

The Examiner.

AND SEMI-WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER.

"THIS IS TRUE LIBERTY WHEN FREE-BORN MEN—HAVING TO ADVISE THE PUBLIC—MAY SPEAK FREE."—MILTON'S EURIPIDES.

NEW SERIES.

CHARLOTTETOWN, MARCH 6, 1850.

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GOVERNMENT AND MANAGEMENT.

THE grand difference between past ages and the present, so far as state affairs are concerned, is, that formerly nations were governed, and that now they are, or wish to be, only managed. Of old, it was not thought possible to carry on the affairs of any country, unless the people were under a close and vigorous rule, confined perhaps to a sovereign (whose power was in part sustained by the idea that it emanated from the Deity), or at least to a limited number of grandees, or an influential class. That dogma has now in a great measure past away, except among unenlightened nations. In the more civilized countries, society has reached such a point, men have become so habituated to respect each other's rights, and to obey the regulations imposed as laws for the general welfare, that something little different from a mere committee of their own number, similar to what is appointed every day in minor communities for certain public objects, is now conceived to be necessary for the conduct of the state. In short, a state may now be said to consist of a people who want their public affairs conducted: it formerly consisted of a sovereign and dominant class, who had a people to rule.

To minds which love to reflect on the movements of men in their larger masses, and throughout long reaches of time, this change is one of great importance. Till a very recent period, there have been no nations so generally civilized and enlightened as to be fit for an emancipation from the superstition-supported rule of arbitrary monarchy. Philosophy has hardly ever yet ceased to describe the populace as a many-headed beast, fickle, besotted, and cruel, which nothing but the strong hand of power could keep in check. And there are still many who believe that an instructed people is more dangerous than one totally sunk in ignorance, and that the only tradition upon which a nation can be prosperous and peaceable, is, that an enlightened few shall coerce and enjoy the industry of a darkened many. Such notions, however, since the revival of literature and the arts, and more particularly their extension in the north-western states of Europe, have been gradually undergoing the process of refutation, not so much by the exertions of philosophical writers, as by the silent proofs afforded by the course of events and the acts of men. Nations have improved, and their governments have been improved as a matter of course. Men, in more than one country, have shown that they could live well without coercion; and coercion accordingly has, with them, in a great measure ceased. That a government may occasionally improve a people, it would be difficult to deny; but the improvement of a government in consequence of the improvement of a people, is a process of irresistible necessity, and, in fact, the natural course of things.

In the ancient Gothic monarchies of Europe, the monarchical principle is still retained, though in all instances in a form modified to suit the comparative intelligence of the people. In Great Britain, since 1688, the king has had no constitutional character above that of a chief magistrate, his hereditary right being limited by the satisfaction of the people with his administration. In France, and other countries, the same system has been more recently established; and its endurance in one instance shows that it may endure in others. This, however, is not the extent of the improvement to which men are disposed to limit their views. Even after wilful rule has been abolished, there may still remain to those near the head of affairs a monopoly of

employments, privileges, and other benefits, which may be dispensed less with a regard to the public service than to the gratification of an exclusive class of individuals: in short, *management* may be so managed, that it will still have a great deal of the unpopular features of *government* about it. In a commercial country like Britain, where the bulk of men are accustomed to reckon everything with arithmetical accuracy, to weigh every advantage, every right, every atom, we may say, of what is profitable and good—such things cannot long remain. No man in such a community can long enjoy what he does not expressly and fairly purchase by his toil. Neither, in such a community, will it be possible to maintain any privileged institutions, which do not satisfy a very decisive majority that their privileges and their constituted character are advantages to the commonwealth, as well as to those immediately connected with them. Such institutions are now weighed in a very different balance from what they ever knew before—the balance of a mercantile, unenthusiastic, rigidly just, and, some would add, cold and selfish spirit; and if they be found wanting, we do not see where lies the countervailing force which may save them. In short, if no reaction be produced by the rise of some great accidental evil from the new spirit, it is evident, or ought to be so to all minds which look beyond the passing day, that the public affairs of this great empire will in a little time be placed upon a system of management, in no respect different from a commission of local police.

A prospect of this kind naturally excites alarm and distrust in some minds, and perhaps an exuberance of expectation in others. Men are, or conceive themselves to be, so deeply interested in the results of such a change, that few contemplate it in a cool and philosophical manner. Some throw themselves in its way, and others attempt to urge it beyond its natural pace, for reasons referring only to the happiness of the individual and the interests of a day, and perhaps founded on delusive principles. To one abstracted from temporary feeling, it must appear as simply a partial approach, made for the first time in human history, to that perfect artificiality of the social condition which is in reality the perfection of the designs of nature—for the low intelligence of the numerical majority has been the sole cause and excuse for the absolute dominion heretofore exercised by one order of human beings over another. How strange to reflect upon the countless generations which may pass before man solves a certain problem in his own nature. It would almost appear as if our three thousand years of written history were only a part of one little cycle of the progress of the race.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FORENSIC REFINEMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EXAMINER.

SIR—

At a late sitting of the Court of C—y a member of our Colonial Bar, with the most unblushing effrontery, thus prefaced the reading of a note to his client from an elderly lady of this community of the highest respectability:—"And now what says Nelly?"!!!

However incredible this statement may appear to you, it is nevertheless entirely true, and the circumstance occasions the

more surprise, as, independently of his professional status, his usual demeanour gives him some pretensions to the standing of a gentleman. The irritability engendered by his late defeat at a contested Election, at which he unfortunately took what I and the country in general consider the wrong side, affords the only solution to this cruel outrage upon the feelings of a defenceless woman.

I cannot but think, Sir, after such an extraordinary exhibition of professional gallantry, which passed *sub silentio* amid the formalities of a Court of Judicature, that it is quite time the disgraceful Legislative restrictions on the Bar of this Island should be removed, offensive as they are to every liberal and talented member of the Profession, which have the injurious effect of expelling from our Colony able Lawyers and accomplished gentlemen of other countries, who may feel inclined to give this Island their preference; and which restrictions can only benefit the selfish and pettifogging herd, who, to borrow a sarcasm from Hudibras,

— "D—n their souls!
Share spoils with knaves in cheating fools."

I am, Sir,

Your obedt. Servt.

AMICUS CURIE.

The Examiner.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1850.

THE NEW HOUSE.

No. 3.

WELLINGTON OR NAPOLEON—we forget which—once remarked, that the next melancholy thing after defeat is victory: the joy of triumph is repressed by sympathy for the vanquished—by sorrow for the brave fellows who have fallen in the fray,—and by fear lest the fruits of victory should prove inadequate to expectation and to the losses incurred in the fight.

In the war of Politics we have some of the "lights and shadows" of a soldier's life—all the ardour before battle—some of the regrets when it is won. If we soundly thrash the opposing party we do not feel quite comfortable in witnessing their dejection,—in some we then discover virtues which partly redeem their faults,—from our own ranks we note with sorrow the absence of some old and long tried companion, with whom we should have rejoiced to divide the glory of conquest; and when all is over we begin to feel uneasy lest too much good should be expected from our triumph.

To be in a minority in Parliament is undoubtedly a disagreeable predicament to the Politician: he is doomed, daily and nightly, to be beaten on every division—to see his well devised stratagems foiled by superior numbers—his wisest proposals rejected with contempt, or cast into the oblivion of Journalism,—his "Bills,"

"Riders," "Amendments," or "Addresses," laid upon the "Table," never to be taken up. Yet, he has this satisfaction, that he can throw upon the broad shoulders of the majority the sin of strangling every brain-born fondling, which he attempted to rear and reputably usher into the world. But the partizan of the majority has no such recommendation to the favour of public opinion. He should have accomplished this measure—he should have advocated that,—one mistake, one solitary instance of remissness or neglect, condemns him irremediably—

"Vea, one false step forever damns his fame," and he is pronounced incompetent for his position. But this is not all: he is, perhaps, a leading member of his party; as such he has, or is likely to have, influence with Government: Mr. So-and-so gave him his vote and interest at the late Election, and Mr. So-and-so thinks he has the best claim to the first situation that becomes vacant; but the family of the So-and-so's turn out to be provokingly numerous on this important occasion, and if the unhappy member of Parliament cannot satisfy each and all of them, why then he is the most ill-natured and ungrateful man in the community, and no Elector should vote for either him or any of his party at a future Election.

Yes, the career of generals and the course of political leaders are far from being dissimilar; nay, at almost every step in their progress, they are marked by similar incidents. Both, for success, must depend not only upon their own skill, judgment, and decision, but also upon the ability and fidelity of their subalterns in directing the energy and efforts of those who have, in the one instance, been placed under their command, or in the other, of the men who have associated themselves with them in the same warfare, or in the prosecution of the same designs. Both are loudly applauded by their friends and admirers when victory follows in their path; and both, when they have been unable to command, although they may have most justly deserved success, are most unsparingly assailed, not only by their enemies, but even by their friends, who in the moment of defeat, are too apt to forget the honourable and profitable conquests formerly achieved. Both, by disappointed aspirants to promotion and place, are too generally accused of ingratitude and an incapacity to distinguish between fictitious show and genuine merit. Both, except perhaps in such rare instances as those of Pitt and Wellington, should they look for a just estimation of their abilities, achievements, intentions, and failures to their contemporaries, would soon be convinced that they had appealed for judgment of their characters and deeds, to men so blinded by party prejudice, and so shackled by individual interest, as to be wholly incapable of wisely and justly pronouncing in the inquiry. In fine, however great their abilities, however ample their conceptions, and however signal and