

too late; or, at best, they will be kept from forwarding the policy to which they have been so long attached, and will be condemned to a humiliating and a disastrous inaction. The association Daniel O'Connell founded is not dead. It shall not die by its own act, at least. The people shall deliberately, advisedly, and of their own full and free will, put an end to it, if it is to die; otherwise it shall proceed after its resumption of sittings (early, I hope, in August), and working on the same glorious principles whereby emancipation and all that yet has been won of Irish rights were achieved, it shall accomplish speedily, certainly, and triumphantly the crowning measure of all in the repeal of the accursed Union. Fellow-countrymen, assist us! We will lead you into no danger. We will betray you into no crime. No wife, no children, no bereaved sister, no desolate widow, shall mourn a husband, a father, a brother, a son, lost to them by reason of our legislation! Our cause is strong in the holiness of its justice. It is the cause of truth itself—and, like truth, it is powerful, and shall prevail! Let us but secure the blessing of heaven upon us; by shunning all that savours of bloodshed, violence, and crime, and that just, that rightful, that glorious cause must succeed! At such a time as this, when the foundation of empires would seem to be broken up, and society abroad is rent and torn by a convulsion that stirs with ominous heaving the yet unbroken but turbid waters here at home, it is more than ever the interest of England to be just—to conciliate in time the Irish people—and thus to knit and tie those silken bands of affection and mutual necessity between the two countries that will endure when the iron-chains of force must fall and snap asunder. Let us but once more prove to her that we are fit to appreciate and enjoy rational liberty; and that society, property, and the throne itself, could not have no more devoted upholders than us. For the sake of her mighty empire abroad, and for the sake and safety of every class and order among her people at home, she will, in the press of her own thickly coming difficulties, foreign and domestic, at last abandon her unworthy jealousies and her miserable prejudices, grasp the hand of fast and devoted friendship that we extend to her, and give us back the means of assisting her, as well as saving and benefitting ourselves by the restoration of our own native Parliament.—I am, beloved fellow-countrymen, your humble, but most devoted servant,

JOHN O'CONNELL.

**THE ARMY IN IRELAND.**—The following is an official return of the army at present in Ireland, with the stations of the regiments:—1st Dragoon Guards, Cahir; 6th Dragoon Guards, Dundalk; 2nd Dragoons, Athlone; 4th Light Dragoons, Newbridge; 6th ditto, Dublin; 7th Hussars, Dublin; 8th Hussars, Ballincollig; 12th Lancers, Cork; 13th Light Dragoons, Longford; 17th Lancers, Dublin; 1st Foot, 2nd battalion, Birr; 2nd ditto, Dublin; 3rd, Belfast; 5th, 2nd battalion, Youghal; 13th, Newry; 26th, Cork; 31st, Athlone; 40th, Galway; 41st, Buttevant; 43d, Templemore; 47th, Clonmel; 48th, Dublin; 49th, Dublin; 55th, Dublin; 57th, Enniskillen; 59th, Templemore; 64th, Limerick; 68th, Mullingar; 70th, Cork; 71st, Dublin; 74th, Dublin; 75th, Dublin; 83rd, Kilkenny; 85th, Dublin; 92nd, Limerick; the depot companies of the 7th foot, Waterford; the 19th, Castlebar; the 34th, Nenagh; 38th, Boyle; 66th, Kinsale; 73rd, Birr; 77th, Fermoy; 79th, Mullingar; 88th, Tralee; 95th, Londonderry. In addition to the preceding, there are detachments of artillery, pensioners, sappers and miners, &c., which, with the armed police, would give a force of about 43,000 men.

**POPULATION OF IRELAND.**

The population of Ireland was estimated by the census of 1841, to be 8,175,124 souls, who are about equally divided between males and females. The total number engaged in agricultural pursuits is 5,418,571, of whom 2,709,289 are females, 1,219,178 old men and boys, and 1,390,107 labourers.

**THE EXAMINER.**

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1843.

**THE UNCONFIRMED SEATS.**

There being vacancies in the two Councils shortly before the late Governor left the Island, gentlemen distinguished for the liberality of their views were selected by Sir H. V. Huntley. Before there was time for the Royal Pleasure to be known upon these acts, His Excellency, the present Governor, undertook the administration of affairs, and the colonial Minister courteously permitted Sir Donald Campbell to exercise his discretion in reference to confirming or removing the public officers thus lately appointed by his predecessor. Nine months have elapsed, and we have yet seen no official notice of the confirmation of the appointments of these gentlemen. We cannot but infer that His Excellency has expressed no opinion on the matter to the late Government—that is, that he can or cannot sanc-

tion their appointment; and really we cannot help thinking that so much time was not necessary to form a judgment. More than two months ago, a report was current, that Mr. Warburton, at least, would not be confirmed in his place. Why this gentleman was singled out, is more than we could divine. Before his election, the argument from the mouths of the *knowing ones* ran thus: he is in a minority in the House of Assembly, he cannot be continued without doing violence to the principle, viz: that the majority should rule;—but the principle was never acknowledged in the Government, and was treated with contempt by the parties who then used it to serve their own designs on Mr. Warburton's seat. When the election was over, and the M. P. transferred to Mr. Yeo's name by dint of Ledgers, the song was changed: 'Mr. Warburton cannot be continued in the Council, because he has been defeated on the Hustings.' This would sound very well if Responsible Government was the rule, but it is not, and more is the pity, and *disgrace*. Mr. Warburton came to the Council under precisely the same principle which tolerated the appointment of his predecessor, Mr. Palmer.

'Mr. Warburton was in the minority.' True. Mr. Palmer was likewise in a minority in the old Parliament. Nobody then insisted that he should go out of the Council in the absence of the new System. But Mr. Palmer lost no election? We grant it. But had he lost an election, would he have lost his Councillorship. No. The principle—or rather the want of constitutional principle which prevailed in the Assembly prevailed upon the Hustings. In no shape was the Councillor responsible to the people. In no shape is he responsible to the people now. Were it incumbent on Mr. Warburton to resign when his party was left in a minority—when Messrs. Duncan Maclean, Donald Montgomery, and Nicholas Conroy, led off a dance their constituents will not readily forget, in which they changed sides, and set to partners,—it would have been equally incumbent on Messrs. Coles, Holl, and Hensley to resign. Their resignation, it may be asserted, would be a step towards Responsible Government;—it would have been a very false step, for in addition to the opposition with which Responsible Government would be met in the Legislature, it would receive a polite negative from the local Executive. We doubt if even the Head of the Executive himself would have given it anything more than a cold shoulder. We may be wrong in assuming thus of His Excellency; but we do not forget that when he was requested by the House of Assembly last Session to furnish a transcript of public documents on the subject of Responsible Government, he declined, urging as a reason, that the question was still under the consideration of the Imperial Government—(a reason, by the bye, which might have been offered, with all propriety, ten years ago.) The resignation of those Councillors, therefore, who are known for their adherence to the Responsible System would have been, decidedly, a false step. The only proper step towards the introduction of the Responsible System, would be the dissolution of the Assembly.

Again, if it were true that Mr. Warburton should cease to be a member of the Council, as some of his opponents argue the question, on ceasing to be a member of the House, Mr. J. S. McDonald should likewise cease to be a member of the Council; for the latter gentleman's place in the Executive was purely the result of his having obtained a seat in the Lower Branch of the Legislature. To go still further, if Mr. Warburton's seat in the Council be forfeited by the loss of his place in the Legislature, in the name of common sense, what argument can justify the continuance in the Council of the Hons. Colonel Lane and Mr. G. R. Goodman, both of whom are unconnected now and always have been, with the Legislature. We confess we are ardently attached to the principle, which is genuinely British, that all members of the Government should be members of the Legislature; but we will not submit to be told that the principle should be made to apply to one gentleman and not to another.

Taking this view of the matter, we do not believe that Mr. Warburton's claim to a seat in the Council has been in the slightest degree weakened by the loss of his seat in the House. He was called to the Council because he is a man whose talent, education, probity and public spirit qualified him for the post, and gave promise

of usefulness to his adopted country. Should he be removed because he has lost his seat—(a thing which now appears to us improbable, the gossip of the town to the contrary notwithstanding)—we do not hesitate to say that a public and personal injury would be inflicted. He could be removed only to make room for some gentleman of the Conservative party—or some one who has a leaning that way; and we should like to know where are the advantages which have resulted from the administration of a party which has ruled the Island during the lifetime of a generation. His removal would be a personal injury; for if such a step was to be taken, it should have been intimated to Mr. Warburton before his seat in the Assembly was declared void, and thus give him an opportunity of at once resigning, and of continuing in the Assembly, where his seat would not have been challenged, had he retired from the Council. We must confess our ignorance of any just principle under the present state of things, which would sanction the supercedure of Mr. Warburton: The majority of the House of Assembly exclude him from their Body because he has dared to take a seat in the Council—the Lieutenant Governor excludes him from the Council because he cannot resume his seat in the House! If such a wretched, narrow, and anti-British practice as this prevailed, no man would venture to go from the Assembly to the Council—incur heavy expenses at an election, and run the risk of a defeat, unless he were so certain of his return that he might bid defiance to all opposition—unless in a word, he were a man so favoured of fortune as Mr. Yeo—so honoured of such a constituency—most of whom, like Mogue Foley, 'carry their votes in their bellies,' and give them out only when there is a prospect of getting something in.

We did not intend, on commencing these remarks, to waste so many words upon the subject. Our readers will pardon our garrulity, and the trespass we have committed on their good sense and understanding in arguing a question which stands so little in need of argument. We repeat, we do not suppose His Excellency will compromise his official character—which we rejoice to say, still stands high, in the removal of Mr. Warburton or his Brother Councillors; and we have been led to say so much, in reference to Mr. Warburton, because his seat has been the subject of much private speculation, indefinite rumour, and flippant remark. But why, we may respectfully enquire, is he—are they—not confirmed? We pretend to know nothing of the feelings of the gentlemen themselves in reference to their position; but were we in their place, we would prefer to be removed rather than be continued in uncertainty and suspense.

There can be no doubt that the question of removal or continuance in Council of the gentlemen adverted to, is surrounded with much difficulty; and such will always be the case where the system of Government is unsound, anti-British, irresponsible. Upon all these and similar questions the course of policy would have been very plain, had Sir Donald Campbell commenced his career on this Island by putting in practice the principles of Earl Grey's Despatch to Sir John Harvey, which are now so happily illustrated in the Government of Nova Scotia.

**MR. DUNCAN MACLEAN.**

Mr. Whelan acknowledges the many handsome compliments paid him in the *Islander* of Friday last by Mr. Duncan Maclean. Duncan must have been sorely beset for some subject on which to exercise his talent, when he was constrained to make an editorial which appeared in the *Examiner* more than three months ago, the subject of one of the most false and malignant attacks which ever disgraced the columns of a public journal. In all his letters (and he has written many) we might search in vain for foul epithets and indecent slanders, such as this last letter of his affords. In consideration of the position which Mr. Maclean occupies, as a member of the Legislature, Mr. Whelan will next week give, in *propria persona*, full consideration to the charges published against him.

"POLITICS AND POLITICIANS IN CHARLOTTETOWN, No. 2," is deferred till next week, from want of room. *Appropos*—we cannot compliment 'Observer,' in the *Islander* of Friday, on his observation and judgment in the matter of style. He takes it for granted that the Hon.