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"This is true Liberty, when Freeborn Men, having to advise the Public, may speak free."—Euripides.

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COLONIAL LEGISLATURE.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

TENANT LEAGUE.

(Continued from our last No.)

Mr. HOWLAN thought that the hon. member for Charlottetown (Mr. Brecken) had—by his assault upon the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition, and by the charge which he had preferred against him—directly struck at every member on the Opposition side of the House. He has said that the members in opposition did not use the influence possessed by them to check the rebellion of the Tenant Leaguers; but he maintained that that hon. member had not done as much to allay discontent, to pacify the ill-advised people, and bring them again under the control and guidance of right reason, as had been done by members in opposition. There was nothing like resistance to the law in either King's County or Prince County. He has, indeed, said that he was not able to have Writs served by the Sheriff or his officers; but I am persuaded that the difficulty which he experienced in that respect was more owing to the very obnoxious character of the individual—the Deputy Sheriff—by whose means he attempted to have writs served, than to any determination of the people, otherwise, to resist the law on whomsoever the duty of carrying it into effect might devolve. Writs were served in his own (Mr. Howlan's) District; but, being served by a gentleman, by one who conducted himself with all due gentlemanly feeling and forbearance, in the discharge of his duty, and not by a man, notorious for all the savage characteristics of a bulldog, he was received, even by those upon whom he had to serve writs, with all that civility and hospitality for which the people of that section of the Island are so justly famed. Why did not the hon. member for Charlottetown (Mr. Brecken) mount the rostrum and harangue the people upon the subject of the Tenant League, denouncing the illegality of the association, and the dishonesty of their principles, and cautioning all Her Majesty's lieges in the Colony against having any connection with that body, or giving them countenance in any way? Had he done that, he might, with some show of decency, have accused and blamed others for not having done so. The hon. member, after drawing a very ludicrous description of the progress of the *Posse Comitatus* on their broken and irregular march to Fletcher's under the leadership of the Deputy Sheriff, proceeded thus: Were 80,000 people to be stigmatized throughout the Colonies and Great Britain as disloyal, seditious, and rebellious, merely because a few misguided and misinformed men had foolishly combined to resist the law, with respect to the service of writs and the levying of distraints on behalf of proprietary landlords? The people of King's County and the people of Prince County both repudiated the resistance principles of the Tenant League, and gave them neither countenance nor aid; and were they to share in the condemnation and stigma due to such only as had counselled, or actually made, resistance to the law? The Government had certainly, for too long a time, failed to recognize their duty with respect to the Tenant League; and, even when, at length, they were roused to action with the intention of repressing it, they were not as discriminating as a wise Government would have been, in singling out those who were truly worthy of censure or condemnation on account of their connection with that body; and among the first who were made to feel the weight of their displeasure, for having attended meetings of the League, were old and respectable magistrates, who had done so for the purpose of dissuading members of it and others from pursuing the illegal and absurd course which had been chalked out for them, as one by which they would be able to accomplish a fair and equitable compromise with their landlords. One of those, (Mr. Gordon) had been a magistrate for twenty years. He attended a tenant League meeting, but only for the purpose of denouncing the principle of the resistance pledge; and he did so. That he had attended such a meeting, however, became known to the Government, and, by their command, their Secretary immediately wrote to him, asking him whether he had attended a certain Tenant League meeting. He immediately replied, *in a truthful and courteous manner*, saying that he had attended the meeting in question, but the only part he took in it was that of denouncing the organization of the Tenant League and its principles. By return of mail, he received his dismissal from the magistracy! Such was one specimen of the wonderful discriminating power exercised by our Government in their endeavours to suppress the League. It was most unjust to the people of this Colony, to say that they could not be kept under the control of the law and constitutional authority, without the presence of 200 or 300 soldiers to enforce their obedience. The people of this Colony were a law-abiding people; and they were as loyal twelve months ago as they are now. They were as moral and as honorable and upright in every relation of life as any other body of men on the face of the earth; but until the grievances of the leasehold tenure should be redressed, there would be tenant leagues or associations; and if, hereafter, they confined themselves, as he doubted not they would, to legal and constitutional means, and, above all, used their utmost exertions to secure or effect the election to the Legislature of men worthy of their confidence, known to be their friends, and unshakled by agencies or by any other immediate connexion with the proprietors, brighter and more cheering prospects, he trusted, would soon break upon their view than those by which they had so long been disheartened and provoked The hon. member—after dwelling for some time, with considerable severity of condemnation upon what he asserted to be the most unconstitutional appropriation of £10,000 or £15,000 of the public money, by the Government, for the erection of the new Barracks, without the sanction of the Legislature—concluded by saying that, had the civil power been properly exercised by the Government, the excesses of the Tenant League might have been effectually repressed, the authority of the law fully upheld, and the peace of the country so well preserved, that no necessity whatever would have arisen for calling in the aid of Her Majesty's troops.

Hon. Mr. WARBURTON. As to the necessity of sending for troops, alleged by the Government, he denied that any such necessity had existed. He had seen, at a fair in Ireland, riots or disturbances of a much more serious nature than those which had lately occurred in this Island, and which were so emphatically alluded to in His Excellency's Speech, put down by a few policemen. He himself had been invited to attend a Tenant League meeting, held at Grand River, and he did so. He was told that unless he complied with the request his election might not be so safe as he could wish. He said in reply, that he had no desire to represent any but men who were, at all times, the friends of law and order. He said he could not, be the consequences to himself, what they might, countenance such an association as the Tenant League. The hon gentleman then adverted to the fact of his having been, at the time the Land Commission was sitting at St. Eleanor's, asked by his former constituents to represent them in that Court, and to his having complied with their request. He had, he said, so far recognized the authority of that gigantic humbug, as to appear in the Royal Commissioners' Court, and faithfully and earnestly, according to the best of his humble ability, to represent the position of those, whose delegate he was upon that occasion, as also that of the tenantry in general throughout the Island, and to urge upon the Court the recommendation of such measures, in their Report as, he felt persuaded, were alone calculated to relieve the tenantry from the spirit-killing grievances and disheartening disabilities under which they laboured. He spoke for four hours upon that occasion, but he was not then going to repeat what he said. That was unnecessary, as the result of the humbug was only too well known. When that scheme failed, the Government, a proprietary Government, took to another method of humbugging and deceiving the people, and, in their pretended eagerness to secure, for the tenantry, the benefit of the arbitration clause of the Award, with most ridiculous bravadoes, set at nought the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, and defied the Imperial authority; but he was not going to dwell upon that just then.

Hon. Leader of the Government (Mr. POPE.) O do!

Hon. Mr. WARBURTON. If the Hon. the Leader of the Government were very urgent that he should do so, perhaps he might, although his doing so might occupy a long time, and certainly would not arouse the most agreeable reminiscences either in the mind of that hon. member or of those of his colleagues in the Government. Much as the Liberal Government had been taunted, rated and abused about the Loan Bill, the evidence of the Royal Land Commission in its favor was sufficient to establish the wisdom and expedience of the measure; and had not its passage through the Imperial Parliament been defeated by underhand and scandalously false representations, with respect to the financial state of the Colony, it would have afforded the means—and that, too, probably, in the hands of the Liberals—to have carried the provisions of the Land Purchase Bill so extensively into operation as, years ago, to have brought about the emancipation of a great portion of the tenantry who were still held in proprietary bondage. The feeling which had been most sedulously instilled into the minds of the small freeholders, had certainly been one of the means, through inspiring a dread of taxation, by which the political opponents of the Liberal party had succeeded in depriving them of the Government, and in establishing themselves in their stead. But the peace and quiet, the social and friendly relations which subsisted throughout the length and breadth of the Island, unbroken and undisturbed by any narrow-minded mistrust or unchristian jealousy, under the Liberal Rule, would, he thought, contrast most favorably with the feuds, jealousies, and animosities—now, however, most happily dying out—which had sprung up amongst us under the training and indoctrination of Conservative agents; and, as to the late civil disturbances which had taken place in the Colony, and the widely-spread agrarian discontent, and disaffection to our present Government, which still affected the great mass of the tenantry, they were wholly attributable to the false promises and deceptive and inefficient legislation on the Land Question by the party at present in power. He would support the amendment submitted by the Hon. the Leador of the Opposition, because he believed that, had the Government done their duty by a timely and energetic exercise of the civil power in their hands, there would have been no necessity for troops.

Hon. the Leader of the Govenment (Mr. POPE). When the hon. member from Lot 11 (Hon. Mr. Warburton) rose to speak, I expected to hear from him a revival of the thunder of his famous four hours' speech, with which he electrified and astonished the Royal Land Commissioners, when they held their Court at St. Eleanor's; but, as he has thought proper to spare us the infliction of its repetition, I, for myself, will only observe with reference to it, that I am thankful to him for his forbearance. The proposed amendment, now under our consideration, is so mild and plausible, and so characteristic of the hon. and learned member for East Point (Hon. Mr. Hensley) that I am not surprised at his earnest support of it. Nay, more I am inclined to believe that it has been penned by himself, although submitted to the Committee by another hon. member. But I must say that I have been sorry to hear a gentleman, whom I so much respect as I do that hon. member, and who has had the honor to fill the high and responsible position of Attorney General of this Colony, exhibit so much inconsistency as he has done with respect to the sentiment of that paragraph of the draft Address, and the amendment proposed thereto which are now the subjects of the present debate. With one breath, he approves of the action taken by the Government, in sending for the troops for the suppression of the Tenant League resistance, and, with the very next, he says he will vote for the proposed amendment, yet, should it be rejected by this Committee, he will support the original paragraph. In such a declaration, there is surely an inconsistency, by no means in accordance with either the legislative or the forensic reputation of that hon. member for clearness of judgment and unwavering decision. It is not, I think, necessary for me to notice what has been said in the loud speech of the hon. member from Cascumpeque (Mr. Howlan) except in one or two cases. He said that no resistance had been made to the officers of the law, nor had any disturbances arisen in any parts of the Island except in one instance. But what had been asserted by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Coles)? He, on the contrary, had maintained that the League had had its origin in King's County, in the Murray Harbour District which however was not the fact, and had also further represented the tenantry of that section of the Island, as having risen into open rebellion, and detailed circumstances in connection therewith, which equally with the said alleged rebellion, had never had any existence, save in his own fertile imagination. The first time that actual prominence was given to the organization of the League was on St. Patrick's Day, 1865, when a large body of them paraded the streets of Charlottetown. With reference to that demonstration, I spoke thus, in my place in this House, four days after it occurred:

"The Government is willing to render assistance to the tenantry, therefore I am sorry to hear of the combination which has been formed by some misguided people against paying rent; and I regret also that hon. members opposite should afford them encouragement by saying, though they do not openly countenance them, that on account of the manner in which the tenants have been treated, there is a great deal of excuse for their thus binding themselves together. The laws, however, must be obeyed, and if there is not force enough in this Island to cause them to be respected, we will have to resort to 'the bloody despatch,' and procure assistance from abroad. The last shilling in the Treasury will be expended to maintain their supremacy."

Now, continued the hon. gentleman, I thought it my duty, at that time, thus to express my opinion in the strongest terms; and after the forcible taking out of the Deputy Sheriff's hands property which had been duly taken in execution by him for arrears of rent, which occurred at Curtisdale, and after the assembling of three or four hundred of the Leaguers in Charlottetown, evidently for the purpose of rescuing the prisoner Dickieson out of the custody of the law—though by the wise precautions taken by the Government to prevent such rescue the intention was not accomplished — I became convinced that the time had arrived for acting under the authority of "the bloody despatch"—the despatch under which the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition not only took office, but accepted Responsible Government. [Hon. the Leader of the Opposition. No! I did not take office under that despatch.] I say, I then became convinced that the time for acting under the authority of that despatch had fully arrived, and I believed it to be the bounden duty of the Government to send for military assistance forthwith. The propriety of this opinion, was, as has been said by the Hon. Solicitor General, fully concurred in by every member of the Executive Council; but had it been otherwise, had every member of that Board entertained a contrary opinion, it would have been felt, by His Excellency, the Administrator of the Government, to be a duty which he owed to his Queen and to the people over whom, as Her Majesty's representative, he was placed as ruler, to send for the Troops, for the maintenance of law and order, although upon his own sole responsibility; and I firmly believe that, had he been unfortunately placed in so trying a position, he would have been found fully equal to the emergence, and would not have shrunk from the performance of his duty however painful. The Government were then unanimous in thinking it to be their duty to send for the Troops; they think so still; and are prepared to abide by the consequences. If we are to go down, we will do so, convinced of, and asserting the necessity and propriety of the course which we adopted. Under the protection of the Government, every man in the country is secure in the possession of his rights and constitutional privileges. The supremacy of the law has been asserted and maintained, and every man feels secure in the possession of what he justly calls his own. It is now no longer necessary for Schoolmasters or other holders of petty Treasury Warrants to submit to serious discounts before they can get them cashed. Such Warrants are now, and have long, under the present Government, been fully paid at sight; and the country was never before so prosperous as it is at present, notwithstanding the late agrarian disturbances, which, to a stranger might, perhaps, at first sight, have seemed to indicate a contrary state of things; and, no doubt, they have caused, to a considerable extent, a want of confidence on the part of moneyed individuals amongst us. There is certainly, just now, more money in the country than there ever was before; but the want of confidence, caused by the Tenant League movements, is the cause why much of it lies idle and is withheld from beneficial investments. There are, I believe, at present £40,000 or £50,000 lying idle in the Banks. At the misstatements and misrepresentation of facts made by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition, I am not surprised; for they are in perfect accordance with his practice whenever he makes an onslaught upon the Government; but I am surprised at the countenance and aid given to him in his erroneous assumptions by the hon. and learned member from East Point. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition, in the face of undeniable and established facts, pertinaciously maintains that the Tenant League movement took its rise in the Murray Harbour District, when, at the same time, he must well know that its first outbreak was in his own District, at Glenaladale.

Hon. Mr. COLES. No!

Hon. the Leader of the Government (Mr. POPE). But I say yes! and, before the close of the session, I will produce affidavits which will fully establish the fact. If we had sent a large body of special constables to make distraints for rent, that hon. member would immediately have exclaimed against the proceeding as an evidence of our proprietary leanings. He would, in fact, have denounced us as a proprietary Government, and as one actuated by so strong a regard for proprietary interests as to be ready to have recourse to the most arbitrary measures for their promotion, and for the oppression of the tenantry. When the Sheriff applied to the Government for assistance to enable him to carry the law into effect against recusant tenants, we pointed out to him the constitutional course—the employment of the civil force of the country which rested with himself. That course he, at first tried supported by five or six constables, but that number was found to be inefficient. The next disturbance was at New Glasgow and at Curtisdale

Hon. Mr. COLES. Your own District was not exempt.

Hon. the Leader of the Government (Mr. POPE.) Next came the requisition of the Sheriff to the Government for arms. The Government felt it to be their duty to comply with the requisition; but yet they did so most reluctantly; for they were well aware that in the event of any one of the disturbers of the peace being shot, the unfortunate special constable who had shot him—however great the provocation and necessity which had caused him to fire, and however justifiable the act in the eye of the law—would be regarded as a murderer, and, perhaps, be compelled to leave the country, or have his house set fire to in the dead of night and burned to the ground, to the rendering homeless both himself and family, even if they escaped from the fire with their lives. It is the duty of a representative of the people, when he goes among them in times of civil disturbances, to denounce the incendiaries, or the organization, if any such exists, by whom or by means of which the disturbances have been fomented or have arisen. I am prepared to go into my own District and to answer for the action of the Government with a view to the suppression of the Tenant League. I am prepared to justify all that we have done with a view to that end; and should it, in the end, be necessary that we should go out of place and office because we have done everything that lay in our power to maintain the authority of the law, to effect the restoration of peace in the disturbed districts, and to accomplish the preservation of life and property, I shall be well contented that it is so. It has been asked, why did we not call a session of the Legislature before we determined upon building the barracks and made the necessary outlay for their erection, or why did we not rent accommodations for the Troops? The reply which has been made to that question by the Hon. the Solicitor General is a sufficient answer to that question. (The hon. gentleman here gave an explanation of the difficult position in which the Government were placed with respect to procuring accommodation for the Troops, and of the fruitless, though anxious endeavours made by them to rent buildings for that purpose, similar to that which had been previously made by the Hon. the Solicitor General; and then proceeded as follows: When the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition stated that the Sheriff, Mr. Dodd, had told him that, provided the Government had given him the assistance of twenty or thirty special constables, to aid him in the discharge of his official duties, there would have been no necessity to send for the Troops, I said I did not credit the statement, and I am now enabled to prove that it was incorrect. Immediately after I had so expressed myself, I wrote a note to Mr Dodd, wishing to know whether he had ever made such a statement to that hon. member. I hold a copy of that note in my hand, which I will read. The hon. gentleman then read his note as follows.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, April 11th, 1864.

My Dear Sir;—Mr. Coles having stated in the House, that you told him that if the Government had allowed you 20 or 30, special constables, there would have been no need of Troops. Doubting the correctness of Mr. Coles's statement, perhaps you will have no objection to inform me whether you ever made such a statement to him. Yours truly,

(Signed) J. C. POPE.

To this, my note, Mr. Dodd immediately sent me this reply. The hon. gentleman then read Mr. Dodd's note in reply to his own, as follows:

SHERIFF'S OFFICE, April 11th, 1864.

HON. JAMES POPE;

Dear Sir;—In answer to your note of to-day I beg leave to inform you that I never made any such statement to Mr. Coles. In conversation with that gentleman one day, I said I thought if the Government had allowed Sheriff Morris to employ 20 or 30 special constables to assist him, the Tenant League might have been quashed, but now they had given me the power, the country was in such a state of rebellion, I could not get men to consent to go at any price.

I remain yours truly,

(Signed) THOMAS W. DODD.

Hon. Mr. COLES. I say the statement made by Mr. Dodd is incorrect. What he said to me was exactly as I have stated it; and, if necessary, I can prove it by a witness, for his own brother was present when he made the declaration to me that, had the Government given him the aid of twenty or thirty special constables at first, there would have been no need of Troops. He alluded to himself, and not to Sheriff Morris.

Hon. the Leader of the Government (Mr. POPE.) Mr. Dodd is a man of undoubted honor and veracity; and, I believe, his version of the matter will be generally received as the correct one. A declaration made by the hon. and learned member from East Point (Hon. Mr. Hensley) has certainly very much surprised me, as coming from such a source. He has said that the Government should have taken the power out of the hands of the Supreme Court and of the Sheriff, and have sent special constables in sufficient force to carry the law into effect. God forbid that I should ever live in a country in which a Government could be found to act in so tyrannical a manner. The course pursued by the Government, I am satisfied, has been the correct one; and, if there be one act of my public life, upon which I can look back with entire satisfaction, it is that of my having, as a member of the Government, been instrumental in having the Troops brought to the Island, since, by their presence, the re-establishment of peace, law, and order has been so happily accomplished.

Hon. Mr. KELLY. The Hon. Leader of the Government has asserted that Fort Augustus was among the first places where resistance was offered to the Sheriff and such resistance was consequently one of the causes of bringing the troops. Now, Sir, I contest that if the alleged disturbances in Charlottetown and at New Glesgow were of a like nature to that at Fort Augustus there was no cause for bringing them at all, as I am fully cognisant of all that happened on that occasion. The said Sheriff (Curtis) having been sent there by Mr. Bourke (Mr. John McDonald's Agent) to serve a number of writs or processes, succeeded without the least annoyance or displeasure, in serving one on Mr. Brady and another on a Mr. Brogan, and when he was about that business, he read over the names and number of persons whom he was going to honor with a visit, and to whom friendly warning was forthwith sent, as he Curtis had advised James Simpson and others that the door of friends might be shut when he was found coming. He then proceeded to the Monaghan Settlement (over which the Hon. Leader of the Government is now the new agent) and after calling and regaling himself at Mr. Callaghan's Tavern, declared he had a process for the landlord, but whether he was then sober or otherwise, he did not serve the process on Mr. Callaghan who was working on the road, a few yards distant from Curtis, who never spoke to him, but wanted to force it on another boy who was there, alleging that he was Callaghan. He states in his lamentation to his principal, that Callaghan's wife told him her husband was in Charlottetown, but the wife was not there on the occasion and told him no such thing. He then tells a yarn about what a few boys who were coming from school said to him, and about three men he saw in a field, two of them having each a stick in his hands, and one of them a gun, and who stood and looked at him; and about another man and two little boys who looked "ferocious" at him. Now, Sir, this is the substance of the Deputy Sheriff Cursis's tale with regard to his raid to Monaghan from which had he gone on from Mr. Brogan's and kept the secret to himself concerning those for whom he had writs, and abstained from drinking and making a fool of himself at Taverns, he might, after having completed his business, have returned without any one looking "ferocious" at him. The hon. and learned member for the City (Mr. Brecken), in his annual attack on the hapless Leader of the Opposition, my Hon. colleague, asserts that he narrowly watched the Hon. Mr. Coles last session, when the subject of the Tenant League was under discussion, but that his (Mr. Coles's) conduct was not such as it should have been in discouraging that organization I can assure this House that if the members of the city (where the principal disturbance appeared worst, in threatening the authorities) had exerted themselves as successfully in keeping peace and quietness in their District as the Hon. Mr. Coles and myself had done in ours, that additional expense for sending for the troops would also have been avoided. At an aggregate meeting of the inhabitants of three Townships 35, 36, and 37, held at the house of James McDonald, Esq, at Fort Augustus, where the formidable Resolution to resist distraint and rent paying in all shapes was brought forward by a gentleman who was always the supporter of the present Government, Hon. Mr. Coles and myself at once declared that if the resolution was attempted to be carried we would instantly leave the place. It was thereupon attempted to be put by its proposers, but was refused to be heard. So much for the maintenance of law and order in our District. Of course when the troops arrived, and after their campaign at Bagnall's and elsewhere, it was thought requisite to make a military display of them among us in order to terrify the Tracadonian and the Monaghan Leaguers.

Hon. the LEADER OF THE GOVERNMENT. Did you not subscribe to the tenant union?

Hon. Mr. KELLY. I did pay moneys to assist some of my neighbours who were put to heavy law expenses; but in no way or manner to assist or encourage resistance to the due execution of the laws. I never refused to subscribe when application was made to me for the relief of those in distress and never will. I was nearly forgetting that I was informed against to the Government, for subscribing to, joining with, and supporting the said Union or League, by one McQuaid, from Mount Stewart Bridge; but whose allegations by which he expected to get into favor or notice of the Government were sworn to be false by a neighboring magistrate of the County.

Hon. Mr. McEACHEN said he felt it incumbent on him to give his views on the subject under consideration. The fact that resistance to the lawfully constituted authorities, took place in different parts of Queen's County, was undeniable, and admitted on all sides. The question now to be decided was, touching the necessity of calling for the aid of the troops for the purpose of suppressing those disturbances and preserving peace and order in the community. Or, in other words, were those disturbances of such a serious nature as to warrant the sending for the troops? That veracious chronicle or organ of the Tenant League party, *Ross's Weekly*, announced to the public that they were 14,000 strong. If any credit be given to such a statement as that made by the organ of the party, who, he would ask, could deny that the aid of the troops was called for? What force of Special Constables would like to face such a body of men as that? All must know that the appearance of ten redcoats would do more to quell a mob, than one hundred civilians, however well armed. And, independently of that view of the matter, it must be admitted by all that it would have been very cruel indeed to send volunteers to face, under such exciting circumstances, their own friends, neighbours, and perhaps brothers. What a heart-rending picture such a state of things would present to the gaze of the world. Men otherwise living on the most friendly terms, driven to take up arms against each other, and brother thereby driven to fight against brother. Far better, if the strong arm of the law is placed at defiance to support it, and defend the Institutions of the country by calling in the aid of those whose proper and legitimate calling it is, to use fire arms when required or called upon to do so—than to impose that painful task upon men who were called upon in every day life to mingle with the very men opposing the law. He was happy to inform that hon. House that there was not a single Leaguer in the District which he had the honor to represent. He was prepared to give his best support to any scheme that might be devised for the relief of the tenantry, and that would in any way tend to alleviate their grievances, but he would never countenance or support such a dangerous and foolish organization as the Tenant League had proved itself to be. He would therefore vote for the paragraph in the address.

Hon. Mr. DAVIES. The Tenant League did not, at the first, profess that they would resist their landlords in their endeavours to enforce the payment of rents by distraints or other processes of the law. But, as their numbers increased, they grew bolder and bolder, until at length, fancying that they were actually strong enough to set the law and the authorities of the land at defiance, they were so foolish as to draw up their famous pledge; and had we sent special constables, armed, and sufficiently numerous to effect the serving of writs, the levying of distraints, and the taking of tenants' goods and chattels in execution, the great probability was, that the conflict which would have been the inevitable consequence of such a mode of proceeding, would have been of a most serious and disastrous character, involving murder itself. We then saw the necessity of energetic action. We sent for the Troops, convinced that our doing so would enable us, with the least risk of the loss of life, or dread of the occurrence of any serious disaster, arising from actual resistance to the law, to reduce to obedience and submission the misguided men who had banded themselves together for an illegal and rebellious purpose; and the result has fully justified the wisdom of the course we adopted; for peace, good order, security and the supremacy of the law have been fully re-established in every part of the Island in which, for a time, they were so unhappily broken and disturbed. It has been asked why did we not call a Session of the Legislature, and consult the whole body of the people's representatives before we sent for the Troops, and afterwards took steps to provide for their accommodation? I answer it would, indeed, have been a most unwise and dangerous course, when the country was actually in a state of rebellion, to have delayed taking measures for its suppression until we should have had time to consult with the Legislature concerning the best means of effecting its extinction. Had we done so, the consequences to the country would, in all likelihood, have been of so serious and ruinous a character to the Colony as we should never have been afforded an opportunity, by after legislation, to repair. I gave my consent for the arming of the special constables with the greatest reluctance; but I had less hesitation in agreeing to the proposal of sending for the Troops; for I was convinced that our doing so was the only means by which we could restore peace and good order in the disturbed districts, and that, too, with scarcely a shadow of a probability of its being attended with loss of life, or even a bare show of resistance to lawful authority when so sustained. Until the Troops came, the Leaguers really believed that they had the power to set the law and the authorities of the land at defiance; but the presence of the Troops soon dispelled their mistaken confidence; and I am very happy to think that we have got out of the trouble occasioned by the League without bloodshed, which, however, I do not think would have been the case had we not called in the aid of the military. The League had many sympathizers, and in Charlottetown itself they met with encouragement, not in words only, but by substantial subscriptions to their funds on the part of doctors, ministers and others of most respectable standing in society. I myself indeed sympathize with the tenantry; that is with the poor, honest, and industrious portion of them who really have it not in their power, even with their best exertions, to fulfil their engagements with their landlords. But I do not sympathize with the wealthy among them, who, if they were as honestly and uprightly disposed as they ought to be, would find it quite easy to pay their rents, or even to purchase the fee simple of their farms at the price per acre set upon them by their landlords. So long as mere passive agitation was kept up, landlords evinced a disposition to reduce the price which they had set upon their lands; but no sooner did the tenantry band themselves together, in an illegal and seditious association, with the avowed determination to withhold the payment of rents, and to resist distraints, with a view to the compelling of their landlords to part with their lands at such prices as they themselves (the tenantry) should set upon them, than the proprietors—as if they had had their hands strengthened by the foolish and illegal determination of the League—asked 20s or 30s per acre for lands for which, a short time before, they would have taken considerably less. There is plenty of money in the country, but owing to want of confidence on the part of the holders of it, occasioned by the unsettled state of the country, it is kept back from such parties as would borrow it for the purchase of real estate or other prudent speculations, on what—were there less of ferment and discontent among the people—would be accounted good and sufficient security. Indeed, I believe that, had the Government at present occasion to effect a loan for the purchase of any proprietary estate, they might be able to effect it amongst ourselves, even to a very considerable extent, and without being obliged to have recourse to England for the purpose. I maintain that the present Government has done a great deal of good for the country, that, under their rule, the general prosperity has greatly increased, and that, had it not been marred by the late Tenant League disturbances, we would have had the fullest reason to congratulate ourselves upon our material progress, our happy condition, and our inviting prospects. The hon member for Cascumpeque (Mr. Howlan) had been very severe upon the Government for their dismissal of Mr. Gordon from the magistracy; but, when the correspondence connected with that dismissal came to be laid upon the table, as it would be, it would be found that his censure of the Government was altogether uncalled for, and based upon mere erroneous assumptions. Had Mr. Gordon been improperly dismissed from the magistracy, he would have been reinstated by the Imperial Government, provided he had petitioned Her Majesty the Queen against his removal, and been able to show that it was without sufficient cause.

Hon. Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, at this late hour of the evening, it is not my intention to say much upon the subject of the present debate — the Tenant League and the necessity, which, out of the proceedings of that organization arose for sending for the troops; but, as a member of the Government and a representative of the people, I feel I am bound to give, at least, some explanation of the motives by which I was actuated, and of the very delicate, as well as responsible, position in which I felt myself to be placed when the disturbances occasioned by the Tenant League movement, had assumed so serious and threatening an aspect as to make it imperative upon the Government to have recourse to the most stringent action for their suppression. Many of my constituents, I assumed, were members of the League; at least many who were either actually members of that body, or sympathizers with it, resided in the District which I have the honour to represent in this House; and therefore, considering the relation in which I thus stood to such of my constituents and others resident in my District, as were either directly or indirectly connected with that association, I felt my position to be one of no ordinary difficulty, and such as was calculated to put both my private feelings and my public principles, unavoidably and painfully, to the test. The path of duty was, however, quite obvious, and I did not hesitate to pursue it. The peace, the welfare, the prosperity of the country were at stake; our constitution was imperilled, and even life itself was in jeopardy. Recreant, indeed, then to every sentiment of patriotism, to every feeling of humanity, must I have been, if, at such a time, I had not dared, as a member of the Government and a representative of the people, to assume my full share of the responsibility, ay, and of the unpopularity and odium, which their having recourse to military aid for the suppression of civil disturbances and the maintainance of the law, was almost certain to draw down upon the Government. I gave my sanction then, my full sanction, to the action of sending for the Troops; and I would do so again, if so alarming an emergence should ever again occur, and I, at the same time, occupied the same position of trust and responsibility in which I then stood, and still occupy. I, indeed, deeply regretted that any among my constituents should be connected with that unfortunate association—the Tenant League—or even that any others resident in my District had been so foolish as to enroll themselves among its members. From the first moment of my having heard of it, I did all in my power to warn them against the most ruinous and disastrous consequences which would inevitably overtake all who belonged to it, and who should continue to pursue the object which they had in view, by so mad and rebellious a course as resistance to the law and the constitutional authorities of the land. But, although my efforts to stay the progress of the League, by the most friendly and earnest counsels, were unceasing, it grew and spread to such an extent, assumed such formidable dimensions, and wore so threatening and alarming an aspect, that I and my hon. colleagues in the Government felt we should be fully justified in having recourse to the most prompt measures for its suppression; and, as the only one by which we felt convinced the re-establishment of peace and good order could be effected, and the supremacy of the law upheld, we were unanimous in our decision as to the propriety and necessity of sending for a detachment of Her Majesty's Troops; and, I am happy to say, the result has most fully justified the measure and our expectations of the good which would result from it. I need not go over the grounds which, in justification of the course pursued by the Government—at first, by the mildest means to check the progress of the Tenant League, and, finally, by the most stringent and energetic, to effect its suppression—have been so ably examined and laid bare by the Hon. the Solicitor General, the Hon. the Leader of the Government, and the hon. and gallant member for Belfast (Hon. Col. Gray.) Some hon. members in opposition—in a spirit which, I am afraid savours more of a regard for the interests of their party, than that of impartial devotion to the good of their country—are most anxious to inculpate the Government on the charge of having, at the first, been too lax in their endeavours to arrest the progress of the the Tenant League movement; but I do not hesitate freely to tell those hon. members that, had the Government had recourse to any of those extraordinary and stringent modes of exercising the civil power of the country, which they profess so much to regret that the Government did not put in force when the League was merely in a state of incipiency, they would have been amongst the very foremost to accuse us of endeavours to suppress the civil rights and privileges of the people, and of a design to establish the rule of a proprietary oligarchy. It was, however, on the contrary, actuated by no other sentiments, than the most tender regard for the civil rights and privileges of the people, the most anxious desire to promote their best material interests, and extreme solicitude to preserve unimpaired, for the good of all, the blessings of our free constitution, that the Government shaped their course and regulated their proceedings, with a view to the suppression of the Tenant League association and eradication of their dangerous and ruinous principles, wherever they had taken root in the minds of the people. The Government had then—throughout their season of difficulty and trial, throughout the day of danger—a duty to perform, far higher and nobler than any obligations imposed upon them by the relationship or ties of party; and, to the best of their ability, uninfluenced by any unworthy fears or selfish considerations, they acquitted themselves of that duty, confidently relying upon the justice, wisdom and independence of this hon. House, for a verdict of justification and approval, whenever their executive proceedings with reference to the Tenant League and the civil disturbances attributable to it, should come under its deliberative review and consideration. I did not intend, at so late an hour, to occupy the attention of the Committee for so long a time as I have done; but, in justice to myself and my hon. colleagues in the Government, I felt I could do no less than advert to the highly responsible position which we occupied under the trying and peculiar difficulties in which this Colony was placed by the important proceedings of parties associated with the Tenant League, and the manner in which the high duties, incumbent upon us as a Government, were discharged.

Mr. DUNCAN. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has declared that the Tenant League had its origin in the Murray Harbour District, among the supporters of the Government: but I maintain that it was not got up by supporters of the Government, but by friends of the Opposition; and not in the Murray Harbour District, but in the school-house at Sturgeon. A very few of those who attended the meeting held there by the concoctors of the League, were, I admit, from Peters's Road; but that was all the connection which the Tenantry of the Murray Harbour District had with the discontented and mischievious parties who called that meeting. With respect to the steps which had been taken by the Government for the repression of the rebellious proceedings of the Tenant League, some hon. members taxed them with having been too slow: and others, on the contrary, said they had been too quick in sending for the Troops to effect that object. But, when it was known that the Tenant League organization numbered 14,000, no man of common sense, I think, would have argued that they could be suppressed by the exertions of a few special constables. Powerful men they must, indeed, have been, if they could have overcome the combined resistance offered to them, by a body of determined men, numbering several thousands. Nothing could have effectually intimidated the League, but the presence of the Troops. It appears that some of the members of this hon. House have attended meetings of the League; and I do not hesitate to say that their having done so was disgraceful to gentlemen of their position. If the League, instead of 14,000 had numbered only 5,000, or 4,000, what, I ask, could 200 special constables have done in opposition to them? Twenty red coats would have done a great deal more. I am afraid that I am treading upon the skirts of some hon. members in making these remarks. But be that as it may, I feel I am justified in speak-