn by a recent report of the Minister of Agriculture & Commerce concerning the practicability of developing the undeniable elements of national prosperity, that ten thousand vessels of all nations now annually visit the twenty-two seaports of this Kingdom—that its national marine comprises over three thousand, five hundred vessels of commerce & more than twenty-five thousand enregistered [sic] seamen, & that twenty shipyards produce annually over one hundred vessels. At another time I hope to be able to ask your attention to the importance of some renewed effort to cultivate more full & intimate commercial relations between the United States & Sardinia, with special reference to the use of rail roads now in the course of construction from Genoa to Lake Maggiore, on the borders of Switzerland, & which are intended to command the trade of that country, & a portion of Germany.

Nothing whatever has occurred, since the date of my last despatch, to modify the suggestions then made concerning the posture of political affairs in this quarter of Europe. The newspaper reports, originating in Paris, concerning an expected demonstration of the hostile feelings of Austria towards this Kingdom, I am warranted by the highest authorities here to say, are purely hypothetical. That imperial power, it is true, continues to secure the subjugation of its Italian dependencies by large military forces, distributed along the whole eastern border of Piedmont, & to hold itself prepared for any possible contingency; but this occasions no alarm. Sardinia has, of course, a watchful regard to this proceeding of a power from which it derives no countenance in the pursuit of its liberal constitutional principles, but it sees no reason at present to anticipate a breach of the peace. Mindful, however, of a proverbial maxim in national policy, it seeks to be prepared for the worst, whilst it confidently hopes for the best; & accordingly maintains

a well appointed standing army of 50,000 men, ready at all times for any emergency. A sad necessity.

All speculations concerning the picture of Europe are regarded in the best informed circles here as alike futile, since that is an abyss which no mortal eye may fathom. There exists here, however, as elsewhere, a vague apprehension that the present peace, secured by imperial coalitions & mercenary forces, is not destined to a long continuance. The course of affairs in France is regarded with much apprehension, but no one is presumptuous enough to anticipate events from the data now afforded. The German question occasions no solicitude or uneasiness.

I have omitted to say, in the proper place, that favorable postal treaties have recently been concluded with both Switzerland and France, by which the rates of postage have been materially reduced between those countries & Sardinia. Copies of these treaties will be transmitted to you in the course of a few days.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 10

Turin, May 4, 1851

Sir: Herewith I have the honor to enclose to your address official copies of postal treaties concluded last year between the Plenipotentiaries of Sardinia & those of Switzerland, France & Belgium; and which have since been fully ratified by their respective governments.²⁹ The important reductions made by these treaties in the rates of postage, I am assured by the proper authority, have already produced a large increase in correspondence, and the officers of the Department anticipate therefore no diminution in its aggregate receipts.

It is pertinent to add that it is the cherished policy of this government to promote by every practicable means and as fast as possible, the freest intercourse between its own people and those of countries which enjoy the benefit of constitutional forms, and at the same time to establish more intimate relations with the chief commercial nations of the world, through favorable treaties, reducing Custom House duties & the taxes on navigation, and to invite

²⁹ La convenzione postale con il Belgio fu firmata il 26 luglio 1850, quella con la Francia il 9 novembre 1850 e quella con la Svizzera il 21 ottobre 1850. Altre convenzioni con altri paesi furono concluse in questo periodo.

trade by creating new facilities for international intercourse with Switzerland, the head waters of the Rhine, and the southern regions of France. Rail roads in these directions are now in the course of construction, & will probably be completed within the period of two years.

All the benefits of the commercial treaties recently concluded with Belgium & England have been extended to France by an arrangement just concluded with M. De Butenval, the French Minister at this Court.

I have the honor to communicate also the complimentary note from M. D'Azeglio, the Sardinian Minister of Foreign Affairs, acknowledging the receipt of one from me enclosing a copy of the correspondence of the Department with the Austrian Representative at Washington.

It is, perhaps, worthy of mention that Field Marshal Radetzky is now on a visit to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by whom he was received at the Porta St. Gallo, Florence, in the Austrian uniform, and invited him to the Ducal palace.

The Mediterranean Squadron, under the command of Com. Morgan, came up to Spezia some days ago from Naples. The *Cumberland* sailed for Boston last week, and the steamship *Mississippi*, Capt. Long, was despatched on a cruise to the several ports within the scope of the squadron, Marseilles, Cadiz, Tangier &c., which it is supposed will occupy some thirty days. The *Independence* flag ship remains at Spezia.

Herewith I enclose the accounts of the Legation for the quarter ending on the 22nd. ult.

*Massimo d'Azeglio a William B. Kinney*³⁰

Turin le 20 avril, 1851

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires:

J'ai reçu avec votre obligeante note du 16 de ce mois, les copies qui y étaient jointes soit de la correspondance qui a eu lieu entre le gouvernement des Etats Unis et le Représentant d'Autriche à Washington relativement aux derniers événements de Hongrie soit des instructions envoyées dernièrement par Notre gouvernement

³⁰ Allegato al dispaccio n. 10 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

au Représentant des Etats-Unis à Constantinople touchant la mise en liberté de Kossuth et de ses compagnons d'exil.

Je m'empresse, Monsieur, de vous offrir mes remerciements bien sincères pour l'envoi que vous avez bien voulu me faire de ces documents en vous assurant que j'en ai pris connaissance avec tout l'intérêt qui se rattache naturellement à une question aussi importante et qui a été pour le gouvernement des Etats-Unis une occasion de manifester de nouveau les nobles principes et les sentiments généreux qui dirigent sa conduite.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, les assurances réitérées de ma considération bien distinguée.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 11

Turin, July 12, 1851

Sir: The numerous American travellers who pass through this capital uniformly complain of the vexation to which they are subjected by the passport system of Europe; & especially of the high fee charged by the consuls of the United States for visas. The complaints are so continual & earnest that I am constrained respectfully to refer the subject to your consideration. No traveller, whatever may be his rank or character, can enter or leave any country in Europe, either by sea or land, without being exposed to more or less annoyance & detention at the frontier, in consequence of the necessity of having his passport officially examined & endorsed. After passing the ordeal of admission he is not permitted to leave without first procuring the visa of a minister or consul of his own government, in addition to similar endorsements by the local authorities, and the representative of the next adjoining nation through which he may wish to pass. These vexations and expensive formalities must be repeated in every country he visits. It seems to be generally understood by American travellers that the Government of the United States has no power of control over these police regulations of other countries, but those who bear its passports feel that they are fairly entitled to the simple endorsements of its own agents without charge; whereas they are in fact compelled to pay a larger fee to the American consuls for this simple service, than to the officers of any other government. The usual charge at the

consulates of the United States is \$2., which is double the amount demanded by the consuls of other countries.

I have called the attention of the consuls in this Kingdom to the following article of Chap. VIII. of the General Instruction of the Department of State to the Consuls of the United States, issued in the year 1838, viz: « No charge is to be made for passports; but this prohibition is not intended to prevent the taking of the lawful fee for such certificate as may be necessary to establish the citizenship or identity of the person applying. »

But the apparent intent of the rule is evaded by the insertion in the visa of an altogether unnecessary phrase, certifying, what it is the purpose of the passport to show, that the bearer is a citizen of the United States; & the apology for the subterfuge is that the consuls receive no salaries, & have in general very little other revenue from the office. Visas are properly simple official recognitions of the genuineness of the original document.

In order to show the prevailing feeling among American travellers on the subject, I have the honor to enclose an extract from a letter recently received at this legation. It is proper to add, however, in justice to the acting consul referred to, that he does but pursue in the matter specially complained of, the uniform practice of his predecessors: and he informs me, that the Austrian Government requires the consular visa to the passports of travellers who pass through Genoa into its territories. He cites the case of an American citizen (Mr. Silas Hicks Jr.) who was detained by the police at Milan until his passport was sent back to Genoa & returned with the visa, which he neglected to obtain on leaving that port.

Mr. Baker, whose commission as U. S. Consul for the port of Genoa, was received at this Legation more than three months ago, has not yet made his appearance.

Frequent complaints are also made of the appointment of foreigners, some of whom do not even speak the language of our country, as consuls & vice consuls of the United States. I have been told within a few days that the political & social relations & affinities of a vice Consul at Oneglia in the province of Nice, (Nicolas Marsucco), are not such as would not [sic] be likely to secure the confidence of our country much in any important emergency. It would appear also by the statements made at this Legation by American visitors, that the Consul at Vienna, Mr. A. [sic] G.

Swartz,³¹ has been in the habit of speaking of the course of the United States in the case of the mission of Mr. Dudley Mann in terms unbecoming an officer of its government in that position. A respectable clergyman of the State of Ohio, Rev. George M. Maxwell, has made a special complaint with a request that his name may be mentioned.

These & other well known evils of greater magnitude, it is respectfully submitted, suggest the importance of a thorough revision of our consular system. In the mean time, one cause of general complaint might be removed by renewed instructions to Consular agents concerning the charge for passports.

Nothing whatever appears have transpired since the date of my last despatch to affect the aspect of political affairs in Southern Europe. The Sardinian Parliament is drawing to a close a long session, which has been chiefly occupied with a series of ministerial measures intended to extend the commercial relations & resources of the Kingdom. Treaties with Switzerland, the Zolverein, Holland and France, embracing the general provisions of those recently made with Belgium and England—copies of which were duly forwarded to the Department—have recently passed the Chamber of Deputies by large majorities, and will doubtless receive the sanction of the Senate within a few days. The debate on the treaty with France was chiefly remarkable for the violence with which the members of the extreme Left, spoke against making any compact whatever with the present government of that nation. I do not see that these new commercial arrangements require any change in our treaty with Sardinia, which secures to the commerce of the States all the advantages conceded to other countries.

A new tariff has been passed through the Chamber of Deputies, after long consideration, which makes material abatements in Custom House duties. The duty on cotton wool is altogether abolished. A copy of the bill, together with copies of the new treaties, will be forwarded to the Department after the final action of the Senate.

In order to secure the means of expediting the completion of the railways now in progress through the Kingdom, the government has contracted a loan of seventy-five millions of francs in Lon-

³¹ John George Schwarz, console a Vienna, nominato il 10 ottobre 1829. Vedi: *State Department Personnel Records*, Archivi nazionali, Washington

don. The rate of interest is 5 pr. ct. & the subscription price 85. The bonds are to be in sums of £ 1000, £ 500, £ 100, & £ 40 each. A provision equal to 1 pr. ct. on the principal of the debt is to be applied to its redemption—such redemption to commence in nine years. The rail road from Turin to Genoa—about two thirds of which is already complete & in operation—and the branch to Lake Maggiore on the borders of Switzerland and Lombardy, are to be mortgaged as a special security in addition to the general revenues of the government. The terms of this loan are more favorable than previous contracts by this government. It may be added as an evidence of the confidence of the people in the legal & financial reforms which so distinguish the government of this country in the midst of prevailing embarrassments in Europe, that a subscription was opened during the last month for the sum of seventeen millions of francs to pay off a debt to the Bank of Genoa; & that the amount subscribed within a week reached thirty-three millions, the whole required amount having been taken by native capitalists.

Her Majesty the Queen was happily delivered of a Prince on the 3d. ult., who has received the name of « Charles Albert Ferdinand-Marie-Eugène, Duc du Chablais ». This the sixth child and third son of the present King.

An effort is now making by a New York company, represented by Mess. Livingston, Wells & Co., to establish a regular line of monthly steamers between that city & Genoa, which is regarded with favor by this government. It offers a mail contract with \$50,000 per annum, provided the company shall establish weekly departures from the respective ports within a period of four years from the commencement.

*Joseph A. Humphrey a William B. Kinney*³²

Genoa, June 18, 1851

Dear Sir: You will please pardon me for informing you of a grievance to which I have been subjected in this place, and from which it may be in your power to relieve future travelers.

I left Florence three days since, having previously obtained

³² Allegato al dispaccio n. 11 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

every visa to my passport which I was told was requisite, including the Austrian and Sardinian authorities &c.

Upon arriving here this morning my passport was demanded at the gate, and although I go on immediately to Milan without stopping (at least only till the diligence starts) myself and another American were compelled to give up our passports, while several English and German passengers who are also going on were allowed to retain theirs. We were furnished with receipts, and as soon as the Police Office was opened we sent for them, but to our surprise we were informed that we could not proceed on our journey without again obtaining the visa of the Sardinian Government which was refused till we should first get the visa of *the American consul*, for which we have been obliged to pay *10 francs* and on account of which we feel we have just cause to complain. We are only passing through Genoa and have been subjected to annoyance, delay, and an exorbitant expense only at the instigation of Mr. Moros [sic], a foreigner, who to the disgrace of our country is acting as Consul, and we have it from *good authority* that it is by his direction alone, and that it is not to be laid to the charge of the Government, that we have to submit to this imposition. It is a shame and an abuse which should for the credit of our country be speedily remedied.

I was told by Capt. Cullum³³ of the U. S. A. that you intended to look into such abuses, and that you expressed a wish to be informed of their occurrence in future. Hence I have troubled you with this rather long statement, and hope you will give the matter immediate attention, and greatly oblige your fellow countrymen.

Jos A. Humphrey
of Kentucky

We the undersigned are witness to the truth of the above and hope this grievance will be removed without delay.

R. W. Allen, New Orleans
L. W. Petrie, Mississippi
B. L. Pope, Huntsville Al.
W. H. Childs, do do.

³³ Questi è probabilmente George Washington Cullum (1809-1892) del corpo degli ingegneri degli S U. Scrisse « *Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the U S. Military Academy*. La prima edizione, pubblicata nel 1850, continuò fino al 1891

Sir: The Parliament of this Kingdom has adjourned to the 18th of November next, after a long and generally speaking, harmonious session, in which the ministerial measures were uniformly carried by large majorities. Some show of opposition was made from time to time by a small & inefficient reactionary party and on the other hand by the extreme left, comprising a more considerable number of democratic members, who, without professing to desire any present radical changes, manifest some impatience with the thoughtful caution of the Ministry in the prosecution of its carefully graduated measures to effectuate the reforms authorized by the Constitution. Parties in this Kingdom are, however, comparatively moderate. The policy of the country may be said to be well defined, and settled beyond a reasonable fear of reaction. The King and his ministers appear to enjoy the fullest degree of public confidence, and there exists no reason to doubt their fidelity to the great principles of civil and religious freedom to which they are pledged. In seeking to establish free institutions on the basis of the Constitution, they act, it is believed, from a deep conviction of duty and policy, as well as in accordance with all their professions. Of this I feel assured by a somewhat familiar acquaintance with their habitual personal as well as public conduct. No one here in fact doubts it, while the whole remainder of the reactionary party in the Kingdom, the absolute governments in southern Europe, and their representatives here, hold them responsible for leading public sentiment in favor of constitutional forms; and perhaps no government in Europe enjoys in fuller measure the confidence of its people. As the natural consequence of this well understood agreement between the several powers of the state, tranquillity and prosperity prevail throughout its borders. These unequivocal signs of growth and progress, « in the midst of surrounding ruins », as the King characterized the condition and aspect of southern Europe, in his notable speech at the opening of the late session, affords a significant commentary upon the beneficent influences of free institutions, among a people confirmed to them. Sardinia may be said to be the only home of civil and religious freedom in southern Europe.

Among the ministerial measures which received the sanction of Parliament may be mentioned the following, viz: bills abolishing the ancient right of primogeniture, opening the schools and universities, hitherto closed to all but members of the national Church, to all sects and classes, including Jews, on equal terms—bringing estates and the property of ecclesiastical institutions generally within the category of taxation, —Treaties with most of the other maritime powers of Europe, —for removing the naval arsenal of the Kingdom from Genoa to Spezia, with a view to authorized improvements in the ancient capital of the Ligurian Republic, —a revision of the tariff to effect a reduction in Custom House duties—and a bill authorizing loans to complete the national rail roads, now in full progress.

I have the honor to enclose to your address copies of the treaties with Portugal, Holland, the Zollverein, the free cities of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, Switzerland, and Greece, and some additional articles to the treaty with France, together with a copy of the new tariff, embracing a comparison with the bill which it supersedes. These treaties, like those with England and Belgium, heretofore communicated, make liberal concessions with a view of inviting more intimate commercial intercourse.

By the new tariff cotton wool, which is the chief article of American produce consumed here, —unless it be tobacco, the trade in which is still a government monopoly—is among the articles of commerce exempted from duty. The import of cotton last year amounted, I am told, to fifteen millions of francs.

According to Art. VI. of the treaty with Switzerland, the right of transit through the territories of the respective contracting parties is secured to the commerce of other nations with either, subject only to such duties as are paid by their own citizens. By Art VIII, Switzerland also engages to contribute as far as possible to the construction of a railway which, « starting from the Sardinian frontier, or from the most suitable point of the borders of Lake Maggiore, should be extended towards, and to, a point of Germany, to join the railroads of the Zollverein » These provisions, it will be readily seen, may prove favorable to American trade; especially if the line of steamers between New York and Genoa, projected by an enterprising New York company, shall be established.³⁴ The

³⁴ La linea di navigazione diretta da Genova a New York, fondata come Transatlantic Co, fu organizzata da Livingston, Wells & Co, di New York Il conte di Cavour,

prospect of such a communication is regarded with much popular favor here, where there is a prevailing desire for more intimate intercourse with the United States, and the Ministry has manifested its interest in the undertaking, by the offer of a mail contract with an assurance of an indemnity of at least \$50,000 per annum for fifteen years, —to include the mails for both North and South America, and the Pacific Ocean. The seamers are to touch at Madeira, where letters and passengers will be transhipped to the South American line of steamers. There is a large export in fruits from the Mediterranean to America, which this line is specially intended to facilitate. I have the honor to enclose a copy of the official journal containing the articles of agreement between the company and the Minister of Commerce.

Dr. Baker, the new consul for Genoa, reached this city by way of Paris this morning, and will leave to enter upon the duties of his office tomorrow.

Vessels coming from New Orleans and the Mississippi River, in common with other regions, where the cholera is said to prevail, are now subject to quarantine at Genoa.

It is worthy of mention as an indication of the state of feeling in the government of the King of Naples towards that of the United States, that its representative here has received instructions, given it is understood to all its functionaries, not to issue or visa passports to the United States.³⁵

Herewith I have the honor to enclose the accounts of the legation for the quarter ending on the 22nd July. The commission and brokerage of the bankers here, as may be seen by their account, leave a balance against the government, which is somewhat increased by the loss of the difference of exchange between London and Turin, indicated in a note to the general statement of the accounts. I am not informed what the usage of the Department is in such cases. But the bills for commission and brokerage at least would appear to be a proper charge against the contingent Fund of the Legation. On this point, I respectfully ask instruction.

come ministro del commercio, diede il consenso del Governo al progetto. Con un capitale di 2 000.000 di dollari la compagnia s'impegnò ad istituire viaggi mensili. *New York Evening Post*, 12 ag. 1851; *New York Daily Times*, 3 dic. 1852; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 4 giugno 1853.

³⁵ Per notizie sulle proteste americane contro le Due Sicilie in questo periodo, vedi H. R. MARRARO, *American Opinion*, cit., pp. 101-119.

Sir: The United States steam frigate *Mississippi* reached the the naval depot at Spezia from Constantinople on the morning of the 21st inst., having on board Louis Kossuth, with his family, and some fifty of his companions in exile, including one general officer and several colonels in the late Hungarian service. After being detained four days to take in coal and other stores, she departed the day before yesterday for Gibralter [sic] whence she may, perhaps, proceed to the United States. I learn from Com. Morgan, and other authentic sources, that it is Kossuth's earnest desire and purpose to visit England before he goes to the United States, and that the other members of the party generally express great reluctance to encounter the perils of a long sea voyage at this season. It is possible, therefore, that they will all leave the *Mississippi* at Gibralter [sic], and seek a passage thence to England, since they probably could not find a refuge in any of the ports of the continental powers.

I am advised that it was Kossuth's desire to stop at Naples, Genoa & Marseilles: where he claims to have numerous friends of his future European enterprize, and he is said to have manifested much dissatisfaction that the vessel was not permitted by her orders to touch at these ports; intimating that he was thereby "a prisoner still," and even suggesting that the desired indulgence would be sanctioned by "the people," if the government should disapprove of it.

His appearance at Genoa, there is reason to believe, would have produced a manifestation of popular feeling which at the present moment might have seriously embarrassed the relations of this Kingdom with Austria. Being premonished [sic] through his own sources of information of the departure of the *Mississippi* from Constantinople for Spezia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who confided to me the grounds of the solicitude of the Ministry on the subject in a personal interview, addressed to me a confidential note desiring me to advise the senior officer of our naval service on this station confidentially of them, with the view of avoiding the probable evils to which a landing of the distinguished Hungarian leader on this shore, at this particular juncture, would expose the government.

The object and desires of His Majesty's ministers were courteously responded to by Commodore Morgan, who fully appreciated their importance. The vessel therefore was made ready to proceed on her voyage some days before the expiration of the periods within which passengers coming from the Levant are not permitted to land under the quarantine laws. The precaution of this Government, were there nothing peculiar in the present state of its international relations, would seem to be sufficiently justified by the fact that Kossuth, as I am assured by the officers in intercourse with him, supposes himself to be the ordained leader of some new enterprise for a great political and social reformation in Europe, and that he has numerous auxiliaries in the ports of the Mediterranean, as well as in the interior of the continent, in England, and elsewhere. It is scarcely necessary to add that the government of Sardinia entertains no sympathy whatever with the oppressors of Hungary, or that the request above referred to concerning the landing here of its chosen leader, should be regarded as strictly confidential.

Without meaning to intimate any opinion of the personal qualities or future purposes of one who is so much honored as the leader of an honorable effort for the emancipation of a suffering people, I am constrained to communicate for your consideration the following extract from one of the official letters above referred to, which embodies in a few words the impressions received by other responsible American officers who have enjoyed the privilege of a free personal intercourse with him:

"He is perhaps the greatest enthusiast in the world, if indeed, he may not be said to be a fanatic. He has the vanity to believe that he is sent on a mission to liberate the continent of Europe from bondage and place all people in the full enjoyment of freedom."

A subsequent letter from an equally responsible source says to me, after further opportunities of observation:

"Kossuth is an incorrigible fanatic, without magnanimity, dignity, judgment or substance—though with a fine person and great versatility of acquirement."

His remarkable influence over the feelings of his countrymen in the hour of trial is ascribed, by those who know him here, to the popular qualities referred to in the last phrase of this comprehensive passage. He is said to speak the English language with sufficient fluency to communicate his feelings.

The Emperor of Austria is just now on a visit to the military posts in Lombardy. He has not been received any where during his progress with any marks of popular favor, though the official bulletins, taking advantage of the mercenary manifestations of the numerous officers and employes [sic] of the Government and the army, including the forced illumination of public buildings, represent otherwise. The private correspondence of responsible persons here state that even the arbitrary measures of the appointed guardians of the people have not succeeded in producing any deceptive show of general enthusiasm. When he reached Milan the 21st instant, many of the people were found to be out of town, and many more were confined by indisposition.

The recent visit of the popular young sovereign of this Kingdom to Genoa and other considerable towns in the country, forms an instructive contrast to the Imperial progress in Lombardy. He was every where received by the spontaneous acclamations of the people, who also manifested their confidence and regard by processions, public festas, cordial addresses by committees of their own number, illuminations, bonfires &c. Genoa was twice illuminated during his brief sojourn, and the general feeling was exhibited by many other and more unequivocal expressions of popular favor.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatches No. 8 & 9 from the Department.³⁶ The President's letter to the King concerning the birth of a Prince has been reported to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and will be duly presented immediately after His Majesty's return to the capital.

*Massimo d'Azeglio à William B. Kinney*³⁷

89 *Confidentielle*

Turin, le septembre 1851

Monsieur: J'ai été informé que la Frégate le *Mississippi* doit transporter de Constantinople aux Etats Unis les réfugiés Hongrois

³⁶ L'istruzione n. 8, Washington, 22 agosto 1851, firmata da William S. Derrick, facente funzione di segretario, accusava ricevuta dei conti e dei documenti che erano stati inviati al *Fifth Auditor*. L'istruzione n. 9, Washington, 1 settembre 1851, trasmetteva una risposta del presidente al Re che gli aveva annunciata la nascita del principe Carlo Alberto, duca del Chiablese, che morirà nel 1854.

³⁷ Per ragioni non chiare, Kinney non spedì le copie della corrispondenza alla quale accenna nel dispaccio n. 13, scambiata con l'Azeglio, il capitano Long, il Comodoro Morgan e il colonnello Baker a proposito della visita di Kossuth. Siccome ab-

et le principal d'entre eux Kossuth auxquels la nation américaine a offert généreusement un asile.

Pour le cas où le *Mississippi* devrait toucher à la Spezia ou à Gênes, je crois devoir vous adresser une demande que vous accueillerez, j'en suis persuadé, avec bienveillance et avec cet esprit de justice qui vous distingue. Tout en compatissant au sort de ces malheureux et en comprenant les égards que mérite leur position, le Gouvernement du Roi ne peut se dissimuler que s'ils débarquaient sur le territoire sarde dans les circonstances politiques actuelles, dans le moment surtout de la présence de l'Empereur d'Autriche à Monza, il pourrait facilement en résulter de l'agitation et des observations qu'il importe essentiellement de prévenir. La convenance d'éviter tout ce qui peut porter atteinte à des relations que nous avons intérêt à maintenir dans l'état satisfaisant et réciproquement avantageux où elles se trouvent actuellement, m'engage Monsieur, à vous prier d'écrire confidentiellement à Mr. le Commandant de la Frégate susindiquée pour qu'il veuille bien, en considération des motifs que je viens de vous exposer, disposer pour que Kossuth particulièrement, et les principaux réfugiés Hongrois que se trouvent à son bord, ne descendent pas à terre s'il touche à la Spezia ou à Gênes.

Je compte trop sur votre obligeance accoutumée, Monsieur, pour ne pas avoir toute confiance que vous apprécierez les raisons qui me portent à vous témoigner ce désir, et que vous l'accueillerez avec empressement.

Je vous en exprime d'avance tous mes remerciements, en vous priant d'ajouter à cette complaisance celle de vouloir bien écrire le plus tôt possible à Mr. le Commandant du *Mississippi*, et je saisis cette occasion pour vous renouveler, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération bien distinguée.

*William B. Kinney a J. C. Long*³⁸

N. 90 *Confidenziale*

September 19, 1851

My dear Captain: I have this moment had the pleasure to hear, through an authentic source, that Mr. Kossuth and his companions

biamo trovato questa corrispondenza negli archivi dell'ambasciata degli S U a Roma, la pubblichiamo qui per la prima volta Per l'accoglienza che Kossuth riceverà negli S.U., vedi H R MARRARO, *American opinion* cit., pp 208-211

³⁸ Il capitano Long era al comando del *Mississippi*.

have at length been released, and seize the occasion to congratulate you upon being the fortunate instrument of the government in conveying them to our hospitable shores. The Government of Sardinia, I have reason to believe, sympathizes with us on the happy occasion, but for weighty reasons rising out of the present state of certain political relations, it has addressed to me a formal request, that, in case you should touch at Spezia or Genoa, they will not land, or permit any popular expression of the feeling which the friends of freedom everywhere entertain towards them on the Sardinian territory, as it might, in the critical circumstances referred to, occasion serious inconvenience to the Government of His Majesty. Mr. Kossuth, as well as yourself, will, I am sure, recognize the propriety of the request, which is made with the utmost delicacy, if you should find it necessary confidentially to inform him of it. I need not therefore urge you to see that it is duly respected.

Do me the favor, I pray you, to offer to the distinguished Hungarian and his gallant companions, my hearty congratulations on their final escape from a remorseless bondage and the near prospect of receiving that meed of honor and regard which awaits them in our free and fortunate country.

P. S. Permit me to suggest the propriety of regarding the request above referred to as strictly confidential, according to the wish of the government.

*William B. Kinney a George G. Baker*³⁹

N. 91

Turin, September 19, 1851

Dear Sir: I enclose an official letter for Capt. Long of the United States steam frigate *Mississippi* which is hourly expected at Spezia or Genoa from Constantinople. It is very important that it should be delivered to the Captain before the vessel reaches a landing, and I must beg you therefore to ascertain, if possible, at which port the vessel is likely to arrive, and to have the letter delivered by a boat the moment she appears. It is a strictly confidential communication, of much importance. Have you received your exequatur?

³⁹ George G. Baker era console degli S.U. a Genova.

William B. Kinney a Massimo d'Azeglio

N. 92 *Confidenziale*

Turin, September 19, 1851

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, hastens to say to His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to his confidential note of this date, that he fully appreciates the motives of its considerate request concerning the landing on Sardinian coast of the Hungarian refugees said to be passengers on board the United States steam frigate *Mississippi*, en route from Constantinople to the United States; and he has the honor to add that he has accordingly addressed a confidential letter to the commander of the said frigate, with a view of securing a prompt and cheerful compliance with the well considered policy of His Majesty's Government.

George G. Baker a William B. Kinney

N. 93

Genoa, 21 September, 1851

My dear Sir: I have received your letter of yesterday, enclosing one to Captain Long, and under the circumstances thought it best to send it to Commodore Morgan who is at Spezia where the *Mississippi* is daily expected. I took the liberty to say to Com. Morgan the letter was from you and contained official information which it was important for Captain Long to receive the moment he arrived and before he landed, and suggested that he might send it by the health officer who first visited the steamer.

William B. Kinney a Charles W. Morgan

N. 94

Turin, September 22, 1851.

My dear Sir: Having just learned by a note from the Consul at Genoa of your arrival at Spezia, I hasten to say that the confidential letter to Capt. Long, with which I presume you have been made acquainted ere this, would have been properly addressed to you, if I had supposed you were not too far off to meet the exigence. It is on all accounts very desirable that nothing should be known abroad of the earnest request of the government here concerning the landing of the passengers of the *Mississippi* which

I am happy to learn by the government despatches has arrived. The motives for the request are honorable and if I could have an opportunity of a personal interview would, I am sure, meet your cordial approval. It is sufficient for the public to know that the quarantine laws interpose an obstacle to the, on political grounds, undesirable landing.

Charles W. Morgan a William B. Kinney

N. 95

September 22, 1851

Dear Sir: ...The *Mississippi* arrived yesterday morning at 9 o'clock and I made my way to the Lazzaretto without delay, had an interview with Long, found all well in health, and saw and conversed an hour with the "illustrious Hungarian" who is perhaps the greatest enthusiast in the world, if indeed he may not be said to be a fanatic, clearly displaying the vanity to believe that he is sent on a mission to liberate the continent of Europe from bondage and to place all people in the full enjoyment of freedom. And he would bring upon our country the utmost disgrace if my sympathies in any respect equaled his enthusiasm. He wished to go into the Bay of Naples in passing, and even intimated that he was a *prisoner still*, upon being informed by Capt. Long, that it was against my express orders to him to visit that port. Upon the 17th inst. I sent to Genoa for coals to meet the *Mississippi* at this point, which are now upon their way here, and I shall have her off for Gibraltar with as little delay as practicable. During my intercourse with Kossuth he expressed a wish to visit both Genoa and Marseilles and stated that at the latter port he contemplated leaving the steamer with all of his companions for England for which he was already provided with funds. And you may rest assured that such will be his course at Gibraltar, where the necessities of the steamer will require a few days' delay. He begged of me personally that, he should not be forced to go first to the United States and seems from his conversation to have emissaries at every port, but particularly in England where he even went so far as to propose that the steamer should be sent with him, and expressed the opinion that if the government failed to support me, should I accede to his request, the *people* would! I informed him, however, that he would go as speedily as possible from this place to Gibraltar,

but that he could not touch at any point between this and that (and to Capt. Long that he could not hold any communication with strangers either here or on the route). And that upon his arrival at Gibraltar he would not be forced to proceed to the United States, and I am confident that he and all his followers will leave at that point for England.

There are, however, some eight or ten persons on board, who are said by Kossuth not to be really a part of his associates or companions, but who, nevertheless were taken on board at his suggestion and that of Mr. Homes, the 2nd Dragoman of the Legation at Constantinople, who on the part of the Legation was managing the embarkation of the exiles. These persons, it was the intention to land, either at Spezia or Gibraltar and blank passports were sent on board to be filled up and furnished to them, whenever they might go on shore — they, however, cannot be landed here or at Gibraltar, nor at any other point upon the continent without being regarded as paupers and subject to being reported as such to our government.

How mortifying would it be if that fine steamer should be compelled to go to the United States for the purpose of landing a few paupers after being tricked into the belief that she was to return home upon an important mission! For myself I have no doubt that the English have managed this affairs for us and will congratulate themselves upon their success. It is unnecessary to assure you that I have used all my graces of persuasion to induce him to follow the true light and will continue to do so to the end.

P. S. Pray assure the Sardinian Government that it needs be under no apprehension.

William B. Kinney a Charles W. Morgan

N. 96

Turin, September 24, 1851

My dear Commodore: ...Fortunate, indeed, is it, as the most mortifying discoveries of your letter show, that the management of the case has fallen into discreet hands, since not only the peace of this country, but the honor of our own government, and the cause of orderly freedom which it has so much at heart, might otherwise have been seriously compromised, if indeed, we are not more or less exposed to disparagement already. God grant that our

fortunate country — better off, at least, if not better, than any other— may not be doomed through its generous sympathy with the oppressed to some new and more disastrous fanaticism! Its beautiful ideal of the “illustrious Washington of Hungary” is completely spoiled by the light of your letter.

I fully sympathize with you in the hope that the *Mississippi* is not doomed to the mortification of going home “for the purpose of landing a few paupers” and earnestly trust that an overruling Providence will not defeat their desires of landing at Gibraltar.

Charles W. Morgan a William B. Kinney

N. 98

Spezia, September 24, 1851

Dear Sir: ... Disagreeable news flies on wings. The Hungarian demonstration in Spezia, as it is termed among the “knowing ones,” consisted of a few shavings burnt along the beach, at the head of the Bay by boys two or three nights since, together with some rowdies going down in boats to the *Mississippi* with a “band of music,” that is, a horn or two and a fiddle. You have doubtless ere this heard of it.

No similar “demonstration” has subsequently been made, or will occur, so far as the party on board is concerned. The ship has orders to sail to-morrow morning and will do so without fail.

I have long since imbibed the feelings and wishes of the Sardinian Government. In these matters, as General Kossuth would say, “I feel inspired,” or rather *gifted* with mesmeric sympathy, though separated by 150 miles, and have consequently provided for all contingencies. “His Most Gracious Majesty” therefore, may without the slightest concern, send his whole army to encamp at Wagram; or any other place, that he may decree...

William B. Kinney a Charles W. Morgan

N. 97

Turin, September 25, 1851

My dear Sir: After despatching my note of yesterday, I had a confidential interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of War at the Foreign Office, and communicated verbally your considerate orders concerning the *Mississippi* and her pas-

sengers. They expressed the liveliest satisfaction, and begged me to assure you that your forecast and decision are fully appreciated. It is true beyond all peradventure, as you have intimated, that if your sympathy had in any respect equalled the enthusiasm of the Hungarian leader, the peace of this country would have been in jeopardy, and our flag dishonored. His presence in Genoa would undoubtedly produce a manifestation of popular feeling which, in the present state of certain political relations, might lead to disastrous consequences.

*John J. Crittenden*⁴⁰ a *William B. Kinney*

Istruzione n 10

Department of State, Washington, October 22, 1851

Sir: I have the honor to transmit, enclosed, a copy of a letter from Mr. Sam. F. B. Morse, dated at Poughkeepsie, State of New York, on the 9th ulto.: & of its enclosure.⁴¹ They relate, as you will see, to an alleged detention of a naturalized American citizen, named Bargnani,⁴² by the Austrian authorities in Brescia. The information appeared in a letter from Turin, of the 4th of August, a paragraph from which was published in the "L'Eco d'Italia", of New York.⁴³

It is proper that this Department should be made acquainted with the circumstances of this case, and I have, therefore, to request that you will make the necessary inquiries, and communicate their results. The article in the "Eco" states that the wife & children of Dr Bargnani reside in Turin.

Your despatch No. 13 was received here on the 20th inst.

⁴⁰ John J. Crittenden, facente funzione di segretario di Stato, rifiutò la nomina a segretario di Stato perché era stato eletto governatore del Kentucky

⁴¹ Negli Archivi nazionali di Washington Serial No 5, p 258, esiste solo il seguente riassunto della lettera del Morse

« Says Dr Bargnani is an intimate personal friend He never knew a man of purer life and more benevolent aims He was active in the Christian Alliance In the cause of the Christian Alliance he many years since visited Europe and has resided as near to his native place, Brescia, as the despotic and proscriptive edicts of his country's oppressors would permit. He is not a propagandist of impracticable theories, but a true lover of our long solved problem of religious and civil liberty Hence doubtless he is the marked object of suspicion and hatred of Austrian despotism ».

⁴² Alessandro Bargnani, nato ad Iseo il 9 marzo 1798, partecipò ai moti del '20 e del '31 Arrestato nel 1833, fu processato assieme a Gabriele Rosa Condannato a 20 anni, scelse la deportazione in America, dove arrivò nel 1835

⁴³ *L'Eco d'Italia*, settimanale italiano di New York, uscì nel 1850 sotto la direzione di G F Secchi de Casale, che aveva già pubblicato il primo giornale in lingua italiana di New York, *L'Europeo Americano*

A naturalized American citizen kept captive by the Austrian Government. It is not long ago that an American citizen was arrested and thrown into a dungeon in Hungary, on mere suspicion, by the Austrian authorities; and it is now our painful duty to record another arbitrary act of the same tyrannical power, against a most distinguished naturalized American citizen — Prof. Bargnani — an Italian of high standing, well known in this country as a member of the New York Christian Alliance. We translate from the New York *L'Eco d'Italia*, the following correspondence on the subject, dated Turin, August 4th: —

« Professor Bargnani; from Brescia, Lombardy, exiled for many years from his native land, was a long time in the United States, of which country he became a citizen, and had an American passport. Residing for two years in this city, he applied and obtained from the Austrian Legation in Turin, permission to visit Brescia, for a limited time only, in order to settle some family affairs. After he had accomplished his business he was prevented by the Austrian police from leaving the city of Brescia, and cannot return to Turin, where his wife and children reside. The answer given to his numerous petitions is, that the Austrian government permitted him to enter the Lombardy territory, but not to leave it ».

We hope that our government will look into this matter, and put an end to such practices of the Austrian authorities against peaceful American citizens. It has been said that our government is far inferior, in its earnest and watchful protection of citizens, to that of Great Britain. Such a comparison to our disadvantage ought not to exist.

Daniel Webster a William B. Kinney

Istruzione n. 11, Circolare Department of State, Washington, 4 th Nov. 1851

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that, on the 31st of January, last, the Senate of the United States adopted a Resolution in the following words:

⁴⁴ Allegato all'Istruzione n. 10 del Crittenden. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington. È un estratto dal *New York Herald*, edizione del mattino del 26 agosto 1851, pagina 4, colonna 3.

“*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be requested to communicate to the Senate any information which he may possess touching the expediency of adopting a graduated scale of diplomatic salaries based upon the combined considerations of the importance of the mission and the expenses of residence.”

I have accordingly to request that you will, at your earliest convenience, transmit to this Department a statement of the expenses incident to your residence in your official character at Turin. It is desirable that the information should be specific and accurate, in order that the Department may form a correct opinion on the subject.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

*Dispaccio n. 15*⁴⁵

Turin, November 10, 1851

Sir: I have the honor herewith to enclose copies of papers received at this Legation from Sir Ralph Abercromby the Minister Plenipotentiary of H. B. M. at this Court, presenting a claim against the United States in behalf of Mr. Philip Taylor, a British subject, and the proprietor of extensive iron works in the vicinity of Genoa.

It appears by these papers that Mr. Taylor was employed in the early part of the year 1849, by Capt. Hunter then commanding the U. S. Steam Frigate *Alleghany* on this naval station, to repair the machinery of that vessel, and that in consequence of the unsafe condition of “the cross head of the engine”, he was authorized to procure a new one from “the only forge in France where it could be made.” The vessel was unexpectedly ordered home soon after the contract was made, and the “cross head,” which was procured, has, therefore, been on his hands ever since. The bill paid by Mr. Taylor for this “cross head” amounts to upwards of 2600 francs, and it was presented in due time to the U. S. Vice Consul at Genoa, accompanied with a request that it might be sent to the government for payment, but “without result.”

In submitting Mr Taylor’s statement to your attention, I refer with pleasure to the unqualified certificate of his credibility and

⁴⁵ Il dispaccio n. 14, Torino, 17 ottobre 1851, trasmetteva i rendiconti finanziari della Legazione alla chiusura del trimestre scaduto il 30 settembre 1851. Essi venivano presentati ogni semestre per uniformità con le scadenze fiscali del Dipartimento del Tesoro.

character contained in the accompanying note from H. B. Majesty's Minister.

A commercial treaty has just been concluded between the plenipotentiaries of this Kingdom and Austria. Its terms are similar to those recently made here with other European powers. The political relations of the respective parties remain as distinct as ever. A convention has also been recently concluded with Spain, which secures to the people of the two countries, respectively, the right of civil process in the prosecution of civil contracts. These compacts must be submitted to Parliament which is to convene on the 18th inst., and when they are printed, copies will be duly transmitted to the Department.

The independence of Tuscany has been still further compromised [sic] by recent ministerial measures, and reaction may now be regarded as complete in that Duchy. The Ministry of War has been abolished by the transfer of its functions to the State Department, and the Army has been formally placed under the command of an Austrian officer. A Ducal decree of the 23d ult. dissolves the National Guard which was organized in 1837, and requires that all arms in the hands of these citizen soldiers "shall be deposited in the Magazines of Artillery"; provision being made to pay for those which may be considered as private property. I learn further from responsible sources that several, if not all, of the diplomatic representatives of the government are to be withdrawn, and that it will probably be represented hereafter at most of the courts of Europe by the Austrian embassies. The Tuscan Minister in this capital has already been recalled, and the Legation is in the hands of the Imperial Ambassador. The plea for these remarkable changes is economy. By a recent Concordat with the Holy See, the ancient prerogatives of the clergy in the Duchy have been fully restored, and they again enjoy complete exemption from responsibility to the civil power.

Lombardy, Parma, and Modena remain completely subdued under the military despotism that prevails in southern Europe, without any reasonable prospect of relief. The people are not only every where deprived of arms, but of all opportunities of procuring them. A thoroughly organized system of espionage, which is the nearest imaginable earthly type of Omniscience, brings to light every free expression of opinion, and many of the worthiest men have been recently put to death for receiving newspapers, letters

or intelligence in other forms, adverse to the government from abroad, without reporting the fact to the police.

Men are made spies on each other, and many respectable persons, including nobles and some priests, are now suffering imprisonment for not having reported their neighbors and friends. The official Austro-Lombardian Gazettes furnish almost daily reports of condemnations for "High Treason" on such grounds, and for "the detention of arms." Among these official reports received here within a few days, I notice the cases of Dr. Zilioto [sic],⁴⁶ the chief Director of the Civil Hospital, and two other superior officers of the establishment who have been arrested and imprisoned, in the language of the report, "for guilty indolence and neglect, in not having reported arms and ammunition remaining in the Hospital, the property of soldiers who had died there."

I have the honor to enclose for your information translations of some of the latest decrees of the military tribunals, which may serve as specimens of official proceedings that are received here daily from some part of the Italian possessions of Austria.

Notwithstanding these evidences of precautionary vigilance, and the presence of large bodies of foreign troops skilfully distributed through the country, a painful sense of insecurity is manifested on all sides: the rulers and the ruled entertain alike vague apprehensions of terrible future convulsions. At the present moment public attention is every where anxiously directed to France. It appears to be the general opinion within the sphere of my intercourse and observation, that the next election there will bring on a fearful crisis in the affairs of Europe. But I know of no other grounds for this opinion than those which are as obvious to the cabinet at Washington as to that of Turin.

In the midst of these evils present and prospective, this country, I am happy in being able to say, exhibits a conspicuous example of order and prosperity. The Government and the people appear to be in full accord on all fundamental questions. There exists therefore no reason to apprehend any domestic disturbance of the prevailing tranquillity. On the contrary, there are unequivocal signs that the various social and economical interests of society are harmoniously advancing. I learn from authentic sources that the ministerial measures adopted during the last session of Parliament are

⁴⁶ Pietro Ziliotto (1809-1882), nativo di Padova, fu medico e ufficiale sanitario di Venezia.

producing their intended effects, in the revival of both foreign and domestic trade. The manufactories of silk, iron, and cotton are extending themselves, and new and animating hopes have been inspired among the agricultural and working classes by the abolition of the right of primogeniture, fidei commis, banalities, and other features of the feudal system. The population and business of this city are increasing in a ratio beyond any example in southern Europe, and this increase creates of course a corresponding demand for labor. There are probably more new buildings now in progress than in any other city of the same population out of North America.

This remarkable example of individual and national prosperity "in the midst of surrounding ruins," if I may be permitted to adopt a phrase from Royal lips, affords a fresh and striking exemplification of the benefits of liberal representative institutions, faithfully administered, among a people fitted for the enjoyment of them. For this new order of things is clearly and confessedly concurrent with a constitution which secures popular representation, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, and the equality of all classes before the law.

The first corner stone of a free Protestant Italian Church was laid in this city on the 29th of the last month.⁴⁷ A large congregation was present, and the services, which were such as are common on similar occasions in the United States, were conducted by the two pastors of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, who reside in the city, and whose public services have been heretofore restricted to an obscure chapel under the patronage of the British and Prussian Legations. The new enterprize is commenced under more favorable auspices, having the full approbation of the government and the sympathy of a large portion of the people. An eligible site has been secured on the most fashionable avenue of the city, at a cost of 80,000 francs, and the edifice is designed to be one of the chief architectural ornaments of the place. Under these circumstances I did not hesitate to accept an invitation to unite with the representatives of England and Prussia in attending the ceremony of laying the corner stone. It is worthy of remark that the Protestants of every state in Italy were represented on the interesting occasion.

⁴⁷ La prima pietra della Chiesa Valdese fu posta a Torino nell'autunno del 1851. La Chiesa fu ufficialmente inaugurata il 15 dicembre 1853. Si trova tuttora in corso Vittorio Emanuele presso la stazione di Porta Nuova.

Another circumstance serving to show the progress of free opinion, and the spirit of the government, deserves mention in this connection. The Ministry have resolved, without a reluctant vote to treat as a "nullity" a papal Bull recently issued against the doctrines and teaching of a Professor in the University of Turin, which is under the special superintendence of the Minister of the Public Instruction, and the Professor (Nuyts)⁴⁸ [sic] resumed his lectures after the autumnal vacation, with remarkable manifestations of popular approbation. Though a professor of the Catholic faith which is still the religion of the State, he reasons against the civil authority of the Holy See, denies the infallibility of the Church, and repudiates other generally received doctrines.

The University embraces, in the various departments, over 2,500 pupils, and the effects of this course of instruction in so large a body of students, it is believed, called forth the denunciation of the Vatican.

There are some fourteen or fifteen daily journals in the city, one of which at least has a circulation of over 14,000, and they generally take the side of the proscribed professor. All public questions are in fact discussed here by the press with entire freedom, and with much ability, and on this account it is proscribed by the police in the other Italian states.

Permit me, Sir, to add to these brief notices of what may be denominated a new order of things in Italy, that the animating effect of emancipation in this country, is still more conspicuous in the voluntary movements of the people throughout the kingdom for the improvement of their condition. Numerous agricultural, industrial, educational, and medical associations have been formed, and the conviction appears to be prevailing that individual freedom and elevation constitute the only safe basis of free and orderly government.

⁴⁸ Giovanni Nepomuceno Nuytz nacque a Torino l'8 maggio 1800, dove si laureò in legge e nel 1844 venne nominato professore di diritto canonico. A causa delle tesi giurisdizionali, con il breve papale del 22 agosto 1851, Sua Santità condannò e proibì i lavori di Nuytz *Iuris ecclesiastici institutiones* e *In ius ecclesiasticum unversum tractationes* pubblicati fra il 1844 e il 1852 in 5 volumi. Quando la sentenza papale fu pronunziata il lavoro non era stato ancora ultimato. L'opinione pubblica insorse e per evitare che si provocassero altri contrasti con Roma, Nuytz fu invitato a dare le dimissioni da professore di diritto canonico e ad accettare l'insegnamento del diritto romano. Nel 1854 fu nominato rettore dell'Università. Vedi LUIGI LUGANO, *Il quarto d'ora di celebrità del prof. Giovanni Nepomuceno Nuytz*, in *Salesianum*, 1948, pp. 503-515.

The Chevalier Farini, who has been for some time past the chief editor of the *Risorgimento*, a semi-official paper of this city, has recently been called to the cabinet as Minister of Public Instruction in place of Signor Gioia, who retires. Chevalier Farini is a native of Rome, and filled a very important place in the constitutional Government of Pius IX. At the commencement of the reaction, he sought refuge in Piedmont, and obtained letters of naturalization. He is, moreover, the author of a popular work on the Roman States, which has been translated into English by Mr. Gladstone.

Ralph Abercromby a William B. Kinney ⁴⁹

Turin, 28 th Oct., 1851

Dear Mr. Kinney: I received this morning the enclosed letter from Mr. Philip Taylor, the proprietor of the very extensive iron manufactory at San Pier d'Arena close to Genoa. — Pray be good enough to read these documents, respecting the contents of which you may possibly have been previously informed, and we can talk the matter over the first time we meet. Mr. Taylor's well known character as a truly honorable and upright man renders it unnecessary for me to say a word as to the complete reliance that may be placed on the correctness of any statement he may make.

Our friend Kossuth seems to have been a degree more moderate at Southampton than he was at Marseilles, but the end of his speech was less guarded than the commencement.

Philip Taylor a Ralph Abercromby ⁵⁰

San Pier d'Arena, 27 th Oct., 1851

Dear Sir: I take the liberty of requesting you to use your influence with His Excellency, the American Minister, to obtain for me the payment of a debt due to me from the Government of the United States.

⁴⁹ Allegato n. 1 al dispaccio N. 15 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

⁵⁰ Allegato n. 2 al dispaccio N. 15 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

The circumstances are as follows: In Feby 1849 the United States Frigate *Alleghany* commanded by Captain Hunter came into the port of Genoa with some of her machinery seriously damaged, and I was requested by the Captain to do the needful repairs, which were promptly executed, with the exception of the main cross-head of the engine, which was broken and considered irremediable.

As Captain Hunter expected sailing orders daily, and as he could not possibly navigate without this essential part of the engine, I addressed to him the letter of the 7th May 1849, of which I enclose a copy. In reply to which he begged me to do the best I could to repair the old cross-head and to get a new one forged as soon as possible.

With both these requests I immediately complied and the *Alleghany* went off in a few days to Spezia, her Captain expecting that he should return to Genoa to enable me to turn and fit the new cross head to its place.

The forged piece for the new cross-head I immediately ordered from the only forge in France where so large and difficult a piece can be executed, and I enclose a copy of the bill which I paid for it —Contrary to the expectation of Captain Hunter, the *Alleghany* was ordered home, and this piece has been on my hands ever since.

I have long since presented my account to Mr. Moro, the Vice Consul, who was acquainted with all the circumstances, and repeatedly requested him to obtain its payment, but without result—and I am now placed in a fresh difficulty as to this affair by the Douane requiring that I should either immediately export this mass of iron, or pay a very heavy duty on it, if it remains in the country, they having already extended their indulgence as to « la suspension de droit » beyond all usage.

I hope, therefore, your kind influence will induce His Excellency the American Minister to obtain for me at least the sum which I advanced two years since, and also that he will order some American vessel to receive this piece so that I may be freed from my present difficulty with the Douane. I think that in justice I ought to receive two years interest on this unprofitable advance, but that I leave entirely to the good pleasure of his Excellency. I can confidently assure him that this difficult piece is most admirably forged, and that it may be easily finished and fitted in the

U. States, but I will also observe that the engines of the *Alleghany* are so *totally different* as to plan, and construction, *to any others* that this expensive piece can have no other destination.

The warm thanks which I received for my services from poor Commodore Bolton, and the handsome way in which he reported me to his Government, justify me in this pleading for payment, but I will beg you at the same time to assure his Excellency that I shall always be ready to give my best at either here, at Marseilles, or at Toulon, to any American steamer that may require repairs.

Begging you will pardon me for having thus troubled you with this personal affair.

Philiph Taylor al Capitano Hunter ⁵¹

San Pier d'Arena, 7th May 1849

Der Captain: I have this day received the broken Cross head from the *Alleghany* which shall be repaired in the best manner we can agree upon with your Engineer Mr Mac Coslan. I am sorry to say that this is one of the most difficult and expensive pieces either to make or to repair that I have even seen introduced into a marine engine. Do the best we can with this fractured piece, I much fear that it cannot long be depended upon. Yet as the time required to forge and finish a new one will be considerable, I conclude you will think it desirable to incur this risk.

If a new one is required it must be forged solid and the cavities turned out of the block, for no reliance can be placed on such a piece if welded piece-meal. The finished weight of this piece will be nearly 690 lbs and the rough forged piece will weigh about double the finished weight.

⁵¹ Allegato n. 3 al dispaccio n. 15 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington. Il capitano Hunter comandava la fregata statunitense *Alleghany*. L'allegato n. 4 è costituito da un conto in data 9 ottobre 1849 da Rive de Gier, della ditta H. Petin & Gaudet a Philip Taylor, conto di Fr. 2497 09 per forniture e Fr. 106 80 per spese di trasporto e dazi. L'allegato n. 5 è la traduzione di articoli della *Gazzetta di Venezia* del 29 ottobre 1851 e 8 novembre 1851 contenenti le sentenze contro i martiri di Belfiore.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Despatch No. X. from the Department, with its enclosures, comprising a communication from Mr. Samuel F. B. Morse, and an extract from a New York newspaper concerning the alleged detention of a naturalized American citizen named Bargnani.

The reference is undoubtedly to Alexander Louis Bargnani, a doctor of law, well known in this city, and I am happy in being able to relieve the solicitude of the government, and that of his friends in the United States, by informing you that the published statement referred to is in its essential particulars gratuitous. Dr. Bargnani, who is reported to be detained at Brescia, is now a resident of this free city, though at the present moment in England on professional business.

The facts of the case, as I learn from authentic sources, are briefly these. Dr. Bargnani, a native of Brescia, returned from the United States (whither he went in exile in the year 1833), with an American wife and child, in the year 1848 to resume his residence in his native place. On the appearance of the Austrian troops during the convulsions of that year, he deemed it prudent to leave for this city, as he could not legally and safely be found within the Austrian dominions, leaving his wife and child with friends in Brescia, where the former soon after died. His daughter was ultimately restored to him through the interposition of this Legation. Here he continued to reside until the past summer, when he sought and obtained permission from the Austrian Legation to return to Brescia, not, as is stated, « for a limited time only in order to settle some family affairs », but with a view to the practice of his profession as an advocate. Unfortunately the examination to which the luggage of all persons entering or leaving the Austrian dominions is liable, revealed some old political papers deemed of an exceptional character, being copies of a circular, addressed to the Brescians during the disturbances of 1848, to annex themselves to Piedmont.

He was nevertheless permitted to pass, but his application for the necessary permission to resume his place at the Bar was deferred. Soon after making this application he asked for a passport to

return to Turin to arrange some unsettled business, and remove his only child to Brescia. After some delay this was granted, the permission of leave being limited to two months. He accordingly returned to this city, where, I understand, he has determined on further consideration, to reside.

The generous eulogy pronounced by Professor Morse on the moral and intellectual character of Dr. Bargnani, it gives me pleasure to add, is in all respects corroborated by his friends here.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 17

Turin, Dec. 6, 1851

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your Despatch No. XI. communicating a resolution of the Senate of the United States « touching the expediency of a graduated scale of diplomatic salaries » and requesting « a statement of the expences [sic] incident » to my official residence at Turin.

As it is said to be desirable that the information should be specific and accurate, in order that the Department may form a correct opinion on the subject, I am led to infer that it is its desire to have such a computation as will enable it to form a just judgment of what may be fairly regarded as the average of the necessary expenses of ordinary families living here in diplomatic relations, rather than those which any individual taste or experience might show to be incident to such an official residence. I beg leave, therefore, to submit the subjoined statement, as the lowest estimate that I have been able to make after careful enquiry, and some personal observation and experience in official and private intercourse:

Rent of furnished apartments	\$1200
Carriage hire by the year	720
Ordinary household expenses, food, fuel, servants' wages &c	2480
	<hr/>
	\$4400

This estimate includes nothing beyond what must be generally regarded as the most necessary and indispensable expenses of a small family, no allowance being made for clothing, medical attendance, the services of a secretary, dinners, soirées, the Opera or entertainments of any sort, which are usually reckoned as incidents to the diplomatic service in Europe. It is in truth much below any thing that I have found to be consistent with any system of living that has seemed to me to be practicable, and is, I have reason to believe, not more than one half of the amount expended by either of the full European missions here. Yet it is, perhaps, possible that an American family preserving rigidly its own domestic economy, might bring its expenses within the estimate without discredit.

The rate of living here, it may be remarked in general, is probably, at present, higher than in Paris or in either of the chief Atlantic cities of the United States, owing to an overflow of population occasioned by a constant immigration from the oppressed Italian states, and the augmentation of prices which increased demand, prevailing prosperity, and the renewal of court entertainments after a season of war, have introduced into every sphere of life. Then the representatives of the United States are subject to higher rents than permanent residents, or even than the ministers of most other powers, in consequence of the brief and uncertain terms of their sojourn.

Daniel Webster a William B. Kinney

Istruzione n. 12

Department of State, Washington, 19 th Dec. 1851

Sir: Your despatch No. 15 of the 10th ulto., was received on the 8th inst., and copies of the documents that accompanied it, having relation to the claim against the United States, brought to your notice by Sir Ralph Abercromby, the British Minister in Sardinia, at the instance and on the behalf of Mr. Philip Taylor, for repairs executed by him, in 1849, on board the U. S. Steam Frigate *Allegghany*, under command of Lieut. Hunter, were immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy to whom the case was specially referred.

By the enclosed reply of Mr. Graham, of the 16th inst., and

the correspondence annexed, you will learn that measures have been taken for the prompt payment of Mr. Taylor's just claim, and an explanation given of the delay which has unfortunately prevented its being settled at an earlier period.⁵²

Be so good as to communicate this information to Sir Ralph Abercrombie [sic] for the satisfaction of the claimant.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 18

Turin, Dec. 22, 1851

Sir: The President's message of the 2nd. inst. has been reproduced by the press in this city, & read in responsible political circles with much apparent satisfaction. The light in which the expeditions against Cuba & Mexico is presented, & the reiteration of the primitive American policy of non-intervention, are accepted as renewed pledges that the integrity of the government will be preserved, & that the lust for dominion, & the more insane passion for interference in the domestic affairs of other nations will not be permitted to compromise it. These declarations by the head of the government are regarded here, as I have reason to believe they will be in every part of Europe, as peculiarly seasonable.

It should not be concealed that recent & passing events in the United Etates have remarkably tended to corroborate the objections of the enemies of free, representative institions [sic] & at the same time to affect the faith of their considerate friends, who have been led by our example to labor & hope for the ultimate amelioration of the political systems of Europe. Upon both these classes the message has produced its appropriate effects, within the sphere of my official & social intercourse.

The Ministers of State who are steadily prosecuting their mea-

⁵² William A. Graham, Ministro della Marina, rispose a Webster il 15 dicembre 1851, accusando ricevuta delle copie dei documenti relativi al reclamo presentato da Sir Ralph Abercromby in favore di Philip Taylor, proprietario di officine presso Genova, e riguardante la riparazione dei macchinari della nave *Alleghany*, che era comandata da W. W. Hunter, della Marina statunitense. La cosa fu riferita al tenente Hunter e furono dati ordini al capitano Crabbe, comandante della *San Jacinto* di provvedere al pagamento del Taylor.

tures for the development of the representative principle in this kingdom & the members of the diplomatic corps generally, have alike taken occasion to offer me their congratulations on the subject.

I have the honor also to add that the Envoy of Spain, the Count de la Vega,⁵³ made an official call at the Legation a few days since for the purpose of repeating the assurance, made directly by the Minister of the Crown at Madrid to the Department, of the satisfaction of his government with the spirit & conduct of the government of the United States in the settlement of the Cuban question.⁵⁴ A similar report has, I believe, been made by the same minister, at the Foreign Office, and to the several legations.

The Minister of France, M. Butenval, it seems proper to add, authorizes me to say that his last despatches from Paris furnish the assurance that it is the settled purpose of the President to preserve republican forms to his country. The *Coup d'Etat* was not altogether unexpected in this quarter, & it appears to be the general feeling that it was the least of impending evils. The extreme Republicans denounce it, however, as a postponement, at least, of their hopes of a general overturning in Europe, while the friends of the present order of things rejoice for the same reason.

A letter purporting to have been written by the Representative of Austria at Washington to the Secretary of State, concerning the existence of slavery in the United States, & which originated I believe in an irresponsible American newspaper, was recently republished in the Paris journals, & has since been widely circulated by the press throughout the continent, with various commentaries. Being incautiously copied a few days since by the official journal of the government in this capital, where it was universally regarded as genuine, I did not hesitate to call the attention of the Minister

⁵³ Conte don Diego Lopez de la Vega del Pozo, marchese di Los Llanos de Alquarazas.

⁵⁴ Prima del 1850 gli S U cercarono di usare la propria influenza perché non fosse insidiato il dominio spagnolo su Cuba, ma l'acquisto della California e l'interesse ad avere un canale attraverso Panama, portò gli S U. a desiderare Cuba per la sua posizione strategica. Cercarono di comperare Cuba e molti Americani mostrarono simpatia verso la spedizione piratesca intrapresa nel 1850 dal patriota cubano Lopez, che mirava ad impadronirsi dell'isola. La spedizione fallì, Lopez fu giustiziato e i suoi seguaci, la maggior parte dei quali cittadini americani, furono uccisi o fatti prigionieri. Ciò causò dei torbidi a New Orleans, dove la plebe distrusse le proprietà spagnole. Più tardi gli S. U. acconsentirono a risarcire gli Spagnoli per questi danni.

of Foreign Affairs to its obvious character, and it was accordingly denounced the next day as a spurious document.

Nothing of note-worthy interest appears to have occurred in this quarter of Europe, since the date of my last despatch. The Parliament of this Kingdom convened on the 19th. ultimo, & continues to be engaged in the ordinary business of local legislation.

William B. Kinney a Massimo d'Azeglio ⁵⁵

Turin, December 19, 1851

Sir: I have the honor to ask the attention of Your Excellency to a gratuitous publication in the official journal of the Government of the King, in its number of yesterday, of a spurious letter purporting to have been written by the Chargé d'Affaires of Austria at Washington to the Secretary of State of the United States, and beg leave to add that the enclosed paragraph exposing its character was offered by me this morning to the conductors of that journal, who declined to insert it.

I nevertheless take pleasure in embracing the occasion to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my high personal respect.

Allegato: L'Incaricato di Affari d'Austria negli Stati Uniti.

Noi siamo autorizzati di dire che la lettera che noi abbiamo veduto menzionata giovedì, nella *Gazzetta Piemontese* come scritta dal Cav. Hulseman, Incaricato d'Affari di Austria a Washington, al signor Webster, Segretario di Stato, è una falsificazione. Ella ebbe la sua origine in un giornale americano contro la schiavitù, e fu pubblicata come un *jeu d'esprit*. La sua apparenza in *Le Journal des Débats* non dà lei una sanzione ufficiale.

⁵⁵ È la lettera alla quale fa cenno il Kinney sul finire del dispaccio. Si conserva nell'Archivio di Stato di Torino.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge [sic] the reception on the 10th instant of your Dispatch (No. XII) of the 19th ultimo, giving me notice of the measures that have been taken for the payment of Mr. Philip Taylor's claim against the United States. The agreeable information was immediately communicated to Sir Ralph Abercromby, the British Minister, through whom the claim was presented, and by whom the prompt decision of the Government has been made known to Mr. Taylor.

Nothing of much general interest has occurred within the sphere of my official relations since the date of my last dispatch. The Parliament of the Kingdom continues laboriously engaged with the appropriate business of the session, and the ministerial measures have thus far been sanctioned by large majorities in both house. The budget for the year 1852 shows a total expenditure of 144, 870, 995 francs, while the total income is estimated at 101, 564, 236 francs, leaving a deficit of over forty three millions. This deficit is less than that which the budget adopted by the Chamber in 1851 presented.

During the consideration of the budget of the War Department, which was carefully considered item by item, a proposition was made to reduce the army, which now comprises some 40,000 men of all arms. After an able and decorous debate, protracted through some days, it was declared to be impracticable in view of the existing relations of the country, and the appropriations asked for, amounting to an aggregate of 30, 910, 048 francs, were finally voted by a large majority.

The commercial treaty with Austria, after a jealous scrutiny by the Representatives of the people, which occupied nearly the whole of the past week, was finally passed in the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 90 to 38. This treaty comprises the usual provisions for reciprocal liberty of trading, travelling and residence—the obligation of paying the duties prescribed by the law—the right of making wills and donations, purchasing land, suing before the ordinary tribunals, &c—Sardinian vessels are to be subject to no greater restrictions in Austrian ports than Austrian vessels, and reciprocally:

The national fisheries and the coasting trade are, however, exclusively limited to the subjects of either power respectively. The usual provision is also made for the restitution of property in cases of shipwreck. The navigation of the Po, the Ticino and their tributaries is made free for the subjects of both powers, and this right is to be regulated by further convention. The two parties also engage to direct the construction of their railways so as to connect Milan, Turin, and Genoa. Certain reductions of duties are reciprocally made, with reciprocal concession of the commercial privileges granted to the most favored nations.

It is believed that new and important privileges have been secured to the industry and trade of this country by this treaty. It appeared during the discussion that at least one third of all the importations at the port of Genoa are destined for Lombardy which also consumes large quantities of the wines, rice, and other produce of Piedmont, the exports to the Austrian dominions being much greater than the imports. No political concessions of any sort are made to Austria.

The preliminaries of a treaty with Sweden have been arranged, and the result will probably be laid before the Chambers during the present session. This treaty will, it is believed, complete the series of ministerial measures designed to restore and extend the ancient commercial prosperity of Sardinia. Copies will be forwarded to the Department as soon as they can be furnished.⁵⁶

My attention has been directed to a passage in the report of a discourse purporting to have been delivered by Louis Kossuth on the 16th ultimo at a public entertainment in the City of New York, which is in these words:

« Whither could Italy look for freedom and independence, if not to that party which Mazzini leads? To the King of Naples, perhaps. Let me be silent about that execrated man. *Or the dynasty of Sardinia or Piedmont? It professes to be constitutional, and it captures those poor Hungarian soldiers who seek an asylum in Piedmont; it captures and delivers them to Austria to be shot—and they are shot,* increasing the number of those 3,742 martyrs

⁵⁶ Nel luglio 1850 si concluse un « Echange de lettres relatives à l'abolition des droits différentiels entre la Sardaigne et les Royaumes Unis de Suède et de Norvège ». Il 25 gennaio 1852 si firmerà una « Convention additionnelle au traité de commerce et de navigation du 28 novembre 1839 entre S. M. le Roi de Sardaigne et S. M. le Roi de Suède et Norvège ».

whom Radetzky murdered on the scaffold during three short years. »

« The House of Savoy became the blood-hound of Austria to spill Hungarian blood. »

As the public honors which have been accorded to the author in the United States are supposed to have given a degree of consequence to his public declarations in America, I am authorized to say that the reference to « Sardinia or Piedmont » in this passage is wholly gratuitous, and that its specific statements concerning the Government and the « House of Savoy » are destitute of any foundation in truth.

I have the honor to enclose a semi-official article on the subject from the leading ministerial journal of this city: ⁵⁷ And it seems proper to add in view of the friendly interest which this government entertains in the affairs of the United States, that its policy in regard to political refugees from other lands is eminently liberal. Many thousands of such persons are now living here under its paternal protection, in the full enjoyment of all the rights of citizenship. Two of the members of the Cabinet are in fact refugees from the Italian provinces of Austria, and the leading conductor of the Official Journal is a proscribed Lombard.

The accounts of the Legation for the quarter ending on the 31st ult. are also herewith enclosed.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 20

Turin, Feb. 9, 1852

Sir: Since the date of my last dispatch the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between Austria and Sardinia, and the Convention to repress smuggling on Lake Maggiore and the rivers Ticino and Po have passed the Senate by a vote of 49 to 9. Copies are herewith enclosed, as they have been proclaimed by Royal authority. It seems proper to add that exaggerated rumors are abroad concerning a recent occurrence in the navigation of Lake Maggiore. The Austrian authorities in Lombardy acting upon partial representations that a private steam boat company doing business under

⁵⁷ Acclusa vi è una copia de *Il Risorgimento*, Torino, 8 gennaio, 1852, che reca nella prima pagina un articolo di tre colonne sull'arrivo di Kossuth a New York

their flag had been denied access to the Piedmontese border of the Lake, issued a retaliatory decree, which has given rise to the rumors referred to. I am authorized to say that there is no sort of ground to apprehend the serious consequences which have been anticipated, and that the case is susceptible of the most satisfactory adjustment. The facts are sufficiently exposed in the translation of a semi-official paragraph which I have the honor to enclose.

The Minister of France in this capital (M. Butenval), presented to the King, a few days since, an autograph letter from M. Louis Napoleon announcing his re-election. Assurances were given during the interview of the desire of the « Prince President » to continue friendly relations with this Government, as with the other continental powers, whereupon His Majesty was pleased to confer upon the Envoy the Cross of St. Maurice and Lazarus. There are other indications of a well understood willingness on the part of this Government to conciliate the favor of France, since, owing to the recent ministerial changes and the uncertainty of the future in England, which under the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston has been its assured friend, its constitutional policy might be left without the countenance of either of the leading powers of Europe. It can certainly look for no favor from Russia, Austria, Germany or either of the other Italian states, without making a material change in its policy—which, it should be added, there is no reason whatever at present to suppose it will do.

Mr. Butenval has also communicated to the several foreign legations in this City, an official expression of the pacific disposition of his government.

All parties here concur in the prevailing opinion that the recent changes in France have postponed for an indefinite period, at least, all prospects of further popular agitations in Europe, and absolutism seems to be once more firmly established.

The Parliament of this Kingdom continues its session, laboriously occupied with questions of local interest, including ministerial measures for reducing the public burthens [sic] and increasing the revenues of the country. Ministers have a large majority in both Houses, and their policy and measures are apparently received with favor by the people at large.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, who has honorably represented the Government of Great Britain at this Court for many years, has recently been transferred to the Mission at the Hague. Sir James

Hudson, who has recently returned from Brazil, is daily expected to take his place, as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 21

Turin, February 25, 1852

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a newspaper of Genoa—the « *Corriere Mercantile* » of the 18th. inst.—containing an abridged report of the trial & conviction of Henry Wikoff, a citizen of the United States, who was arrested in that city in the month of November last, with two accomplices, for the “illegal sequestration” (« *Sequestro illegale e di delazione di armi insidiose* »), of Miss Jane C. Gamble, a lady of American parentage, on a journey into Italy. The testimony, it will be seen by this brief report fully sustained the charges under which the prisoners were arraigned, and two of them, Wikoff, & Miss Gamble’s courier, who was confessedly the chief accomplice, were convicted & sentenced to fifteen months imprisonment each, the term to commence with the day of arrest. The other prisoner, who was Wikoff’s servant, appears to have been only partially implicated & was acquitted.

As it now seems quite possible, considering the nature of the case and the character & protestations of one of the parties, that an effort may be made to interest popular feeling in the United States, it appears to me expedient that the Department should be responsibly informed on the subject.

The affair was first incidentally brought to my notice on the 19th of November, some three days after the arrest of the prisoners, by a letter to the British Minister here (Sir Ralph Abercromby) from H. B. Majesty’s Consul at Genoa, under whose protection Miss Gamble, a resident of London, where she has lived many years under the guardianship of Mr. Bates, had placed herself. The next mail brought me long letters from both the U. S. Consul & Wikoff himself, which corroborated in all essential particulars the report made by the British Consul. These letters left no room for a doubt that the prisoners had made themselves amenable to laws of the country. It was abundantly manifest, moreover, that the case presented no just ground whatever for

any official interference on the part of this Legation. This was not in fact pretended, & it was the avowed object of Wikoff's letters to conciliate private sympathy, & secure some supposed personal influence with Ministers of State here to effect an escape from the undoubted jurisdiction of the police. The accountability of the writer was so undisguisedly revealed in these letters, which betrayed at the same time so remarkable a contempt for official & public morality, that I could not regard them, or the case itself, as worthy of the attention of the Department; which it was, nevertheless, reasonable to suppose had been informed of the arrest by the consul, who zealously interested himself in behalf of the writer. Subsequent letters from that officer only served to confirm the justice of the opinion with which his first communication concludes viz: « Taken altogether I think this the most desperate & reckless attempt to obtain possession of a lady & fortune that has occurred within the last half century. »

Notwithstanding these & other sufficient reasons for believing that there existed no ground for any extrajudicial adjustment, I sought the earliest opportunity of invoking the attention of the government here to the proceedings of the local authorities, & in the course of a friendly interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs obtained an assurance that the case should have its most favorable care. This assurance was voluntarily repeated the next day, in a courteous note, which I have the honor to enclose, together with a copy of my response.

*Massimo d'Azeglio a William B. Kinney*⁶⁵

Turin le 22 novembre 1851

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires:

D'après le désir que vous m'avez exprimé, je me suis empressé de prendre connaissance avec une attention particulière du contenu des deux lettres que vous m'avez communiquées concernant l'affaire de M. Henry Wikoff, et que j'ai maintenant l'honneur de vous renvoyer ci annexées. J'ai examiné avec une égale attention les renseignements qui ont été fournis à l'autorité supérieure par

⁶⁵ Allegato al dispaccio n. 21 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

la Police de Gênes touchant les motifs et les circonstances de l'arrestation de ce sujet Américain. J'aurais vivement désiré, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, que les circonstances eussent permis au Gouvernement du Roi de seconder vos recommandations en faveur de M. Wikoff; car, vous le savez, le Gouvernement du Roi tient particulièrement à donner preuve en toute occasion de ses dispositions les plus bienveillantes envers le Gouvernement et les sujets des Etats-Unis. Mais, ainsi que vous le reconnaîtrez sans doute vous-même, l'autorité judiciaire ayant dû être saisie de l'affaire qui concerne M. Wikoff, le Gouvernement doit laisser la justice suivre librement son cours, et son action dans cette circonstance doit nécessairement se borner à recommander aux autorités saisies de la procédure d'en accélérer autant que possible la solution. C'est ce que le Gouvernement du Roi s'est empressé de faire, pour seconder autant qu'il était en son pouvoir le désir que vous m'avez exprimé, et vous pouvez être assuré, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, qu'on aura pour M. Wikoff tous les égards compatibles avec les devoirs de la justice et que les Autorités judiciaires apporteront dans l'examen de cette affaire, le zèle consciencieux, et l'impartialité qui les distinguent.

Je ne saurais néanmoins, en vous adressant cette réponse me dispenser de vous témoigner les regrets du Gouvernement du Roi de ce que les Autorités de Gênes n'ayant pu dans cette occasion déférer à la demande du Consul des Etats-Unis chez qui M. Wikoff s'était réfugié de surseoir encore à son arrestation, attendu que cette mesure n'aurait dû être retardée après que les complices et Agents secondaires du fait dont il est prévenu, étaient déjà en état d'arrestation, et que la justice devait instruire sans retard.

Je vous prie en même temps d'agréer les nouvelles assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

*William B. Kinney a Massimo d'Azeglio*⁵⁵

Turin, Nov. 24, 1851

The Undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, has the honour to acknowledge the reception of the note of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to express his satisfaction

⁵⁵ Allegato al dispaccio n. 21 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

with its assurance that the Government of His Majesty the King has, pursuant to the representations which the undersigned had the honor personally to make to His Excellency, duly taken into consideration the circumstances of the case of Mr. Henry Wikoff, an American citizen held by the police of Genoa on a charge of a criminal offence against the laws of the Kingdom—And the undersigned seizes the occasion to renew to His Excellency the expression of his confidence in the justice of His Majesty's Government, and of his high personal respect.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 22

Turin, March 4, 1852

Sir: The Parliamentary session of 1851 was brought to a close on the 27th ult.—all the business before it having been completed, and the two Houses were reassembled by Royal decree this day—the 4th anniversary of the institution of the Constitution⁶⁰—when the session of 1852 was opened, in joint assembly, by a speech from

⁶⁰ In occasione del quarto anniversario della concessione dello Statuto, Kinney invierà all'Azeglio un astuccio contenente delle pistole a ripetizione che lo stesso inventore, col Samuel Colt lo aveva pregato di consegnare al Re di Sardegna. Il dono sarà presentato con questa lettera, alla quale risponderà l'Azeglio. Le due lettere si conservano all'Archivio di Stato di Torino e presso l'ambasciata statunitense a Roma, in originale e in copia.

Turin, March 14, 1852.

« Sir.

I have the honor to place in the hands of Your Excellency, on the recurrence of an anniversary in which the people of Sardinia have so much reason to rejoice, a case of « Colt's Repeating Pistols », which I have received from the inventor, Col. Samuel Colt, an American citizen, accompanied with a request that they may be made acceptable to His Majesty the King, as a testimonial of respect for a Sovereign who has so conspicuously illustrated the heroic virtues of his ancestral line, and whose devotion to the cause of Constitutional order commands the regard of the people of the United States.

Many unsuccessful efforts have been made in various countries, since the introduction of gun powder, to produce serviceable repeating arms, but Col Colt has the satisfaction to believe that his earnest researches to supply this desideratum have been at length crowned with complete success, inasmuch as his invention has passed the severest professional and practical tests in both the United States and Great Britain.

He is emboldened to hope, therefore, that the offering which I am permitted to consign to your Excellency's care, will be deemed worthy of His Majesty's acceptance.

Permit me also to embrace the occasion of renewing to Your Excellency the expression of my high personal regard.

William B Kinney »

the throne—a copy of which I have the honor herewith to enclose.⁶¹

The popular young King was cordially greeted as he entered the Senate Chamber by a full assembly, comprising, besides the members of the two Houses, the Royal family, the Ministers of State, the diplomatic corps *en costume*, and a fashionable assemblage of the people.

Many of the sentiments of the speech elicited the warmest expressions of approbation, as they fell from the lips of the speaker, and these responses were repeated with increased fervor at its conclusion. The congratulatory reference in the concluding passages to the « entire concord which binds together the powers of the State » is abundantly authorized. No ruler could hope to enjoy a greater measure of public confidence and regard. All classes appear to entertain the fullest faith in his patriotism and fidelity.

The experience of the benefits of a liberal administrative policy, secured by the representative principle, during the brief period of four years, appears to have produced the utmost concord, and there is no apparent disposition for radical changes in any quarter. On the contrary, it may be said to be the prevailing conviction that wholesome progress and development are practicable *here* only under the existing forms of government. The love of constitutional order is common to both the rulers and the people, but both alike appear to regard the English rather than the American system, as best adapted to the condition and wants of Europe.

Turin, le 20 Mars 1852.

* Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires,

J'en l'honneur de faire connaître au Roi, mon Auguste Souverain, le désir que vous m'avez exprimé par votre note du 14 de ce mois de la part du Colonel Samuel Colt d'offrir à S. M. une boîte de pistolets à plusieurs coups dont il est l'inventeur (Colt's repeating Pistols). Je m'empresse maintenant de vous informer que le Roi ayant bien voulu accepter cette offre, je me suis fait un plaisir de remettre à S. M. la boîte contenant les dits pistolets que vous m'avez envoyée, et je remplis en même tems un agréable devoir en vous faisant connaître que S. M. a particulièrement apprécié les sentiments qui ont engagé Mr. Le Colonel Colt à lui faire hommage de ces armes de son invention, et m'a chargé d'en faire parvenir en son nom de sincères remerciements à Mr. Colt.

En vous priant par conséquent d'avoir l'obligeance de l'informer de la bienveillance avec laquelle S. M. a accueilli son offre, je saisis cette occasion pour vous renouveler, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, les assurances de ma considération bien distinguée

Azeglio *

⁶¹ Acclusa copia del discorso della Corona del 4 marzo 1852.

The negotiations opened with the Court of Rome, referred to in the speech, I am responsibly assured, contemplate no concessions on the part of this government, that will in any degree affect the freedom of thought and action which is secured by the Constitution, and if diplomatic relations between the two powers are restored, it must be upon principles consistent with the letter and spirit of that fundamental instrument.

The supplementary treaty recently negotiated with France, provides for a full reciprocity of benefits in trade, especially in regard to the wines of France and the oils of Sardinia. When it shall be submitted to Parliament, a copy will be enclosed to the Department, together with that recently negotiated with Sweden.

Since the date of my last despatch James Hudson Esq., formerly Secretary of the British Legation at Washington, and subsequently the Representative of his country in Brazil, has been received as H. M. Minister Plenipotentiary at this Court— Sir Ralph Abercromby having been transferred to the Hague.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 22 [23]

Turin, April 3, 1852

Sir: Recent disturbances in the island of Sardinia have constrained the government here to place it for the time being under martial law. These disorders cannot properly be said to have any political relations, but must be ascribed to the semi-barbarous character of the mass of the population, which, generally speaking, recognizes no law but force. The first of the manifestations referred to occurred on a recent fête day, when a portion of the people of the city of Sassari,—which comprises some 24,000 inhabitants—made a successful resistance to the law against wearing masks. In a conflict between the mob and the garrison, the National Guards took the side of the former, and several lives were sacrificed. This event was soon followed by other disorders, and the general excitement produced made a reinforcement of the government troops indispensable. An experienced officer of the line (Gen. Durando), was accordingly dispatched from Genoa with a large detachment, invested with extraordinary powers for the emergency, and order has thus been finally secured.

The low state of civilization in the island has been recently exposed in a publication by Gen. Albert La Marmora, late Intendant General, and now one of the senators of the Kingdom. This work, which shows the necessity of a thorough remodelling of the civil jurisdiction of the island, furnishes these statistical particulars. In 1848 the population amounted to 547,112 persons of these 512,381 could neither read nor write: 7,010 could simply read, and only 27,721 could both read and write, or only one in 14,747—notwithstanding the vast proportion of the clergy to the lay population, viz: 11 Bishops and Archbishops, 4 abbots, 693 canons, 391 curates, 88 convents of monks, 13 nunneries, 2600 secular clergy not attached to any particular parish.

It is mentioned as an instance of the profound ignorance of some portions of the population that the inhabitants in the more secluded parts of the island still believe themselves to be under the sceptre of Arregon [sic], which was superseded something more than a century ago. Last year an appropriation of a million of francs was made for the construction of roads, in which the island is remarkably deficient, and liberal wages were offered to laborers, but the people were so reluctant to forward the enterprise that the government found it necessary to import men from the continent. It is due to the present constitutional administration of the Government of the Kingdom to add, that much has been done during the brief period of its existence to ameliorate this condition of things. The feudal system was abolished about two years since. Liberal provision has been made not only for the construction of roads, but for the establishment of schools. The universities at Sassari and Cagliari are well endowed, and contain several hundred pupils. The people are also represented in both branches of the National Parliament.

I have the honor to enclose a semi-official comparative report of the commerce of the port of Genoa for the last year, which shows a marked increase: and this may be taken as a fair index of the revival of trade in the other principal towns of the Kingdom.

Among the ministerial measures for ascertaining the condition and wants of the people, is a provision for taking the statistics of the Kingdom. This important work was entered upon during the last year, and the first fruits of the labors of the commission instituted

for the purpose, has just been laid before Parliament in a large quarto volume of some 350 pages, comprising the "Judicial Statistics, Civil and Commercial of the Sardinian States, for the years 1849 and 1850." It appears by this voluminous report that the number of appeals to the Court of Cassation has only been hitherto 0.04 per ct. of the total number of cases judged by the higher tribunals, and 0.001 of those judged by the lower. On the contrary the appeals from the sentences of tribunals of the First Instance, are as follows. — Savoy 0.085: Piedmont 0.100: Casale 0.150. Nice 0.185: Genoa 0.210: Sardinia 0.750, showing that these tribunals do not, as at present, organized, inspire quite as much confidence as might be wished. There also appears, from the facts stated, a general tendency to refer matrimonial questions to civil, instead of ecclesiastical courts. The custom of making wills before magistrates is gaining ground. Since the edict of 1837, when the system of the law of *majorats* was modified, only two *majorats* had been instituted until 1851, when the system was abolished. The legitimation of natural sons by subsequent marriage, represents one half of the total number of acts of that kind. But the most singular fact resulting from these statistics is the very small number of arrests for debt, it being shown that on the 31st December 1849, there were only two persons in prison for debt in the whole Kingdom, and only seven on the 31st Dec. 1850.

Copies of this volume have been furnished for the use of the Department and the Legation. As it is too large for the mail, I shall embrace the first private opportunity of transmitting a copy to your address.⁶²

Parliament continues to be occupied with administrative and local affairs, including precautionary measures for strengthening the military defences of the country, though there is at present no special reason to apprehend any disturbance of the prevailing peace in southern Europe.

The present government of France, however, inspires no confidence in any quarter, and is the occasion of more or less uneasiness in all the cabinets of the continent.

⁶² La copia di questo volume non si trova negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Sir: After a long and animated discussion, conducted in general, however, with proper courtesy on all sides a ministerial bill has passed both Houses of Parliament, making a large appropriation for the completion of expensive fortifications at Casale, an important post on the internal line of the military defences of the country, by small majorities, viz: seven in the House and four in the Senate. These small majorities have given occasion to much remark, as the Ministry had thought proper to make it a test question. The small reactionary party availed itself of the popular objection to so large an appropriation (some four millions of francs) in the present state of the public finances, for a mere precautionary measure, and which it was alleged, might safely be deferred at least, since there is no reason at present to apprehend any disturbance of the present pacific relations of the country. It was contended by the friends of the bill, however, that the importance of the measure was demonstrated in the late war with Austria, and that all experience has shown the policy of providing against war in time of peace; and they were sustained.

The supplemental commercial treaty recently negotiated with France was subsequently taken up in the House, and passed, after much discussion, by a vote of 114 to 25—which is regarded as an assurance of the confidence of that body in the Ministry, whose influence it was feared might be impeached by the votes on the Casale question.

There is reason to believe that the Administration continues to enjoy, undiminished, the confidence of the country; and the general opinion concerning it is I believe fairly expressed in a paragraph from a Paris Journal received this morning which I have the honor to enclose.⁶³

I have the honor also to enclose herewith the accounts of the Legation for the quarter ending on the 31st ult.

⁶³ Si tratta di un numero del *Journal des Débats*, che parla di Mazzini.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 25

Turin, May 17, 1852

Sir: A ministerial crisis has occurred in this capital. Such an event naturally gives rise to much conversation in political circles, & furnishes occasion for some misrepresentation on the part of the opposition or reactionary party. I have the honor therefore to ask your attention to a summary statement of the circumstances, as I derive them from authentic sources.

The Ministry lost an influential friend in the Chamber of Deputies on the 23d. ult. by the death of its President, Mr. Pinelli. It was, of course, deeply interested in the question of his successor, but could not agree upon any line of conduct in relation to the candidates named. Mr. Rattazzy [sic], a prominent member of what is called the Left or Liberal side of the Chamber, & one of its vice presidents, was finally elected after several ballotings by a considerable majority. This, owing to local & personal circumstances of no great public importance, proved offensive to the president & a majority of the members of the Cabinet, and they accordingly tendered their resignations to the King, who, after much hesitation, accepted them. On Saturday the King charged M. D'Azeglio, the President of the late Council, with the duty of forming a new Ministry, and there is reason to hope that he will succeed without much embarrassment. It is more than probable that the new Ministry will be constituted on the basis of the one just dissolved, & worthy of the same members. There is, therefore, no sort of reason to anticipate any change in the policy of the government.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 26

Turin, May 22, 1852

Sir: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a note, of this date, from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, announcing the formation of a new Ministry. It would be sufficiently accurate to call it a reorganization of the old one, as was anticipated in my last, although the late ministers of Finance, of Grace & Justice, and of Public Instruction declined to resume their portfolios. The personal misunderstandings which led to the unlooked for rupture appear, nevertheless, to have been adjusted, and it is understood that the

administration will continue to receive the support of the retired members, in Parliament.

The President of the Council embraced the occasion of announcing the reconstruction in the Chamber of Deputies this morning to say that there would be no change whatever in the policy of the government, though no such change could in fact have been anticipated in any well informed quarter. The benefits of the liberal policy which has given so much distinction to the royal Government abroad, and which is obviously in accordance with public sentiment at home, are so manifest and so generally appreciated, that the fear of a radical change from any mere ministerial vicissitudes, cannot be reasonably entertained. The country has, it may be hoped, become too conscious of itself to be materially affected by the rise or fall of individuals, however eminent.

All classes appear to have attained the conclusion that constitutional, representative government introduces personal and national independence, by developing the forces of liberty, such as industry, labor, comfort, and instruction. It seems to be very generally understood that improved roads, railways, and telegraphs facilitate commerce and social intercourse, which by insensible degrees undermine despotism and prepare men for freedom.

The popular feeling was conspicuously manifested by the universal and decorous commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the Constitution on the 9th inst. The occasion was every where signalized by appropriate civil, religious and military rites, and most of the chief towns of the country were illuminated in the evening. The public observances in this city were in a high degree imposing. The King and the royal family bore a conspicuous part in them. Nearly or quite every house was illuminated in the evening, including the Royal Palace and the two Parliament houses. No expression of the public spirit on such occasion could have been more significant or satisfactory.

Parliament is just now occupied with a ministerial bill imposing direct taxes, chiefly upon articles of luxury, intended to supply the deficiency in the ordinary revenues of the government.

It may interest you also to learn that by a recent royal decree the Italian language is henceforth to be the official language of all the universities in the Kingdom, instead of the Latin, which has heretofore been the medium of intercourse between the professors

and the pupils—the Professorship of Latin Eloquence and Disputation, and that of Roman Law, being excepted.

Two boxes of books were received at the Legation from the Department, via New York & Genoa, on the 18th inst. and a list of the volumes is herewith enclosed.⁶⁴

*Massimo d'Azeglio a William B. Kinney*⁶⁵

Turin le 22 mai, 1852

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires:

Le Roi ayant daigné me charger de la formation d'un nouveau Ministère et exprimer l'intention de me voir conserver la Présidence du Conseil et le Portefeuille des Affaires Etrangères, je m'empresse de vous annoncer que le Cabinet vient d'être reconstitué de la manière indiquée dans la note ci jointe.

Je me félicite d'avoir ainsi à continuer avec vous des rapports officiels dans lesquels j'ai trouvé de votre part une si parfaite bienveillance, et je saisis cette occasion pour vous renouveler, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, les assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

NOUVEAU MINISTÈRE

Le Chev. d'Azeglio, Présid^t du Conseil, Min. des Aff. Et^r.

Le Chev. de la Marmora conserve le Portefeuille de la Guerre.

Le Chev. Paleocapa, idem celui de Travaux Publics.

Le Chev. Pernati, idem celui de l'Intérieur.

Le Chev. Boncompagni est nommé Ministre de la Justice et chargé provisoirement du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

Le comm. Cibrario est nommé Ministre des Finances.

Le Ministère de la Marine, détaché de celui des Finances, est confié au Ministre de la Guerre.

⁶⁴ Le casse erano riempite da « Executive Documents, Senate Documents, Senate Reports and Journals, House Reports and Journals » e da una miscellanea di pubblicazioni legislative per gli anni 1849-1851. Vi erano pure. un indice sinottico delle leggi degli S. U., un « United States Official Register » e nove copie degli annali del Congresso per un totale di 64 volumi.

⁶⁵ Allegato al dispaccio n. 26 di Kinney. Si trova negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Sir: Parliament was prorogued by Royal Decree on the 14th instant, to the 18th November. The session, which commenced on the 4th of March last, was chiefly remarkable for free discussion, & a steady adherence to the liberal principles of the Constitution. The measures of the Ministry for the improvement of the country and the development of its resources, were generally sanctioned by considerable majorities, after full discussion, so that out of 45 projects of law presented, all but two were finally passed—the bill to tax furniture and other moveable [sic] property, chiefly intended to raise a revenue out of the luxuries of the rich, was withdrawn for some modifications to obviate objections; and one authorizing magistrates to perform the marriage ceremony, now exclusively the prerogative of the Church, which passed the House by a large majority towards the close of the session, and was sent to the Senate, where it was referred to a committee, which will, it is understood, report it favorably at the next session.

This last named bill, as might be supposed, is vehemently opposed by the partizans of ecclesiastical authority as a gross violation of one of the sacraments of the national Church, and it is intimated that the Holy See will officially denounce it, though similar provision is made in France and other Catholic countries for the marriage of dissenters. It was brought forward by the Ministry, and is demanded by the liberal party, in pursuance with the spirit of the Constitution, which secures freedom of conscience.

Among other measures indicating progress, may be mentioned bills authorizing *five* new rail roads, for which contracts have been generally made with domestic or foreign companies. These lines will add 131 miles to the railways now nearly completed, at a cost of 27,755,000 francs. This cost will be borne jointly by the government and the sections of country through which the lines are to pass. The great national project of a railway communication between Genoa, Turin & other cities in this Kingdom, and Switzerland and the South of France, will be continued by these provisions to the Mt Cenis pass of the Alps. The track between Genoa and the capital is now nearly done, two thirds of it being in use, and it is to be finished to Mt Cenis within two years.

Appropriations have also been made for continuing the

telegraphic line now in operation between Genoa and this city to Chambery and the frontier of France. The newspaper slip, which I have the honor to enclose,⁶⁶ will furnish you with a summary of the acts of the session.

It appears by recent statements of the Treasury Department that the revenues of the country are steadily increasing. The total amount of the excise or gabel in the continental portion of the Kingdom during the first five months of this year, is reported at 19,058,325 francs, exceeding that of the same period in 1851 by 1,847,641. The customs and other duties during the same period in 1852 show an increase with respect to 1851 of 2,082,927 francs. It will be a sufficient commentary upon the liberal policy of the government to add, that all the diverse interests of society give manifest indications of unaccustomed prosperity. The remarkable augmentation of the population and business of this city is producing a corresponding enlargement of its boundaries, and new buildings, calculated for the accommodation of some four thousand families, are now in progress. Large additions to the means of accommodation are also in progress in Genoa.

I have the honor to enclose to your address copies of the Convention recently made between Sardinia and Belgium for the reciprocal extradition of malefactors, the supplementary, commercial treaty with France, and the accounts of the Legation for the quarter ending on the 30th ult.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 28

Turin, July 26, 1852

Sir: I have the honor to enclose a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, incidentally omitted in making my last enclosures, by which it will be seen that the President's reply to the King's letter announcing the birth of the daughter of the Duke of Genoa, his brother, was duly received at the Legation, and communicated.

Nothing of note, worthy of public interest has occurred in this quarter of Europe since the date of my last note, unless the retirement of the ministers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany may be so regarded.⁶⁷ Reactionary and faithful to the cause of absolutism

⁶⁶ Si tratta di un ritaglio del *Journal de Turin* del 15 luglio 1852.

⁶⁷ Il 22 luglio 1852 si era dimesso il marchese Cesare Boccella ed era stato sostituito da Cosimo Buonarroti-Simoni.

as they had proved themselves to be, they were not, it is understood here, sufficiently subservient to the Court of Rome to satisfy the wishes of their emasculate chief, and preferred retirement to subserviency to the ambitious views of the order of Jesuits. Tuscany retains scarcely the semblance of a political sovereignty.

Private letters received in this city serve to confirm the official reports of the cordial reception of the young Emperor of Austria in Hungary. His presence and demeanor during his extended tour appear to have done much towards conciliating popular favor.

Massimo d'Azeglio a William B. Kinney ⁵⁸

Turin le 26 juin 1852

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires:

J'ai reçu avec la note que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser en date d'hier, la lettre adressée au Roi Mon Auguste Souverain par M. le Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique en réponse à la lettre royale de notification de la naissance de la Princesse Marguerite Marie de Savoie, fille de S.A.R. Mgr. le Duc de Gênes, aussi que la copie d'usage de cette lettre.

Je m'empresse de vous prévenir, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, que je vais faire parvenir sans retard à sa haute destination la lettre de M. le Président des Etats-Unis, et je saisis en même temps volontiers cette occasion pour vous réitérer les assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n 29

Turin, Aug. 16, 1852

Sir: The Ministerial bill bringing the celebration of matrimony, now the prerogative of the national Church, within the jurisdiction also of the magistracy, which passed the House of Deputies at the late session of the Parliament, and was referred to a committee of the Senate on the eve of its adjournment, has excited afresh the spirit of opposition to the Constitutional regime: and the

⁵⁸ Allegato al dispaccio n 28 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

proceedings of the ecclesiastical or reactionary party appear to have produced an unusual degree of excitement throughout the country.

The Bishops, besides uttering a public protest against the bill, have denounced, in advance, members of the Church who may contract marriage under it, should it become a law, as exposed to all the penalties of concubinage. This anathema comprises the following four propositions, viz:

“1. Every Catholic who shall attempt to contract a marriage in another form than that which is prescribed by the Church, shall incur by the act itself major excommunication.

2. He who shall commit this fault shall be deprived of the participation of the sacraments during his life, and at the hour of his death, unless he take care to cause his marriage to be confirmed canonically, or put away the person whom the Church cannot but regard as his concubine.

3. If he dies without becoming reconciled with the Church he shall be deprived of ecclesiastical sepulture.

4. The children issue of this concubinage shall be declared illegitimate, for all canonical effects.”

Another violent and unqualified assault upon the principle of the bill, and the government which introduced it, in pursuance with its policy of elucidating the spirit of the Constitution, has recently appeared in the shape of a pamphlet, entitled “The Jurisdiction of the Catholic Church over the civil contract of marriage in Catholic States,” by Count Costa. The rank of the author, one of the judges of the high Court of Cassation, and a wealthy member of the party of reaction, attracted an unusual degree of attention to this brochure. Though professedly a simple discussion of the marriage question, it was found to contain, in the opinion of the law officer of the government, libellous [sic] language concerning the King, an assault upon the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the State, contempt for the laws, and other matters compromising [sic] the decorum of the magistracy.⁶⁹ The author was therefore arraigned, and subsequently tendered his resignation of his seat

⁶⁹ Il titolo dell'opuscolo di quattro pagine è: « Processo per reato di stampa, intentato dal Regio Fisco contro il signor conte Costa Ignazio della Torre, consigliere di cassazione e commendatore dei SS. Maurizio e Lazzaro » Una copia si trova negli archivi nazionali di Washington

upon the bench.⁷⁰ The case was duly tried in this city last week before a jury of the country, which rendered a verdict of guilty upon all the points charged, and the judgment of the court, which was pronounced on Wednesday, imposes a fine of two thousand francs and two months imprisonment. The cause was conducted by the respective counsel with much ability. It has excited a very high degree of interest throughout the Kingdom, and the result is manifestly in accordance with the public sentiment. It is generally regarded as furnishing a fresh pledge of the fidelity of the tribunals to the Constitutional regime, and as a new triumph of the liberal cause.

I have the honor to enclose an extra sheet comprising a statement of the case, including extracts from the publication which has been thus signally condemned.

It seems pertinent to add, that the law officers of the government have on other occasions manifested a determination to prevent abuses under the provision of the Constitution which provides for the freedom of the press. The journals of different opinions, though generally conducted with decorum, have occasionally indulged a latitude of remark which the tribunals have declared to be in violation of the laws, and the prescribed penalties, generally light fines, have been imposed, with every appearance of impartiality. Thus the organs of the ecclesiastical or reactionary party, which watches with jealous apprehension the progress of liberal opinions, and those which represent these opinions, and deprecate the existing union of Church and State, have alike been made to answer for alleged transgressions of the just limits of free discussion.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 30

Turin, Sept 13, 1852

Sir: The postal reform bill which went into operation in this Kingdom at the commencement of the last year, appears to have produced the most satisfactory results. Here, as in England and the United States, the adoption of a low rate of postage, has led,

⁷⁰ Ignazio Costa Della Torre (Asti, 4 febbraio 1789-Torino, 26 febbraio 1872) Nel 1852 pubblicò un libro intitolato *Della giurisdizione della Chiesa cattolica sul contratto del matrimonio negli Stati cattolici, cenno nazionale e storico*, Torino, tip. Reviglio, 1852, p. 175, in cui difese la tesi cattolica sul matrimonio. Questo volume fu sequestrato il 15 luglio 1852. Il processo contro l'autore, accusato di aver violato le leggi sulla stampa, si

(in correspondence with favorable treaties with France, Belgium, Spain & Switzerland), to such an increase of correspondence that the revenues of the Department have been considerably increased. I am authorized to say that the results thus early attained have far surpassed the expectations of the government, which considers the principle involved as established.

It would appear by a recent official report in the Government Journal, which I have the honor to enclose, that although it is little more than a year and a half since the new system was adopted, the Treasury receives a larger sum than in the corresponding period immediately preceding, when the old tariff was in force. The diminution which the original opposers of the reform predicted would be one third, did not last year amount to nine per cent, and has this year wholly disappeared.

The first six months of this year presented a revenue of one million, three hundred & ninety three thousand three hundred (1,393,300) francs, which is an increase of one hundred and twenty one thousand, six hundred and thirty four (121,634) francs over the corresponding period of last year, and 2,969 francs over the avails of the old system in that of the year 1850.

In the Treasury estimates for the year 1852 this revenue was estimated at two million, five hundred & forty five thousand (2,545,000) francs. If a deduction can be drawn from the experience of the first six months, in doubling the sum received, there will be an income for the year of two million, seven hundred and ninety two thousand, five hundred and forty (2,792,540) francs, that is to say, little less than two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) francs more than the estimate. But the administration thinks it probable that the progressive ratio will continue during the second six months, and that the total income for the year will not fall much short of three millions.

The use of printed francs, which was introduced in the beginning of last year, has also considerably increased. In the first six months of 1851 the number sold amounted to 102,073, and in the corresponding period of 1852 to 185,190.

The highest postage on single letters within the Kingdom is

iniziò il 17 dello stesso mese. Quando il processo finì, il 12 agosto l'imputato fu condannato a due mesi di prigione e a una multa di 2000 lire. Il 18 settembre 1852 la corte di cassazione lo privò del titolo di consigliere, ma gli lasciò la pensione. Gli elettori di Varazze e di Carmagnola lo elessero deputato al parlamento nella V e nella VI legislatura e Sua Santità gli conferì il titolo di commendatore dell'ordine Piano

equal to *four* cents, American currency, and the lowest to *two* cents.

Nothing of noteworthy importance has occurred within the scope of my observation since the date of my last dispatch.

The King is just now, with a large portion of the army, in the neighborhood of Alexandria and Marengo, engaged in a series of military manœuvres.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 31

Turin, September 29, 1852

Sir: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a correspondence with Com. Stringham⁷¹ of the Mediterranean Squadron, who is now at Spezia with the Frigate *Cumberland*. As the terms of the Commodore's letter concerning the privileges enjoyed by our ships of War at Spezia, seem to imply some misunderstanding at Washington of the disposition of the Sardinian Government, I beg leave to ask your attention to my reply, which embraces a brief recapitulation of the facts in the case.

My correspondence on the subject with His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, last year, was submitted to Com. Morgan, at that time in command of the Squadron, (and whose request for authority to apply an appropriation for certain damages gave rise to it), with the understanding that it would be communicated by him to the Government.

There is, I am persuaded, nothing in this correspondence to warrant an inference that the obliging disposition of the Royal Government had undergone any change whatever. I have reason to believe, on the contrary, that the Ministry contemplated the inconvenience that the possible appropriation of the wharves and storehouses hitherto so freely accorded to the use of the Squadron, might occasion, with unfeigned regret, and that the voluntary offer of some other suitable depot, if a change should become necessary, was made with an earnest desire to accommodate.

With a view of obtaining, if possible, some more definite information touching this contingency, I sought an interview this morning with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was led to infer

⁷¹ Silas H. Stringham era comandante in capo delle forze navali degli S. U. nel Mediterraneo.

that the necessity for making the change referred to, is not likely to occur very soon. Due notice will be given whenever the question may be determined.

It is the prevailing impression in well-informed circles here, that the tour of "the Prince President" through the southern Departments of France, will be followed, at no remote day, by a declaration of the Empire. This country has a deep and peculiar interest in the preservation of the relations of good neighborhood with that power, and Gen. La Marmora, its Minister of War, was accordingly commissioned by the King to greet the President on his approach to the borders of the Kingdom. He was graciously received at Lyons, and accompanied the Cortège by invitation, as far as Marseilles, but the result of the official interview will not be definitively known here, until after the return of the Envoy, which is daily looked for.

The intelligence of the defeat of the liberal party in Belgium on the election of a President of the Chamber of Representatives, the subsequent resignation of the Ministry, and the consequent adjournment of the Chamber, produces much concern among the friends of the constitutional regime in this capital. It is regarded, in connection with the course of things in France, as an omen of evil import.⁷²

⁷² Nel 1852, come per la quasi totalità del XIX secolo, i disordini politici del Belgio erano causati dalla rivalità fra i due maggiori partiti il partito cattolico che sosteneva l'autorità della Chiesa, specialmente in materia d'insegnamento, e il partito liberale che combatteva per l'indipendenza dell'autorità civile. Nel settembre del 1852 un governo liberale, presieduto dal ministro Rogier, deteneva il potere. Alla Camera dei deputati egli aveva ottenuto una maggioranza di 20 voti, ma le sue misure in materia di tasse (legge sulla linea diretta di successione) e soprattutto in materia scolastica (istituzione da parte dello Stato di dieci licei e di 50 scuole superiori) incontrarono opposizione di tutto il paese e indecisione nel seno della maggioranza parlamentare. Fu in questo periodo che i vescovi posero il governo in una posizione difficile proibendo ai preti di insegnare la religione nelle scuole dello Stato. Vedendo che la sua maggioranza era debole, Rogier diede le dimissioni il 29 settembre 1852. Fu difficile formare un nuovo ministero liberale, ma la Camera avrebbe anche rovesciato qualsiasi gruppo cattolico che fosse andato al potere. In questa delicata situazione, il Re fece appello a Henri de Brouckère, (1801-1891) un moderato liberale che godeva della generale simpatia. Il suo governo di concordia nazionale (ott. 1852-marzo 1855) diede corso a molte iniziative concilianti, ottenne la collaborazione dei vescovi per le scuole di Stato e risolse parecchi problemi nazionali ed internazionali, come per esempio, l'agitazione causata dalla politica di Napoleone III che aveva ostacolato l'azione del governo precedente (Queste notizie mi sono state fornite da J. Willequet, capo del servizio storico del ministero belga per gli affari esteri e per il commercio estero).

Flag Ship *Cumberland*, Spezia, 20 th Sept., 1852

Sir: Upon my arrival in the Mediterranean last June as Commander in Chief of the United States Naval forces, and my subsequent arrival at the Gulf of Spezia, which I believe lies within the sphere of your mission, my appointments were so numerous and my business so urgent, that I did not find leisure during the hurried visit I made to communicate with you at the time. I take advantage, however, of my present sojourn in Spezia to assure you it will do me very great pleasure if you can find time from your official engagements to make me a visit on board the *Cumberland*.

Upon my departure from the United States it was intimated to me by our Government *that the Sardinian Government were somewhat averse* to allowing our ships of war the same facilities in the way of a depot for stores, as had been for some years extended to us in this port.

Accordingly upon my arrival on the station, under that belief, I addressed a communication to our Minister at the Court of Madrid, requesting to know if the Spanish Government would interpose objections to once more making a depot at Port Mahon in the Island of Minorca. Nothing, however, has as yet come out of this negotiation, and since I have learned from very respectable authority here—Mr Bollera the Superintendant of the Lazaretto of Spezia—that the Sardinian Government is rather kindly disposed towards us, and that the same facilities will still be extended, I should from my own knowledge and experience in the Mediterranean, be inclined to remain, more especially since I believe the advantages for shipping and stores to be greater than in most other ports of this station. In case you are in possession of any information in regard to this matter, I should be happy to hear it, as well as your own views in relation thereto.

You will believe at the same time that I shall always be most happy to hear your opinions upon all topics which may have a bearing upon our international relations with the different powers of the European continent, and it will afford me pleasure to cooperate with you in whatever may redound to the credit of our common country.

⁷³ Allegato n 1 al dispaccio n 31 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Turin, September 25, 1852

Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the reception of your letter of the 20th inst. from Spezia, and to offer you an expression of my felicitations upon your arrival with your command, on this naval station. The presence of a naval force in the Mediterranean is not only called for by our commercial interests, but experience has abundantly established its importance as a means of preserving our proper influence among the nations which lie along its borders and do business upon it.

The intimation made to you at Washington that the Sardinian Government is somewhat "averse" to continuing the facilities which our ships of War have enjoyed in the Gulf of Spezia by its favor, may be satisfactorily explained.

During the last year the Department made an appropriation for the repair of a wharf at Spezia which had been injured through the use of our squadron and application was duly made to the proper authorities here through the Legation for permission to make the restoration.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs courteously replied that a Ministerial project had been submitted to parliament for the removal of the Marine Arsenal of the Kingdom from Genoa to Spezia, which contemplated such radical changes in the wharves as would render the proposed repairs quite superfluous, and which might at the same time necessitate some permanent change in the accommodations afforded to our Squadron.

This last intimation was accompanied by a flattering expression of the "lively desire" of His Majesty's Government to accommodate that of the United States, and of its intention to place at the disposition of the American Marine some other locality on the coast of the Sardinian states which may be suitable for a depot, should the contemplated transfer of the Marine Arsenal be finally decreed. Nevertheless, it was added, that the necessary order for the repairs would be issued if Com. Morgan, to whom the appropriation had been confided, should still desire it in view of this state of things.

⁷⁴ Allegato n. 2 al dispaccio n. 31 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Com. Morgan, to whom I communicated this letter, repeated the desire, in view of the circumstances referred to, that the appropriation might be applied, as an act of justice on our part, and, duly recognizing the courtesy of the government in relation to another depot, remarked that he knew of no locality upon the coast which would afford the facilities enjoyed in the Gulf of Spezia, though "sufficient security and convenience might be afforded at almost any point on its Western shore", adding that "the Bay at about a mile and a half north of the Lazaretto, and above Fort Spezzino, or between that and the town of Spezia, immediately off Fezzano, at which point store houses may be rented for our stores, would be acceptable—if the proximity of three English miles of the naval forces of the two powers may not be regarded as exceptional. »

The order was accordingly given for the restoration of the wharf, and the application of the appropriation. In relation to another depot, the Minister replied, that the government would "make the necessary inquiries to enable it to determine, when the contemplated removal should become necessary, upon some location which may be of a nature to satisfy the wishes of the Government of the United States." And here the matter rests.

The project for the removal of the Marine Arsenal encountered opposition in Parliament on account of the great expense it would involve, and was at last indefinitely postponed. It may be renewed at the next session in November, though I see no probability of it. I will, however, seek some more definite information on the subject, since the question involves the accomodation of our Squadron at Spezia.

It will give me much pleasure to avail myself of your polite invitation to visit the *Cumberland* when official duties here will warrant it, and in the meantime be assured, I pray you, that I shall be most happy to confer with you at all times on subjects of common interest. Permit me also to add an expression of the gratification it would afford me to be able to offer you at Turin a personal assurance of the high respect with which I am.

Sir. The recent speech of the Prince President at Bordeaux has been favorably received in diplomatic circles on this side of the Alps. Its conciliatory tone, and the policy which it announces with so much address, will, it is believed, serve to conciliate the cabinets of Europe, and secure a prompt and cordial recognition of the Empire whenever it may be accomplished by the general consent of France, notwithstanding the convention which forever excludes the Bonaparte family. Any plausible promise of the restoration of social order in that country would doubtless be readily accepted by the ruling powers, as a pledge of peace, since it is true that when "France is satisfied" Europe at least, if not the "world, is tranquil." It may be added that the reception of the envoy sent from this country, (Gen. La Marmora, the Minister of War), to greet the President during his late triumphal tour, has proved highly satisfactory to the government.

There is nothing in the present aspect of southern Europe to warrant the hope of any essential amelioration of its political condition. The spiritual and military despotisms which rule appear to be firmly re-established, and their system of espionage has become so effective and omniscient that they can scarcely be said to be exposed, at present, to any formidable domestic insurrections. It is a prevailing and favorite sentiment among the privileged classes and the ruling statesmen, that the people can only be prepared, if ever, for constitutional and representative government through the benevolent administration of absolute power. Democracy, as it has been illustrated in France, serves in fact as the apology for absolutism. Republicanism is thus habitually exhibited as the fruitful source of political fanaticism and social disorders.

To the frightful warnings drawn from the experience of France, is added a watchful observation of every fitful exhibition of passion in the progress of our own comparatively tranquil and stable republic. According to all present appearances the cause of republican institutions is committed to our care, and its failure or success seems involved in the example of the United States.

Nothing of public importance has occurred since the date of my last despatch in this Kingdom—which continues to present a

favorable exception to the prevailing policy of the southern powers of the continent.

Mr Broukière [sic], who has just been placed by the favor of his sovereign at the head of the new Ministry in Belgium, has represented his country for some two or three years past in this capital, where he enjoyed the reputation of being a considerate friend of the constitutional regime.

The accounts of the Legation for the quarter ending on the 30th ult. are herewith enclosed.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n. 33

Turin, October 30, 1852

Sir: Another ministerial crisis has just occurred in this capital. The occurrence occasions much uneasiness in the country and, regarded in connection with the course of things in Europe, will naturally awaken some solicitude among the friends of constitutional government abroad. A brief statement will make you acquainted with the case.

Whether the government has gone too far, all things considered, or not far enough in its generous efforts to reform ancient usages, is a question of expediency, about which opinions differ. It is only certain at this moment that the impatient spirit of the country has experienced something of a check.

The government ever since the close of the late luckless war with Austria, when it entered in earnest upon the work of reform, has labored under two serious evils, viz: a deficient treasury, and its constitutional connection with the Court of Rome. The financial embarrassment admits, it is believed, of a comparatively easy adjustment, since the national debt does not much exceed one hundred millions of dollars, while the resources of the country, which is prosperous to a degree beyond a precedent in Southern Europe, are abundant. A wise financial policy therefore might, doubtless, soon relieve the treasury and provide for all probable contingencies. But the difficulties rising out of the connection of the State with the Church, commencing with the first measures of reform, have finally reached a point of aggravation beyond the present measure of ministerial influence.

The ministry have not been unmindful of the constitutional

rights of the Church, nor of the importance of preserving friendly relations with the Holy See, and since the abolition of the *Foro Ecclesiae*, and the subsequent imprisonment and final banishment of the Archbishops of Turin and Cagliari for resistance to the civil authorities, which occasioned the withdrawal of the Nuncio, they have made repeated overtures for the restoration of diplomatic intercourse, but which have been as often declined, because unaccompanied with concessions that would have compromised their integrity.

The introduction of the civil marriage bill towards the close of the late session of Parliament, and its passage through the Chamber of Deputies a few days before the adjournment, served to widen the breach, and give fresh activity to the reactionary party in the Kingdom, embracing a considerable portion of the old nobility and the great body of the fifty thousand ecclesiastics, who denounce the bill as an impious interference with one of the seven sacraments of the Church.

The spirit of opposition has been still further exasperated recently by a popular movement calling for the introduction of a bill, at the approaching session, to transfer the management of the ecclesiastical estates to the civil power. These large possessions, estimated at some three hundred millions of francs, and comparatively unproductive now, are said to constitute an impediment to the progress of improvement, whereas they might, it is alleged by the advocates of the measure, be made to yield larger revenues to the Church, and at the same time contribute to the general prosperity, under the management of the Government.

To this movement the Ministry, constrained by its sense of the inexpediency and unseasonableness of the measure, felt bound to oppose itself, though many of the municipal councils of the country had pronounced in favor of it. This determination, without conciliating in the least the opposition, which has in fact acquired fresh zeal from the present attitude of France, has served to alienate a portion of its support.

The President of the Council, M. D'Azeglio, who is justly reckoned among the most enlightened friends of reform in Italy, thought proper a week since to tender his resignation, and impose upon the King, whose confidence he has enjoyed in a high degree, the necessity of forming another Ministry. Thus far His Majesty's efforts to this end have proved unsuccessful. After unavailing consultations with

some of his old advisers in the ranks of the liberal party, His Majesty, it is understood, finally called upon a distinguished individual who has occupied a sort of middle ground between the extreme parliamentary parties, (Count Balbo), but it is said today that he has not as yet been able to accomplish the task.

Parliament is to assemble on the 19th November, and it is not impossible that the present Ministry may be compelled to hold on until the opening of the session. Conversation now runs in favor of a withdrawal of the marriage bill, now in the hands of a Committee of the Senate, and a yielding of the question concerning the Church property.

William B. Kinney a Daniel Webster

Dispaccio n 34

Turin, Nov. 6, 1852

Sir: The Ministerial crisis has just been resolved, and satisfactorily, it is believed, to the country. The gentleman to whom the King had referred at the date of my last note, reported a Cabinet which would have required some material modifications of the existing laws touching the electoral qualification and the press, and the withdrawal of the civil marriage bill. His Majesty, who had taken measures to inform himself concerning public opinion, promptly declined the overture, and forthwith committed the task of reconstructing the Ministry to Count Cavour, one of the most eminent members of the liberal party, and formerly Minister of Commerce and Finance, without reserve.

This fresh and conspicuous mark of the fidelity of the King, reassured popular confidence, and a Ministry was immediately formed pledged to the principles of its predecessor. A majority of the old members are in fact, retained; Count Cavour, who supersedes the late President of the Council, having resumed the portfolio of Finance, which he resigned in May last. The apprehensions of a change in the policy of the Government, which had awakened considerable emotion in the country, have therefore given place to renewed confidence and hope. I see no prospect, however, of an early settlement of the troublesome controversy with Rome and its allies: since the present Ministry and Parliament, representing the popular feeling, will not be disposed to make any concessions.

A list of the Ministry as now composed is subjoined. The usual courtesies on such occasions have been exchanged between the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Dabormida, and the several members of the *corps diplomatique*.

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a correspondence with the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, by which it will be seen that three seamen belonging to the United States Squadron at Spezia, have been arrested in that vicinity for killing a Sardinian subject. Two other sailors belonging to the same service were taken up a few days after, for disorderly conduct at Spezia, but I am informed that the police concluded not to hold them to account for what appeared to be a mere drunken frolic.

Members of the present Ministry.

Count *Camillo Cavour*, President of the Council and Minister of Finance.

General *Dabormida*, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Count *Ponza di San Martino*, Minister of Interior.

Chevalier *Cibrario*, Minister of Public Instruction.

The following gentlemen retain their port folios—

General Alfonso Lamarmora, Minister of War and Marine—

Chevalier Boncompagni, Minister of Grace and Justice;

Chevalier Paleocapa, Minister of Public Work—

Massimo d'Azeglio a William B. Kinney ⁷⁵

Turin le 1 novembre 1852

Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires:

Je viens d'apprendre par une communication du Ministre de l'Intérieur que le 27 du mois dernier vers les 10 heures du soir, dans la ville de Sarzana une rixe violente et qui s'est terminée d'une manière tragique a eu lieu entre trois marins américains appartenant aux navires des Etats-Unis stationnés dans le golphe [sic] de la Spezia, et le nommé Louis Gattini, voiturier qui les avait conduits de la Spezia à Sarzana. Une vive altercation s'était élevée

⁷⁵ Allegato al dispaccio n. 34 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

entre eux parce que les dits marins voulaient encore rester à Sarzana au delà de l'heure convenue avec le voiturier. Des paroles on vient bientôt aux voies de fait, et malheureusement un des trois marins ayant empoigné un gros morceau de bois qui se trouvait à sa portée, en asséna un coup tellement violent sur la tête de Gattini qu'il l'étendit à terre presque mourant. Les Carabiniers Royaux accourus aux cris des témoins de cette scène déplorable, arrêtrèrent les trois marins américains qui se nomment James Menenson, James Devimes, et John Brown, et ces derniers furent aussitôt mis à la disposition de l'autorité judiciaire. Le jour suivant le susdit Gattini, cessa de vivre par suite de la blessure, et l'autorité judiciaire s'est rendue immédiatement à la Spezia afin de recueillir des informations nécessaires pour l'instruction de la procédure.

Je crois à propos, Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires, vous faire part sans retard de ce qui précède afin que vous soyez informé de la circonstance malheureuse qui a donné lieu à l'arrestation de trois marins de l'Escadre Américaine, et me réservant de vous faire connaître l'issue de la procédure qui s'instruit activement à leur égard, je vous prie d'agréer les nouvelles assurances de ma considération bien distinguée.

William B. Kinney a Massimo d'Azeglio ⁷⁶

Turin, November 1, 1852

Mr. Kinney, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, has the honor to acknowledge the reception of the note of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs communicating intelligence of the arrest of three American seamen, charged with a fatal assault upon a subject of His Majesty's Government at Sarzana, and while he deplores the occasion and is deeply concerned to learn that any countrymen of his should have exposed themselves to so shocking a charge, he seizes the opportunity to renew the expression of his sense of the justice of the Government of His Majesty and of his high personal respect.

⁷⁶ Allegato al dispaccio n. 34 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

William B. Kinney a Charles M. Conrad ⁷⁷

Dispaccio n. 35

Turin, November 16, 1852

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your official note announcing the death of Mr. Webster. It would be idle to attempt to express by any form of words the deep emotions which the unexpected intelligence awakened, even if the indulgence of personal grief, were not rebuked in presence of so great a national calamity. But it will not be thought unbecoming, I trust, in the midst of the general mourning, to recur to the reviving reflection that although the government and the country are deprived of his personal services, they may continue to enjoy, in all future time, the light of his great example, and the inestimable benefit of those recorded illustrations of wisdom and patriotism which have so materially contributed to the preservation of our social and political integrity for it is a consolation which rises out of our very sense of the bereavement.

It is my grateful duty to add that the enlightened friends of constitutional order in this capital and country sympathize with the American Government and people in their great loss, and that common sorrow has found fit expression through the public press. It only remains for this Legation, in the absence of all other representatives of our country, to testify its respect by the adoption of the customary tokens of mourning.

William B. Kinney a Edward Everett ⁷⁸

Dispaccio n. 36

Turin, Dec 11, 1852

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of the circular of the 8th ult. ⁷⁹ communicating information of your appointment as Secretary of State, and to offer you an expression of my cordial homage. The intelligence was received in well informed circles here as a renewed assurance of the conservative policy of the Federal government in its foreign relations, and I

⁷⁷ Charles M. Conrad della Louisiana ministro della guerra ed a interim Segretario di Stato dal 25 ottobre al 5 novembre 1852

⁷⁸ Edward Everett, del Massachusetts, assunse l'incarico il 6 novembre 1852 e lo conservò fino al 3 marzo 1853.

⁷⁹ Una circolare senza numero, Washington, 8 novembre 1852, informava Kinney della nomina di Everett. Vedi *Instructions to Ministers*, volume *Prussia*, p. 193, negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

take pleasure in adding, that the members of the diplomatic body in this capital have taken occasion to offer me their congratulations, because it is a mark of appreciation in which you will recognize a deeper significance than a mere personal compliment.

It seems opportune to remark that occurrences in the United States during the past and the earlier part of the present year, have awakened in political circles on this continent a more jealous regard to American affairs, and occasioned a degree of uneasiness in the minds of intelligent observers who anxiously hope to find in our example a decisive illustration of the wisdom and practicability of popular government.

The Parliament of this Kingdom convened on the 19th ult., according to adjournment, and has since been steadily occupied with questions of domestic legislation, without much public interest beyond the sphere of its jurisdiction. Count Cavour, the Minister of Finance, who is at the same time President of the Council, made the annual financial statement in the House of Deputies on the 2nd inst. It presents a more favorable view of the public finances and the resources of the country than was generally anticipated. In opening the budget he took occasion to show that, notwithstanding the existence of a debt somewhat over a hundred millions of dollars, the necessity of a new loan for certain extraordinary expenses, with an increase in taxation, and a considerable deficit, the affairs of the country have never been at any time in a more prosperous condition.

It would appear by this exposition, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose to you by this mail, that while there has been an increase of some 5 millions of francs in the public revenue considerable reductions have been effected in the ordinary expenses of the government, and that the increased demands upon the Treasury rise out of old deficits, and appropriations for public improvements which promise to become a source of revenue, and a means of advancing the general prosperity. The total expenses for the year 1853 is fixed at 146, 811, 073 francs, and the receipts at 107, 481, 370 francs, showing a deficit of 39, 329, 703 francs. The measures of revenue proposed will, it is said, effect an equilibrium between the receipts and expenditures of the State in 1854. Among these measures is a conversion of the public debt, and a reduction of the interest.

Count Pralormo, a gentleman of much diplomatic experience,

has just been charged with the mission to Rome, and a renewed effort is contemplated to compose the differences between this Government and the Holy See.

William B. Kinney a Edward Everett

Dispaccio n 37

Turin, Dec 25, 1852

Sir. The civil marriage bill which passed the Chamber of Deputies towards the close of the last session of Parliament, and which had been under discussion in the Senate during nearly the whole of the present session, some four weeks, was finally defeated on Monday last by a vote of 38 to 39. The vote was taken on the first and fundamental section, which determines the character of the bill, viz;

“1. The civil considers matrimony in its relations with civil society, leaving intact the duties which religion imposes. In this respect it determines the capacity of the contracting parties, the form and civil effects of the contract, and the rules of competency of the courts in relation thereto.”

The bill was supported by the Ministry and the most eminent civilians of the Senate, with remarkable ability, against a vehement and subtle opposition, as a necessary part of the series of measures originally conceived at the introduction of the constitutional regime to elucidate the civil rights of the State. Marriage was held to be a civil contract in the contemplation of Christian nations generally, and the examples of France, Austria, Belgium and the other Roman Catholic countries were referred to.

The fundamental principle of the bill was stoutly denounced on the other side, which contended that matrimony is exclusively a sacrament of the national Church, that, in the language of a recent official letter on the subject from the Holy See, “a sacrament is not an accidental quality, superadded to a contract, but that it is the very essence of marriage, so that the conjugal union between Christians is not legitimate, unless in the marriage sacrament, out of which there is nothing but mere concubinage” & that “a civil law, which in supposing the marriage sacrament divisible for Roman Catholics, pretends to regulate its validity, contradicts the doctrine of the Church, usurps its inalienable right, and, in practice, places

in the same rank concubinage and the sacrament of marriage by sanctioning both of them as equally legitimate."

In relation to the precedent furnished by the legislation of other Catholic countries, it was said that the Holy See had never ceased to protest against it.

It was contended in reply to this line of argument, that the ancient councils of the Church did not always so regard the subject; that matrimony involves civil rights and obligations, which must be regulated by the State, that one power cannot make the laws and another apply them to individual cases, &c.

Probably no question has so much interested the public mind here since organization of the present government. The most earnest and unremitting efforts have been made by the ecclesiastical and reactionary party to influence the public mind on the subject. A protest against the proposed legislation was published by the Bishops of the Church during the discussion in the Senate, and read from all the pulpits of the capital, and the letter from the Pope, above referred to, was revealed by the journals in the interest of the Papacy. Under these influences some of the Senators who have hitherto voted with the Ministry on questions concerning ecclesiastical privileges, felt constrained to vote against them on this occasion, and thus the bill was defeated by a majority of one.

The result has produced very general and warm expressions of popular dissatisfaction, and there is, I believe, no reason to doubt that the bill was called for by the prevailing sentiment of the country. In obedience to this sentiment the Ministry will, it is understood, take an early opportunity to present another substantially of the same character.

The letter from His Holiness to the King, you will see by the copy which I have the honor to enclose, appears to be in reply to one from the King, which has not been made public.⁸⁰

William B. Kinney a Edward Everett

Dispaccio n 38

Turin, January 15, 1853

Sir: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a note this moment received from the Chevalier Lencisa,⁸¹ a distinguished Statist who

⁸⁰ Allegato vi è un ritaglio da *L'Opinione* contenente il testo della lettera, datata Castalgandofo, 12 settembre 1852, di Sua Santità al re Vittorio Emanuele

⁸¹ Il cav F Lencisa fu commissario sardo all'esposizione di Londra (non a quella di New York).

occupies a responsible position in the government, communicating information of the formation of a commission in this capital for the purpose of promoting the objects of the proposed Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations in the City of New York.

On receiving a note from Mr. Sedgwick,⁸² the President of the Association in New York, communicating the several letters of the Department, expressing the favorable regard of the Government, and commending the enterprise to its representatives abroad, I sought occasion to confer with Count Cavour, the President of the Council of Ministers, and other eminent civilians, on the subject, and the organization of this Commission is the result. It embraces some of the first names in the Kingdom; and I have the pleasure to add that it will have the concurrence of the Ministry. Count Cavour has given me an assurance of his cordial co-operation, and that he will officially commend the enterprise to the attention of the country. The favorable regard which is here entertained towards the United States, warrants the hope that these measures will secure for the Exhibition a creditable representation of the industry and arts of the Kingdom.

Herewith I have also the pleasure to hand you a copy of the printed "Prospectus of the Transatlantic Company,"⁸³ an association recently organized, with the favour of the royal government, for the purpose of introducing monthly lines of steamers between Genoa and New York, and Genoa & Montevideo. A large portion of the capital (ten millions of francs), has been subscribed, and the association embraces some of the most wealthy and enterprising capitalists of this country, Switzerland, &c. Nearly one third of the whole amount has been taken in England. I am responsibly

⁸² Theodoro Sedgwick (1811-1859) fu avvocato e addetto all'ambasciata degli S U. a Parigi alle dipendenze di Edward Livingston, nel 1833. Nel 1852 fu nominato presidente della « New York Crystal Palace Association ».

⁸³ Il 4 ottobre 1852 fu organizzata una compagnia di transatlantici per una regolare linea di navigazione fra Genova e l'America del Sud e del Nord con porti di scalo intermedi. La compagnia, con un capitale iniziale di 10 milioni di lire, fu promossa da G F Penco, Enrico Bollo e Giovanni Pittaluga, ebbe l'approvazione reale con il decreto del 7 novembre 1852. Il 5 aprile 1853, il governo sardo e la compagnia di navigazione negoziarono una convenzione per la quale sarebbe stato concesso un sussidio di 22.000 lire per ciascun viaggio da New York a Genova e di 30.000 lire per ciascun viaggio al Brasile. La convenzione, che sarebbe rimasta in vigore per 15 anni, prevedeva clausole sul servizio postale sia per le lettere, sia per i pacchi. Il prospetto, allegato al dispaccio, che contiene anche i nomi dei componenti il consiglio d'amministrazione e dei direttori, reca questo titolo: « Compagnie transatlantique pour un service regulier de bateaux a vapeur entre Gênes et les Deux Ameriques du Nord et du Sud avec points de relâche intermédiaires Société Anonyme établi par Acte du 4 octobre 1852 et approuvée par Decret Royal du 7 novembre suivant Capital social dix millions de francs ».

informed that the Ministry will during the next month introduce a bill in Parliament for the purpose of securing the aid of the government for this important commercial enterprise, and that the lines will in all probability be put into operation during the approaching Spring.

The favorable intimations given in the prospectus concerning the revival of the trade and commerce of Genoa, and the Kingdom generally, have, I feel assured, a substantial basis. The most unequivocal signs of commercial life and prosperity are every where visible, and a great augmentation of trade and intercourse is reasonably anticipated through the several lines of railways now in course of construction to the borders of Switzerland, Lombardy, and France.

*G. F. Lencisa a William B. Kinney*⁸⁴

Turin le 15 janvier 1853

Monsieur: J'ai été chargé par mon ancien collègue à l'exposition de Londres M. Buschek, agent général de l'association américaine constituée pour l'exposition universelle qui doit s'ouvrir prochainement à New York de favoriser autant qu'il me serait possible le concours de nos producteurs et de nos articles à cette exposition, et de fixer le choix des objets qui seraient présentés par les concurrents, selon les convenances et dans l'intérêt des deux pays.

Très sensible à la marque de confiance que l'association américaine et M. Buschek, ont bien voulu me donner, je ne pouvais me rendre à leurs désirs que dans l'espoir d'être honoré de l'appui de personnes influentes et compétentes, et de pouvoir former ainsi une commission dans le double but susénoncé.

Ma première pensée devait se reporter à Vous, Monsieur, digne représentant de la Grande Nation Américaine auprès notre Gouvernement. Il s'agit d'une affaire qui intéresse également les Etats-Unis et le Piémont, et c'est à ce titre que je viens réclamer officieusement Votre précieux concours. Je le réclame de la part des personnes distinguées que j'ai eu l'honneur de réunir dernièrement chez vous, et je ne fais qu'exprimer notre désir commun en vous priant, Mon-

⁸⁴ Allegato al dispaccio n. 38 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington Lencisa si dichiara "ancien commissaire pour S. M. le roi de Sardaigne à l'Exposition de Londres"

sieur, de vouloir bien prendre l'initiative pour la formation d'une commission qui se réunirait chez Vous au jour que vous désigneriez. J'ai en même temps l'honneur de vous proposer ci jointe une liste de personnes qui pourraient être appelées utilement à faire partie de cette commission.

L'exposition universelle de New York, si elle est couronnée de succès comme j'en doute pas, sera bien certainement l'événement économique le plus remarquable de Notre Siècle, et ce qui nous touche de près ce sera une grande et belle occasion d'étendre nos relations commerciales et de resserrer de plus en plus les liens sympathiques qui existent naturellement sous tous les rapports entre les concitoyens de Colombo, et les compatriotes de Washington.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

PERSONE PROPOSTE

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Cav. ^{re} Ascanio Sobrero | Professore di Chimica alla R. ^a Università, Membro dell'Accademia delle Scienze |
| 2. Sig. ^r Cavalli Giovanni | Colonnello di Artiglieria, Membro dell'Accademia delle Scienze |
| 3. Conte Alessandro Pinelli | Senatore del Regno, Presidente del Magistrato d'Appello di Torino |
| 4. Cav. ^e Pelagio Palagi | Architetto di S. M. |
| 5. Conte della Chiesa di Benvenuto | Senatore del Regno, Presidente Onorario della Società di Belle Arti . |
| 6. Sig. ^r Emanuele Gandolfi | Deputato |
| 7. Cav. ^{re} Mancini Pasquale Stanislao | Professore di Diritto internazionale alla R. ^a Università |
| 8. Barone Plana Giovanni | Senatore del Regno, Professore di Matematica, ecc. |
| 9. Sig. ^r Laclair | Fabbricatore di panni |
| 10. Sig. ^r Abbene | Professore di Chimica Farmaceutica |
| 11. Barone Casana | Banchiere |

12. Sig. ^r Chichizola	Fabbricante di sete
13. Barone Paolo Farina	Deputato
14. Sig. ^r Antonio Scialoia	Professore di Economia commerciale presso la Camera di Commercio
15. Sig. ^r Raffaele Cadorna	Deputato
16. Sig. ^r Gabriele Capello	Manifatturiere in mobili
17. Cav. ^{re} Scapini Carlo	Deputato, Presidente della Società d'incoraggiamento
18. Sig. ^r Arnaudon Giacomo	Chimico
19. Conte Bertalazzone d'Arache	—
20. Avvocato Carlo Corghi	Segretario.

William B. Kinney a Edward Everett

Dispaccio n. 39

Turin, Jan. 22, 1853

Sir: Considerable complaint has been made recently by American and other ship masters arriving at Genoa, of a recent Custom House order, which requires manifests to contain certain specifications and particulars not in their power to furnish, and which have not heretofore been demanded. I learn through a personal interview with the Minister of Commerce and Finance that these new requirements have been found necessary to protect the revenue from Customs against smuggling, which had become a great evil under the old Custom House rules, and that they impose no obligations not generally recognized by commercial nations. Considering, however, the embarrassment which the change appears to have occasioned to those who had not been duly informed of it, he cheerfully proposed to order some such temporary relaxation of the observance as would prevent any serious inconvenience.

The new regulation went into operation on the first of the present month, and it is proper to add that due notice was given to the resident consuls and through the press in the several ports of the Kingdom, three months in advance, in order that all parties interested might be properly premonished. I have the honor to

enclose a copy of this notification,⁸⁵ the second paragraph of which comprises the new specifications, that the Department may, if it is deemed advisable, make them public for the benefit of American shippers. The Boston and other shipmasters who usually bring assorted cargoes, say that their bills of lading do not furnish them particulars which their manifests are required to contain, and that they have no other means of complying with the requirements.

I have also the honor to enclose two pamphlet copies⁸⁶ of recent sanitary laws and regulations ordained in this Kingdom, in conformity with the provisions of the international convention made at Paris during the last year by the Congress of Representatives from the several states having ports in the Mediterranean. You will see by these documents among other interesting particulars, that the tonnage duty on vessels coming from certain countries, including the United States, is raised from 30 to 80 centimes (about 16 American cents), per ton.

Herewith are also enclosed the accounts of the Legation for the quarter ending on the 31st ultimo.

William B. Kinney a Edward Everett

Dispaccio n 40

Turin, February 7, 1853

Sir: A Ministerial bill designed to enforce existing conventions against the slave trade, and restrain Sardinian subjects from dealing in slaves, has just passed the Senate, after much discussion, by a nearly unanimous vote, and been sent to the Chamber of Deputies for its concurrence. I have not been able as yet to procure an engrossed copy and can therefore only indicate for your information its general features.⁸⁷

Assuming as a principle that commerce in men is a violation of natural law, it interdicts slave dealing and slave-holding within the jurisdiction of the government, and declares slaves to be free on entering its territories and ships. Sardinian subjects who reside in foreign countries, and beyond the reach of the penalties of the

⁸⁵ Allegato vi è un ritaglio di giornale datato, Genova 4 ottobre 1852, contenente un « Avviso al commercio » datato, Genova 2 ottobre 1852 e firmato dal direttore della dogana (Delpiano).

⁸⁶ Questi opuscoli non si trovano allegati al dispaccio negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

⁸⁷ La legge per la soppressione della tratta degli schiavi di colore fu approvata dal Senato subalpino il 27 gennaio 1853 e dalla Camera il 2 aprile 1853

bill, are deprived of civil rights by becoming slave-holders, even though they have become such by marriage. Vessels engaged in the slave trade are exposed to seizure and confiscation, and their officers and crews are made liable to various penalties.

It appeared during the debate that some ship yards in the Kingdom have been engaged in fitting out vessels to be sold elsewhere for the trade. In order to prevent this species of participation, the bill provides that all sales of vessels must be made with the concurrence of some consul or other authorized commercial agent of the government: and the sale of a vessel on the coast of Africa is made *prima facie* evidence of criminality. The bill will probably soon be brought under consideration in the Chamber, and finally become a law.

The recent arrest and condemnation of Dr. Mazzinghi by the local tribunals at Genoa for promulgating sentiments not altogether in accordance with the doctrines of the national Church, has excited remark abroad, in connection with the case of the Madiari in Tuscany.⁸⁸ I deem it only just, therefore, to call your attention to the fact this anomalous proceeding, though in accordance with an old law, of a date long anterior to that of the present Constitution, has been pointedly rebuked by the government. When the case was first brought to its notice, the royal clemency was promptly interposed in behalf of the prisoner, and the Ministry caused it to be announced in parliament that bills would be introduced at an early day to make the criminal code more in accordance with the free spirit of the Constitution.

It is worthy of mention in this connection that a recent decree of the provincial governor of Savoy, interdicting the introduction of protestant translations of the Scriptures within his jurisdiction, has been revoked by the Ministry.

It may interest you also to know that some of the most important internal improvements of the country are now rapidly

⁸⁸ Nel 1853 la *Evangelical Alliance* riferiva che la famiglia Madiari di Firenze, Italia, era stata imprigionata per aver letto la Bibbia. Sulla reazione americana a questo episodio vedi H. R. MARRARO, *American Opinion*, cit., pp. 156-157. Nel 1852 Daniele Mazzinghi, chirurgo, e James Pakenham, capitano marittimo inglese, furono ritenuti responsabili della distribuzione dell'edizione protestante delle Epistole di S. Paolo agli abitanti di Marola presso La Spezia. Il parroco locale provocò dei disordini in conseguenza dei quali i due «eretici», su avviso del commissario di polizia, ripararono a Genova, da dove nell'estate, il cap. Pakenham andò in Svizzera. Mazzinghi, invece, fu arrestato e condannato a tre anni di carcere. Fu subito graziato dal Sovrano e andò in esilio. Vedi GIORGIO SPINI, *Risorgimento e Protestanti*, Napoli, 1956, p. 306 ss.

approaching completion. An additional section of the railway between this city and Genoa, was opened to the public a few days since, and some thirteen miles only now remain to be finished, the present terminus being at Busalla.

The telegraph line designed to connect with that of France, has been completed from Genoa to Chambery, and the government I am told, has just concluded a contract with Mr. Brett,⁸⁹ who represents an English company, to make a submarine line from Genoa to the Island of Sardinia.

The foreign relations of the country appear to be well adjusted at present, and I see no reason to anticipate any change that would be likely to disturb its growth and prosperity.

I enclose by this a copy of the Official Journal⁹⁰ as containing a report of recent proceedings in this capital, in accordance with the recommendation of the Department, to promote the objects of the New York Exhibition, and have the honor to be with sentiments of profound respect.

William B. Kinney a Edward Everett

Dispaccio n 41

Turin, February 12, 1853

Sir: A high degree of excitement was produced in this capital on Monday last by reports of an insurrection at Milan, and the nearly simultaneous appearance in certain private hands of proclamations purporting to have been addressed to the Italians and Hungarians by Messrs. Mazzini & Kossuth, respectively.⁹¹ The public feeling was composed, however, within a few hours by more definite intelligence published in the official Gazette. A brief statement of the facts in the case as they have since been ascertained from the

⁸⁹ Fra il 1853 e il 1854, John W. Brett ingegnere inglese, lavorò per mettere una linea telegrafica di sei fili che, partendo in prossimità della Spezia, attraversasse il mare fino a Capo Corso. Da qui correre lungo l'isola fino a un punto ad est di Bonifacio, e poi di nuovo sotto il mare e giungere a Lungosardo. Da qui attraverso Tempio e Sassari, avrebbe raggiunto Cagliari. Vedi il rapporto di Craig, console inglese a Cagliari, datato 22 dicembre 1854, pubblicato in FEDERICO CURATO, *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra la Gran Bretagna e la Sardegna (1852-1856). Il carteggio diplomatico di Sir James Hudson* Torino, 1956, vol. 2, p. 156. Il contratto fra il governo sardo e John Brett fu firmato il 2 febbraio 1853. La linea telegrafica raggiunse una lunghezza totale di 580 Km (110 km da La Spezia alla Corsica, 150 km in Corsica e 320 km dalla Corsica a Cagliari).

⁹⁰ La copia non è stata trovata fra gli allegati negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

⁹¹ Kinney accluse ritagli di giornali contenenti proclami di Mazzini e di Kossuth.

best sources will put you in possession of the grounds of the exaggerated reports that have gone abroad on the subject.

Some few hundreds of the poorest class of the population of Milan, starting simultaneously at about 3 o'clock P. M. on Sunday the 6th instant from the Roman, Tosa and Ticino gates, endeavored to surprise the military posts, and throw up some barricades with trees and furniture. One party armed with long knives and instruments for breaking locks penetrated into the castle and found their way into a room where some official employe's [sic] were engaged: wounded some, and killed two. They then frisked on to a second court where the munitions of war are kept, and were there surrounded by the Austrian troops and arrested to a man.

The few feeble attempts to erect barricades in the streets were also arrested at the same time by the intervention of the troops, and the movement which seems to have been of the most partial nature, was every where repressed without much conflict, though ten soldiers appear to have been killed and fifty four wounded. The numbers of the insurgents killed and wounded are, it is believed, still less. Quiet appears to have been restored in the city before nightfall, and the theatres and other places of public resort were open as usual during the evening.

The number of arrests does not, according to the best information, probably much exceed 400.

On the following (7th) a proclamation was published by the Imperial Commandant, announcing the restoration of order, a copy of which (marked A.) I have the honor to enclose.⁹² This proclamation was accompanied by various precautionary police orders, prohibiting the wearing of canes, symbols, or weapons of any sort in the streets, requiring foreigners not well accredited to leave the city—subjecting all persons entering or leaving to increased surveillance, interdicting the meeting of more than three persons in public—temporarily closing the theatres and other places of public resort, and suspending the movements of the railways.

On the morning of the 9th it was officially announced that seven of the persons arrested, all laborers or mechanics, had been executed under the sentence of the military tribunal.

A proclamation appeared on the same day from Field Marshal Radetzky the Civil and Military Governor of the Lombardo-Venetian

⁹² Il ritaglio di giornale contenente il testo del proclama datato Milano, 7 febbraio 1853 dello Strassoldo è negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

kingdom, whose Head Quarters are at Verona, imposing severe penalties and restrictions upon the City of Milan, and announcing that the public tranquillity had been disturbed no where else within his jurisdiction. A copy of this document which is generally regarded as unnecessarily severe upon the City, (marked B) is also enclosed.⁹³

It is abundantly evident that the rash movement was made without the concurrence of any portion of the more responsible inhabitants of the city, and it certainly was not the result of any general concert among the friends of liberty in this quarter of Europe. The numerous exiles who find a refuge in this country, including many of the noblest families and most eminent patriots of Lombardy generally unite with all other classes and parties in deploring it as a headless riot. A comparatively small number of the most obscure among them appear to have had some premonition of an outbreak of some sort, and a day or two previous to the 6th made an effort to reach Milan. But, being without passports, they were stopped on the frontier of the country, and ordered back. The fact was reported to the Royal authorities here, who promptly adopted measures to maintain the inviolability of their treaty obligations in any event.

The leading members of the liberal party here, generally look upon the affair as the explosion of some inconsiderate scheme concocted in London, as would seem to be indicated by the proclamations above referred to as coming from Mazzini and Kossuth, and which you will find among my enclosures. These persons are said to be concealed somewhere in the neighboring mountains of Switzerland, with Gen. Klapka and a few other associates, but I cannot learn by what authority. It is only certain that M. Mazzini left London about a month since. Whatever may be the facts in this case it is sufficiently obvious that the supposed authors of these proclamations no longer enjoy the confidence of the intelligent friends of reform in Italy.

Among the precautionary measures adopted by the government of this country are decrees removing emigrants from the frontiers to the interior, establishing a patrol guard along the whole Lombard border, requiring all emigrants within its jurisdiction, without discrimination, to report themselves immediately to the police

⁹³ Il ritaglio di giornale contenente il proclama datato Verona, 9 febbraio 1853 del Radetzky è negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

authorities where they may sojourn, with their papers, and providing for the removal of those who may be compromised by the Milan movement. The inconvenience thus occasioned may be inferred when it is added that the emigrant population is estimated at over a hundred thousand, and that there are upwards of 20,000 refugees in this city alone. Similar measures have been adopted by the Federal authorities of Switzerland.

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to this Legation, expressing a desire to procure passports for certain compromised refugees whom the Royal Authorities propose to send to the United States, together with my reply.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing, official intelligence has been received of the execution of 4 more of the prisoners at Milan, and there are credible rumors of some feeble and fruitless outbreaks in two small settlements on the dividing line between Lombardy and Piedmont, in which some few Hungarian soldiers were compromised. There is no reason whatever however, to anticipate any general disturbance.

*Giuseppe Dabormida a William B. Kinney*⁹⁴

Turin, le 11 février 1853

Monsieur le chargé d'affaires: Le gouvernement du Roi ayant reconnu qu'à l'occasion de la tentative d'insurrection qui vient d'avoir lieu en Lombardie, quelques uns parmi les émigrés réfugiés sur le territoire Sarde ont abusé de l'hospitalité qu'ils y avaient trouvée, a pris la détermination de les renvoyer, et, dans la prévision que les Etats voisins leur refusent l'entrée sur leur territoire, il a pensé de diriger vers l'Amérique et spécialement aux Etats-Unis ceux de ces émigrés qui seront dans la circonstance de ne pouvoir pas trouver ailleurs un refuge.

Je viens en conséquence vous prier, Mr. le Chargé d'Affaires, de vouloir bien me faire connaître si, comme j'aime à l'espérer, vous n'auriez pas de difficulté à seconder ce projet en accordant des passeports pour les Etats-Unis aux individus que les autorités royales seraient dans le cas de diriger vers le territoire de l'Union

⁹⁴ Allegato al dispaccio n. 41 di Kinney Si conserva nell'Archivio dell'Ambasciata degli S U a Roma

par suite de l'impossibilité de les faire recevoir dans les pays voisins.

Je me réserve, dans le cas que la chose puisse ainsi s'effectuer de vous faire connaître les noms de ces individus et de vous fournir les autres indications qui seraient nécessaires à leur égard.

Je vous serai fort obligé, Mr. le Chargé d'Affaires, de vouloir bien me faire connaître le plus tôt possible la détermination que vous croirez pouvoir prendre à ce sujet, et je vous renouvelle en attendant les assurances de ma considération très distinguée.

*William B. Kinney a Giuseppe Dabormida*⁹⁵

Turin, February 12, 1853

Sir: The Undersigned has the honor to acknowledge the reception of your Excellency's note of yesterday asking to be informed whether the passport of this Legation can be accorded to certain political refugees whom His Majesty's Government desire to send to the United States, and hastens to say in reply that it is the policy of the people and government of the United States, upholding the broadest doctrines of civil and religious liberty, to afford a home to all men who are deprived of one elsewhere through an honest sympathy with those purely popular principles, and that with this view, it will give him pleasure so far to second the benevolent project of the Royal authorities as to furnish passports to all individuals proscribed on this ground whom they may be pleased to designate for that purpose; reserving, however, in doing so, the expression of any opinion concerning the particular occasion to which your Excellency more particularly refers, though the Undersigned is at the same time happy in the opportunity afforded of renewing to Your Excellency the assurance of his high consideration⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Allegato al dispaccio n. 41 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

⁹⁶ L'attenzione di Kinney era occupata dal caso di Lemmi e da quello riguardante 82 rifugiati fra i quali tre donne. Il generale Dabormida, il 5 marzo 1853, domandò a Kinney di suggerirgli dove questi rifugiati della fregata *San Giovanni* avrebbero dovuto esser sbarcati. Kinney rispondeva il 7 marzo che New York sarebbe stato « il posto più adatto per accoglierli ». L'11 marzo Kinney inviava 35 passaporti per quei rifugiati politici « regolarmente provvisti con il visto di questa legazione » e aggiungeva « il console degli S. U. a Genova ha avuto istruzioni di porre il visto del consolato a qual-

Sir. Intelligence has just been received here that an attempt was made at Vienna on Thursday last to assassinate the Emperor of Austria. It was communicated to the Imperial authorities at Milan by Telegraph, and thence transmitted to the Foreign Office in Turin by courier. It would appear by the brief despatch that the Emperor was walking in the public grounds near his palace, when a Hungarian rushed upon him with a dirk, and inflicted a stab in the back of the neck, which was so modified by the coat collar as not to produce a very serious wound. The assassin was immediately arrested by the officers present.

Nothing has transpired since the date of my last note concerning the history of the misadventure at Milan, or to foreshow [sic] further disturbances in Italy. It is more than ever certain, however, that the plot indicated by the proclamations which I had the honor to enclose has miscarried. Admonished by the recent disclosures, the Austrian Government has every where strengthened its defences,

siasi altro passaporto che gli fosse pervenuto a questo proposito dalle regie autorità della città secondo la vostra richiesta » Gli originali di queste lettere si trovano negli Archivi dell'ambasciata degli S U di Roma e nell'archivio di Stato di Torino Per i disordini che ebbero luogo all'arrivo dei rifugiati a New York vedi H R MARRARO, *American Opinion*, cit., pp 175-177 Nell'archivio di Stato di Torino vi è copia della lettera del cap Incisa del *San Giovanni* a N B Blunt Esq, procuratore generale della città e della contea di New York, che dice

« New York, May 25, 1853

Sir An occurrence has taken place between a portion of my crew and an Italian named Marino Franchi, which I greatly regret It took place while I and many of my officers were paying our respects to the municipal authorities of the city of New York and at a time when from my expected speedy return no officer had taken my place in the *S Giovanni*

The moment however I reached the ship and heard that Mr Franchi had been assaulted and forcibly brought on board, I caused him to be put on shore

For the violence used towards him he has made complaint to the judicial authorities of your city To you as the officer entrusted with the responsibility of conducting prosecutions for violations of your laws, I desire here as the Commander of the *S Giovanni* not only to give you an assurance that the wrongdoers will be properly punished by me, but also to express my extreme regrets to the judicial authorities that any under my command should have been guilty of so illegal an act of violence as that complained of

This explanation is equally due to the party assailed to whom I shall be glad that it may be made by you »

All'incidente la stampa prestò grande attenzione Vedi New York *Herald* 18, 20, 21, 22, 27 maggio 1853, New York *Evening Post*, 23 maggio 1853, *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, 20 maggio 1853 L'incidente del *San Giovanni* occupò anche l'attenzione de l'*Italia e Popolo*, 7, 14, giugno 1853. Il deputato De Viry fece un'interpellanza alla Camera dei deputati, ma il ministero rispose che non aveva ricevuto alcun rapporto in merito

and imposed more rigorous restrictions upon the unfortunate people.

The City of Milan suffers severely under these fresh impositions. The extraordinary tax levied in pursuance with Field Marshal Radetzky's decree of the 8th inst., will, it is estimated, exceed a hundred thousand francs per week, business of every sort is interrupted, egress and ingress is strictly limited to certain gates, which no one, not even the ordinary market people, can pass without special police permits, all social and other assemblies are prohibited, and not more than two persons are permitted to be together in the streets. In order to distribute the troops through the city, and thus the more effectually overawe the population, several of the largest and best furnished palaces have been seized and converted into barracks, against the earnest remonstrances of the proprietors, in some cases unprotected ladies, who offered in vain to pay the cost of buildings less exposed to injury for the convenience of the military.

The spirit of the government under which Lombardy suffers, is still further illustrated by the two proclamations of the Governor General which I have the honor to enclose: the first denouncing fresh penalties against the people, and the second proclaiming a retaliatory measure against Switzerland, in relation to the recent treatment of certain monks in the canton of Ticino.⁹⁷

*William B. Kinney a William Hunter*⁹⁸

Dispaccio n 43

Turin, March 5, 1853

Sir: The relations between this country and Austria are exposed to some derangement by an Imperial decree of the 13th ult. sequestrating all estates of the political refugees of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, many of whom are and have been some years, naturalized subjects of Sardinia. This decree was proclaimed by the Governor General, Field Marshal Count Radetzky, on the 18th of the last month, and I have the honor to hand you herewith a copy of the proclamation.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Sono acclusi due ritagli contenenti proclami del Radetzky, Verona, 11 febbraio 1853 e del Gyulai, Milano 16 febbraio 1853

⁹⁸ William Hunter Jr., di Rhode Island, Segretario di Stato *ad interim* dal 3 al 7 marzo 1853.

⁹⁹ Acclusa vi è la copia del proclama del Radetzky, datato, Verona, 5-18 febbraio 1853

The edict is general and comprehensive in its scope. It makes no exceptions: and therefore includes a numerous class of proprietors who have emigrated at different periods since the Imperial decree of June 15th 1832, regulating the conditions of emigration, with legal certificates of denaturalization declaring them to be freed from Austrian citizenship, and who, being thus formally released from all obligations to Austria, have become citizens of other states, retaining nevertheless, their old family estates in Lombardy, with the cognizance of the government.

Many of this class of persons, between whom and the parent state all political ties had been thus formally dissolved by mutual consent, have long been among the most intelligent and respected citizens of Sardinia. Several of them occupy seats in Parliament. One of the number (the Minister of Public Works) is a member of the Cabinet, and others are conspicuous in the various walks of private life as useful and peaceable [sic] citizens, guilty only of an orderly attachment to the Constitution and laws of their adopted country. It cannot even be pretended that they are in any sense compromised by recent events; but quite the contrary, as the sequel will show.

This government could not of course be indifferent to a decree which thus severely strikes a large and unoffending class of its citizens, many of whom are thereby reduced from affluence to absolute poverty. It has accordingly instructed its Minister at Vienna to express its conviction that the Imperial Cabinet could not have intended thus to wrong a neighboring state having friendly relations and faithful to treaty obligations.

If this respectful note should fail to attain its object, the Cabinet will probably address a protest to Austria, and the other European states which took part in the general Treaty of 1815, against a measure which it holds to be at once a violation of the existing "Treaty of Commerce & Navigation, stipulating reciprocal rights for subjects of Piedmont and Austria," and a palpable departure from the established principles of international intercourse among civilized nations.

It is not in my power to say how far citizens of the United States, or of other powers, may be implicated by the decree, but it is pertinent to add, as a fact within my knowledge, that certain British subjects have heretofore made advances of money to the despoiled class of Sardinian citizens upon liens on their Lombard

revenues, and that the Austrian Legation in this capital has declined the usual courtesy of simply verifying by its certificate, the signature and seal of the Sardinian authorities on papers setting forth the facts, with a view to the recovery of such debts, on the ground that the documents had reference to Lombard emigrants.

It is an important fact, worthy of observation in this connection, that the Piedmontese government received information of the crude Mazzinian plot for the outbreak at Milan, on the 6th ult, a few days in advance, and that it was the first to communicate the intelligence to the Austrian Government through its legation here; while at the same time it promptly adopted efficient measures to prevent any violation of neutral relations on the part of its citizens, or sojourners in its dominions. For this mark of fidelity to treaty obligations it subsequently received the thanks of the cabinets of Vienna, Berlin and France.

There is not, I feel warranted to say, the slightest ground for even a suspicion that the despoiled class of Sardinian subjects, or any one of them, either sympathize with Mr Mazzini in his views of the means of liberating Italy, or that they are in any sense whatever implicated by the misadventure at Milan on the 6th ult. On the contrary I have reason to know that the Cabinet at Vienna was well informed on that point by its own witnesses long before the date of the decree. There is, however, reason to suspect that the measure of sequestration was under consideration before the apology of the 6th February, since it is now known that an official appraisement had been previously made of the rich estates, whose revenues are thus appropriated by the Austrian treasury.

In order to show the spirit with which this and other Imperial decrees are executed by the subordinate authorities of Austria in Lombardy, I have the honor to enclose extracts of letters from responsible sources in Milan and Brescia, together with an authentic copy of the military mandate to the agent of the Borromeo estate at Milan.

It remains to be seen whether it is the design of Austria to force Piedmont to assume an attitude to warrant open hostilities, and thus prepare the way for a subversion of its constitution, with its liberal institutions and free press.

The severest exactions have been made upon Switzerland, as you have doubtless been informed.

The permanent Commission holds its sittings at the Borromeo Palace & meditates the spoliation & sequestration of the property not only of the refugees but of many of the resident rich proprietors. The list of those destined to spoliation amounts already to 200.

The slightest pretext serves as an excuse for sequestration.

There are constant cases of robbery by police agents & soldiers who enter the houses, rob, & maltreat the inhabitants to the cry of Imperial Property—the “Litta” Palace (that of the family of Duke Litta) has been occupied by a whole battalion & both officers, & men amuse themselves by spoiling the most precious objects in it, beginning with the works of art. The family jewels associated with all the traditions of the house were taken from the maitre d’hotel, but returned to him & put under his responsible care, after an inventory had been taken.

The Annoni Palace has been seized & occupied, the tenants having 24 hours notice to quit, the soldiers in the mean time clearing out their effects & depositing them in the public streets.

Many families remained for some nights without lodging, being obliged to throw themselves on the compassion of their neighbors, while they gathered as best they might their effects.

Other palaces shared the same fate as well as some educational establishments—(schools?).

Soldiers patrol the streets day, and night & it is calculated that 6000 men must be patrolling, to meet the expense of which the city is taxed about 30,000 fcs a day.

The patrols frequently clear the streets at the point of the bayonet on the slightest pretext.

It is no longer possible to walk with one’s hands in one’s pockets for fear of being suspected of concealing arms. Two or three persons cannot stand more than a minute or two in conversation in the street. A word, or a movement may send one to the gallows. Every day are found dead bodies on the public ways.

Death was inflicted on the messengers who took money or news

¹⁰⁰ Allegato al dispaccio n 43 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

to the refugees, or brought them from them to their families. The gallows are in permanence.

From within the Castle musket shots are constantly heard. Individuals are constantly missed by their families.

The Abbot or Mitred Bishop of Revere has been hung.¹⁰¹ Count "Montanari" of Verona the same, & other cases of similar kind in different towns of Lombardy.

It would appear that the Commission is to be extended to Parma, & Modena.

*Estratti da una lettera privata*¹⁰²

Traduzione

Brescia, March 1, [1853]

When you write recollect that we are called to the Police to read our letters.

Bergamo, 11 March [1853]

Yesterday at three in the morning the Police, accompanied by Gens d'Armes, came to me with an order to betake myself with the accounts of your property which is to be sequestered. I was conducted before the "Commando [sic] Militare" where I made a statement (denunzia) of your property, but when I sought to protest against the proceeding, as you are a Sardinian subject, I was abused, & threatened with the gallows if I ventured to protest again.

*Ordine all'Intendente di Casa Borromeo*¹⁰³

Traduzione

Milan, Feb. 28, 1853

In execution of the respected message dated 17 Feby to No. 235.266 separate M. P. of His Excellency Count Radetzky. You are called upon to present yourself without fail before the Commission of sequestration in the Palazzo Borromeo, at present the Barracks of the Police, this day the 28th February 1853, bringing with you the whole of the accounts which are in your hands regarding the

¹⁰¹ Bartolomeo Grazioli

¹⁰² Allegati al dispaccio n. 43 di Kinney Si conservano negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

¹⁰³ Allegato al dispaccio n. 43 di Kinney Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

patrimony of Count Borromeo, with the analogous vouchers, as also their respective value, & you are warned that if you fail in dutiful obedience to this order, it will be regarded under the peculiarity of the present circumstances, & treated as an infringement of military discipline, & that according to the same despatch you will be answerable for the consequences, & also for the presenting an incomplete account of the property. (Signed) Girhauser, Maggiore, & President of the Sequestration Committee.

*William B. Kinney a William L. Marcy*¹⁰⁴

Dispaccio n 44

Turin, March 11, 1853

Sir: I received yesterday a report from the American Consul at Genoa that an individual named Lemmi formerly well known in this part of Europe as the Secretary of Louis Kossuth, but who now claims to be a citizen of the United States, had been arrested in that city charged with certain recent political offences in this Kingdom. The Consul states that he has a passport from the U. S. Legation at London dated in January 1852, and that the police had therefore liberated him on a pledge from the Consul that he should leave the country within five days: whereupon Lemmi solicited my interposition with the superior authorities here for an extension of the time, in order that he might make the necessary arrangements for the removal of his family, which it appears has resided in the neighborhood of Genoa for some six months.

I accordingly sought an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs without a moment's delay. The petition was urgently presented and courteously received, but it soon appeared in the course of a frank and confidential conversation, in which the Minister of the Interior was called to participate, that the Government had abundant evidence of his complicity in recent revolutionary measures within its jurisdiction, and that in view of the facts in the case, and the probable consequences of permitting him to remain longer in the Kingdom, it felt peremptorily constrained to deny the request.

Much regret was expressed that there should appear to be any necessity for such a summary proceeding in the case of a

¹⁰⁴ William L. Marcy di New York fu nominato il 7 marzo 1853, entrò in carica l'8 marzo e si ritirò il 6 marzo 1857

person bearing a passport of the United States, but the decision was conclusive, and I deemed it inexpedient to press the matter further.

Soon after the interview, I received a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, enclosing a brief summary of the allegations against Lemmi, copies of which I have the honor to enclose, together with my brief response.

*George G. Baker a William B. Kinney*¹⁰⁵

Consulate of the United States

Genoa, 9th March, 1853

Dear Sir: A. Lemmi, the former Secretary of Kossuth, has been living here as I learn the last six months and is now required by the authorities to leave Genoa within 5 days.

He sent his passport to this office some 15 days ago though I never saw him till 3 days since, and learn he has a wife and two or three children, and that his parents or connections live in Tuscany. He has an American passport given by the United States Legation in London in January 1852, stating that he is a citizen of the United States and with this he went to Malta where he resided 6 months, when (as he states) the Austrian and Neapolitan consuls requested that he might be given up to them. He left at their instance, or by order of the authorities there and came to Genoa where he has resided since. He wishes still to remain here, as he has made no other arrangements and cannot leave at this time without great inconvenience and sacrifice. He cannot go to Turkey without being sent to Asia Minor or delivered to the Austrian Minister, and seems by his own statement to have scarcely any alternative, but to go to England and starve, to prison in Genoa, or to Austria to be shot. That he is a republican, that he abhors the government of Austria, the House of Hapsburg, the Bourbons of Parma and Naples, and the Lorraines of Tuscany, I have no doubt, but he declares that he has had no communication whatever with Mazzini, or any other person connected with the recent events at Milan — that he has lived quietly and in obscurity at Albaro, where he still wishes to stay only until he can make some arrangements either in England or the United States by which he can take his family with him.

¹⁰⁵ Si conserva negli Archivi dell'Ambasciata degli S U a Roma

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He was arrested yesterday and taken to the police from which place he requested me to procure his liberation. I called on the Intendent and showed him his passport when he telegraphed to Turin for instructions, and afterwards wrote that the minister replied "that his American passport was good for him only in the interior of the United States and that unless he could prove his release from the country of his nativity he must leave Genoa," and the Intendent added that "he must leave in 5 days" and that he would liberate him from custody if I "would answer for his departure from the Kingdom in that time" I sent him the following reply upon the receipt of which he was set at liberty.

*George G. Baker a William B. Kinney*¹⁰⁶

Genoa, 9 th March, 1853

Sir. Today the Intendent has replied, in which he says the Government has reason to believe Sig. Lemmi has been concerned in the late insurrection at Milan and that he must leave, and that as he set him at liberty upon my request and guarantee, he shall expect me to send him away in 5 days. Lemmi has requested me to write you and urge upon you (on the ground of humanity) to intercede with the Minister for him to stay here, till he can make some arrangements and provisions for his family and as soon as that is done, which he says may require one or two months he will leave the country.

I hope to hear from you upon this subject by return mail.

*William B. Kinney a George G. Baker*¹⁰⁷

Turin, March 10, 1853

Dear Sir: Your letter of yesterday concerning the case of Mr. Lemmi whose arrest had been communicated to me before was only received this morning when I immediately sought an interview at the Foreign Office in his behalf. The appeal for a prolongation of the appointed time for his removal was urgently presented and courteously entertained. But I soon found in the course of a

¹⁰⁶ Si conserva negli Archivi dell'Ambasciata degli S U a Roma

¹⁰⁷ Si conserva negli Archivi dell'Ambasciata degli S U a Roma.

frank confidential conversation in which the grounds of the proceedings against him were freely exhibited, that it would be idle to press the matter further, as the Ministry felt constrained in view of the facts in the case and the probable consequences of permitting him to remain longer in the Kingdom peremptorily to deny the application. You will therefore doubtless be held to your engagement with the local authorities.

Soon after the recent outbreak at Milan the Government here found it necessary to order the arrest and removal of a number of refugees who were more or less compromitted. Most of them were destitute, and exposed to severe treatment so that I did not hesitate to concur with the Ministry in an engagement for sending them to the United States, where they will be at least, beyond the reach of the executioner. They will accordingly be embarked within a few days on board the corvette *St. John* for New York furnished with passports which I have engaged to visa. As some 30 or 40 of them are now in custody at Genoa, I have ventured to say that you would do this service in my behalf and must therefore beg you to do me the favor of endorsing the passports that may be handed to you for that purpose by the royal authorities. It is an act of humanity to remove these homeless exiles to the United States.

*Giuseppe Dabormida a William B. Kinney*¹⁰³

Turin, le 10 mars 1853

Monsieur: Je m'empresse de vous envoyer ci joint la copie d'un rapport que le ministre de l'Intérieur vient de me communiquer au sujet de Sr. Lemmi. Je me flatte que vous y puiserez la conviction que cet agent de Kossuth est trop dangereux, qu'il est trop constaté qu'il a pris part au complot qui a déterminé l'insurrection de Milan pour ne pas trouver naturel que le Gouvernement du Roi se soit vu dans la nécessité de le faire arrêter. Notre sincère désir d'avoir les meilleurs rapports avec les autorités Américaines, pour lesquelles nous aurons toujours à coeur de témoigner les plus grands égards, vous est trop connu pour que vous ne soyez pas persuadé qu'il

¹⁰³ Allegato al dispaccio n. 44 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

fallait bien que cette mesure fut nécessaire pour que le Gouvernement se soit décidé à la prendre à l'égard d'une personne qui était placée sous la protection du Consul d'Amérique.

Copia della relazione del Ministro dell'interno

« Il Lemmi stato arrestato a Genova trovavasi a Costantinopoli nel 1850 e vi era conosciuto come assai operoso nella propaganda rivoluzionaria.

Il Lemmi accompagnò Kossuth nel viaggio sulla fregata americana *Il Mississippi*, ed esercitava presso lo stesso le funzioni di Segretario. Comparve più recentemente il Lemmi a Malta donde venne sfrattato per ordine di quel governo non ostante i richiami del console americano. Tale espulsione fu decretata per la stampa d'un opuscolo intitolato « Elementi Rivoluzionarii in Europa ».

Il Lemmi dopo essere stato tenuto a Firenze in carcere per ordine del comando militare Austriaco, fu sfrattato dalla Toscana.

Risulta finalmente dai rapporti della polizia che il Lemmi erasi ora fatto a Genova quasi centro dei repubblicani, che era l'anima dei comitati, e riceveva dal comitato di Londra denaro ed istruzioni che distribuiva nell'interesse del partito Mazziniano, sicché la sua presenza creava pericoli sia nell'interno come per le relazioni internazionali ».

*William B. Kinney a Giuseppe Dabormida*¹⁰⁹

Turin, March 10, 1853

Mr. Kinney has the honor to acknowledge the reception of Gen. Dabormida's note enclosing the report of the Minister of the Interior referred to in the personal interview with which he was honored this morning, concerning the political complicity and arrest of an individual (named Lemmi) professing to be a citizen of the United States, and he is happy in the fresh assurance it affords of the desire of His Majesty's Government to preserve the friendly understanding which now so happily exists between the two countries; as in the opportunity of repeating the expression of his personal consideration.

¹⁰⁹ Allegato al dispaccio n. 44 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Sir: I send herewith a letter from William Niles, Esq., bearer of dispatches to our Minister at Constantinople, and as he speaks of giving passports to foreigners and alludes to the case of Mr. Lemmi, the Secretary of Kossuth, now in this City, I will briefly state the facts, as I learn them from him and as far as they have come within my observation. He states that he was the Secretary of Kossuth, that he went to the United States in the *Mississippi* and remained there two months, that he had an American passport with him issued by the United States Legation at Rome in 1848, that he was in Washington City and took a letter from Mr. Webster to the United States Minister in London, that he left his former passport there in January 1852, that he left England intending to visit Tuscany if possible (as his family connections live there), but as he could not go there he went to Malta, where he resided six months; but in consequence of having the demands of the Austrian and Neapolitan consuls, that he should be given up to them, he left Malta at the instance or by order of the Governor, and that the Sardinian Consul visé his passport and he came on to Genoa, where he has resided since. He declares that he has had no communication with Mazzini whatever in connection with the late events in Milan, that he has lived quietly at the neighboring village at Albaro until the 8th inst., when he was arrested and imprisoned upon which he requested me to procure his liberation as an American citizen.

I called on the Intendente and showed him the passport of Mr. Lemmi which states that he is an American citizen, and asked for the reasons of his imprisonment and (if he had committed no offence against the laws of this Kingdom) for his liberation on that ground. The Intendente telegraphed the Minister at Turin and soon wrote me as follows: "The Minister replies that his passport is good only for the interior of the United States, and that unless he can prove his release from the State of his nativity he must leave Genoa," and he (the Intendente) added: "he must leave Genoa in

¹¹⁰ Si conserva negli Archivi del Consolato degli S U a Genova

five days, but I will release him, if you will answer that he leaves the Kingdom in that time."

I sent the following reply upon the receipt of which he was set at liberty:

*George G. Baker a Domenico Buffa*¹¹¹

Consulate of the United States

Genoa, 8 th March, 1853

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note this day respecting the disposition of Sig. A. Lemmi and communicating also the opinion of the Minister at Turin in regard to the value of his passport.

The passport of Sig. Lemmi states that he is a citizen of the United States of America and this is *prima facie* evidence that he is so, and natives of other countries can become citizens of the United States without the consent of their respective governments.

It may be impossible for Sig. Lemmi to prove his release from any state to which he once owed allegiance, but until that state shall claim him a subject for the commission of some overt act against its laws, or until he shall have disturbed the peace of this, his passport should protect him, and it is not only good for the interior of the United States, but for all other countries, and though Sardinia has the right as an independent state to expel from her soil any individual who is obnoxious to her, still I would thank you to inform me what he has done that creates the necessity for his immediate expulsion.

He informs me his family are not in health at this time, and requests permission to remain here at least ten days, which I will thank you to grant him and I will answer for him that he leave this Kingdom within that time.

On the 9th instant, I received the following note from the Intendente:

"I cannot enter into any discussion as to the right of Sig. Lemmi to American citizenship, but as the Government has reasons to believe he has been concerned in the late insurrection at Milan, it could do no less than to order him to leave the Kingdom immediately, and as I set him at liberty upon your request and

¹¹¹ Si conserva negli Archivi dell'Ambasciata degli S U a Roma

guarantee, I shall expect you to send him away in five days, including this day”:

At Lemmi's request I wrote to Mr. Kinney, our Chargé d'Affaires in Turin, stating the facts and asking him to intercede with the Government for a longer time for him, to make his arrangements and send his family away, and have just received his reply, saying he had laid the matter before the Government at Turin, but that Lemmi's petition could not be granted and that the authorities at Genoa would doubtless hold me to my engagement.

While writing this letter I have received another letter from the Intendente, saying, the five days he gave within which Sig.r Lemmi was to leave the Kingdom would expire on the 14th inst., he would grant another day if I would still give him the same guarantee.

To this I replied that he already had my guarantee that he should leave in ten days, that Lemmi could not without great inconvenience leave before that time, that I trusted he would grant it.

...The ground upon which I claimed his liberation and protection was that he had an American passport regularly issued by the Legation in London, in his own name, that there being no proof of his being connected in any way with the late events in Milan, the Government was not warranted by any principle of international law in committing him to prison upon mere suspicion.

The question of affording an asylum for the refugees, is at this time agitating the Government of Sardinia, Switzerland, and even England. Those from Austrian Lombardy are mostly in Sardinia and made common cause with her in 1848, were identified with her battles and her hopes, but are now compelled to leave the country. Since the late events in Milan most of their property has been sequestered and many of them are reduced to poverty...

Their only alternative seems to be starvation in England, the prisons of the continent and the gibbets of Austria. As Lemmi informs me he shall leave on the 17th instant, I suppose there will be no further difficulty in regard to his case, but I would ask the Department to inform me whether I am to recognize American passports certifying that the bearers are American citizens, when I have reason to think they are foreigners.

Sir: Since the date of my last note the Government of Sardinia has received a report of the replies of the Cabinet at Vienna to the remonstrances verbally addressed to it by Count Revel the Sardinian Minister at that Court, in regard to the recent imperial decree sequestering the Lombard estates of certain naturalized citizens of Sardinia, and the substance of a note which that cabinet has addressed to Count Appony, its representative in Turin. The tone of these responses is peculiarly Austrian, and it leaves no ground to hope for an amicable adjustment of the affair.

Mr. Revel dwelt with emphasis, in his personal interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, upon the illegality of the application of the decree to the property of Sardinian subjects.

Count Buol replied that Austria was dying of legality, or to repeat his own words, "*la légalité la légalité! nous tue!*"

It was then urged by Count Revel that the proceedings referred to were a direct violation of the 4th Article of the Treaty of 1851 between Austria and Sardinia, and was distinctly told in reply that Austria would not be bound by that international compact, Count Buol adding, "*that Treaty is poison to us, and knowing it to be poison it is good reason for not drinking it.*"

M. Revel then remarked that the Decree included all classes of emigrants within its sweep, some of whom emigrated from Austria 30 years ago, and that orphan children, who cannot have plotted, and widows, who were powerless, and numerous other inoffensive persons, were struck by it, and contended that a distinction ought to be made in these several classes, if for only the sake of form.

The Austrian Minister declared in reply that no distinction was possible, or should be made: that those of the emigrants who were not "assassins" would be willing and ready to hire and pay assassins; that he considered them all, in short, as assassins, and that Austria would deal with them as such!

The Sardinian representative in vain protested against this violent language, and was told that a note should be addressed without delay to Count Appony for presentation to his Government at Turin.

This note, which is dated the 9th inst., has been communicated, and it cuts off all hope of any reasonable adjustment of the question. It virtually requires Sardinia to perform the office of police agent for Austria, and leaves her to take the consequences of a refusal; the supreme will of the Emperor and the safety of the Empire being the sole ground of action put forward.

It is graciously intimated that a change of the government in Sardinia—a radical alteration in its Constitution, and the destruction of the liberty of the press, may alleviate the blow which it is declared Austria is ready to deal.

The reply of the Sardinian Cabinet, which will probably be dispatched today, will be moderate, but firm and unequivocal. It will neither retreat from the position it has taken, nor concede to any of the demands of Austria. The result will probably be a suspension of diplomatic relations. In that case Sardinia will address an appeal to all the powers which took part in the general Treaty of 1815.

The Emperor of France has, it is said, expressed his sympathy with Sardinia on the question, to its diplomatic representative in Paris, and there is reason to suppose that England will also expostulate with the Cabinet at Vienna.

The King, the Ministry, the Parliament, and the liberal party in the Kingdom, will stand firmly in accord in this crisis, at all hazards

A reply which the gallant young Sovereign recently made to his mother (an Austrian princess and a sister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany) who admonished him of "danger," is characteristic. "Mother," said he, "the princes of our House when called to choose between dishonour and danger have been accustomed to mount their horses and take the field. You must not expect their successor to prove unworthy of his descent."

P. S. Since the above was written, I have received confidentially a copy of a new edict, which greatly aggravates the decree of sequestration, and perpetrates further injustice. I have only time before the closing of the mail to enclose you the copy of this groos ex post facto measure.¹¹²

¹¹² Si tratta di un ordine del conte Strassoldo al delegato provinciale datato Milano, 12 marzo 1853

Leghorn, March 22, 1853

Dear Sir: I have done all in my power to assist Mad.e Lemmi. It has been impossible to obtain for her and her infant children the permission to remain in Tuscany. The decision of the Austrian authorities has been such as we accustomed to American laws can scarcely conceive. Mad.e Lemmi must leave Leghorn by the 24th or the 25th. She is still in this city, one of her brothers-in-law must go to prison and remain there until she is gone. You will appreciate this decision as I do, but there is no redress. The Austrian General, who has decided is the Master, and not even an observation can be expected from the Tuscan authorities.

I have applied to the Sardinian Consul, but Mrs. Lemmi being expelled from Tuscany, he did not think himself authorized to sign her passport, to return to Genoa. Then I went to the French Consul, at first he had some doubts, but on my observing that a poor defenceless, lonely woman with two children, the oldest three years of age, must be pitied and helped, that they could not be dangerous, and had not the most distant appearance of conspirators; he answered me it would be absurd, cruel, ridiculous to urge against a poor helpless lady. Good genuine French feelings prevailed, and he promised me, he would sign her passport for Bastia and Marseilles.

So Mrs. Lemmi will be gone by to-morrow's Steamer, and I have endeavoured to be useful to her as much as I could. Allow me to add that we must be very cautions in matters of this kind. Fear, distrust, and hatred of whatever is liberal on one side, and the principle of non-intervention on the other, must make us very prudent in giving assistance to those who are not clearly and fairly entitled to it. But after all you will find me always ready to attend to all your recommendations and to serve you.

George G. Baker a William B. Kinney ¹¹⁴

Genoa, March 23, 1853

Dear Sir. ...I wrote you respecting the case of Signor Lemmi the other day. He left within the ten days in which I guaranteed

¹¹³ Si conserva negli Archivi del Consolato degli S. U a Livorno

¹¹⁴ Si conserva negli Archivi dell'Ambasciata degli S. U a Roma

he should leave, but not till he sent his wife to her parents in Tuscany, as he supposed, but have been called upon by the Agent of the French Government steamer today, to obtain permission for Madame Lemmi to land here, as the authorities at Leghorn refused to let her and two small children go to her parents, also refused her permission to remain in that place. She is there at present but must leave, and the Sardinian Consul will not visa her passport, (which is an American passport given her by Mr. Moro in my absence) for Genoa. She went from this place to Tuscany in December last and returned, but since the events in Milan, it seems she cannot stay in Tuscany. Lemmi, I suppose, has gone to England, and his family from what I learn are at present in great distress. I wrote the Consul at Leghorn asking his kind offices for her in case she had difficulty in Leghorn, but from what I learn he has not interested himself in her favor.

The agent of the French steamer thinks she would not be permitted to land in France unless the French Consul would visé her passport, and that is doubtful as the French Consul here refused to visa Lemmi's passport and he was compelled to go by Switzerland.

I think Lemmi was compelled to separate from his family, and send it to Tuscany — as he could not take it with him to England. I shall (if possible) obtain permission for Madame Lemmi to land in Genoa, as the poor woman will come here in circumstances of great distress, and in order to ensure it, if not too much trouble, I will thank you to state her case to the Minister and get his permission.

Shall I write the Consul at Malta? I think if he is written to on the subject you had better do it.

*William B. Kinney a George G. Baker*¹¹⁵

Turin, March 24, 1853

Dear Sir. ...The Ministers feel unwilling to interpose in the case of Mrs. Lemmi unless I will assume impracticable responsibilities. There is certainly reason to doubt her husband's claim to American protection, notwithstanding the passport he holds.

¹¹⁵ Si conserva negli Archivi dell'ambasciata degli S U a Roma

Women are regarded in Europe as compromised with their husbands and they are in fact often their political agents. Mrs. Lemmi's is certainly a pitiable case, and I earnestly hope that your benevolent interposition will prevail with the local police.

William B. Kinney a William L. Marcy

Dispaccio n 46

Turin, March 26, 1853

Sir: I avail myself of the earliest opportunity, without waiting to be officially informed, to offer you my respectful salutations on your accession to the Department of State. Permit me also to congratulate you on the propitious circumstances in which the President enters upon the administration of the Government, through the easy and harmonious action of our institutions. Nor is there, I trust, any thing in the pride which these fortunate auspices are so suited to awaken in a near observer of the constitutional evils of foreign policy inconsistent with a just sense of our own national infirmities; while we may, assuredly, entertain the hope that the intrinsic virtues of our system will continue to become more and more manifest to the world through the wisdom and happiness of those who inherit it.

The occasion is opportune also for the expression of my desire to be released from the responsibilities of the post I occupy through gratuitous and unsolicited favor of a preceding administration, whenever it may suit the convenience of the Government to appoint a successor: holding myself in the mean time at its service. My own personal interests and wishes happily concur on this occasion with the policy usually observed in similar cases.

William B. Kinney a William L. Marcy

Dispaccio n 47

Turin, April 10, 1853

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your note of the 8th March announcing your appointment as Secretary

of State, and to renew the respectful salutations on the occasion expressed by anticipation in my note of the 26th ult.¹¹⁶

The result of the expostulation of the Sardinian Government with the Cabinet of Vienna concerning the imperial decree sequestering the Lombard estates of many of its naturalized citizens, anticipated in my dispatch of the 18th March, has been realized. The rejoinder of this Government to Count Buol's uncompromising reply to its first remonstrance was received with even more unhesitating firmness, and its representative was distinctly reassured that no relaxation whatever could be thought of, without a radical change in the policy of his government. The interview between the two functionaries, I am confidentially assured, was brief and peremptory, and Count Revel retires from Vienna on a congé. The Austrian Minister in Turin, Count Appony, anticipates a recall and diplomatic relations will thus, it is anticipated, soon be altogether suspended.

The Ministers of the King have observed throughout this unhappy affair the utmost circumspection and prudence, and will now make their appeal to the other powers of Europe associated in the Treaty of 1815, against this breach, on the part of her powerful neighbor, of the established usages of civilized nations, as well as of express treaty obligations.

In the mean time the Austrian officers in Lombardy are executing the decree of sequestration without the least reservation, and some twelve or thirteen hundreds proprietors, chiefly quiet and orderly citizens of this and other countries, are thus deprived of all resources: reduced, in fact, for the most part, from affluence to poverty.

Among several documents which I had the honor to enclose to you a few days since by the hands of Mr Wm. Miles, Courier de Cabinet, were the parliamentary bill for the suppression of the slave trade, and the contract recently entered into between the Ministry and Mr. John Brett, (representing an English company) for the construction of a sub marine telegraph from this coast to the island of Sardinia, both of which have received the sanction of the Chamber of Deputies. The sub marine telegraph will, it is understood, be continued to the coast of Algiers by France, and from thence to the island of Malta by the Government of Great Britain.

¹¹⁶ La circolare senza numero, datata, Washington, 8 marzo 1853, informava Kinney che Marcy era stato nominato Segretario di Stato. Vedi *Instructions to Ministers, Spain*, vol. 2, p. 9, negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

Sir: The Cabinet of Turin has at length made its appeal to Europe and the world, in its controversy with Austria, in the form of a "Memorandum" in the official Gazette of this date, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose.¹¹⁷

This document gives a clear and comprehensive summary of the case, and it is remarkable for the propriety of its tone and language. It leaves no room for misunderstanding, and requires no elucidation. I have therefore only the honor of referring to the concluding paragraph, which "invokes the good offices of allied sovereigns and friends."

This temperate appeal against the arbitrary measures and really insolent bearing of a superior power, will, it is confidently believed, serve to conciliate public opinion abroad, and call forth a becoming expression of it. Nothing more serious is anticipated here at present. Thus far all voices that have spoken in view of the informal publication of the facts in the case, have been in sympathy with Sardinia. It remains to be seen whether public sentiment and the intervention of friendly powers will effect any amelioration, though it may well be doubted whether the Imperial Government can be constrained to rescind or even modify the measures complained of.

Count Revel, the Sardinian Minister at Vienna, set out for Turin *en congé*, on Wednesday last, and is now hourly expected here. He leaves the Legation in the care of its Secretary. The Austrian Representative here has as yet received no intimation of a disposition to withdraw him, though the publication of the enclosed "Memorandum," it is thought, may lead to a formal suspension of diplomatic relations. The responsibility of such a step rests with the Cabinet of Vienna. The Government of Sardinia submits the case as it stands to the justice of Europe and the world, and in this position it is supported by the unanimous sentiment of the country.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Il ritaglio si trova negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

¹¹⁸ L'Austria era pure in serie difficoltà con la Svizzera, tanto che Kinney considerò importante inviare al Dipartimento di Stato la copia di un opuscolo « Echange de notes entre la Confédération Suisse et l'Austrie concernant le renvoi du canton du Tessin d'un certain nombre de capucins, le blocus ordonné contre le Tessin, l'expulsion en masse des Tessinois de la Lombardie » 1853, 76 pp

Sir: The Ministers of the Crown, having failed in their efforts to effectuate justice in their controversy with Austria concerning the decree of sequestration, felt constrained to retire from office, & accordingly tendered their resignations. The King, however, declined to accept them, expressed the fullest approbation of their conduct, & pressed by the imperious duty of doing something to mitigate the injury inflicted upon the faithful & unoffending citizens whose rights his government possessed no power to protect against the encroachment of a more powerful force, dictated an appeal to Parliament for some provision to avert the worst consequences of the spoliation.

The Prime Minister, therefore, in obedience to this Royal command, introduced a bill on Tuesday last for an appropriation of 400,000 francs for that purpose, a copy of which, together with a translation of his introductory remarks, I have the honor to enclose. The bill was promptly referred to a committee, which it is believed will make a favorable report, & the measure will doubtless be approved by both Houses. A copy of the correspondence between the two governments has been called for, & will thus be presented to the public.

Count Revel has returned from Vienna. I do not learn that he entertains the slightest hope of any amelioration in the measures which have impelled his return, though there is reason to believe that the Imperial Cabinet is not unanimous on the question of the Sequestration. Some of the counsellors of the Emperor, indeed, are known to be in favor of a milder administrative policy than that hitherto pursued in regard to Italy. Since the departure of the Sardinian Minister from Vienna, it has been semiofficially announced that Field Marshal Radetzky is to be relieved in his administration of the civil department of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom by Count Rechberg,¹¹⁹ who is to reside at Milan: Verona being the headquarters of the Field Marshal. The precise meaning of this new adjustment is not definitely understood here. It is only too certain, that, whatever benefit Lombardy may experience from it, it will affect no change in the relations between Piedmont & Austria.

¹¹⁹ Johann Berenhard Rechberg und Rothlowen (Ratisbona, 17 luglio 1806-Kettnhof, 26 febbraio 1899).

The Austrian Minister at this Court has made his arrangements for remaining here during the summer at least.

England & France cordially concurred in supporting the remonstrances of this Government at Vienna, & I am confidentially assured that they will continue to urge the just claims of Piedmont upon the Imperial Cabinet.

The Duke de Guiche,¹²⁰ who supersedes M. Butenval as the Minister of France at this Court, announced to the King at his first official interview on Monday last, that he was specially charged by the Emperor to renew the assurances heretofore made, of his full approbation of the course of the Ministry in the case, & also to express his desire that the constitutional institutions of the country should be maintained intact. The same sentiments, as I have reason to know, were expressed by the Emperor himself in a recent interview with Lord Cowley, the British Envoy at Paris.¹²¹

The King remarked, in reference to this communication, that he well knew it to be the fixed desire of Austria to effect a radical change in the institutions [sic] & policy of his government, & took occasion to repeat, what he has said on all fit occasions, that it is his firm determination to maintain them in any & every extremity, & by all the means within his power.

Having had occasion recently to examine with some care the Penal Code of Austria, I was so struck with the extraordinary character of some of its provisions as to feel constrained to offer you a copy of it. As the volume, however, is too large for transmission by mail, I have the honor to enclose a translation of the sections on the subject of high treason.¹²² If I am not mistaken in my understanding of these remarkable extracts, any American traveller, who participates in the spirit & principles of our government, is exposed to arrest in any part of the Austrian dominions for the crime of "High Treason", as here defined. It is at any rate a significant expression of the characteristic policy of the Austrian Empire.

The accounts of the Legation for the last quarter are also herewith enclosed.

¹²⁰ Antoine-Alfred Agénor, duca di Guiche e poi duca di Gramont (1819-1880)

¹²¹ Henry Wellesley Cowley (1804-1884), nipote del duca di Wellington, ambasciatore a Parigi del 1852 al 1867

¹²² Allegata è la traduzione del cap. II, paragrafo 38 del Codice penale austriaco del 27 maggio 1852. Kinney inviò anche la traduzione inglese della relazione ufficiale alla Camera dei Deputati, 19 aprile 1853, a favore dei lombardi sudditi sardi.

Sir: The 5th anniversary of the Constitution was celebrated throughout this Kingdom on Sunday last with noteworthy manifestations of increasing popular appreciation. The celebration opened with religious services in the churches, and was further signalized by various military and civic observances during the day, and illuminations in the evening. All classes of the population appear to have participated heartily in the prevailing feeling.

In this Capital the great national fête was protracted through three days, during which period the ordinary business and occupations of the city were suspended. The King and the Court, the ministers and other high officers of State, and both Houses of Parliament, entered with one accord in the joyous festivities of the people: nor was there the slightest appearance of either reserve or excess in any quarter.

Without deeming it necessary to refer more particularly to the distinguishing features of this remarkable commemoration of popular freedom, in which there appears to have been nothing left to desire or regret, I am constrained to signalize its orderly character. The love of order, for which the Piedmontese people are so justly distinguished, is conspicuously manifested by the fact that during these protracted scenes of festivity, during which most of the crowded population was continually in the streets and public places, not an accident is known to have occurred, and I have not heard of a single call for the interposition of the police.

The attitude assumed by Austria in the recent diplomatic controversy with the government in relation to the Imperial decree of sequestration, doubtless served to augment the popular enthusiasm on the occasion. And the general accord of all parties on that question was still further manifested on the reassembling of the Chamber of Deputies the next day after the termination of the Fête, by the passage of the ministerial bill making an appropriation of 400,000 francs for the temporary relief of the adopted citizens of the country, who were struck by that arbitrary edict. The bill was called up on the morning as the order of the day, and passed, without discussion, by a nearly unanimous vote. The whole House, it is believed, concurred in the principle of the bill, though some 6 or 7 members reserved their sanction on account of differences of

opinion concerning some of its details. The question with Austria remains as at the date of my last note.

Parliament is now earnestly engaged with ministerial bills for the continuation of the rail roads to the borders of Switzerland by Lake Maggiore and to France through Savoy. The former has already passed the Chamber of Deputies by a large majority.

William L. Marcy a William B. Kinney

Istruzione n. 14 ¹²³

Department of State, Washington, May 26, 1853

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the President, having accepted your resignation as Chargé d'affaires of the United States at Turin, has appointed Richard K. Meade,¹²⁴ Esqre., of Virginia, to be your successor in that mission.

This information is communicated in order that you may be enabled to make arrangements for the transfer of the archives of the Legation, and for your return to the United States. It will, however, be left to your option to await the arrival of your successor, or return at an earlier period. To meet the latter contingency, a letter of recall will be transmitted by next steamer, and you are directed, in the event of your concluding to quit your post before the arrival of Mr. Meade, to leave the archives and other property of the Legation in charge of the United States Consul.

William B. Kinney a William L. Marcy

Dispaccio n. 51

Turin, July 2, 1853

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of despatches No. 14 & 15 of May 26th, & June 1st;¹²⁵ the first announcing the President's acceptance of my resignation, & the appointment of Richard K. Meade Esq. of Virginia as my successor;

¹²³ Nell'istruzione n. 13 del 31 maggio 1852, William Hunter trasmetteva una lettera del Presidente al Re di Sardegna in risposta a una comunicazione di S. M. che annunciava la nascita della principessa Margherita. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

¹²⁴ Richard K. Meade della Virginia fu nominato incaricato d'affari il 24 maggio 1853, ma rifiutò l'incarico il 5 giugno.

¹²⁵ Nell'istruzione n. 15 del 1 giugno 1853, Marcy inviava una lettera al ministro degli esteri piemontese per informarlo del richiamo di Kinney.

& the second transmitting a letter for the Sardinian Minister of Foreign Affairs, with certain instructions pertaining thereto.

In accordance with these agreeable provisions, I shall make the necessary arrangements to transfer the Legation to Mr. Meade on his arrival with much pleasure, & in the meantime preserve our relations with the government here without interruption.

Parliament has at length adjourned, after a laborious session of eight months. Its discussions & proceedings were characterized in a remarkable degree by intelligence & harmony, and have, there is reason to believe, served to strengthen the popular feeling in favor of representative government, while its measures promise to promote the material interests of the country. I refer with pleasure to the list of acts, which will be enclosed to the Department.¹²⁶

The bill granting certain stipends & privileges to the Transatlantic Company at Genoa, will probably secure the establishment of a monthly line of steamers between that port & New York, & another between Genoa & Montevideo, within the course of a few months. Such at least, I am authorized to say, is the received opinion in well informed circles.

Provision has also been made for the completion of the railway between this Capital & Genoa during the coming autumn, & for its extension to Mt. Cenis, & thence through Savoy to the frontier of France with all possible despatch. It is believed that the section to Mt. Cenis will be completed on the first of January, in which case there will be an unbroken railway from the Alps to the Mediterranean at the opening of another year. A lateral branch to the borders of Switzerland by the way of Novara & Lake Maggiore is also under contract.

The contract made with Mr. John Brett, who represents an English Company, for the extension of the magnetic telegraph from Genoa to the island of Sardinia by means of a sub-marine line, heretofore enclosed, will probably be executed within the period stipulated: & it is understood that it will be extended by France to its African possessions.

The stringent bill interdicting commerce in slaves, particularly referred to in my No. 40, & a copy of which has been transmitted to the Department, is now a law.

Herewith I have the honor to enclose the quarterly accounts of the Legation for the quarter ending on the 30th. ult.

¹²⁶ Gli allegati non sono conservati con il dispaccio

Sir: By the last mail from the United States I had the honor to receive, under enclosure from the Department, the several circulars addressed to diplomatic & consular agents, together with copies of the Conventions with the Germanic Confederation for the mutual delivery of fugitives from justice, & the Hanseatic Republics for the extension of consular jurisdiction, all of which have been duly placed on the files of the Legation.¹²⁷

The expediency of the supplementary instructions to ministers & consuls is abundantly corroborated by my own personal & official observation. There has been much complaint, on the part of American citizens abroad, of the abuses which those addressed to the latter are suited to reform, & our diplomatic representatives will find in the counsel given to them the only needed apology for a departure from the uncongenial & expensive usages of foreign courts, with which they may have felt constrained, in the absence of such a warrant, to comply. The Department has by this distinct announcement of a general principle thus removed the *only* « obstacle to a return to the simple and unostentatious course which was deemed so proper in the earliest days of the Republic. »

The Royal family & Court of this Kingdom left the capital some days ago, and are sojourning at Spezia, on the coast of the Mediterranean.

There is a newspaper rumor that the Cabinet of Vienna is meditating some modification of the recent Imperial decree of sequestration, against the natural citizens of Sardinia. The Government here have no such information, nor is the rumor credited in well informed circles. On the contrary there is no good reason to hope at present for any relaxation in the government of Lombardy.

¹²⁷ La convenzione per la mutua estensione della giurisdizione dei consoli, fra gli S. U. e le libere repubbliche anseatiche di Amburgo, Brema e Lubecca fu firmata a Washington il 30 aprile 1852 e proclamata il 6 giugno 1853. Consoli, vice-consoli, agenti e vice agenti commerciali di ciascuna delle alte parti contraenti avrebbero avuto il diritto di fare da giudici e arbitri nelle controversie che fossero sorte fra i comandanti e l'equipaggio delle navi appartenenti alla nazione della quale essi curavano gli interessi senza l'interferenza dell'autorità locale. Vedi *Treaties and Others International Acts of the United States of America*, a cura di Hunter Miller, vol V, pp 1055 e seg

Sir: A note has been received at the Foreign Office in this Capital from the Cabinet at Vienna, setting forth its views of the recent interposition of an American-man-of-war at Smyrna to prevent the abduction by its official agents in that port of a person bearing an American passport.¹²⁸ Much superfluous argument is employed to establish two simple propositions of the law of nations—viz: 1st. that the war making power resides in the heads of government, & 2dly. that even an enemy is safe from attack in a neutral port,—in order to convict the American commander of a virtual double breach of international law. But in as much as it is understood that copies of this remarkable document have been addressed to the Government at Washington, & to the several courts of Europe, I deem it only necessary to remark that public opinion in this capital has not failed to pronounce the hasty attempt to prepossess the mind of Europe on a question for grave official enquiry & consideration as grossly unbecoming and uncalled for. Nor can such a proceeding on the part of a power which in its recent discussion of its lawless invasion of the rights of Sardinian subjects and its violent breach of treaty obligations deliberately proclaimed for its motto, “La Légalité, la légalité, nous tue,” fail to excite corresponding feelings wherever sentiments of justice and decorum prevail.

Permit me to refer to the reports of the discussion referred to in notes No. 43, 44, 47 & 48 from this Legation.

It will be seen by the enclosed copy of a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the box of books referred to in the Circular note of Feb 24th from the Department, has recently been received at the Legation & duly presented & gratefully received, by His Majesty's government

¹²⁸ Il 21 giugno 1853 Martin Koszta, un rifugiato ungherese che aveva chiesto la cittadinanza americana, mentre viaggiava con passaporto degli S U, fu arrestato a Smirne dal console austriaco. Il capitano Ingraham della nave da guerra *St Louis*, mentre incrociava nelle acque turche, venne a conoscenza di ciò, puntò su Smirne e domandò il rilascio di Koszta entro otto ore. Se non fosse stato obbedito sarebbe sbarcato con i suoi marinai e l'avrebbe liberato con la forza. Ci si accordò sulla consegna del Koszta al console francese, che subito lo rilasciò. L'Austria protestò ufficialmente, ma la risposta del Congresso americano fu la concessione di una medaglia al capitano Ingraham. Vedi: MARTIN KOSZTA, *Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the chargé d'affaires of Austria relative to the case of Martin Koszta*, Washington, Robert Armstrong, public printer, 1853.

Turin le 10 août 1853

Monsieur:

Je viens de recevoir avec la lettre que vous m'avez adressée en date d'hier les volumes X, XI, XII de la précieuse publication faite par ordre du Congrès des Etats-Unis d'Amérique intitulée *Exploratory Expedition* ainsi que le 9^{me} volume des *United States Statutes at Large and Treaties*, que le Gouvernement de l'Union veut bien mettre encore à la disposition du gouvernement de S.M. pour faire suite aux volumes de ces mêmes ouvrages qu'il a eu l'obligeante attention de lui offrir précédemment.

Je m'empresse de vous accuser réception de ces intéressantes publications en vous priant de faire parvenir au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis l'expression de la reconnaissance la mieux sentie du Gouvernement Sarde pour cette continuation d'un présent auquel il attache tout le prix qu'il mérite à si juste titre.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de toute ma considération.

William B. Kinney a William L. Marcy

Dispaccio n. 54

Turin, Oct. 10, 1853

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that M. Daniel¹³⁰ reached this city on the 7th. inst to relieve me of the responsibility of the Legation & that in compliance with your instructions my letter of recall was duly communicated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the next day, in an official note repeating the friendly dispositions

¹²⁹ Allegato al dispaccio n. 53 di Kinney. Si conserva negli Archivi nazionali di Washington.

¹³⁰ John Moncure Daniel, della Virginia, nominato incaricato d'affari il 23 luglio 1853, arrivò il 5 o il 7 ottobre 1853. Fu nominato ministro residente il 4 settembre 1854, fece presentare la sua lettera di richiamo da un segretario privato il 2 marzo 1861. Al termine dei suoi incarichi ufficiali, Kinney si ritirò a Firenze, dove si unì al gruppo letterario dei Brownings e di Hiram Powers, lo scultore, assieme alla sua seconda moglie, Elizabeth Clementine Dodge Stedman, sposata nel novembre del 1841. La signora Kinney, donna di cultura, ha scritto *Felicità* (1855) un romanzo in versi avente come argomento un episodio della storia italiana, *Bianca Cappello* (1873) e molti altri poemi raccolti e pubblicati con il titolo di *Poems* (1867). Durante il soggiorno fiorentino Kinney iniziò a scrivere la storia della famiglia Medici, che, però, non completò. Alla fine della guerra civile Kinney ritornò a Newark N. J. e visse prima a Morristown e poi a Summit. In questo periodo il *Newark Daily Advertiser* divenne famoso per gli articoli di fondo e influenzò la vita dello Stato, sia sotto la direzione di Kinney, sia di suo figlio Thomas T. William B. Kinney morì nel 1880 a New York e fu sepolto nel Churchyard della First Presbyterian Church di Newark.

of the President, & taking leave of him in due form—though my protracted indisposition deprived me of the pleasure of seeking a personal interview for the purpose.

I have the honor to enclose a copy of the notes passed on the occasion. The accounts of the Legation to the period of my withdrawal will be made up & communicated at the earliest practicable moment.

William B. Kinney a Giuseppe Dabormida ¹³¹

Turin, October 8, 1853

Sir: I have the honor to enclose herewith a letter from the Sec.y of State of the U. S. informing yr. Exc.y that the President of the Ud. Sts. has been pleased to accede to my request for permission to return to my country. & it is made my agreeable duty to accompany it with an assurance of the continued sentiments of friendship entertained by the government of the United States, toward that of Sardinia, & the President's sincere desire to preserve & improve the relations of harmony so happily subsisting between the two countries.

I should be unfaithful to the strongest sense of obligation if I should fail to avail myself of this occasion of taking leave of Yr. Excy. to add an expression of my personal indebtedness to the courtesy & kindness which have rendered my official relations so agreeable to me, as well as of the profound respect which an intimate observation of some years has inspired for the liberal & enlightened councils of His Majesty's Government.

Giuseppe Dabormida a William B. Kinney ¹³²

Turin le 9 octobre 1853

Monsieur

J'ai reçu votre lettre en date d'hier par laquelle vous me transmettez une lettre de S. E. le Secrétaire d'état des Etats-Unis qui me fait part de l'autorisation qui vous venez d'obtenir de

¹³¹ Allegato al dispaccio n. 54 di Kinney, che, negli Archivi nazionali di Washington, è stato per errore accluso al dispaccio n. 52

¹³² Allegato al dispaccio n. 54 di Kinney, che, per errore, è stato accluso al dispaccio n. 52 negli Archivi nazionali di Washington

prendre congé du gouvernement de S. M. pour retourner dans votre patrie.

En me réservant de répondre directement à la lettre de M. Marcy, je ne veux cependant pas omettre de vous remercier, Monsieur, des assurances que vous avez été chargé de me transmettre au sujet de la conservation des dispositions amicales du gouvernement de l'Union envers celui de S. M. ainsi que le désir sincère de S. E. le Président de maintenir et développer de plus en plus les heureuses relations existantes entre les deux pays.

Je m'empresse en même temps, Monsieur, en vous exprimant mon regret de voir arriver le terme des rapports officiels que j'ai eu l'avantage d'entretenir avec vous, de vous témoigner aussi de la part du gouvernement du Roi, Mon Auguste Souverain, une satisfaction non moins juste que sincère pour la manière parfaite dont vous vous êtes acquitté auprès de lui des fonctions honorables qui vous étaient confiées.

Veuillez être persuadé, Monsieur, que j'en conserverai pour ma part le plus agréable souvenir et agréer les assurances réitérées de toute mon estime, et de ma considération bien distinguée.

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