

The Examiner.

"THIS IS TRUE LIBERTY, WHEN FREEBORN MEN—HAVING TO ADVISE THE PUBLIC, MAY SPEAK FREE."—EURIPIDES.

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POLITICS AND NEWS.

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FRANCE.

They who have counted upon the permanency of the French Republic, and that free representation principles had taken root in the hearts of the French people, will read our present number with feelings of as much bitter disappointment, as those we ourselves experience in recording another instance of the extraordinary versatility of our neighbours. A re-action has taken place in Paris; a spontaneous revulsion of opinion has shewn itself in some of the provinces; but it is a re-action not tending to ultra-Republicanism or even monarchy, but in favour of imperial despotism, and personified in one of its most flagrant forms—the twice before rejected Pretender to the throne of France, LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

At the publication of our last number the precise result of the elections had not reached us. We said that Caussidiere and Thiers were elected, and that Louis Bonaparte had some chance of success. Our continental news will show the exact results. It will be seen that the most objectionable persons to the Government have been elected: ultra democrats and communists; and, to the astonishment of the many, but we confess not ourselves, Louis Bonaparte stood seventh on the Paris poll, and was returned by three other departments, in some places at the head of the poll, and, in almost all cases, in a very favourable position. It seems that in Paris even he was not started as a candidate until the day previous to the election, and then in such an ambiguous and unauthorised manner, that no one knew really whether he was a candidate or not. His name was not included in the ordinary lists, and the clubs made no open efforts to support him;—and yet, in spite of all these disadvantages, he has been elected; the peasants in the provinces rushed by thousands to place his name in the urn, and, in short, he has roused a feeling throughout France which must be put down, and put down effectually, or all the hopes of a Republic must speedily be overthrown. As soon as the Government perceived this most unexpected re-action, evidenced most incontrovertibly by the ballot and universal suffrage, they assembled instantly. Paris was filled with troops; and it is said that now there are not fewer than 100,000 troops of the line in the French capital. *Atroupements* have taken place every night this week, in spite of the new law. On Saturday night about 2000 persons were hemmed in by the troops, and carried off prisoners to the Prefecture. Amongst them were English, Americans, and it is said even women in disguise; in short, the *rappel* and the *generale* have been beaten every day, and the confusion and excitement have been greater than ever. We must state, that whether under the pressure of apprehension or patriotism, the National Assembly displayed at first a noble feeling. The most eloquent denunciations of all tyrants and dictatorships, seen clearly in the perspective, burst from many members; but Cavaignac, in a brief speech, which will go down to posterity, spoke as follows:—

'Since an opportunity offers itself,' continued he, 'I will speak my mind. I have no intention of directing an accusation against any of my fellow-citizens, nor have I any right to question the innocence of the man whose name is so unfortunately put forward in this way; but I cannot help delivering over to public execration whoever shall lay a sacrilegious hand on the public liberties.' This was spoken with much energy, and the Assembly rose, with cries of 'Vive la Republique.' When the enthusiasm had subsided, General Cavaignac resumed: 'Honour and glory to the citizen faithful to his duties, who devotes his blood, fortune, talent, and intellectual faculties to the happiness and service of his country; but shame and woe to him who would dare to speculate on the difficulties of the times and the sufferings of his native land, and who would turn a glorious name to the account of his personal ambition!' These sentiments were received with unanimous cries of 'Vive la Republique!' Several members exclaimed, 'No reaction!' 'We reject pretenders of every description!' 'We neither desire royalty, imperial despotism, nor military dictatorship!' 'It is an imposture invented to injure citizen Louis Bonaparte!' &c.

But how stands the popular feeling out of doors. It is evidently divided. The cries of 'Vive la Republique' are answered, and sometimes drowned in shouts of 'Vive l'Empereur,' 'Vive Bonaparte.' On Monday, when the news was circulated that the impudent adventurer, Louis Napoleon, had actually arrived in Paris and was about to take his seat, the crowds assembled were

very great. The contagion has, we feel sure, spread to some of the troops, and certainly, a large portion of the national guards, and cries of 'Vive Napoleon' have come from more than one regiment. On that day a sort of vote of confidence was proposed to the Executive, taken upon the question of an allowance of 100,000*fr.* per month for the expenses of the Executive, partly, in fact, secret service money. Lamartine mounted the tribune, pale as ashes, and demanded the instant passing of a decree keeping in force the law of 1832 against Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Whilst he was speaking, a shot was fired outside the building, and shouts of 'Vive l'Empereur' were heard. Lamartine sat down overwhelmed. One of the national guard had been shot in the stomach. This incident, whether accidental or pre-arranged, Lamartine adroitly converted to his purpose, by declaring that the first blood which had been shed was shed in the cause of despotism, and not by the Republic; and the decree was sanctioned by general acclamation. In the uproar it was scarcely possible to discover whether the decree had actually passed, but from the reports it seems to have been a simple declaration pretended to be drawn up on the spur of the moment, but really prepared beforehand, reciting the crimes of Louis Napoleon against France, and declaring that 'the law of 1832 shall be executed against him until such time as the National Assembly shall declare otherwise.' Finally, the Assembly voted the money required by a majority of 569 to 112. Amongst the people it cannot be concealed that there is a morbid feeling in favour of the Bonapartes, which time has not extinguished. A body of national guards set off to Boulogne instantly, in order, it is supposed, to welcome Louis Napoleon to the shores of France. They even were going on board a vessel, under the pretence of a sea excursion, but the mayor put a stop to their proceedings. In spite of the vote of the National Assembly, the people declare that Louis Napoleon shall take his seat. No doubt gold has been circulated amongst the populace to a great extent. But if the national guard falter in their allegiance, what hope can be entertained of the regular troops remaining firm. It is, indeed, a critical moment for the Republic. Lamartine is a man of peace, wholly unequal to cope with an emergency like this. We look to Cavaignac as almost the only man who can save France from anarchy. Firmness, without the smallest mistaken lenity, can alone preserve the Republic. But supposing Cavaignac displays all the known energies of his character, and a considerable majority of the National Assembly second him, it yet remains to be seen how far the people will show their attachment to the Republic, and support or punish the traitor, whose designs are so notorious that no one entertains a doubt of them for an instant.

Such was the position of affairs in Paris on Tuesday. The excitement of the people in favour of Louis Napoleon was increasing hourly. Barricades were even attempted, and it was only by the overwhelming force of the military in every part of the city that a general conflict was avoided. Our readers will scarcely be prepared to hear after all this, that on the evening of Tuesday the National Assembly, by a large majority, stultified their vote of the previous day, when they confirmed the exile of Louis Napoleon, and now revoked it, and declared that he should be admitted as a member of the National Assembly. Ledru Rollin opposed this proceeding; but the majority prevailed, and thus the door is opened for a civil war. It is said that Ledru Rollin immediately resigned, and that Lamartine would follow his example. But who can tell one hour before another what event will happen next. It is said that a triumvirate of Marrast, Billault and Cavaignac is being formed, but this is a mere conjecture. It plainly appears that the Paris mob is still absolute by its indirect pressure on the Assembly, and that its tendencies are not Republican but towards despotism. At Ardennes a proclamation has been issued calling upon the people to rush to arms, and to place Louis Napoleon on the throne. However, before it comes to that, there will be a struggle for supremacy between the Legitimists and the Bonapartists. On Wednesday Paris was quiet, the people had triumphed. Louis Napoleon was expected hourly in Paris to take his seat. He will affect humility, and buy golden opinions from all men. With the most ordinary prudence and caution the high road to imperial power is straight open before him, and in that case the splendid pageant of a French Republic will dissolve,

And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind.

IRELAND.

There is not any very important news from the sister country this week. The repeal agitation has at present come to a stand still. The fraternisation of the Old and

Young Irelanders is not yet completed. The consummation of an event so much desired by Irishmen has been postponed for a fortnight by the leaders at Conciliation Hall, in order to give the country an opportunity of expressing an opinion thereupon. The general tone of all classes of repealers is less violent than before the conviction of Mr. Mitchel. Smith O'Brien is still labouring under the effects of the *melee* which he encountered at Limerick; and reports affirm that his physician considers he is suffering from an abscess in the kidney. The Mitchel fund continues to accumulate, and, at the time we write, amounts to a goodly sum. Meantime meetings in several parts of the country are held to express sympathy with the 'Martyr Patriot,' as he is called, and to denounce the partiality carried on during his trial.

The sittings of the Repeal Association are postponed for a fortnight. Mr. John O'Connell made an elaborate exposition of the principles on which he was ready to enter into the proposed union. On Monday last several letters for and against the league were read, the most influential of which were from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath and Dean of Ardagh, whose diocesan, Dr. O'Higgins, is at present at Rome. The Bishop of Elphin is also adverse to the merger of the old association. Nothing beyond the suspension and the speech was done, until the opinion of the country can be collected. The statement of Mr. John O'Connell was received with considerable hissing from the body of the hall, where, it is said, the Young Irelanders congregated in some form.

The weekly meeting of this body on Monday was densely crowded, much anxiety being felt to learn the causes which had intervened to prevent an immediate amalgamation of the two sections of Repealers.

Mr. Galway was called to the chair, and on opening the business of the meeting, announced his conviction that the proposed union of Young and Old Irelanders was both expedient and possible. But how were they to construct the new edifice? They must stick to the institution that Daniel O'Connell had bequeathed them—(cheers)—but, following his precepts and example, they must modify it so as to suit the exigencies of the country. (Loud cheers.) The Rev. Dr. Miley had first started the idea; Sir Colman O'Loughlin had framed the new constitution. (Cheers.) He had further to state that the constitution so prepared had been accepted by Mr. John O'Connell, and his acceptance of it was doubly valuable for this reason, that he would sacrifice his personal predilections upon the altar of his country. They wished, however, before this constitution was finally adopted, that it should go forth to the country, to receive the sanction and adoption of the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland. (Cheers.) The meeting might wish to know (when they were combined) what kind of instrument they would use to carry out their intentions. They intended to effect their intentions by the concentration of public opinion. (Cheers.) He thought he heard some of them ask, 'Don't you propose to us to take up arms?' (Loud cries of 'Yes, yes,' from the body of the hall.) He (the chairman) proposed no such thing. (Cheers in the vicinity of the chair.) Another person might exclaim—'Was it not the right of every Irishman to carry arms?' (Cheers.) If any honest father of a family seriously asked him the question, for the legitimate and honest purpose of ascertaining his rights, he would at once unequivocally answer—that to carry arms, and use them on a fitting occasion for his defence—(bravo)—was a right undoubted and inalienable, and must not be denied. He would remark, however, that all weapons were liable to abuse. He next begged to refer to another topic.

A Voice: Say something more about the pikes. (Cheers.)

The Chairman.—It had often been said that England's danger was Ireland's opportunity, and the hour of England's danger was at hand. (Cheers, and cries of 'The Sikhs.') He was not one that would gloat over the ruin of England, but still, if driven to it, he would say with Lord Plunkett—'I would fling British connexion to the winds, and clasp to my heart the independence of my country.' (Cheers.) He next called attention to the declaration in circulation against repeal, and expressed his regret that amongst those who signed it was the Rev. Mr. Ingram, author of 'The Memory of the Dead,' beginning with the words—'Who fears to speak of '98.'

Mr. John O'Connell next addressed the meeting, and proceeded to refer to the new Association. He did not consider it the best thing for the country. He would rather that Conciliation-hall should be maintained, and that the friends who had parted from them should come back to them; but he was ready to accept this new body, though he had doubts and fears respecting it. If he saw anything objectionable in its proceedings, he would mark his sense of the danger of it to the people, by