

The Examiner.

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

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SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

[From Brownson's American Review.]

IRELAND AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

God, by giving in His providence a particular constitution to a particular people, has fixed its law, the law of its life, its prosperity, and its duration. No people survives its constitution. The overthrow of our republican constitution, would be our political death. Spanish America, if it does not re-establish its original monarchical and aristocratic order, must either lapse into complete barbarism, or be absorbed by us. The Canadas have foolishly attempted once, perhaps may attempt again, independence of the mother country, in view of establishing the republican regime; they have thus far failed, for they have royalty and nobility in their constitution. If Lower Canada had not had, she would, in what we call our Revolution, have made common cause with us, gained her independence, and become a member of our confederacy. Some Young Irelanders appear to us also to dream of republicanism or democracy for Ireland. They could not be madder. The constitution of Ireland is not, never was, and never can be republican. Royalty and nobility are essential elements of it. She cannot subsist, if she throws off even the authority of the crown of Great Britain, for she would have left only an incomplete constitution, only two elements out of the three which are essential to it. She cannot supply from herself the element of royalty for all the island, and she would divide into several petty principalities, each under the representative of its ancient chief, with no suzerain or lord paramount, and thus revive the interminable feuds and wars of a former period of her history. Legislative independence is not impracticable, because she has, without going to England, both lords and commons. With the lords she could not be a democracy, with the commons she could not be an aristocracy, and with the two, without royalty to mediate between them, she could not maintain a Government. The crown of Great Britain has become integral in her constitution, if we regard her as Ireland, and not as Leinster, Ulster, &c. But retaining the authority of the British crown, there is no reason why she may not have her own Parliament; and indeed, since the suppression of her national Parliament was an essential change in her constitution, she has a right to it, and it is necessary to restore it, as the condition of her national life and prosperity. Without it she must cease to be Ireland, and in time become an integral part of England, politically considered, as Scotland already has become. Scotland, as Scotland, has ceased to exist, and so must Ireland, as Ireland, unless she recover her national Parliament. It was not, therefore, from a shallow thought, or without profound philosophy, (that the lamented O'Connell on the one hand avowed his loyal attachment to the crown of Great Britain, which is also the crown of Ireland, and on the other demanded with all his energies the Repeal of the Union, and the restoration of the Irish Parliament.

They wholly mistake O'Connell, and reduce him to the level of a very common-place man, who suppose that the question between him and Young Ireland was a question between 'peaceful agitation' and 'physical force.' Peaceful agitation and physical force were the respective symbols of the parties; but the real question lay deeper. The young Irelanders, unless we have wholly mistaken them, are in principle revolutionists, and hold that a people may make or unmake its constitution; O'Connell was a Conservative, holding the national constitution sacred, and seeking only to restore and preserve it. He studied history and politics to ascertain the constitution; they study them to find the means for enkindling the national ardour to make such a constitution as they imagine will be best for their country. He was a legitimist, they care not a fig for legitimacy. He saw that the constitution of his country had been suppressed by the act of union, and that it must be restored, or his

country, as a distinct country, be blotted out; and he therefore thought to restore what his country had lost through the zeal, kindled at the altar of Jacobinism, of the hot-headed patriots of '98. If any man ever lived who held the principles of revolution in abhorrence, the principles of the French Revolution, in particular, that man was Daniel O'Connell; and if there were ever a people that should detest them, that people is the Irish. Here is the principle of the difference between him and Young Ireland, a principle which, we regret to say, his friends in too many instances seem to us to overlook. Too many of them seem to imagine that he would go as far in effecting a revolution as any one, that he was a thorough-going Radical, only he would not consent to employ physical force as a means.—in a word, that he was a sort of Quaker Jacobin, a broad-brimmed *Sans-culottes*. Here is their capital mistake, and the reason why they suppose his rupture with the Young Irelanders was after all for a slight cause, and imagine that it may be healed. Healed it may be, by the conversion of Repealers to Jacobinism, or that of the Young Irelanders to legitimacy, but on no other condition.

What Ireland wants is not revolution, is not a new political order, a change in her constitution, but her own national constitution restored to its normal state, and preserved in its vitality and force; and this, if done at all, must be done on the principles of legitimacy, as O'Connell contended; not on the principles of revolution, as Young Ireland contends. It is Ireland, Old Ireland, whose life is at stake, and which it is necessary to rescue and save. Ireland can know no Young Ireland. A nation cannot be twice born. There can be no Young Ireland. By the very fact that these young enthusiasts call themselves, Young Ireland, they declare that they are not Ireland, proclaim themselves not *nationalists*, as they falsely pretend, but *anti-nationalists*. Nationalists are those who live the national life, are true to the national constitution, and ready to die in its support; not they who separate from the nation, discard the national constitution, and are ready to draw the sword, not for the nation that is, but to hew out a nation after their own image. They may have poetry; they may write stirring newspaper essays; they may excel in vague and frothy declamation; they may believe themselves honest, enlightened, and patriotic; they may even fancy that their spirit is not Jacobinical, and regard the charge of being revolutionists as a gross calumny; but, alas! all men who demand liberty by appeals to sentiment instead of conscience, and expect it from passion instead of law, are revolutionists in principle, and need only the time and the occasion to re-enact the part of Mirabeau, Danton, and Robespierre. These Young Irelanders, most likely, foresee not now whither tends the spirit by which they are governed; but let them follow it for a time, and they will find that there is no retreat for them, that they have placed their country in such a situation that they cannot prevent a Jacobinical revolution, even if they would, and such a revolution would only complete the work begun by the Saxon. If Ireland, the Ireland we have known and loved, the Ireland which has withstood the storms and tempests of two thousand years, famous in the annals of literature and religion, rich in saints, sufferings, and long centuries of perpetual martyrdom, be not doomed to utter extinction, she will disown these her pretended children, and treat them as St. Patrick did the less venomous serpents and reptiles which he found on her soil, and which can no more touch it and live.

[From the London Tablet.]

WORK FOR THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Parliament is summoned for the 18th. A week, probably, will be consumed in the preliminary steps incident to the assembling of a new House, and there will thus be left something more than three weeks for the transaction of business before the Christmas holidays.

But what business will be submitted to the earliest

consideration of Parliament? Some persons contend that the great measure to be submitted to the Legislature is the Bill of Indemnity to the Bank Directors for overstepping the provisions of their charter at Ministerial instigation. Others, that the weighty employment which is to create a zest for the festivities of Christmas, will be the fashioning some scheme for the relief of Irish distress.

On the one hand, however, there seems no pressing need for a Bill of Indemnity, and on the other it is stoutly denied that any loan for Ireland will be proposed by Ministers to Parliament. If nothing effective in the way of relief for English embarrassment or Irish distress is to occupy the impending month, possibly these preliminary weeks will be found useful as a sort of waste-pipe for letting off the superfluous energies of some of the new members. If the Government has nothing higher than routine wherewith to employ these gloomy moments, they seem admirably adapted for the performance of a voluntary or two by less modest and diffident professors. In particular we expect that the month of November, 1847—possibly in anticipation even of the Queen's Speech—will be illustrated by the impeachment of Lord Palmerston and the production of the long-desired evidence which is to prove his treasonable subservience to the Court of St. Petersburg, purchased by Russian roubles. Youghal and Stafford will both labour at this point with their best strength; the shortcomings of Mr. Roebuck will be amply avenged; and guilt in high places, visited with signal exposure, if not with condign punishment, will form an appropriate accompaniment to the penitential austerities of Advent. Other steeds duly accoutred and ridden by practised (hobby) horsemen, may perhaps be allowed to canter through a fractional portion of this vacant epoch; but we suspect that the production of the Emperor's note of hand for the purchase of the Whig Foreign Secretary, and of the written evidence which is said to demonstrate this unquestionable treason, will swallow up all matters of less startling interest, and leave scanty elbow-room to the less ambitious pretenders to senatorial renown.

But seriously, we ask, what business is to occupy the weeks before Christmas? The Commercial distress of England will doubtless afford abundant matter for debate; but unless Ministers intend to propose a revision of the Bank Charter Act—which no one believes—the case seems to be one in which Parliament can do little more than debate, and allow Messrs. Muntz, Newdigate, and Spooner, to break their paper spears against the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

IRISH AFFAIRS.

The Irish notabilities—and particularly the Irish Council—continue their discussions in Dublin with a somewhat graver appearance of practical exertion, though without much progress in the way of united effort. In three or four adjourned meetings several interesting debates have taken place on certain leading points of remedial policy. Amongst these stand out prominently Irish Manufactures and Tenant Right. On the propriety of encouraging Irish manufactures all were agreed; about the propriety of fixing a day for the commencement of a non-importation pledge, there was considerable difference of opinion. The managers of the Assembly held back: the Young blood pressed forward.

After a debate, in which more attention was paid to the sentiment than to the possibility of its realisation, it was resolved by a majority of 47 to 37, "that on and after the 1st July, 1848, we will not purchase, nor allow to be purchased for us, any articles whatever of foreign production, if the same articles can be produced as cheaply in Ireland." The exact value of this resolution is not very easy to specify. If Irish goods are cheaper than foreign they will, of course, have the preference without the resolution; if they are dearer, the resolution proposes to give them no preference; and thus it hits