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THE IRISH POLICY.

(From the Spectator.)

The Irish policy, whether from dishonesty in the scheme or mismanagement in the execution, has not succeeded in widening the distance between the Tories and office. On the contrary, the approach of the Conservatives towards the citadel of power is palpable and regular. Nevertheless, that policy—not the keep-out, but draw-in the Tories—is to be continued. Can anybody doubt the result? It becomes, then, a consideration of importance, what in chief the Tories are likely to perpetrate in Ireland. "Oh!" say the Whigs and O'Connell's, "the Tories will attempt to revive slavery: we shall have the infernal Orange system again forced upon us." Let it be granted that the Tories have the inclination imputed to them—have they the means of indulgence? Are they so much more powerful now than in 1829, or the Irish means of resistance so much impaired, that the Tories would venture to set a whole people at defiance? Has Wellington grown a furious bigot and dotard, or Peel gained rashness with years, that either or both would in 1833 provoke a contest which they shrunk from, when their opponents were less numerous, in 1829? That the Tory leaders have no such insane schemes, may be concluded from the whole tenor of their recent policy.

Going back even as far as the appointment of the Marquis Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant, and Sir William Plunkett as Attorney-General, we might discover indications that the change of the Tory policy towards Ireland arose from a conviction that the maintenance of the old Orange system had become an impossibility. But it is sufficient to refer to the conduct of Sir Robert Peel and his confidential supporters on and since the dismissal of the first Melbourne Ministry, to understand that the irritation and coercion of Ireland enter not into their plan.

It is true that some Orangemen were put into subordinate offices by Sir Robert Peel, but not with the good-will and entire approbation of the Tory Premier. His inclination was manifested by his first act towards forming an Administration, the application to Lord Stanley (between whom and the Whigs, not that the former has carried his point on the Church question, there is no discernible difference in principle) to join him in a mixed Cabinet. He sent Lord Hadington, certainly not a nobleman of the Roden school, to Dublin; by Mr. Shaw became meek and courteous; and the

Ministry patronized the new plan of Education for Ireland. The only great Irish measure which the Peel Ministry brought forward, is precisely that which the Whigs and O'Connell have united to carry! But Peel and the Tories were turned out of office because they refused to adopt the Appropriation principle, which the Whigs have virtually discarded.

What have been the Tory tactics since? Having soon discovered that Lord Melbourne, tho' a swaggerer in speech, was a poltroon or trimmer in action, and encouraged by the King's favour, they determined to exhibit the Ministry in a contemptible point of view as regards the country. They dumped the Ministerial Bills, insulted the "alien" Irish, and reduced Lord Melbourne's promises to "nothing." The death of William the Fourth, and the new order of things at Court, brought a change, not of object, but of tone and manner. The Sovereign being no longer theirs, but a majority in the House of Commons clearly attainable, the Tories "assume a virtue if they have it not," and take a line more agreeable to the supposed wishes and views of the young occupant of the Throne. The leaders, while careful not to abandon one jot of really valuable ground, have discouraged every thing like violence in their followers. The eager partisans have been restrained, and outvoted by the great body of the party, who rely upon Wellington Peel. Caution has been the order of the day. The fault of offending any large portion of the people was to be avoided. Lord Lyndhurst, in 1833, would have let his tongue be blistered before it repeated the "alien" insult of 1836. The purpose of his virulence had been accomplished, and he changed his note. The plan was laid for a landthrued and comparatively tranquil possession of power which policy is totally at variance with aggression upon the Irish population. On the contrary, it is probable that the soothing system will be adopted—for fusillades of the peasantry, but multifarious bribes administered to the leaders; and, ceases, there is a luxuriant field for corruption in a country where the actual applicants for Government favours are reckoned by thousands!

Manifestly it is the interest of the Tories not to irritate and oppress, but to conciliate and coax the Irish population, even were England and Scotland indifferent spectators of their proceedings in that country. But it is not true that the English and Scotch care little what becomes of the Irish. The power of public opinion in

Great Britain, far more than the accident of any set of party politicians being in office, is Ireland's safe guard against the "revival of slavery." We told Mr. Yates last week, that the Scotch would laugh to scorn the notion of being rough ridden by Tories or Whigs. The fact is, that, though Mr O'Connell talks about their "claymores," our canny brethren in the North have their eyes open, observe the progress of events, calculate the force of moral resistance to the oppressor, and never dream of blustering about claymores and millions, any more than they would go whimpering to bed because Lord John Russell had declared for the Oligarchy against the People. We wish there were more of this rational self reliance and moral confidence among the Irish, and less talk of "slavery" and "the valour Erin's sons."

THE FRENCH NAVY.—A report on the state of the French navy has been published by order minister of marine. Its author, Baron Dupin, was commissioned in August last to inspect all the military ports and naval depots in the kingdom; and from its observations we extract some of the principal results. It appears to be a matter of complaint that, whereas the parliamentary regulation orders that the naval force that the state shall consist of 40 ships of the line and 60 frigates, nearly one-half of which are on the stocks could be got simultaneously into a state of readiness; on the other hand, the material and arrangements of the ports, as they now are, found to be amply sufficient for the keeping in a constant state of readiness the 20 sail of the line and 25 frigates, besides other vessels, which is the smallest number that by law can be afloat. All seventy-four and 44 gun frigates have been for the future suppressed. The vessels laid up or on the stocks are stated to be in excellent condition. The total number of steamers afloat or on the stocks which ought to possess has been fixed by law at 40; whereas only 29 are in existence. The reports state that the material of the navy is too unequally distributed, the ports of the Mediterranean not having their due share. The proportion between the contents of the arsenals and yards of the sea and those on the other coast of France is only about 22 per cent. of the whole. At Toulon a magnificent work on marine engineering is in course for all western side of France. Baron Dupin dwells on the hard condition of the ordinary workmen employed in the dockyards who gain only 28 sous a day for time work and 40 sous for work by the piece. This is less than half the pay of the merchant service, and it has strongly recommended in the report to be increased, at the same time that the employment of convicts is signalled as exceedingly prejudicial to the general service of the state.

None can love freedom heartily but good men: the rest love not freedom, but license, which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants. Hence it is that tyrants are not oft offended by, or stand much in doubt of, bad men, as being naturally servile: but in whom virtue and true worth most is eminent, they fear in earnest, as by right their masters; against them lies all their hatred and suspicion.—Milton.

There is but little need to drive away that time by foolish divertisement, which flies away so swiftly, and when once gone is never to be recalled.

In matter of great concern, and which must be done, there is no surer argument of a weak mind than irresolution, to be undetermined where the case is so plain, and the necessity so urgent. To be always intending a new life, but never to find time to set about it; this is as a man should put off eating, and dainking, and sleeping, from one day and night to another, till he is starved and destroyed.—Bishop Tillotson.

Guilt, though it may attain temporal splendour, can never confer real happiness. The evil consequences of out crimes long survive their commission, and, like the ghosts of the murdered, forever haunt the steps of the malefactor.—The paths of virtue, though seldom those of worldly greatness, are always those of pleasantness and peace.

We had Lord John Russell among us in the course of the week, of which we shall take little notice—and that, because the people of Liverpool took no notice of him at all. He barely escaped being pelted by the few persons who witnessed his arrival from Dublin; and nobody but a policeman touched his hat in honour of the Home Secretary. He was obliged to sneak out of the Exchange, to avoid the hissing which was in progress; and when he dined at the mayor's, the proviso was that he should be quite private. As to meeting those who are called "the people," the vision of Feargus O'Connor "glared red on his sight"—and with the gentlemen of Liverpool he knew he had no chance. Therefore he dined exclusively with Mr. Rathbone. Oh! popular Whigs! oh! men carried in on the shoulders of the people! Here is the leader of the Whig section of the House of Commons obliged to steal through Liverpool like a thief in the night, cut by the wealth, intelligence, and honour of the town, and afraid of having his head still more practically cut by the populace! It was a home thrust!—Lancaster Herald.

The authorities of Thurgen had given a passport to Louis Bonaparte, styling him a native of Paris, domiciliated at Arenenberg, and proceeding to England. Chancellor Amohyu sent this for legalization to the English Envoy, who preferred sending young Bonaparte a fresh passport in lieu of his Turgovian one. The fact of the Prince having left Switzerland with this passport is already known.

A letter from Doullens states that a visit was recently paid to Lieutenant Laity (confined in that gaol by sentence of the Court of Peers) by Madame Hortense Beauharnais, the Baroness Forget, and Baron Desportes, all of whom are members of the family of Prince Louis.

The Sultan has conferred the order of Nishan Itibar on Lord Palmerston, according to the French correspondence from Constantinople of the 6th inst.

A letter from one of the Paris papers asserts that Don Carlos had received from the Emperor of Russia a remittance of £200,000, just in time to prevent the intended desertion of most of the officers to Munagorri, and that now his prospects had considerable brightened.

"The battle of the Constitutions," said Sir R. Peel at Tamworth, some years ago, "must henceforth be fought in the Registration Courts;" and most nobly have the constituencies, throughout England obeyed the admonition, and rallied round their leaders. The papers teem with intelligence of triumph to the Conservatives, and if they go on with the same zeal, energy, and success, there is no sort of doubt but that another election will release us at once from Whig domination and popish influence, and banish for ever from power the foulest and most pestilent faction that ever dishonoured a great and wise nation.—When the registrations are completed, we shall probably lay before our readers a digest of the proceedings in all parts of the kingdom, and produce irrefragable