

The Examiner.

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EDWARD WHELAN]

This is true Liberty, when Free-born Men, having to advise the Public, may speak free.—EURIPIDES.

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Poetry.

EVENTIDE.

Who loves not eventide—
When great Hyperion, his long journey o'er,
Treads down the ocean wide,
Pours rich libations on the cloudy floor
From that gold chalice of Olympian wine,
Which long ago he lent to Herakles divine?

A murmurous even-song
Sings the brown throats ere he seeks his nest;
A carol loud and long,
Utters the merry merle; the stained west
O'er vaults bright seas which, ere the world grow dim,
Bring to the listening shore a mighty vesper hymn.

Kneels down the weary child—
Weary of wild sport in the summer air—
His red lips, unsealed,
Lisp forth the sweet and simple words of prayer:
Happy the dreams which hover o'er the rest
Of those young lambs who lie on Jesus' loving breast.

Then comes the mystic night,
Whose brow sublime is dinted by no scars—
Whose coronal of might
Is th' everlasting splendour of the stars:
Their loyal march may no cessation know,
But ever in silent joy their glories come and go.
Dublin University Magazine.

Gleanings from late Papers.

INCIDENTS OF THE ITALIAN WAR.

THE NEWS OF PEACE IN PIEDMONT.

[Correspondence of the London Daily Times.]

PIEDMONTESE HEAD QUARTERS, MONZAMBANO, JULY 8, 1859.—As you may easily imagine the news of what people here call the preliminaries of peace has been received with great astonishment, both by the Piedmontese army and the people of Lombardy. Nobody would have thought that Napoleon could give up the idea of thoroughly humiliating a Power which has always shown the greatest contempt for his parvenu origin, and for his dynasty. Beside this, the Italians, who are such adepts in the art of self torturing, are already busily engaged in foretelling all sorts of ills; and their restless imaginations tell that both the interests of their chosen King and of Italy will be sacrificed by the European Courts in a Congress. If we are to believe our coffee-house politicians, the Venetian provinces will be handed over to an Austrian archduke, who will shortly prove to be nothing better than a second edition of Leopold of Tuscany.

Others say the priesthood will govern, as it did before, the Romagna; others, that Florence will be compelled to take back their unworthy princes, with the shameful train of *mignam* and spies. I do not know how far these rumors may be relied upon; but what is certain is, that a compromise of such a nature would not answer the object of the war that Piedmont and France have so nobly and so triumphantly initiated. European diplomatists may think what they like, but in my opinion it is impossible to set Italy at rest if the Venetians are not called to partake of the liberties which have been already granted to their brethren of Lombardy. To have an Austrian Prince in Venice, although surrounded by a national army and advised by a National Government, would be the same as having Viennese influence in full work. It would be the renewal of the present content before two or three years can elapse. With the bad example that, since 1815, Austria has given in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Rome, it would be madness to have faith in her. She must yield once and for ever, and submit to her fate for the sake of European peace. Let, therefore, the Liberal party in England, let the Emperor of the French understand this great necessity, if they wish to prevent for the future the dreadful consequences of a second and more ravaging war.

This morning, as I was going to visit some Piedmontese officers at Solonzo, I met General Rocca, the chief of the Sardinian staff, who was on his way to Valleggio. On my reaching Solonzo, I heard that his Excellency had been sent to the French head quarters, with the object of definitively settling the conditions of the armistice. Victor Emmanuel, I have been told, has no anxiety about the result of the impending negotiations, and he was heard to say that in spite of the armistice the Italians will not be losers in the game.

The general impression has been one of painful surprise, and they draw from the event a melancholy presage. No one expected it, not even Count Cavour, who set out immediately for the headquarters of the King, where he still is. It is generally believed that the interview between the two Emperors would not have been fixed if some kind of agreement about the principal conditions of a peace had not been previously made. Some, indeed, profess to know that Napoleon himself only a few days ago entertained no idea of a truce or pacific negotiations.

What I am able to state positively to you is, that he had ordered most stringent orders for the dispatch of large reinforcements to Italy, and in fact between the battle of Solferino and this day, the troops landing at Penova and those arriving from Susa cannot be less than sixty thousand strong, not to speak of material, enormous quantities of which arrive almost hourly. A person who has some dealings at the French Embassy here heard it stated that when Napoleon saw the immensity of a combined mediation on the part of Russia, Prussia, and England, he thought it better to forestall it, and come himself to a direct understanding with the Emperor of Austria. It has ever been affirmed, by men of high station, that Count Cavour is much decried now at the French headquarters, where his policy is censured as savoring too much of ambitious projects. They add that events in the Romagna have sorely displeased the Emperor, in consequence of the false position these put him in toward the French clerical party, which is maneuvering and intriguing to good effect about the Empress Eugenie, whose religious zeal borders rather closely on Spanish fanaticism.

From the London Morning Post.

The soul of the treaty, so far as its provisions have reached us, and so far as they have been communicated to Parliament, by Lord John Russell, is the nationality of Italy, guaranteed under every variety of local government, in a confederacy of the Italian States. The Pope is to be the nominal or honorary head of this confederation; he is to be recognized in possession of the dignity necessarily attaching to his office

in a country where the Catholic religion prevails, but he is to be shorn virtually of that temporal supremacy in Italy which he has always hitherto aspired to wield. Here, then, we have at once the germ of a secularized confederation, still acknowledging, with discreet deference to the national religion of Italy, the honor that is due to the head of the Catholic Church. The Pope, in a word, is deprived of the substance, but he is to keep the shadow. The Emperor of Austria cedes the kingdom of Lombardy forever, not to the King of Sardinia, but to the Emperor of the French; and the Emperor of the French makes over his conquest to the King of Sardinia. Lombardy and Sardinia become therefore henceforth one State. Thus we arrive at once at another of the cardinal points of renovated Italy. In order to secure the Confederation by the constitution of one master throne in the North of Italy, a single State, with a population of eight millions is created. That State, too, is just the State which is the archetype of the whole future of Italian domestic government. The Emperor of Austria, ceding the Kingdom of Lombardy, retains that of Venice; or, rather, he receives a new kingdom of small extent, in place of a large kingdom; for he is to hold his rights as King of Venetia, solely as an integral member of the confederation of Italy. He is to be no more an Austrian sovereign in Italy than George IV. or William IV. was felt in Hanover to be an English, and not a German, sovereign. There will, no doubt, be a distinct administration, a distinct code of laws, and a distinct army. The King of Venetia, though he will also possess the crown of Austria, will assume his rights as it were (speaking from an Englishman's vocabulary), on a parliamentary title. He will be—he must be—essentially an Italian; he will rule less than three millions of Italians; and he will be controlled by a confederation ruling not less than twenty-six millions. Finally, the two Emperors have agreed to demand reforms at the hands of the Pope. To add to this, a general amnesty is proclaimed. We anticipate that there will be no Congress; the few details remaining to be arranged are surely unworthy of its assembling. It remains to glance at what France has done, and to see how we are to judge of France in the future. She has effected all this within three months; her spirit is buoyant. All this has cost her but the momentary nerving of an arm. Yet she has gained no territory for herself. She made sacrifices in war; and if men doubted her sincerity then, they now see that she practices self-denial in peace. Twice only has Napoleon III. drawn the sword. He drew it in 1854 to protect Turkey from Russia, and he drew it again last spring to nationalize and reform Italy. There has been no war waged, therefore, by France under Napoleon III., but where there has been a substantial ground for its adoption. We have, then, every reason to be confident that France will never of her own accord disturb the peace of the world. She now relapses into peace, to attend the manifold interests of her domestic government, and to watch the development of the new confederated Government which she has secured for Italy.

THE INTERVIEW AT VILLAFRANCA.

From the Manchester Examiner.

We must not imagine that the Emperor Napoleon experienced any elation when he shook hands with Francis Joseph. It must not be supposed that the slightest feeling of exultation kindled in his eyes as he looked upon his discomfited brother. He did not wish to say: "Here you see the man who has done it all! I am master of those legions. Remember the disdain with which you treated me in 1852, and for the future, my good young man, learn to take a more correct gauge of possibilities." Oh no, the Gallic cock is a generous creature, and never crows. Twice, within a couple of years, it has been the good fortune of the Emperor to parody the famous interview of Tilsit; at Stuttgart with the Czar, and now at Villafranca with the Emperor of Austria. Of course, there is but the slightest possible analogy between either of this modern pair of interviews and their prototype, though, if the analogy were stronger, it might occur to some over fanciful that, as the Poles were sold at the Nimen, the parallel would only be completed if the Italians and Hungarians were sold at Villafranca. In that case Venetia, free and independent under an Austrian Archduke would correspond to the free city of Warsaw.

This armistice, about which everybody is talking, which has sent up the funds, enhanced the value of all kinds of stock, and even made itself felt in the price of cotton and long cloths, is no doubt an excellent thing, and it would be utterly heartless to hope that it may have any other end than a treaty of peace. Still, while unfeignedly glad to clutch at any small advantage on behalf of humanity, while heartily willing to fling punctilios and parchments to the winds if we can only see our way to durable tranquility for Europe, we cannot get rid of an uneasy impression that we might have had something better than an armistice. Yes, it is possible that a couple more battles, with a waste of life equal to that of Magenta or Solferino, might—laying the devil of the thing aside, for which we are in no way responsible—have been an event more favorable to the cause of peace, and more economic even of the material interests of the nations involved than an armistice, which seems to have been resolved upon either too late or too soon. We repeat, assuredly with infinite regret, that we cannot at present discern in the state of affairs in Italy the materials of which a permanent peace is likely to be made. Perhaps such a peace was possible before the Ticino was crossed, had the progress of a congress been accepted. As far as one can see, it would have been a much easier thing to achieve if the Austrians had been driven out of their strongholds, and the whole of Northern and Central Italy been fit for a re-arrangement in accordance with the wishes of the Italians, and in harmony with political requirements. It may be possible even yet. We will not forget that we know next to nothing of the real motives of the two Emperors, or how far they may be prepared to harmonize their mutual demands and concessions. But if a large portion of Northern Italy is still to remain in some sort of connection with the House of Hapsburg—if the four fortresses, which have again and again been declared the key of Italy, and without the possession of which the King of Sardinia has told us that a vast standing army would be required to maintain the independence of any State which may be established on the left bank of the Mincio, if these are to be retained, it is impossible to look upon any peace which may be patched up between the belligerents as other than an armed truce.

EXCITEMENT AND DEJECTION AT TURIN.

The Treaty of Peace concluded between the Emperors burst upon the Turin public with startling effect. Exasperation and dejection are to be read upon the countenances of all

The same is the case in Milan, and will undoubtedly be so in a still greater degree in those Italian provinces which believe that, by the terms Napoleon has agreed to, all their hopes are sacrificed. Doubts remain as to details, but there can be none as to the main points. The programme has not been adhered to; Austria has not been driven out of Italy; consequently nobody is satisfied. An utter stranger could hardly have passed an hour in Turin without perceiving that the public was engrossed and excited by a subject of great public interest and of an unpleasant nature. And, if he understood the *patois* in which here nearly everybody converses, he would have perceived that there was but one topic of discussion and one object of denunciation. A friend, who has had a long experience of the Italian character, said to me the other day in Milan that before six months were over, we should see the Emperor who has lately been extolled, adulated, and almost worshipped as the magnanimous liberator of Italy, abused as much as he was then being praised. A few days ago not a print-shop in the town but had its window full of his portraits, engravings, lithographs, and photographs without end, in every dress and attitude. Now not one is to be seen. The shopkeepers withdrew them lest their windows should be broken. It is said there were instances of people spitting against the panes behind which they were exposed. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that in some windows his portrait was shown side by side with that of Orsini. The police put a stop to this.

POPULAR INDIGNATION IN TUSCANY.

The news of the conclusion of peace has excited immense agitation in Florence. It was so unexpected, so improbable, that people at first refused to believe it. When it became impossible to doubt, the emotion became general, and gave rise to some disorder. The official placard announcing the peace was torn down in many places. From every street and piazza the population poured forth, and some thousands were soon gathered together under the walls of the Palazzo Vecchio, the official residence of the members of the Government. The utmost exasperation animated the whole assembly. The crowd was composed of hundreds of people, each listening with violent gestulations to its own orator. Presently a rush was made to the office of the *Monitore*. All the copies of the journal that remained undistributed were seized and burnt before the Palazzo Vecchio. The greatest excitement continued to prevail throughout the evening. The French banners that hung side by side with the tricolor of Sardinia in all the *cafes* were torn down and trampled under foot. The next morning the Government published the following proclamation:—
"Tuscans,—The news of events which interrupt the most brilliant hopes, causes a general and profound grief. The Government shares your sentiments. We must not, however, give way to discouragement, and must be content to wait for more ample details. Under present circumstances, our task is to unite more closely than ever to show our firmness, and to prove that we are worthy to be citizens of a free and independent country. As long as we remain thus firm all our hopes will not be lost. Citizens deputed by us are about to proceed to Turin to learn what is the real state of things. Meanwhile, only that any extreme manifestation of your regrets will only aggravate the perils of the situation. Let us all join in maintaining order, which now more than ever is necessary for the salvation of our country. To-morrow the 'consulta' will meet. Jointly with it, the Government will make the voice of Tuscany heard by Victor Emmanuel, in whom it has the fullest confidence. Tuscany will not, in spite of its will or its rights, be replaced under the yoke or the influence of Austria. The Commissary Extraordinary of King Victor Emmanuel."
"Florence, July 13, 1859." "C. BUONCOMPAGNI."

TUSCANY AND MODENA.

The Government Consulta met on the 14th, and received communications from the Ministry. The Government and the Consulta are unanimous in repelling by all means that greatest injury to the common weal—a return to the sway and influence of Austria. After having listened to the communications made by the Government, the Consulta, convinced that the return of the fallen dynasty and every other combination contrary to the national feeling, would be incompatible with the maintenance of order in Tuscany, and would sow the seed of fresh convulsions in Italy, is of opinion—1. That the Government should make the most pressing instances to the Emperor of the French, and should employ the same to the other Great Powers, that in settling the fate of this portion of Italy, regard should be had to the free manifestation of its legitimate wishes. 2. That those wishes may be legally manifested in proper time by an assembly of representatives of the country, the electoral law of 1848 should be put in execution, and orders given for forming the electoral lists. We must address King Victor Emmanuel that he will be pleased to maintain his Protectorate of Tuscany after the conclusion of peace, and until the definitive organization of the country. Voted with unanimity at a meeting this day, July 14.

The *Monitore* says that the words of the Emperor Napoleon III., in which he alludes to Princes "called back into their States," cannot be understood to apply to violent restorations, but only to nations spontaneously recalling their former Princes; otherwise those words would be in contradiction with the proclamation of Milan, in which it is stated that the wishes of the populations are to be consulted; they would, moreover, be in opposition to the principle applied to the Danubian Principalities.

The *Opinione* of Turin states that a protest is being signed in the Duchy of Modena against the separation of that country from Piedmont.

THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

The *Constitutionnel* contains the following paragraph:—"The interview between the two Emperors at Villafranca terminated by the presentation from the Emperor of Austria of a draft of a treaty, and by the Emperor Napoleon stating that he did not think it right to accept it without consulting King Victor Emmanuel. On the Emperor Napoleon's return to Valleggio, a conference took place between him and the King, and Prince Napoleon was summoned to it. It lasted to a late hour in the evening, and after it Prince Napoleon was charged to make known to the Emperor of Austria that his propositions were accepted."

SPEECH OF THE KING OF BAVARIA.

The Chambers were opened at Munich on Wednesday, and the following is a summary of the Royal Speech:—"The King has assembled the deputies at a serious time, in order to re-establish the means for the fulfilment of a Federal duty (*Mittel zur Bundespflicht Erfullung herzustellen*.) The state of political affairs requires extraordinary efforts, but the people do not fear any sacrifices for their and their country's interest. The conclusion of peace has lessened the want of money. In conclusion a bill (*projet de loi*) was brought in, according to the requirements of the constitution, for the election of a Parliamentary Committee, required by the law of 1848. The Budget was also communicated to the Chambers. The sitting closed with enthusiastic cheers.

SARDINIA AND THE ITALIAN STATES.

The Turin *Opinione*, a journal considered to be the organ of Count Cavour, devotes a leading article to the Conference about to be held at Zurich. After admitting that the question of the Duchies cannot be solved by France, Piedmont, and Austria alone, but must be subjected to the decision of a European Congress, it says:—"Other questions will probably arise in the Conference with regard to accessory points that may have been omitted in the preliminaries. We do not know with what foundation some journals talk of our being charged with a portion of the Austrian public debt, to the amount of some two or three hundred millions of florins. The preliminaries do not contain a word about the public debt, and this

is sufficient to refute rumours relating to any new burden to be laid upon Piedmont, whereas it is the latter that should claim compensation for the damage caused by the Austrian invasion. Our Government must therefore refuse to accept any such burden. There is but one case in which the country might be justified in accepting a reasonable part of the debt of Lombardy, viz: if in return it obtained possession of the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua. This question of the fortresses is highly important, for while Austria retains them she has a footing on our territory—she can invade it—and, as the preliminaries stand, we could only defend our territory under the walls of Alessandria, or else we should be obliged to keep a large army and erect new fortresses at a great expense. On this subject we are convinced that all the Powers of Europe will be of the opinion of our Government; and none will consider our State sufficiently guaranteed while Peschiera and Mantua remain in the hands of Austria. The latter must moreover bind herself to give up the Iron Crown. What right had she to take it away from Monza and convey it to Vienna? The Iron Crown is the property of Lombardy, and not of the House of Hapsburg, and it should be restored at once without asking."

A letter from the Valteline, in the *Nazione* of Florence, states that on hearing of the preliminaries of peace, Garibaldi went to the Sardinian head quarters and offered his resignation, and that of all the officers of his corps. But the King refused to accept them, and remarked to Garibaldi that, as a Piedmontese General, he had not the right to resign.

APPROACHING CONFERENCE AT ZURICH.

A conference is to be held at Zurich. The Plenipotentiaries are M. Bourqueney for France, and Count Coloredo for Austria. The representative for Sardinia is not yet known. The Treaty of Peace is to be signed, and the future of Italy settled if, as is proposed, the preliminaries of a Congress can be agreed to. The more the whole subject is considered the more difficult the settlement of it appears to be. In the first place, it is well known that Austria is altogether averse from the settlement of the Italian question by a Congress of the neutral Powers. Two are Protestant and the other is in communion with the Greek Church. There is therefore little chance that those objects which have usually been attained by concordats, and which now hang upon the neck of Italy like a millstone, will receive much sympathy. The proceedings of a Congress would in all probability assume, in the eyes of Austria, too destructive a character; and, forewarned by the fear of this she is not unlikely to persevere in her reluctance to see the affairs of Italy composed by such parties. The question next arises, if Austria obstinately refuses a Congress, what then? Will the other Powers take up the Italian question and fight it out? Assuredly not. England is pledged to neutrality; Prussia has no motive for attacking France; and Russia none for going to war with Austria. Nothing will then remain for France but either an utter abandonment of the Italian cause altogether or a recommencement of hostilities. We cannot suppose the former; the latter, therefore, upon the premises assumed, is inevitable. But supposing a Congress assembled, it is then that the difficulties will be put to the test. We assume all the way through an honest desire on the part of the Emperor of the French to help Italy. We assume the existence of disturbing influences to his plans, of which we are not yet in possession; and we assume adequate motives to a compromise. But we cannot understand, and therefore cannot defend, such a compromise as that announced, because the more we look at it the more we see that it leaves Italy worse off than ever.

THE NEW SARDINIAN MINISTRY.

The new Ministry is formed. Signor La Marmora is Minister of War and also President of the Council; General Daborvide, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Signor Rattazzi, Minister of the Interior; Signor Egtana, Minister of Finance; Marquis Monticelli, Minister of Public Works; and Signor Miglietti, Minister of Justice. The post of Minister for Public Instruction is still vacant. We have not yet received any explanation of the statement that Count Arrese had failed in constructing a new Sardinian Ministry, and that the task had been entrusted to M. Rattazzi. A correspondent, writing to the *Debats* from Turin, gives the following as the causes that led to the resignation of Count Cavour:—"That statement was devious that Piedmont should be formed into a strongly constituted kingdom of Italy, such as is indicated by its geographical configuration, and its unity of race, language, and habits. In other words, Count Cavour desired that, in addition to Lombardy and Venetia, the duchies of Parma and Modena, the grand duchy of Tuscany, the Legations, and the Marches, should be annexed to Piedmont. Victor Emmanuel would thus have reigned over fourteen millions of subjects, and over the finest countries in Europe, admirably situated between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, and provided with excellent ports. The ancient republics of Genoa and Venice would have become provinces of the kingdom of Italy, which would have been suddenly raised to the rank of a great Power in Europe, and have taken precedence of Prussia."

KOSSUTH AND KLAPKA.

The Paris correspondent of the *London Star*—not a very reliable authority, however—says:—"Kossuth and Klapka, according to private letters from Turin, have both been detained at that place under the strictest surveillance of the French police, to whom instinct no doubt taught that if a treaty was about to be signed by France and Austria, it would not be wise to suffer the two perturbators of Hungarian peace to run off to Hungary. The Republicans here are furious at what they call the slip which has been given to them, and we are waiting with the greatest anxiety for the next news from Italy."

WHAT GARIBALDI WAS DOING.

Having nothing to report about our army, I think it will not be without interest for your readers to know something about General Garibaldi's last movements. I therefore conclude this letter by sending you a correct statement of what has happened in the Valteline during the last fortnight, so that you may be able to judge of the enthusiasm these populations feel for the triumph of the national cause and for Victor Emmanuel.

Valtellina is now free, and the enemy driven among the snow of the Stelvio. Garibaldi collected all his troops at Lecco after his return from Salo, and on the 26th June, at night, the first steamer, with the rations and a company of carabinieri, went to Colico. The whole of the division passed on the following day, and on the 28th, in the evening, arrived at Sondrio. The reception of the General and his troops here was most enthusiastic; not only was the town here beautifully illuminated, but the mountains were covered with large bonfires. Halted the 29th, and on the 30th marched to Tifano. The people had erected triumphal arches on the road, on which were the portraits of Victor Emmanuel, Napoleon, and Garibaldi.

On the 2nd July the 2nd regiment, with the carabinieri, under the command of Colonel Medici, halted about 7 a. m. on the edge of the plain in which stands Bormio. The enemy occupied the position at Bagni Vecchio and Nuovi, about two miles from the town at the first bridge and tunnel on the Stelvio road. A deputation arrived while the troops were halted, praying help, as the Austrians were daily plundering the place and neighbouring hamlets. The night be-