

be dragged at the tail of any nation on earth." That sentiment is taken from a paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper, and I have no hesitation in saying, that I at once adopt it. To mere numbers, without intelligence, organization, or public spirit, I, for one, attach no value; but a great development of the moral prowess of Ireland has taken place. Instruction is universally diffused. The elements of literature, through which political sentiment is indirectly circulated, are taught by the state. Ireland has, if I may so speak, undergone a species of transformation. By one who had seen her half a century ago she would be scarcely recognised. The simultaneous, the miraculous abandonment of those habits, to which Irishmen were once fatally addicted, at the exhortation of a humble friar, is a strong indication of what might be done by a good Government with so fine a people, without saying that the temperance movement affords a proof of the facility with which the national enthusiasm can be organized and directed. I think it is one among the many circumstances which should induce us to think that we have come to such a pass in this country that some great measures for its security and for its happiness are required."

It had been recommended that the Imperial Parliament should sit at certain intervals in Dublin. To that proposition he saw no sound objection; and he then painted a glowing picture of the advantages that would accrue from the realization of that project.

The advantages which would accrue from the realization of this project are of no ordinary kind. The intercourse of the two countries would be augmented to such an extent that their feelings would be identified. National prejudices would be reciprocally laid aside. An English domestication would take place. Instead of lending money upon Irish mortgages, Englishmen would bring bonds to Ireland, and live upon them. The absentee drain would be diminished. The value of property would be very nearly doubled. Great public works would be undertaken, and the great natural endowments of the country would be turned to account. This city would appear in renovated splendour. Your streets would be shaken by the roll of the gorgeous equippages in which the first nobles of the country would be borne to the senate house, from which the money changers should be driven. The mansions of the aristocracy would blaze with that useful luxury which ministers to the gratification of the affluent and to the employment and comfort of the poor. The Sovereign herself would not deem the seat of her Parliament unworthy of her residence. The frippery of the Viceregal Court would be swept away. We should look upon Royalty itself, and not upon the finsel image. We should behold the Queen of England, of Ireland and of Scotland, in all the pomp of imperial regality, with a diadem—the finest diadem in the world—glittering upon her brow, while her countenance beamed with the expression of that sentiment which "becomes the throned monarch better than the crown." We should see her accompanied by the Prince, of whom it is the highest praise to say, that he has proved himself to be not unworthy of her; we should see her encompassed by all the circumstances that associate endearment with respect; we should not only behold the Queen, but the mother and the wife, and see her from the highest station on which a human being could be placed, presenting to her subjects the finest the best model of every conjugal and maternal virtue. I am not speaking in the language of a fictitious enthusiasm when I speak thus of her. I am sure that this project is not only feasible, but easy.

"He would not deny that strong speeches had been made by his client and the other traversers, but he denied that they were more exciting or inflammatory than those which were spoken in almost all popular assemblies, Whig, Radical, or Conservative." The right hon. gentleman then referred to the proceedings of large Protestant meetings, at which language of the same character had been used.

"You cannot have forgotten the contumelies heaped upon the head of the Queen upon the resignation in 1839 of Sir R. Peel. I will not gentlemen, disgust you by a more distinct reference to those traitorous diatribes, in which even clergymen took a part. It is better we should inquire how it is that gentlemen connected with these very prosecutions have thought it decorous to comport themselves when their own passions were excited. The name of the Right Hon. Frederick Shaw is attached to the proclamation. I hold in my hand the prerogative of a speech delivered by that gentleman, and reported in the *Evening Mail* of the 9th of March, 1835:—"The Government might make what regulations it pleased; but he trusted the people knew their duty too well to submit to its enactments. We might degrade our mitres; it might deprive us of our properties; but if the Government dared to lay its hand on the Bible, then we must come to an issue. We will cover it with our bodies. My friends, will you permit your brethren to call out to you in vain? In the name of my country and of my country's God, I will from a British House of Commons to a British public. My countrymen would obey the laws so long as they were properly administered; but if it were sought to lay sacrilegious hands on the Bible, to tear the standard of the living God, and to raise a mutilated one in its stead, then it would be no time to halt between two opinions; then, on every hill and in every valley would resound the rallying cry of 'To your tents, oh Israel.'" I won't ask the Attorney General of Ireland what he thinks of this, because this speech refers to a subject somewhat embarrassing to him; and what his opinions are upon the Education Board it is not very easy to conjecture; but I may venture to ask the Solicitor General, who is himself a Commissioner of the Education

Board, whether Daniel O'Connell, in his whole course of agitation, ever uttered a speech half so inflammatory as this? With respect to Mr Sergeant Warren, he, I suppose, agrees in every word of it, and only laments that, after so much sound and fury, the Recorder of Dublin in the steadfast supporter of Government, by whom all the misdeeds thus eloquently denounced have been subsequently committed. Gentlemen, I find in the *Evening Packet* of the 24th of January, 1837, an account of a great Protestant meeting which took place at the Mansion-house, were all the great representatives of the Conservative interest in this country were assembled. Some very strong speeches indeed were made at that meeting. The Earl of Charleville said, "Well, gentlemen, you have a rebellious Parliament; you have a Lord Lieut., the slave and minion of a rebellious Parliament." That speech was heard by the Right Hon. Thomas Berry Cusack Smith. Did he remonstrate against the use of language so unqualified? Not at all. He got up and made a speech, in which he stated that "he was sorry to find that Roman Catholic Members of Parliament paid so little regard to their oaths." When the right hon. gentleman had such impressions, I cannot feel surprised that care should have been taken to exclude every Roman Catholic from the jury list. Let him not misapprehend me. I do not refer to his language in the spirit of resentment. Resentment is not the feeling which the conduct of the right hon. gentleman is calculated to produce."

The right hon. gentleman then went on to point out the means taken by the Irish Orangemen to corrupt the army, by the establishment of Orange lodges in various regiments, and read several extracts from the clandestine correspondence which took place, and which had been brought to light before a parliamentary committee. Through the entire mass of thought embodied in Mr O'Connell's speeches there was a pervading love of order, and an unaffected sentiment of abhorrence for the employment of any other than loyal, constitutional, and pacific means for the attainment of his object. Of the charges against him, his whole life was the refutation.

"A man cannot wear the mask of loyalty 44 years; however skillfully constructed the vizard will sometimes drop off, and the natural truculence, the genuine features of the conspirator, must be disclosed. You may have heard many references made to the year 1798, and several stanzas of a long poem have been read to you, in order to fasten them on Mr O'Connell. It was in 1798 that the celebrated man was called to the bar who is destined to play a part so conspicuous on the theatre of the world. He was in the bloom of youth, in the full flush of life—the blood bounded in his veins, and in a frame full of vigour was embodied an equally elastic and athletic mind. He was in that season of life when men are most disposed to high and daring adventure. He had come from those rocks and mountains of which a description so striking has appeared in the reports of the speeches which have been read to you. He had listened, as he says, to the great Atlantic, whose surge rolls unbroken from the coast of Labrador. He carried enthusiasm to romance; and of the impressions which great events are calculated to make upon minds like his he was peculiarly susceptible. He was unwedded. He had given no hostages to the state. The Conservative affections had not tied their ligaments, tender, but indissoluble, about his heart. There was at that time an enterprise on foot; guilty, and deeply guilty, indeed, but not wholly hopeless. The peaks that overhung the Bay of Bantry were visible from Nenagh hill. What posts was taken in that dark adventure by this conspirator of 69? Did he play Pierre at 23 who is ready to play Renault at 69? Curran was suspected; Grattan was suspected. Both were designated as traitors unimpeached, but on the name of Daniel O'Connell a conjecture never lighted. And can you bring yourself to believe that the man who turned with abhorrence from the rebellion of 1798, would now, in his old age, which he himself has called not premature, engage in an insane undertaking, in which his own life, and the lives of those who are dearer to him than himself, and the lives of hundreds and thousands of his countrymen, would, beyond all doubt, be sacrificed? Can you bring yourselves to believe that he would blast all the laurels which it is his boast that he has won without the effusion of a single drop of blood—that he would drench the land of his birth, of his affections, and of his redemption, in a deluge of profuse blood, and that he would lay prostrate that great moral movement which he has raised so high that it is visible from the remotest region of the world? What he was in 1798 he is in 1844. Do you believe that the man who aimed at revolution would repudiate French assistance and denounce the present dynasty of France? Do you think that the man who aimed at revolution would have indignantly repudiated the proffered junction with the English Chartists? Had a combination been effected between the Chartists and the Repealers it would have been more than formidable. At the head of that combination in England was Mr Feargus O'Conner, once the associate and the friend of Daniel O'Connell. The entire of the lower orders in the north of England were enrolled in a powerful organization. A league between the Repealer and the Chartists might have been at once effected. Chartism uses its utmost and its most clandestine efforts to find its way into this country. O'Connell detects it and crushes it. Of the charges preferred against him, am I not right when I exclaim that his life contains the refutation? To the charge that Mr O'Connell and his son conspired to excite animosity amongst Her Majesty's subjects, the last observation that I have made to you is more peculiarly applicable. Gentlemen, Mr O'Connell and his coreligionists have been made the objects of the

fiercest vituperation; and yet I defy the most acute scrutiny of the entire of the speeches put before you to detect a single expression—one solitary phrase—which reflects in the remotest degree upon the Protestant religion. He has left all the contumely heaped upon the form of Christianity which he professes utterly unheeded and the Protestant Operative Society has not provoked a retort; and every angry disputant has, without any interposition on his part, been permitted to rush in "where angels fear to tread."

THIRTEENTH DAY—MONDAY.

At ten o'clock the Court sat. Immediately after, Mr John O'Connell rose, and begged permission to make an observation in reference to the speech which was made in his behalf by the Right Hon. Mr Sheil, on Saturday last, as one part of it was calculated to create a serious misapprehension in the minds of the jury. He had always advocated a full, free, entire, and perfect legislation in this country. He did not therefore agree with the proposal of occasional visits to Ireland of the Imperial Parliament. Nor was he the advocate of any measure that did not give to his country what he esteemed to be her imperishable right—an independent legislature.

Editor's Department.

MIRAMICHI:

WEDNESDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 28, 1844

ARRIVAL OF THE SOUTHERN MAIL.—The Southern mail reached the Post Office, on Monday afternoon, at 4 o'clock. We went to press to-day at three o'clock.

CANADA AFFAIRS.—The following most admirable answer to an address from the Warden and Councillors of Gore district, was given by Sir Charles Metcalfe:—

"I receive, gentlemen, with great satisfaction the assurance of your attachment to Her Majesty's person and Government, and of your desire to perpetuate the union happily existing between this Colony and the Great Empire of which it forms a part; and I thank you for your courteous expression of personal regard towards myself.

"Before I reply to the substance of your address, I must endeavor to remove some erroneous impressions by which it seems to have been dictated.

"You suppose me to have been misled by certain imaginary beings whom you designate as irresponsible and unconstitutional advisers. I am not aware of their existence.

"You offer me your opinions in the absence from me, as you say, of constitutional advisers, whereas I have them in the Executive Council.

"You speak of the Resolutions of September 1841, as having been exclusively carried into operation under my lamented predecessor; but in no administration have they been so thoroughly carried into operation as in mine.

"The substance of your address relates to the resignation of certain members of the late Executive Council, and to the question of Responsible Government, which you conceive to be involved in that proceeding.

"The resignation of those gentlemen proceeded from my refusing to agree to certain stipulations which it was unconstitutional for them to demand, and a compliance with which was impossible on my part, as, in my judgment, it would have involved a surrender of the patronage of the Crown to them for party purposes, an act to which I could never agree. In no other respect was the question of Responsible Government involved in their resignation.

"With reference to your views of Responsible Government, I cannot tell you how far I concur in them without knowing your meaning, which is not distinctly stated.

"If you mean that the Governor is to have no exercise of his own judgment in the administration of the Government, and is to be a mere tool in the hands of the Council, then I totally disagree with you. That is a condition to which I can never submit, and which Her Majesty's Government, in my opinion, never can sanction.

"If you mean that every word and deed of the Governor is to be previously submitted for the advice of the Council, then you propose what, besides being unnecessary and useless, is utterly impossible consistently with the due dispatch of business.

"If you mean that the patronage of the crown is to be surrendered for exclusive party purposes in the council, instead of being distributed to reward merit, to meet just claims, and to promote the efficiency of the public service, then we are again at issue. Such a surrender of the prerogative of the crown is, in my opinion, incompatible with the existence of a British colony.

"If you mean that the Governor is an irresponsible officer, who can, without responsibility, adopt the advice of the council, then I conceive, you are entirely in error. The undisputed functions of the Governor are such, that he is not only one of the hardest worked servants of the colony, but has also more responsibility than any other officer in it. He is responsible to the crown and the Parliament, and the people of the mother country, for every act that he performs or suffers to be done, whether it originates with himself, or is adapted to the advice of others. He could not divest himself of that responsibility by pleading the advice of the council. He is also virtually responsible to the people of this colony, and practically more so than even to the mother country.

Every day proves it, and no Resolutions can make it otherwise.

But if, instead of meaning any of the above stated impossibilities, you mean that the Government should be administered according to the well understood wishes and interests of the people; the Resolutions of September, 1841, should be faithfully adhered to; that it should be competent to the council to offer advice on all occasions, whether as to patronage or otherwise; and that the Governor should receive it with the attention due to his constitutional advisers; and consult with them in all cases of adequate importance; that there should be a cordial co-operation and sympathy between him and them; that the council should be responsible to the Provincial Parliament and the people; and that when the acts of the Governor are such as they do not choose to be responsible for, they should be at liberty to resign; then I entirely agree with you, and see no impracticability in carrying on Responsible Government in a colony on that footing, provided that the respective parties engaged in the undertaking be guided by moderation, honest purpose, common sense, and equitable minds devoid of party spirit.

"As you have considerably tendered to me your advice in the supposition that I stood in need of it, I trust that I may, without offence offer some counsel in return.

"You have all the essentials of Responsible Government. Keep it. Cling to it. Do not throw it away by grasping at impossibilities. Do not lose the substance by snatching at a shadow.

"You desire to perpetuate your Union with the British Empire. Do not imagine that this purpose can be promoted by obstructing Her Majesty's Government in order to reduce its authority to a nullity. You have every privilege freely granted that is compatible with the maintenance of that Union. Her Majesty's Government has no inclination to exercise any unnecessary interference in your local affairs; but can never consent to the prostration of the honor and dignity of the crown, and I cannot be the traitor that would sign the death warrant of British connexion.

"Cherish Responsible Government and British connexion. Let them work together in harmony and union in a practicable manner. Let no man put them asunder. But do not pursue a course that must destroy one or the other or both.

"This advice is offered with perfect sincerity by a friend, whose only interest in the counsel that he gives is an anxious desire to secure the welfare of Canada, and the integrity of the British Empire."

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.—Our intelligence from the Legislature, is to the 22d of the month.

The committee appointed to take into consideration the subject of the Bankrupt Law, have made a report and prepared a Bill, entitled, "a bill to repeal the laws relating to Bankruptcy in this Province." There is only two petitions before the house against the present law, one from St. John, and another from this county.

The prayer of the one from this quarter, we understand from some of the individuals who signed it, is for some modification, not for a total repeal. This is the wish of the parties.

Much has been said against the Bankrupt Law, but on questioning parties complaining, we found them totally ignorant of its provisions. We admit that there are some things in it that might be improved, but we contend it is not half so injurious to the morals of the people, as the law, or usage of court, which enables a man to give a *Confession of Judgment* to a creditor for double, and in many cases, fourfold the amount of his debt.

This is a practice too much in vogue in this quarter, and we question if the imputed immoral tendency of the law—of which we have heard so much in the assembly—had any thing to do with the getting up of the petitions; but in truth that it was found to be too injurious, and brought to light too many transactions where confessions of judgments were given far above the amount owing, and in many cases sufficient to cover all the property of the parties giving them. By this means, one creditor receives more than is owing to him, and puts it out of the power of others to obtain any thing.

Does the Bankrupt Law sanction anything half as bad as this? No. It compels a debtor, where a confession of judgment has been given by him, to swear that he owes the party the sum specifying—and if not the whole, what amount. Here, then, is one of its greatest faults, and one which in all probability, will cause it to be swept from the statute book.

We are glad to perceive that Petitions numerously signed, have been presented, in support of the claim of the Prince Edward Island Steam Navigation Company, for keeping up a communication between this port, Charlottetown and Pictou. They have performed their task well and faithfully, and we have every confidence that the Legislature will act justly by the company, and that the paltry legal objection raised against the validity of their claim will be overruled.