

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

## FRANCE.

Paris, July 13.—The despatch announcing the simple fact of the conclusion of peace was not sent direct to the Ministers. It was the Emperor who received it yesterday morning at St. Cloud; and by Her Majesty it was graciously communicated to M. Walewski, who happened to be there at the moment, and then transmitted to his colleagues. It was at a later hour that the conditions became known. A placard was posted up at the Bourse, but it was remarked as a departure from the usual custom, that the *Moniteur* published no supplement, though the intelligence interested the public at least as much as the result of the battle of Magenta, or the more certain victory of Solferino.

I may add a few more words as to the effect produced by this affair, and from which we may form a fair notion of public opinion and feeling. When the result of the combat of Magenta was known the hotels of the Ministers, the theatres, the houses of the Court tradesmen, and a few private residences were illuminated and banners displayed. When we heard of the victory of Solferino the martial sympathies of the people were gratified, and the rejoicing for the success of the French arms was expressed in a much more decided manner. The display of last night in certain quarters of the police had to send round to the citizens to suggest the propriety of lighting up their houses or decorating with streamers their shops and balconies. There was little need of pressure on public opinion. The illuminations seemed to be spontaneous and general, and such as I have seldom witnessed. It was not limited to the line of the Boulevards or the great thoroughfares where people most congregate. Remote streets, which are not much frequented by night, and places out of the ordinary beat of the lounge, displayed their lamps, their gas, or their candles. The mass of the commercial public, irrespective of mere political parties, averse at the beginning from the war, testified in a manner not to be mistaken their satisfaction that it was over. The Boulevards presented a magnificent spectacle, as also the Rue Royale, the Rue de la Paix, and the Rue de Rivoli. The Court tailor at the corner of the Rue Lepelletier and the Boulevard, who on such occasions may be said to be *l'homme le plus éclairé de Paris*, surpassed himself last night. Festoons of lamps and tracery in gas adorned his front shop windows and balcony, and were carried out to the very edge of the spacious pathway; variegated lanterns were suspended across the street, and clusters of coloured lights hung on the topmost branches of the trees. Many of the second-rate streets presented as gay an aspect, and in some cases were even better lighted than the larger thoroughfares of the capital. Multitudes of people and interminable strings of carriages traversed the streets in every direction; on the Boulevards the passage was completely blocked up, and you had to risk your limbs in crossing in some parts. The crush lasted till near midnight.

With all this, I cannot say that the ultra-liberal parties are satisfied with the results, so far as these are as yet known. They doubtless rejoice that Austria has been forced to loosen her grasp of Lombardy, but they lament that Venice does not participate in that liberation; that Tuscany, Parma, and Modena may receive back their former rulers; and, in a word, that the Emperor's promise to free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic" is not fulfilled to the letter. Then they express their surprise that the Emperor has made peace without apparently having consulted or informed his ally of his intention. The Minister of Sardinia in Paris was probably as unaware of what was going on as the French Ministers themselves. Lombardy, to be sure, is given by the Emperor to Victor Emmanuel, but what becomes of his views in other parts of Italy? Is Prince Napoleon to receive no reward for his services as commander of the 5th Division; and are the Duchies not to be formed into a kingdom for him? Is Hungary to be left as she is; and are Klapka and Kossuth to return to Constantinople or to London as they came? These and similar questions are asked, but remain unanswered for the present. I may state, then, that the revolutionary quarters of the city were an exception to the rejoicing in the more opulent and commercial ones, and that the working classes did not show the contentment of the bourgeoisie.

Much stress is laid on the style of the Emperor's despatch. "Peace is signed between the Emperor of Austria and me," but not a word of the King of Sardinia having affixed his signature, though the war was ostensibly undertaken on his account. The Italian Confederation being placed under the honorary presidency of the Pope carries out the idea enunciated for the first time in the celebrated pamphlet *Napoleon III. et l'Italie*. That condition, I observed, would not fail to please the Ultra-montane party. The *Univers* observes:—

"We need not say with what sentiments of happiness and admiration these glorious tidings have been received. The joy of peace is doubled by the manner in which the Emperor has concluded it, without regard to those prudent counsels that were preparing to profit by the blood which they allowed to be shed. The Emperor of Austria having a voice in the Italian Confederation, the States of the Church will be protected. Glory to the two Catholic Emperors, who have between them made the peace of the world, and who reserve to themselves the protection of the Church!"

The *Univers*, by the way, has received an *avertissement* from the Minister of the Interior. Its offence consisted in having published certain extracts from M. Victor Hugo's pamphlet on the *coup d'état*. M. Vuilliot gave them for the purpose of showing that the excesses imputed to the Pope's foreign troops in putting down the late insurrection in Perugia were not more truly reported than those of the French troops employed in the *coup d'état* of the 2d December, 1851, and that the Pope had as much right to maintain by force his authority in his States as the President of the Republic had to secure that which he obtained on that occasion. The point was rather a delicate one to touch, and the *Univers* has been punished accordingly.

The papers still continue more or less sulky, with the exception of the *Pays* and *Constitutionnel*, satisfied *quod vult*. The *Constitutionnel* explains the reasons which, in its opinion, may have induced the Emperor Napoleon to make peace without further delay. It says:—

"Victorious on the Mincio, the Emperor of the French might have advanced to new victories; Venice offered the allied armies new and glorious fields of battle. But the war, if prolonged, might have assumed a different character. On the one hand, a certain revolutionary effervescence had appeared in some of the Italian States; on the other hand, Prussia, after mobilizing her *corps d'armée*, might not perhaps have much longer maintained her passive attitude: borne along by the passions which she had been unable to appease, she might have been obliged to place herself at the head of the national movement so perilously excited against us in Germany. Thus, in advancing beyond the Mincio, towards the Adriatic, the Emperor had to reckon with the revolution in Italy and with war on the Rhine. What was he to do? Was he, forgetting the primitive cause of a just and holy war, to give it greater extension, and entirely change its character? Was he to convert the war for Italian independence into a European war? Was he to expose to those terrible risks the prosperity of France, the grandeur of civilization and the repose of the world? Had glory been his only object he would not have hesitated; he would perhaps have renewed those heroic times whose splendour in history is obtained at the cost of oceans of blood. But the end he had in view was more generous, more useful to humanity."

The effects of the peace are thus briefly sketched:—

"This peace, proceeding from the interview at

Villafranca, suddenly restores Europe to repose, and gives French influence the most complete satisfaction that could be desired. For centuries past Italy has been as if defunct, and the generous blood of France has just resuscitated her. She is about to be re-constituted, in conformity with the laws of her nature and her civilization. From the Alps to the Adriatic there will be a strong and powerful Italian nationality, for the grand confederation of which the two Emperors have just laid the foundations will embrace Venetia as well as Lombardy. By means of this confederation Italy will be organized, regenerated, and so recover all the conditions of her grandeur. An enslaved Italy will soon be succeeded by an Italy confederated and free; for the confederation necessarily supposes the union of the peoples and princes guaranteed by institutions wisely liberal. These results are immense, and the Emperor Napoleon, to whom they are due, will be able to return at once and resume, in all honour, the direction of its Government."

The state of parties at the moment of peace, is thus referred to by the *Univers*, who, as usual, regards most particularly what concerns the position of the Holy See:—

"By the side of the pretensions of the revolutionary party rose others, not less dangerous, which he has not less ably frustrated, namely, the pretensions of the various Powers. Having, with somewhat inebriated dexterity, kept aloof from the war, which they thought would turn to their advantage, the Powers intended to interfere as soon as they should see either France or Austria sufficiently weakened, and then impose peace, and regulate the affairs of Italy in their congress by a majority of forces. Prussia reckoned much on this, and England extremely. These Protestants especially flattered themselves with introducing great ameliorations in the Government of the domain of St. Peter, and we have read the programmes of them every day, as drawn up by the English journals. The friends of the monarchical principle had good reason to be alarmed at this Congress, before which Sovereigns would be dragged rather than invited to give an account to other Sovereigns, who had become in some sort the judge-advocates of the revolution against monarchy. Catholics asked with anguish if the Holy Father, who would certainly not have submitted to the affront of appearing, would be judged as contumacious by these heretics and unbelievers, who would pretend to dispose of his inalienable rights? But, thank God! this Congress, which appeared as the last and most alarming consequence of the war, either will not take place at all, or will meet merely to discuss what may concern it without at all interfering with the essential rights of the Sovereigns. By treating directly with the Emperor of Austria, our Emperor has rendered the monarchical principle a service at least equal to that he has rendered to the principle of nationality. Nations and crowns have been emancipated at once. At the same time that French pride is satisfied with this result, French wit, it must be owned, makes it a source of amusement, and many a merry jest may be heard in the streets on the disappointment of the Prussians and English."

The Paris correspondent of the *Globe* shows a new phase in policy of the Tuilleries to be developed into an alliance with Austria for the purpose of checking the supremacy of Prussia in Germany, and possibly regaining for France the help of Vienna.

The humiliation of Russia by the fall of Sebastopol avenged Moscow. Austria being prostrate, remains Prussia and England to punish for Waterloo. History tells us what was the fate of Prussia before, when Austria having been put *hors de combat*, through the selfish or timid conduct of the Prussian king, Napoleon and Alexander conspired to erase the kingdom of Prussia from the map. We know that another Napoleon and another Alexander have again conspired against the independence of Europe. Is it too uncharitable, or too far-fetched to suppose that they have agreed as to the basis of the "secret understanding," which it is admitted exists between them, to help each other to obtain the Bosphorus for the Czar, and the Rhine for Napoleon? If such be the design, and we have good reason for believing that it is, what is to prevent its realisation, if the treaties of 1815 are to be torn to tatters with impunity? The Czar at Constantinople, Napoleon at the Rhine, Austria in ruins, and Prussia dismembered, we should like to know what security England would have against the loss, or at all events against the attempt to wrest from her Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Isles, or for the security of the Overland route to India?—*Literary Cabinet for July*.

The London *Herald* says the greatest activity prevailed all along the French coast. The channel coast was being fortified, and from Cherbourg to Dunkirk earth batteries were being constructed at every 3000 yards.

The Emperor of the French has confided to his army the reasons which induced him to grant Austria the just accomplished peace. It is a document which requires frequent perusal, and which invites unceasing conjecture. The principal aim of the war was, it seems, to render Italy a nation, and this principal aim, it also seems, has been obtained. "It is true," says Napoleon III. (illustrating the proverb, "*Qui secutus successum*"), "that Venetia remains to Austria; but he explains that this exception is immaterial, because Venetia will continue to be an Italian province, forming part of an Italian Confederation. We confess we do not follow the Emperor in this explanation. That Venetia will remain Italian we can clearly see; we should have more difficulty in understanding how it could become Bohemian or Hungarian; but how this fact renders its possession by Austria of less importance we cannot pretend to explain. It is one of those logical sequences which none but an Emperor at the head of many legions can enounce with effect. To the eye of common understanding this possession of Venetia by Austria would seem to give Austria a right which she never before had to intermeddle in the politics of all Italy. Austria, a great military monarchy, is, by this possession, a member of a Confederacy which is made up of Austria and a few insignificant and unwelcome States. In this Confederacy who will influence and who will obey? Austria is right in boasting that it matters not to her what may be the fortune of arms; for, beaten or victorious, she always gains the prize in the contest. That which was limited is now to become universal; that which was an encroachment is now to become a right. We have nothing to say when the French army is told that the union of Lombardy and Piedmont creates for France a powerful ally. It is undoubtedly true. But France has bought this alliance at a frightful cost, and the independence of Lombardy is not that independence for which the Lombards sighed.

It is notoriously very difficult to get at the meaning of Louis Napoleon. He is the great modern Sphinx, and his very existence depends upon his not being found out. But, of all the riddles he has proposed to Europe, none is more puzzling and intricate than this Treaty of Villafranca, the sense of which we have attempted to read in the description he has himself given. It is usual when we doubt as to the authorship of an act to ask—for whose benefit was it done? Here, however, we ask this question in vain. The treasure is spent and the blood is shed, the war is ended, and the peace is made; but no one, so far as we can see, is the better for the fight. Sardinia is not quite happy in her new possessions, and even Victor Emmanuel will find in Lombardy a poor substitute for the enthusiastic affection of all Italy. France has gained no accession to her territory, and no friendship from the oppressed populations of the north. She has gained nothing but the knowledge that her Emperor is able to manoeuvre an army. She has not, even at this moment, the conviction that her sparing Austria was an act of unmixt generosity. The Emperor now says that he stayed his hand under an apprehension that the struggle was likely to assume larger proportions than he desired. It is not a very chivalrous reason to give to an army

which had just fought a campaign and lost thousands of its comrades for no result which any one of them would have desired. These soldiers want work and glory and promotion. To tell them he made peace for fear the war would spread could only be to set them guessing who it was who had thus stayed them in their full march of conquest. It was not England. Was it Prussia? It is not very probable, unless this cause in fighting should be rather a diversion than a cessation. Was it Russia? Did Russia think Austria had been beaten enough? Was Russia acting all the time as the surgeon, with his finger upon the pulse of the patient, and did she give the signal to cease when that symptom of Hungarian fever developed itself? All or any of these reasons may have operated. Or the Emperor Napoleon might have known the state of his own army best. There is, indeed, a last supposition, which we offer to the consideration of those who were not long ago so fiercely scolding us because we doubted that Napoleon was about to set up a free Constitutional Government in Italy;—perhaps the French Emperor has imposed some secret obligation upon Austria never again to interfere in the affairs of Italy. If this should be so, then all is right. The Pope and the Grand Dukes are put in pride of place merely to give Napoleon's great principle—"the sovereignty of the people"—a clear stage. If they can hold their own good. If they cannot, then down topple Pope and Kaiser, and Italy, left to herself, works out her own regeneration. There is no limit to human credulity, and there may be credulous idolaters of Chaos who, even at this thirteenth hour, may believe in such impossibilities as these. The same men of the age, however, know better. They recognize in this new settlement nothing but an universal and irresistible despotism. We yesterday announced that Cavour, disgusted by the disappointment of all his hopes, had thrown up his employment. The telegram of to-day confirms our previous information, and announces that the King of Sardinia has accepted Count Cavour's resignation, and has replaced him by Count Arce. This event determines the nature of the peace. Cavour was an earnest man. He believed in Italian independence as a future work of Napoleon III. It was by means of the confidence he felt himself and inspired in others that Mazzini and his emissaries were discredited throughout Italy. It was Cavour who gave the signal for the successive risings in the smaller Italian States. It was by means of his influence that the revolutions at Florence, Parma, and Modena were bloodless, and that Rome remained tranquil. Cavour believed in a Constitutional Italian Unity, and unfortunately he believed that the Emperor Napoleon entertained the same views as himself. Warnings were thrown away upon him. Patriots and young ladies have a faith in men's promises which no expositions can shake, and which nothing but bitter personal experience can destroy. Poor Cavour! He once had a great career before him, for he was honest and zealous; but he was credulous and impatient, and he became the tool of crafty selfishness.

History tells us what passed at Tilsit, and some French memoir will doubtless at a future day relate what was the conversation at Villafranca. It is not necessary, however, to wait for the authentic report; the results suggest what the conversation must have been. "Surely," we can imagine Francis Joseph to have said, my imperial brother cannot intend to revolutionize Hungary, and to establish a focus of insurrection in Italy? "Not the least in the world. I care no more for these Italians than you do. This matter has gone quite far enough for my purpose. You see now that France is necessary to Austria. We will settle this affair, and I will leave you stronger in Italy than ever you were. I will also make everything straight between you and Russia. You shall be one of us, and we three together will impose law on Europe." Is it to be wondered at that Francis Joseph, with a beaten army and a bankrupt Exchequer, was not proof against such temptations?

## AUSTRIA.

The fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua will not, it appears, be given up to Piedmont, not being considered as belonging to Lombardy; and it is affirmed that the Emperor of Austria will not consent to submit the terms of Peace to any Congress. Why should he? The Powers who signed the treaties of 1815 did not assist him in maintaining them, and he considered himself perfectly at liberty to transfer his "rights" to any one he pleased.—*Cor. Times*.

The Emperor of Austria commands the whole of his forces to remain in position just as if peace had not been declared.

## ITALY.

Strong indications of discontent at the terms of peace were visible in some parts of Italy. At Florence great agitation prevailed, and the Provisional Government issued a proclamation describing the peace as betraying the finest hopes that the Tuscan government participates in the sentiments of the Tuscan people, and declares Tuscany will not be replaced under the yoke and influence of Austria against her will and rights.

*Le Nord* says that a French corps of 40,000 men will remain in Italy until the organisation of the country according to the tenor of peace.

The *Daily News* says fresh Piedmontese troops are going to Romagna, with Napoleon's consent, to maintain order, and take from the Pope all hope of recovering it by the help of the Swiss Guards.

The most important towns of the Roman States have sent deputations to Garibaldi.

Modena and Parma are said to be in a state of revolt.

The following is the letter of *Times* correspondent, dated (Thursday), 5th inst.—

The Emperor's Proclamation to the Army of Italy, which appears in to-day's *Moniteur*, has not much diminished the dissatisfaction of those who counted on a complete fulfilment of the Imperial programme—the emancipation of Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. "Emancipation" was interpreted by many in its largest sense: the overthrow and expulsion of the Bourbons from Naples—the compulsory retirement of the Pope from his dominions—the continued exclusion of the Princes from the Duchies—and the absolute liberation of Lombardy and Venetia. Some desired the creation of the whole of Italy as a kingdom; others a Confederation, with Republican, or at least very liberal, institutions. Some had other notions more or less analogous; but there was no one so moderate who did not expect to see the Austrian flag chased from every corner of the Italian Peninsula. Not to speak of the aspirations of the representatives of various nationalities, and with reference to Italy only, I repeat that, while the tradesman, the merchant, the banker, and professional man all rejoice that the carnage has ceased, yet the results of the war have produced with many marked disappointment. It was hardly worth while, they say, to sacrifice so many thousands of lives and spend so many millions, for which a far better application might be found, to expose even the Crown of France, merely to give Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel. "Italy shall be free to the Adriatic!" Each one asks his neighbor what the Emperor really did mean by this magnificent phrase? Venetia forms part of the Italian Confederation, it is true, but will Venetia be by that participation relieved from the crushing burden of German soldiers and German functionaries? As part of the Italian Confederation, will she be allowed to establish a constitutional government and liberal institutions? How will the German Confederation view her new rival of Italy? What stipulations, if any, have been made about the Duchies—those interesting states which, responding to the call of Napoleon, rose, and presented their heart and hand to Piedmont, who lost not a moment in accepting the proffered gift? "The Governments that have not taken part in the movement, or that are recalled to their possessions, will understand the necessity of salutary reforms." This passage is the death-blow to the hopes of Piedmont, so far as the Duchies are concerned, and where we are soon to witness the re-

stitution of their former rulers. The Pope is aggrandised as temporal Prince, for having taken no part in the "liberation of Italy." But what is meant by the "His Majesty Presidency" of the Italian Confederation proposed to be conferred on his Holiness? Does he retain the full sovereignty of his States together with that vague dignity? Or is he called upon to throw them into the common stock, renounce all positive and separate authority, and much enjoy the unsubstantial title of President of the Italian Confederation? This same Italian Confederation is the great puzzle of the day. How will it be constituted? If the Pope's Presidency is merely honorary, who is the real President? Who is to name the representatives? The Sovereign or the subjects? In a word, the discontent can see nothing fixed, nothing defined—and the only point they seem to agree upon is that, whatever quality the Emperor Napoleon possesses, he has not on this occasion given proof of common sense.

Others, still more querulous and more unreasonable, carry their complaints further. They have the audacity to affirm that the transfer of the Imperial rights over Lombardy *minus* Venetia, and *minus* everything else, is not an equivalent for 5000,000,000 of mountains of slain. I hear of proclamations being torn or defaced in certain quarters of the city inhabited by the mechanical or the students class; and of very strong comments by several who stop to read them. I fear much that those who desired to take the horses from the Emperor's carriage and draw it to the railroad station, when he was leaving for Italy on the 10th May last, would now allow the cortege to enter without any such let or hindrance, troublesome, though flattering.

A letter from Milan, of the 9th, says:—

"We have just received the news of the armistice, but we have not yet any details, and we were far from being prepared for such an event. We were thinking only of the war, and everybody was expecting a great battle, which the Austrians, it was said, would accept on the highest of Somma Campagna before they shut themselves up in Verona and in their other fortresses. It was a mistake to say the Austrians carried off their dead and wounded from the field of battle of Solferino. It is true that at the beginning of the day they carried off their dead in carts, but at the conclusion they abandoned them, and we found immense heaps, which, by order of the Emperor of the French, are interred in a separate trench from that of the allies. As to the wounded Austrians, they are found in every hospital, where they are nursed as carefully as our own men; but it is not easy to understand them, and, as they fear to be poisoned, they refuse both food and medicine. Add to that the hardships they experienced in the ranks, as well as the unwholesome food they are accustomed to, and you will not be surprised that the Austrians die in much greater numbers than the French or Piedmontese. Perfect order now prevails in the hospitals at Milan, thanks to the Sisters of Charity. It became necessary to dispense with the services of the ladies of the city, who were not sufficiently strict, and spoilt the sick. All the wounded who were in private houses have been brought into the hospitals. The contrary practice is pursued at Brescia, and, notwithstanding the 32 hospitals which were established there, it is fortunate that so many private families consent to receive the wounded, who, it is said, amount to 9,500. The Piedmontese papers which arrive here are filled with attacks on the Roman Catholic Church, the Pope, and the clergy. The Milanese, who believe that a nation may be liberal and at the same time religious, are scandalized at such language."

Orders had been given to some French ships to protect French subjects and property in Tuscany in case of need.

The Provisional Government of Tuscany and Modena are said to be organizing forces to oppose the return of their respective Grand Dukes.

The *Times* Turin correspondent says:—"Peace has produced the greatest exasperation in that capital. Napoleon is accused of being a traitor to Italy. His portraits are withdrawn to prevent shop windows being broken."

The *Daily News* describes the Piedmontese as a prey to grief and stupor, in consequence of peace, which leaves Sardinia without a fortified frontier.

The *Opinions* of Turin does not conceal the dissatisfaction with which it sees Venetia remain in Austria's hands. It attributes Cavour's resignation to the insufficiency of the terms of peace.

A letter from Rome, of the 7th inst., says:—

"The Prince of Tour d'Auvergne, Auditor of the Rotte, for the French Government, has received orders to hold himself ready to leave for the headquarters of the Emperor Napoleon. It is said that he is commissioned to present to the Emperor Napoleon an autograph letter from the Pope, and to announce in the name of His Holiness that he is determined to demand of the Catholic Powers an armed intervention. It is certain that the Spanish and Portuguese Governments have offered assistance if required. A meeting of Cardinals took place last evening at the Vatican, composed of Antonelli, Mattei, Patrizi, Ferretti, Altieri, Santucci, and Di Pietro. The object of the council was to consider what measures should be adopted under existing circumstances. The Government of the Holy See is determined to maintain its temporal power by force of arms. It will concentrate all its troops at Ancona, and when the reinforcements arrive which it expects from the Catholic Powers, it will command them to enter into the Legations and to renege Rimini and the neighboring towns. It is expected that a stout resistance will be made, as it is known that a division of 8,000 men organized in Tuscany is about to enter the revolted provinces under the command of General Mezzacapo. The first regiment of this small army is commanded by Colonel Masti, who in 1819 was General of a legion of Mazzini's Republic in Rome. The 200 Carabinieri who were in the province of Ferrara when the revolution broke out have already arrived at Ancona by Trieste. Mr. Russell, British Charge d'Affaires, had an audience of the Pope a few days since. He was well received, and his Holiness said to him smiling, 'England is now in the hands of your relative, Lord John Russell, who in order to obtain office, united with Lord Palmerston. Both are enemies of Rome, and with their ministry the Government of the Holy See will no doubt be exposed to some unpleasantness; but I assure you, that in the midst of revolution, of war, and of so many governments overthrown, the Pope will remain always the Pope. Providence and the history of so many centuries are my guarantee for that. What matter that the Papacy be annoyed or even persecuted. Perhaps at this moment such persecution enters into the designs of God.' The Papal Government has prohibited the entrance into Rome of the *Tuscan Monitor* and the *Bologna Monitor*, they being revolutionary papers. General Count Goyon has refused the correspondent of the *Journal des Debats* admission to the French club."

The following is an extract from a Roman letter in the *Univers*:—

ROME JULY.—The Revolutionary party continue to give circulation to most monstrous accusations against the Pontifical troops in taking of Perugia. The Prefect of Arezzo, by command of his superiors, repeats these reports on the testimony of those Tuscan who fled the town after having shared in the resistance and themselves committed the atrocities with which they charged the Roman troops. All this is, indeed, deserving of severe censure. The regular system of falsehood adopted by this sect in Italy to destroy the influence of the Pontifical government with the people, is a growing evil. Our noble Pontiff, who has added a new lustre to the Church of Christ, is the object of all their furious rancor, and it is at this moment an honor for the Emperor of the French to be near the Father of the Faithful in a period of such fierce revolutionary disturbance. These disturbers of all civil order circulate fragments from a pamphlet of Mazzini entitled "The fables of Louis Napoleon." This pamphlet

let, first printed in England, then translated into German, and now published in Italy, has not had the advantage of appearing in open day like the one written by Monsieur About. Nevertheless it has done as much mischief as the author could wish.

In Rome all is apparently tranquil. The presence of the French and the position taken by their general, who appears to us to be well informed as to the intentions of certain individuals, will, without doubt, protect our Holy Father and the inhabitants from all uneasiness and any manifestation of disquiet.

The Roman Question.—The *Univers*, in the course of an admirable article with the above heading says:—

"Many honest men, in reading the public journals, are much disposed to pity the people residing in the Roman States. They talk over it at the doors of hotels, and at the same time complain of the heat of the weather. The sacrifice of two or three hundred thousand Christians is necessary to make Lombardy free, without counting the other outlays, yet it has little effect on these humanely disposed individuals who shed tears over the sorrows of the mother of the little Moriana; but the idea that the Romans were to remain slaves, whilst the rest of Italy was made free overcame them entirely. They take an ice and drink a half pint of wine, and then come to the wise conclusion that Rome must be set free, come what will—even if a hundred thousand men more were to be sent there. As to the expense, it was a mere trifle."

In another part of his article the writer quotes the following passage from Bossuet, on the temporal Sovereignty of the Holy See:—

"God," says Bossuet, "has wished that the Church of Rome, the common mother of all Kingdoms, should not be a dependent on any temporal power, and that in their allegiance to the Holy See, in which all the faithful should be united, and thus place it far above the different jealousies and separate interests of the state; and also that the See of St. Peter had received its sovereignty from Rome and other countries, in order that the Apostolic power might be exercised more freely throughout the universe. We congratulate not only the Holy See itself, but all the Church, and we ask of heaven in our most fervent prayers that this sacred principality should remain safe and untouched."

The population of the States of the Church, says M. Vuilliot, may be revolutionised, but it is not revolutionary. The Marquis Pepoli of Bologna, the ideal of Monsieur About, the Count Ruspoli, of Ravenna, Madame Valenti, of Perugia, represent the Roman population, as Messrs. Ledru Rollin, Felix Pyat, Louis Blanc, represent France. This population are not slaves, do not even pretend to be such, nor won't be easily made so.

MAZZINI AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ITALY.—It is certain, writes the Paris correspondent of the *London Morning Star*, "that far greater events are preparing in the Papal States than any which have yet taken place in the rest of Italy. The Mazzini party are supposed to be directing thither all their strength and moral power. The idea which has taken possession of the republicans of Milan and Venice, that the government destined for Italy is one which, emanating from the King of Sardinia, is meant to contain no more liberal particles than are comprised in his own, is far behind the pretensions of young Italy, which seeks to rush at once from the darkness of despotism to the full warm sun, without passing thereto. To the Mazzinian partisans the intention of Louis Napoleon in Italy are now too evident to be mistaken—the immediate imposition of the King of Sardinia, to prevent the spread of Mazzini's social doctrine. Rome is, therefore, the only spot which may yet be saved, and thither will every effort be henceforth directed, to oppose a moral resistance to the physical oppression which hangs over the development of all endeavor to break the chain binding the Roman people to silence in the presence of the French army. The return of the republican exiles from Milan, after a short sojourn there, the silence of Mazzini and his adherents, and the absence of the slightest protestation on the part of young Italy against measures which must act in direct opposition to the principles which have been proclaimed amid such heavy sacrifice, and adhered to with such tenacity amid apparent triumph, appear to sanction this idea."

## INDIA.

India has just escaped a very great danger, without much honor, and not wholly unscathed. A native mutiny was a blow from without; not so a mutiny of our own faithful Europeans. The tower which braved many a storm has sometimes fallen in a quiet summer's day, nobody could say why; and a chance spark has blown up the fortress that stood a long siege. What, if we had suddenly heard that one single acre of our *terra firma* in the Indian system had drifted down the stream, and was whirling in the eddies of revolt? It would have interfered considerably with the calmness of our contemplations upon Italian affairs, and prevented us from enjoying the "Claude Lorraine" which a great master is now designing on the banks of the Po. Yet nothing was nearer. It seems a great blunder has been committed, and now only clumsily remedied. The Indian Army was enlisted to serve the Company, and, with or without reason, preferred the service to that of the Queen. There was the feeling, perhaps, of being simply endorsed on a bill, or tacked as a schedule to a lawyer's conveyance. When a man enters into an engagement without asking questions, he wishes to know whom it is for, and whose oath he is taking. In all services, however numerous, the feeling of the individual still survives. Who ever heard of the servants going with the house, or a whole household being transferred from one master to another? A change is always a break up. So it appears to have been in the Indian Army, and such the feeling. It was a case for a little more tact, and perhaps more sympathy. The more men of business think of his servants as only workpeople, operatives, the living instruments of his manufactory. Thus England had forgotten that these, besides being her soldiers, were men; or rather it had forgotten how much is comprised in the idea of a soldier besides eating, drinking, and fighting. The human soldier took an oath, from which he required a release as solemn as the original ceremony. Even Major Dalgaty would keep his oath to the day, though ready on the day after to slay the master of his yesterday's allegiance. There ought to have been a ceremony; the soldier ought to have witnessed the transfer in solemn act and deed; and, at the moderate cost of £50,000 or £100,000, he ought to have been made to feel himself a gainer by the event.

The solution is that the Indian Government gives way. The incipient mutiny has soldier law on its side, and the Government has not that sense of right which alone can bear responsible men through the horrors of human slaughter. All the men who choose to quit the service may have their discharge and a free passage, and some thousand, it is expected, will claim these terms, and return home. This is a considerable loss and inconvenience, as it will cost two passages to replace every discharged soldier. But nothing else could be done. The men were stubborn, but respectful; and, even though their case seemed frivolous, they dignified it by their bearing. An Act of Parliament has thus been repealed by a process very common centuries ago, but not so in these orderly days. The men, disowned by their old master, became a passive crowd, and waited the worst that could be done to them. The submission of the authorities is held to be a matter of necessity. There was nothing else possible. But that may not preclude a consideration of the consequences. The soldier has had his way, but the story will be told for ages to come. It may devolve on some future Administration to show how the European army in India may be beaten by the natives under the authority of the Queen, just as the native was beaten in the late Mutiny by the Sikh levies, who a few years