

From Papers by the last English Mail.

STATE OF POLITICS IN FRANCE.

The continued state of seige in Paris, maintained, as it has been, by the undisguised dictatorship of a soldier of fortune, has brought about its inevitable results; and the less successful military commanders and pretenders, who have stood aloof since the commencement of the revolution, are now stepping forward in order to contend for the honours and rewards of the Republic. Amongst these Marshal Bugeaud is the most conspicuous. He has declared himself a candidate for one of the three vacancies in the department of the Seine, for which there are numerous aspirants. He comes forward as the champion of family, order, and property. Louis Napoleon has also started as a candidate, and has written to his relatives and partisans that if he should be elected he will take his seat. The talismanic effect of his name has not subsided. The voters have rejected their favourite, Kersausie, and have substituted Louis Napoleon in their lists. This movement has thrown the Cavaignac Government into some consternation, but at present no steps have been taken to exclude the obnoxious pretender. If the choice should fall upon Louis Napoleon, with a considerable majority, it is plain that he will become a formidable antagonist against Cavaignac for the presidency. Indeed, the language of Marshal Bugeaud in his address, and the reported misunderstanding with General Changarnier, plainly show that Cavaignac, having crushed the people, and silenced, or overawed, the press, finds other enemies in the back ground, who will move heaven and earth to stir up the people and the press, in order to overthrow him. The other chief candidates are, B. Delessert, Achille Fould, Emilie de Girardin, the late editor of the *Presse*, who has ceased writing for that paper, leaving the post of danger to his subordinates. Emilie Thomas was also a candidate, but has retired. Passay and Roger du Nord remain on the list, amongst which are the names of the notorious Cabot and Thore, who represent the 'Red' Republicans. Sunday next is fixed for the day of election. In the meantime the National Assembly, having been secretly informed that the Red Republicans meditated some blow against the Republic, have been induced to approve, by a large majority, the policy of keeping the press under the despotic control of the Dictator. Such a state of things can only excite the most angry passions; and one member of the Assembly proposed, accordingly, that the words of the preamble of the constitution, 'In the presence of God,' should be thus altered, 'In the state of siege, &c.,' 'the National Assembly proclaims,' &c. Apart from its profanity, the amendment, which was, of course, rejected, was a bitter sarcasm against the idle occupation of voting a constitution, which no one believes can, or will be, adhered to, should political events require its modification or entire abrogation. M. Marrast, who is in reality the monarch of France, has still a keen eye to his own interest in these changes. A proposal was on the order book to make a large increase to his salary as President of the Chamber, and he gave sumptuous entertainments to carry his point. But upon feeling the pulse of the Assembly he found that he could not carry his job, so the proposal disappeared from the order book. At the sitting of Monday and Tuesday upon the article 8 of the preamble, an amendment was proposed, recognising the right of labour. Forty orators were inscribed to speak upon the subject. M. de Tocqueville, amongst others, paid a merited eulogium upon the Republic of the United States of America, which, he said, was the only country in the world where genuine Republican principles were really carried out; but upon declaring that the Republic of February ought to be democratic and not social, a scene ensued. The hon. member asked what could the Republic become if it were not democratic? Royalist, exclaimed a voice. *Rieniste* (tending to nothing), exclaimed another, when M. de Tocqueville, amidst great agitation, which lasted some time, turned to whence the first proceeded, and said with energy, 'Yes, it would probably become Royalist, if we were to allow you to act as you please.' M. Ledru Rollin defended the right of labour, which he denied led to socialism, and M. Cremieux observed, that the right of labour was a sacred promise made to the people, which ought to be observed. M. Thiers made a most eloquent harangue against socialist doctrines, defending the rights of property, together with liberty and competition, which, he said, were the basis of society. 'God and society told man—work, work, and you will receive the price of your labour. The produce of your toil shall be your patrimony and that of your children, and man laboured to the end of his life with that consoling assurance.' M. Thiers, upon the score of 'justice and humanity,' implored the Assembly not to inscribe the right of labour in the Constitution. The debate has not yet closed.

We observe that the commission appointed to regulate the indemnity to the slave-owners in the French colonies, in consequence of the abolition of slavery, proceeds in its functions. An indemnity is proposed, founded upon the rights of the colonists, of 120,000,000 f. (£4,800,000), but a difference of opinion exists whether the actual value of the slaves should be accorded. One party denies the rights of the colonists to any indemnity, but accords it to their necessities. The

appointment of M. Pascal Duprat, the editor of a Socialist Review, to a high diplomatic appointment at Vienna, or, at least, to Hungary, has excited the most bitter ridicule; these little incidents are all tending to undermine General Cavaignac's authority. The three parties, the Legitimists, the Red Republicans, and the Bonapartists are in a state of high excitement and hope; and as the period of the elections approaches, every effort is made to lessen the popularity of General Cavaignac, and, indeed, his position is not without personal danger. It appears beyond a doubt, that some assassin fired at an officer walking in General Cavaignac's garden on Tuesday last, mistaking him for the general; the shot was supposed to be fired from a house in the Rue de Baby-lone, which overlooks the back of the garden.

Such is the present position of the Dictatorship of France: our readers will judge whether a state of things, which impiles a Republican form of Government, surrounded by a despotism, can endure for any long period without some serious shock to its stability.

THE DISTURBANCES IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND.

Subsequent accounts received from the south of Ireland lead us to the belief that the disturbances referred to at Carrick, and the whole district of the valley of the Suir, are much more of an agrarian than a political nature. 'The movement,' says the *Dublin Freeman*, 'if it could be called a rising, was a rising of poverty, and not a manifestation of political discontent. As to the presence of Mr. Doheny, Mr. O'Gormrn, or Mr. O'Mahony, it is pure fabrication—none of these gentlemen were even said to have been present by any of the parties who spoke of what they saw or even heard in the vicinity.' In fact, it was a purely guerilla warfare directed against certain landlords who have lately distrained upon the growing crops of their tenants for arrears of rent; and the absence of any political feeling on the part of the rioters has been throughout remarkable. The movements of the party were irregular and without concert. At one moment the insurgents are reported to be on the hill at Carrick-beg, at another at Lowery Bridge; in the evening they are said to be encamped at Curraghmore Wood, and the next morning they appear at Kilmacthomas. It is said that a body of armed insurgents made an attack upon the position of the Marquis of Waterford at Curraghmore, with a view to obtain possession of the pieces of artillery with which it was recently fortified; but this needs confirmation. The Waterford mail was stopped near Granny Bridge; but, after some difficulty with the people, who were about to pull down the bridge, the mail proceeded. The insurgents had attacked the police station at Glenbowser, and one man had been killed by the police, who fired upon the assailants. The little party of police was, however, still in danger. Upon the appearance of the troops at Carrick-on-Suir the insurgents fled to the hills. Several affrays have taken place with the police, and some persons on both sides have been killed. General M'Donald, with the 3rd bufs and a company of 83rd, left Dublin to put down the outbreak; and the next arrival will doubtless furnish us with more correct details.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR THE COLONIES.

When a liberal extension of the right of self government in local matters for the colonies has been urged upon ministers of late, they have made fair but rather vague professions of respect for the principle. But some qualifying phrase about the difficulty of realising it has always been added. The necessary inference is, that ministers will need considerable pushing before they take any decided step towards diminishing the excessive meddling of Downing-street with the local affairs of the colonies. The friends of responsible local government in the colonies will do well, therefore, to keep in mind that it must be extorted from the home government by earnest and unintermitting solicitation. Much may be done in this way, as a reference to three papers recently presented (along with others) to the House of Commons on an address for 'copies of correspondence between the governors of British North America and the Secretary of State relative to the introduction of responsible government,' will show. The first is a despatch from Lord J. Russell to Mr. Poulett Thomson (afterwards Lord Sydenham) in 1839, betraying great distrust and dislike of responsible government for Canada. The second and third are communications interchanged in 1848 between the Secretary for the Colonies in Lord John Russell's cabinet and the Earl of Elgin, respecting the appointment, as a responsible ministry in Canada, of the leaders of the very party whose views Lord John, in 1839, regarded as rendering responsible government in that colony incompatible with British rule. The change in Lord John's views respecting responsible government for Canada, which has been wrought by time, events, and the steady assertion of their rights by the Canadians, may, by similar pertinacity on the part of the other colonies, be wrought also in his views of responsible government for them.—*London Daily News*.

The only true spirit of tolerance consists in our conscientious toleration of each other's intolerance.

THE EXAMINER.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1848.

THE COMPLETION OF THE JOB.

THE appointment of Mr. Palmer to the Solicitor Generalship was a thing so long expected, since the passing of the famous Judge Bill, that nobody could be surprised at the announcement of that fact in the *Royal Gazette* of Tuesday last. We don't remember how many days were occupied in debating about the Bill, nor how many columns of print the speeches filled; but 'tis certain a great deal of the public time was consumed in speeching about a measure which had reference not to principles, but men. The title of the Bill was, indeed, a misnomer: it should have been styled, "An Act to provide for the elevation of the Hon. J. H. Peters to the Bench, and the appointment of Edward Palmer, Esquire, to the office of Solicitor General, as a reward for his patriotic services in going on a Mission to England, and in voting £500 to His Excellency the Lieut. Governor." Had Mr. Palmer given this title to his Bill—(for be it remembered this gentleman has absolutely legislated himself into office)—he would have established for himself a claim to sincerity and candour. But the whole thing was well understood—every Act of Parliament does not express in the title or preamble the object it is designed to achieve—and few persons understand this better than the honorable Solicitor General himself. His party, as was to be expected, favoured the job, and last week's *Gazette* records its consummation.

Viewing Mr. Palmer's promotion on personal grounds, we are sure he will find ready advocates amongst his political friends. Even his opponents cannot deny that he is a gentleman of some years' practice—that he has a great deal of law—in his books; and his particular skill and kindness in favouring his adversary's case, might be said to put all professional rivalry out of the question.—His political claims are equally undeniable. He is an unwavering enemy to Responsible Government—a friend to official monopoly, and a thorough hater of Radicalism, Liberalism, and all the other isms obnoxious to orthodox Tory ears. From his parliamentary experience he has acquired wisdom and generosity, for having formerly, when the Revenue was flourishing, with a stern independence of character which procured every man's good opinion, withstood an attempt made to give the then Lieutenant Governor an Island Salary of £500 per annum, now, when the Revenue is failing, and public pecuniary difficulties very great, with a personal devotion equal to any that history records, he has been the chief promoter of the concession made to the present Governor, acknowledging the maxim, that the labourer is worthy of his hire. We leave the constituency of Charlottetown to judge which is the most independent representative—Mr. Palmer of a former day, or the same gentleman converted into the Solicitor General of the present one.

As the Salary scheme was concocted in London in the Summer of 1847, Mr. Palmer's appointment will be accepted as the first fruits of that precious Delegation, which, it can now be plainly seen, was "all for the public good." The whole affair was extremely well managed. *Quid pro quo* is as well understood in Prince Edward Island as in Downing Street.

We have no fault to find with His Excellency Sir Donald Campbell for the part he has acted: it was natural and to be expected. It is true he came amongst us as a Reformer, and if he has favoured and promoted the enemies of Reform, it is because the friends of the cause gave him no materials to work with. The enemies of Reform are in a majority in the House of Assembly—they forced upon the country the Judge Bill, and the Lieutenant Governor had no alternative but to choose from that majority. The turn which affairs have taken ought, however, to convince the country (if any thing will) of the necessity of being prepared for the next general Election,—it will shew the country, too, amongst which party the real 'Snatchers' are to be found. It will be for the people to declare at the foot of the Hustings, whether Responsible Government be merely a byword or a reality—whether economy shall give place to extravagance, and public virtue and consistency be put to flight by jobbing and corruption in all their ancient activity.