

THE CONCEPTION-BAY MAN.

move. He threw away all the fruits of victory. He even threw away all his own laurels, by allowing himself to be shut up and besieged in a narrow strip of the Crimea by the fragments of the routed garrison of Sebastopol. History has no precedent for such a disgraceful issue, except, perhaps, in the fate of the Athenian army under the ill-starred Nicias before the wall of Syracuse of old. How was it? Why was it? Where all the energies of the fire-eater Arab-smoker of Africa crushed at once and in an instant by a paralysis of fear? Was the soldier of fortune, who had carved out his way to distinction with his own good sword, suddenly transmuted by some strange miracles into a wretched and pitiable coward? To this explanation we have a sufficient answer in the fact that he remained at the head of the French army. The slightest symptoms of irresolution would have brought him home. There was, then, we opine, no cowardice in the matter. But we verily believe that there was treachery, not on the part of Pelissier, but his master in Paris. We arrive at our verdict by circumstantial evidence. But it is often the best. Let us consider it in this case. When the Malakhoff was so gloriously stormed by the French on the 8th of September, the English, under that tame man Codrington, being at the same time most disgracefully repulsed from the Redan, Louis Napoleon had "killed two birds with one stone." He had avenged Moscow on the Russians and taken the shine out of the Waterloo redcoats. He had, therefore, done enough for himself, and he is not the man to do any thing for any body else. Hence we are convinced, we should not be more so if it were written in a book before us, that from that very day negotiations were commenced by him with Russia, either directly *PER SE* or indirectly *PER ALIOS*, omitted, we comprehend at once the suspicious conduct of Pelissier, but not otherwise. Without this reading it is an impenetrable mystery to us. He had his orders *NON QUIETA MOVERE*, not to give any further annoyance to his master's possible friend, the Czar. Hence, too, his abandonment of Kars, which was to be a sop to the pride of Russia in the shape of a set-off for the capture of the southern side of Sebastopol. But, acquitting the French general of anything like cowardice, we still rather wonder at the want of self-respect which would allow him to remain for a single day at the head of an army which was not to act, to the tarnishing of his fame and the blighting of all his former glories, in short, reduced to the condition of a muzzled hero, running mute. Only fancy the first Napoleon, or Marlborough, or Wellington at the head of the army which did nothing under Pelissier and Codrington! What a whirlwind of chivalry would have swept over Russia, and changed the destinies of the world! But, to go back to the negotiations which, as we suppose, were entered upon between France and Russia immediately after the 8th of September. As soon as they had ripened into maturity, England was called upon to sign them as a meek ally or a junior partner, on the penalty of being left to carry on the war alone. And so was the fable turned into a life thing, and acted on the world's wide stage before the eyes of men. England was the cat's paw, and the monkey got the chestnuts; and Napoleon was admitted into the confraternity of continental despots, and that was all that he had struggled for and all that he wanted. He has got his "Open Sesame,"—his imperial and royal diploma, and is admitted into the inner circle, of which the other members are the potentates of Russia, Austria, Naples, and now of Spain.

That is our version of the history of the concluding, apathetic and take-it-easy and sleepy eight months of the late war; and we have not a doubt that is the correct one. We feel it to be a moral certainty that, if the archives of Downing-street were searched, or Lords Clarendon and Palmerston and General Codrington were examined at the bar of the House of Commons, they would not differ from our account of the matter to the extent of a hair's breadth. Is it yet too late to have the matter sifted? Is there no independent member of the House of Commons who will yet undertake it, and stand up for the honour of England? The more we think of the matter, the more we are convinced that we played a very poor and a very shabby second fiddle in the late war, and we have a right to know "the reason why."

ALLEGED POLITICAL PERSECUTION IN FRANCE.

(From the Daily News)

A document has been placed in our hands which will help the European public to judge between M. Louis Blanc and the organ of the French police. If the French Government is ready to play the part of the cruel gaoler towards the political exiles of other countries how will it act towards its own? If the French Government is guilty of inhumanity towards political exiles in France, what will it be in Cayenne? With these questions we leave our readers to peruse, and judge for themselves of the following communication:—

ITALIAN EXILES IN FRANCE.

"Ever since the year 1849 the Italian governments have been in the habit of making a razzia among the young men. And as the prisons are constantly full of the latter, the remnants are shipped off for America. Not knowing the language, left without resource—that, too, in a country where the customs are so different from our own—the greater part of these Italians return to Europe. Here, finding their native country closed against them, they turn their steps to the only land where they are sure of finding freedom and hospitality. Of course I mean England. But woe to those whom the ship they may have taken a passage in may land on French ground. Unheard-of tortures await them there, of which the following recital will serve to give your readers a faint conception:—

DECLARATION OF GUERZOLA.

"Leaving the Sardinian states, I landed at Marseilles on my way to London through France. But on the 10th of March a posse of police agents dragged me out of my room, and I was locked up in a hideous dungeon. Here I was kept till the 10th of May. They took away my money and clothes. During these two months no kind of legal proceedings, even for form's sake, took place; not the slightest questions asked to enlighten me as to the cause of my detention, and I began to give myself up for lost, when I was suddenly told I was about to start for England. They then handcuffed me, put a chain round my neck, and handed me over to the 'Correspondance.' My travelling companions were Enrico Todrani, from Rome, Domenico di Dominicus, a Roman also, and another named Jean Baptiste de Negro, a man advanced in years, who for thirty years had lived constantly at Marseilles, a man who had a Frenchwoman for his wife, and by whom he had several children. This French 'Correspondance,' that is merely used for the conveyance of malefactors, travels by short stages, so that we were more than three months on our journey. At last, on the 18th of August, we were put upon the English coast at Dover, free, it is true, but without a centime, as far as I myself was concerned, and without our effects, that we might have sold here with to buy bread. All that we four could muster amounted to two shillings. Ignorant of the language, having friends only in London, with a garb calculated to excite disgust rather than pity, we resolved to travel from Dover to London on foot. At a village we came to I gave my cravat in exchange for shelter for the night. We

reached London on the 20th, where the friendly reception given us by our fellow-countrymen made us forget for a few moments the tortures we had been subjected to.

(Signed) "LUIGI GUERZOLA.

"Certified as strictly true,

"TODRANI, DI DOMINICIS, DE NEGRO.

"In the same way have been treated—D. Samorins arrested at Marseilles on the 29th of September, handed over to the 'Correspondance' on the 4th of November, arrived at London on the 5th of February of the present year.

Andrea Lezzi, Clement Conti, Niccolò Rossi, Vincent Malandri, all four of whom are from Faenza, returning from America, arrested at Marseilles on the 19th of June, delivered up to the 'Correspondance' on the 11th of August, arrived at Dover on the 11th of December last.

"There are many more, whose names we do not wish to mention, because they are not at this moment in London. Those whom we have mentioned are honourably known amongst the emigrants, and where they have sojourned themselves; their affirmation is beyond the shadow of a doubt, and they are ready to give verbally on oath an attestation in conformity with what is here written.

"We abstain from all comment. The facts speak eloquently enough for themselves. We would merely observe that this system has been carried on these three years; that at the moment we are now writing we know that seven unhappy Italians are being transported like the rest, through France, for England, with iron collars on, and that many more, who are now in dungeons at Marseilles, expect to be treated in the same manner.

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HARBOUR GRACE, WEDNESDAY, OCT. 5.

WE some time since noticed an observation in one of our local papers, to the effect that whatever may be the religious tenets of the members of a Government, if they are otherwise qualified by ability and patriotism, the country has a right to be satisfied;—we heartily endorse this sentiment—but if it be implied, or sought to be inculcated, either that our present ministry possess these essential qualifications, or that in their absence the profession of any particular belief should be admitted as a palliation were wrong has been perpetrated; we indignantly reject the context, and confidently trust that the day is gone by in Newfoundland when narrow sectarian views may suffice public opinion, so that unfaithful politicians relying upon the attachment of party, and regardless of all save their own sordid interests, may retain their positions, and inflict upon the country the curse of sectarian strife and division rather than yield one iota of that influence which fortuitous circumstances have enabled them to obtain. Deprecating, as we do most heartily, all such unprincipled appeals—our first efforts towards reform and in view of ultimate success, should be to allay the prejudices, and enlist the confidence of our fellow subjects by manifesting, at all times, a truly liberal spirit, and pointing out that manly and straight-forward course of action which sectarian division alone can render difficult, and which party considerations should never be permitted to ignore.

The inhabitants of this country can, as a people, have but one common interest, and one common object in view—namely, the permanent advantage of this, the country of their birth or of their adoption; it will not be denied that the weight of additional taxation must bear alike upon all, and that the benefits of an economical and just Government would be participated in alike by all;—where then is the advantage of that change which has entailed the one without effecting the other? It is well known that taxation in the shape of additional duties upon imports has been considerably increased, and that a further increase

by an export duty upon fish was openly attempted in the House of Assembly by members of our present administration, and some of their supporters; and for the rest, the policy of the government has not been marked by one liberal, fair, or generous principle. Men have been thrust into high positions who do not, nor ever can enjoy the public confidence; and many of the acts of the last session, so far from meeting general approbation, did not even command the hearty approval of partisans. There was a failure—whether attributable to the want of ability, the absence of true patriotism, a vindictive spirit, or to gross venality, may remain an open question; but that there was a failure—that the public mind was deceived, and the peoples confidence betrayed, there remains not the shadow of a doubt upon the mind of any right thinking and dispassionate man.

Ingratitude has been well characterised as a crime so shameful that no man has ever been found to acknowledge its guilt; and yet we are assured that men who devoted their prime of life, and all but exhausted their best energies in the cause of Freedom—men who worked the longest and performed the most towards the introduction of liberal institutions to this country, have been overlooked, neglected, and insulted by the present ministry. They, perhaps, in virtue of those principles which they were wont to advocate, could not become the willing slaves, even of an oligarchy which they themselves had so materially contributed to create—prevented, it may be, by an innate love of liberty from becoming pliant in the hands of less scrupulous men; and because when evil became apparent where good had been anticipated, they boldly expressed their dissent—they were made to become as

"The broken tools which Tyrants cast away." And this by a ministry who still hope to be supported by the popular voice. But these things have been dwelt upon by abler pens than ours, and we only add this crowning point to show the broken reed upon which too many are still inclined to lean. What, after this, is the trifling consideration that honourable and well-tryed public servants have, after the lapse of years, been rudely displaced, and forced as it were, to depart from the land of their adoption? What avails the consideration that the hearts of the people were wrung with sorrow to see men whose heads had become frosted o'er by years spent in the service of the country forced to make room for others whose catch-words were, that our political morale required purification—that nobler principles of action required to be promulgated—that economy should be more strictly enforced in the public service—that literary institutions required to be promoted—vast undertakings perfected; in short, that the country only required to be governed liberally by them to enable it to take its stand without disparagement among the other British North American Colonies. The faith in these premises, the confidence in those men prompted, and actually goaded a hoodwinked people to sanction the unfeeling procedure alluded to—and for what—that some seven or eight political Charletaus, with a certain number of attendants, might grasp at power, ensconce themselves into office, and once established, defy the shafts of ridicule and reject the appeals of justice, of patriotism, and of humanity. In all fairness and sincerity, we put the question who but those and theirs have been benefited by the change of Government? Have the merchants derived any advantage—the fishermen—the agriculturist—the mechanic—or, the labourer. Nay, but some have sustained grievous injury. Are the helpless poor

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