

The Examiner.

Charlottetown, December 18, 1865.

THE REVILINGS OF THE TENANT LEAGUE.

GREAT fault has been found in certain quarters with the course pursued by the Examiner with respect to the Tenant League. It is said by some that our opposition was of too violent a character. We should—these fault-finders say—have been much more moderate in our tone, and should have used greater discrimination in the choice of the epithets which we applied to the Tenant League organization and its leaders. Others go much further, and say that we had no business to meddle in the matter at all. To put down the Tenant League, they argue, is the duty of the Proprietors and of the Government, and in this duty they should receive no assistance whatever from the Liberal Party or the Liberal Press. Friends and foes have joined in the cry against us—friends, because they really believe that we have injured ourselves and the Liberal cause by the part we have taken; and foes, because they wish, at any sacrifice of consistency and principle, to take advantage of any imaginary slip of ours to gratify their spite, and to further their own paltry aims.

Now, upon mature consideration, we are convinced that the course pursued by us in this matter of the Tenant League was the only open one to us as an honest, independent public journalist. It will be paying no very high compliment to our own discernment to say, that from the beginning we saw clearly that the Tenant League, as conducted by Adams and the others, would prove a miserable failure. We saw that the men based their organization on principles which were both dishonest and unworkable. We were convinced—as our own eyes at the time show—that the teachings of the Tenant League demagogues would do mischief to the tenantry themselves—who followed them would only add to their sufferings and add to their burdens. We clearly saw, if the principles of the Union were carried out to their plain consequences, that the Island would be gazed in the eyes of the Mother Country and in those of any of the sister Colonies who took an interest in its welfare. In fine, it was our sincere conviction that the Leaguers would succeed both in ruining the tenantry at home and in bringing the Colony into contempt abroad. With these opinions, what then was the course that we, as an independent journalist, ought to pursue? Were we to sit with folded hands and see a pack of ignorant designing fools and knaves ruining the country, without uttering one word of warning—without writing one sentence in reprobation of such folly and wickedness? Were we to see an excitable tenantry hounded on to the very verge of a hopeless insurrection by a set of unprincipled rascals, and give vent to the contempt and indignation boiling within us in no other than honeyed words and mellifluous phrases? Were we humbly to defer to this conspiracy of brains and stump orators and prating pedagogues, as if it were a power in the land, worthy of the respect of any man of common sense or common honesty? Had we done so then, in good-sooth, we would have given the enemy cause to rejoice—then, indeed, might be justly reproached us for having become political panderers to the meanest and most contemptible clients that ever reprobated their disgraceful trade to gratify. Plainly, then, the only course open to us was prompt, uncompromising opposition. And as to our manner: When we saw the leader of the League urging a handful of tenant farmers in Prince Edward Island to oppose themselves to the might of the British Empire, could any language be found strong enough to denounce the origination of so insane, so wicked a scheme? If we said he was a fool to entertain such an idea for a single moment, we only gave utterance to the simple, unexaggerated truth. If, seeing the folly of such a proceeding—as he most probably did—he only promulgated it as a means of exciting the people and of increasing his popularity, would we have gone far wrong if we had characterized him as a deep designing knave? When we saw him and his conditors advocating a course that could not fail in the end of increasing a thousand fold the distresses of the tenantry—of entailing untold misery on helpless women and innocent children—could we be said to indulge in an unwarrantable licence of speech if we called them the most selfish fellows unhanged? When we saw that such men, Robert Stewart, publicly and unblushingly advocate the "martyrdom" of constables and other officers of the law, would we have done very great outrage to the amenities of newspaper criticism, if we had pronounced him a disgrace to any Christian sect—a most unworthy follower of Him who has said, "Blessed are the peace makers." Were we to give measured expression to our horror and indignation when we read in *Ross's Weekly* that the Sheriff and his officers occupied no higher position, and were entitled to no more respectful consideration than lawless "raiders"? Would we not be simply justified in saying that the man who would pollute the pages of a newspaper with such pernicious trash was destitute either of principle and intelligence—one that would advocate any cause however wretched, and would cheerfully do any work however dirty, provided that by so doing he would stand any chance of increasing the circulation of his newspaper, and of becoming some time in the distance a "Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty"? As of those who would wholely give of unprincipled demagogues who would fling the entire country into needless suffering in order to gratify their ambition, and increase their social importance. They deserve small consideration at the hands of any honest public journalist, and it is the greatest reproach to many of our detractors that they had not the moral courage to treat them according to their deserts. Since these gentry had not the independence to utter their own convictions it is for having performed what they ought to have done, had they possessed proper principle and sufficient pluck.

We are far from believing that it is the business merely of the Proprietors and the Government to oppose the Tenant League. As well might it be said that it is the duty of no one in the community but the owner of the burning house and those connected with the Insurance Company to quench the flames and to assist in removing its contents to a place of safety. To uphold the laws, and to attempt to restrain the people from pursuing a policy injurious to their own interests, are duties incumbent on every citizen. We were fully convinced that it was our duty to the tenantry to demand that they should leave no stone unturned to expose the designs of the Tenant Leaguers, and to demonstrate their unprincipled and unworkable principles.

GREY

Tenant League demagogues would do mischief to the tenantry themselves—who followed them would only add to their sufferings and add to their burdens. We clearly saw, if the principles of the Union were carried out to their plain consequences, that the Island would be gazed in the eyes of the Mother Country and in those of any of the sister Colonies who took an interest in its welfare. In fine, it was our sincere conviction that the Leaguers would succeed both in ruining the tenantry at home and in bringing the Colony into contempt abroad. With these opinions, what then was the course that we, as an independent journalist, ought to pursue? Were we to sit with folded hands and see a pack of ignorant designing fools and knaves ruining the country, without uttering one word of warning—without writing one sentence in reprobation of such folly and wickedness? Were we to see an excitable tenantry hounded on to the very verge of a hopeless insurrection by a set of unprincipled rascals, and give vent to the contempt and indignation boiling within us in no other than honeyed words and mellifluous phrases? Were we humbly to defer to this conspiracy of brains and stump orators and prating pedagogues, as if it were a power in the land, worthy of the respect of any man of common sense or common honesty? Had we done so then, in good-sooth, we would have given the enemy cause to rejoice—then, indeed, might be justly reproached us for having become political panderers to the meanest and most contemptible clients that ever reprobated their disgraceful trade to gratify. Plainly, then, the only course open to us was prompt, uncompromising opposition. And as to our manner: When we saw the leader of the League urging a handful of tenant farmers in Prince Edward Island to oppose themselves to the might of the British Empire, could any language be found strong enough to denounce the origination of so insane, so wicked a scheme? If we said he was a fool to entertain such an idea for a single moment, we only gave utterance to the simple, unexaggerated truth. If, seeing the folly of such a proceeding—as he most probably did—he only promulgated it as a means of exciting the people and of increasing his popularity, would we have gone far wrong if we had characterized him as a deep designing knave? When we saw him and his conditors advocating a course that could not fail in the end of increasing a thousand fold the distresses of the tenantry—of entailing untold misery on helpless women and innocent children—could we be said to indulge in an unwarrantable licence of speech if we called them the most selfish fellows unhanged? When we saw that such men, Robert Stewart, publicly and unblushingly advocate the "martyrdom" of constables and other officers of the law, would we have done very great outrage to the amenities of newspaper criticism, if we had pronounced him a disgrace to any Christian sect—a most unworthy follower of Him who has said, "Blessed are the peace makers." Were we to give measured expression to our horror and indignation when we read in *Ross's Weekly* that the Sheriff and his officers occupied no higher position, and were entitled to no more respectful consideration than lawless "raiders"? Would we not be simply justified in saying that the man who would pollute the pages of a newspaper with such pernicious trash was destitute either of principle and intelligence—one that would advocate any cause however wretched, and would cheerfully do any work however dirty, provided that by so doing he would stand any chance of increasing the circulation of his newspaper, and of becoming some time in the distance a "Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty"? As of those who would wholely give of unprincipled demagogues who would fling the entire country into needless suffering in order to gratify their ambition, and increase their social importance. They deserve small consideration at the hands of any honest public journalist, and it is the greatest reproach to many of our detractors that they had not the moral courage to treat them according to their deserts. Since these gentry had not the independence to utter their own convictions it is for having performed what they ought to have done, had they possessed proper principle and sufficient pluck.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN NEWS.

We gather the following items of European news from papers received by the R. M. S. *Asia*, which arrived at Halifax on the 8th inst. It is stated that H. M. Ship *Arcton* has been ordered from England to Halifax, and also that a Battalion of the 60th rifles are under orders for the same destination. The most startling piece of intelligence is the announcement that Stephens, the Fenian Head Centre in Dublin, had escaped from Richmond Prison, at one o'clock in the morning of the 24th. A warrant, issued by the Lord Chief Justice, directed that he should be arrested for aiding and abetting in his escape. It is said that the police, on searching Byrne's box, found in it the Fenian outfit. A reward of one thousand pounds has been offered for the capture of Stephens. The escape, says the *Dublin Times*, was deliberately planned, and was deliberately carried out. He passed through seven doors opened by several keys. The escape of Stephens, it is said, will do more to encourage Fenianism than all the vapourings of American Head Centres. The *Times* says a specimen of virgin gold has been discovered in a stream in Cornwall. It measures nearly three inches in length, and 2 1/2 inches in diameter, and weighs rather more than two ounces. The revolt of the negroes in Jamaica, has led to a determination on the part of the Spanish Government to watch very closely the

RENEW HOUSE, New Goods!

their principles. We knew full well that the tenants themselves would be the greatest, the only sufferers. The proprietors, though put to some inconvenience by the proceedings of the Tenant League, would, in the end, suffer no loss. They could afford to wait. The Government, if it chose to wink at the outrage of the League, might become popular. But the vengeance of the outraged law would be visited on the tenantry nevertheless. Our Government is not omnipotent. Very far from it. There is a power above it and altogether independent of it. Let the advocates of the League rest assured that no systematic violation of law would be permitted in this Colony if every member of the Government, from the highest to the lowest, aided and abetted such violation. Whether the Government was favourable, or whether it was unfavourable, military law would be proclaimed, and rents would be collected at the bayonet's point. Tenants would not only be obliged to pay in full the legal demands of their landlords, but they would be saddled with heavy law expenses, and the greater part of the cost of the military occupation would, no doubt, have to come out of the pockets of the people of the Island, the innocent as well as the guilty. The whole crop of the tenant, which Heaven knows is often scanty enough, would be sacrificed to liquidate old claims and to satisfy new demands.

What we have written on the Tenant League has not, then, been written in the interests of the Proprietors or in the interests of the Government, but in the interests of the tenantry. It was their good we had in view—it was their welfare we studied. We have endeavoured to save them from many great evils, and to rescue them and those connected with them from most poignant suffering. We performed what we considered an imperative duty. If we are misunderstood we are very sorry for it. We trust that at no very distant day the purity of our motives will be manifest to all. We are content to wait till the mists of passion and prejudice have by some favourable influence been cleared from the minds of many well-meaning persons who now regard us with dislike and distrust. We hope that they soon will be able to distinguish between their friends and their foes—that they will one day see the difference between friends and flatterers. And, at the worst, if their eyes are never opened to their true interests, they cannot deprive us of the satisfaction of feeling that in this matter of the Tenant League our course has been a right one, and that we have done them essential service in spite of themselves.

Such as some easy-going politicians may say to the contrary, we claim to have done good service to the Liberal Party by our open and continued opposition to that contemptible but mischievous thing, the Tenant League. We have preserved the Liberal party from the stigma of having given countenance to so disgraceful, so disloyal an organization. The enemies of the Liberal cause cannot reproach leading Liberal politicians with being demagogues ready to make political capital out of any cry that happens to be popular, no matter how wicked or how unreasonable it may be. We have proved that consistent and uncompromising Liberals can be as staunch supporters of law and order as the most rigid Tories in the land. The Liberal party never stood so high in the esteem of thoughtful and influential men, both at home and abroad, as it does at present. Let Liberals beware how they forfeit this esteem. In no way can they so effectually do so as by truckling to unprincipled adventurers, and by humouring, at the expense of principle, a misguided and an infatuated people.

ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT SWINDLING.

We notice in *Ross's Weekly*, of last Thursday, the following resolution, as one that was passed, amongst others, at a meeting of the so-called Central Committee of the Tenant League. It requires no comment. The League refuse to give to the public a fair account of the money they have already received and appropriated, as most people believe, to their own purposes, and now they are asking for more, under the pretence that they will relieve the tenantry whom they have brought into difficulty through their bad advice. The Great Central Committee say that they are satisfied with the "Treasurer's" statement of receipts and expenditures; but are the general public satisfied? For the general public have contributed to the funds. President O'Mahoney and his fellow-swindlers no doubt say that they are satisfied with the manner in which the money—subscribed by poor servant girls and labouring men—has been expended to make a sort of wild goose-chase of a foray on British Property and British Possessions; but that wretched game is nearly played out. The donations to the Fenian swindlers will become "small by degrees and beautifully less" as their nefarious and impracticable projects become revealed; and so it will be with the Leaguers, who are seeking to extort money from the tenantry and others, under false pretences. The resolution to which we have referred is as follows:—"Resolved, That all those who have subscribed to the funds of the Tenant Union be required to pay in immediately, as the Central Board have determined to adopt measures which will secure to the members of the Union that legal justice to which they, as British subjects, are justly entitled."

The meaning of all this is—"Come, down with your dust, poor fools! George Adams, Bob Stewart, Sam Lane and John Ross have necessities of their own, and want to dabble still further in your plunder." This impudent threat of a "raid" upon the pockets of the tenantry for more cash, will, we have no doubt, be properly resented and resisted.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE—MONARCHY VS. DEMOCRACY.

From the moment of the establishment of our free Constitution, the civilized world has been convulsed by revolutions in the interests of democracy or of monarchy; but through all those revolutions the United States have wisely and firmly refused to become propagandists of republicanism. It is the only government suited to our country, and we have no right to impose it on others; and we have ever followed the advice of Washington to recommend only by the careful preservation and prudent use of the blessing. During the intervening period the policy of European powers and of the United States has, on the whole, been harmonious. Twice, indeed, in the course of the century, we have been in the interest of monarchy, have prevailed; twice our predecessors have had occasion to announce the views of this nation in respect to such interference. On both occasions the remonstrance of the United States was respected, from a direct action, on the part of European Governments, that the system of non-interference was the true rule for the two hemispheres. Since those times we have advanced in wealth and power; but we retain the same purpose to give the nations of Europe to choose their own dynasties and form their own systems of Government.

This consistent iteration may justly demand a corresponding moderation. We should regard it as a great calamity to ourselves, to the cause of good government, and to the peace of the world, should any European power, in the defence of republicanism against foreign interference, be unable to force, and be unwilling to consider, what opportunities might present themselves, what combinations might offer to protect itself against designs inimical to our form of government. The United States desire to act in the future as they have ever acted heretofore; they never will be drawn from their course by the passions of European Governments, or by the wisdom and justice of those powers to respect the system of non-interference which has so long been sanctioned by time, and which, by its good results, has approved itself to both continents.

The correspondence with France, in relation to Mexican affairs, will be laid before Congress. For several years past Mr. Johnson's views upon reconstruction have been a riddle past finding out. More mystery has been found in them, doubtless, than was necessary, but still what precise course he preferred has been a question not to be answered with any certainty. It is not answered by the message. "It was his most steadfast object," says the President, "to secure the removal of all military and political restrictions, such as this topic excites in a great degree; but it would also appear that he deems it best that in dealing with this momentous subject, which rises so far above all ordinary political considerations, it should not be understood that he is committed to the measures of any party, and that he should stand free to take such measures for the removal of all military and political restrictions as he may deem to be in the path of whatever system the national will finally marks out.

He gives briefly those views of the nature of American institutions which led him to prefer the trial of an early restoration of civil authority; he states the dangers which led him to deprecate any long continuance of military rule; and he states the considerations which he details are undoubtedly of great weight. He adds an explanation of the close connection which he has established between the ratification of the anti-slavery amendment and a complete restoration; and this done he leaves the whole subject for Congress. "It is," he says, "to the Senate and House, to judge each for himself of the merits, merits and qualifications of your own members"—a comprehensive reference of the subject which opens all the questions as to what constitutes a proper election in States situated as those lately in insurrection, for the fulfilment of the legislative branch. The President's views on the subject even abtain from any remark upon the subject, and his experiment, leaving his opinion in that respect to be gathered, if at all, from extraneous sources, such as his despatches to the Governors of the Carolinas and of Mississippi.

In conclusion, the President draws a glowing picture of the future greatness of the Republic. Voluntary reports from Secretaries of War, the Navy, Treasury, Interior, and from Gen. Grant, are also printed. Congress has not yet fairly entered into business. Hon. Schuyler Colfax has been elected speaker of the House of Representatives.

Our good friends in St. John appear to have been somewhat alarmed respecting a threatened Fenian raid upon their fair City, as appear by the following article from the *Globe* of the 6th inst.:

IMPORTANT!

The city was excited to-day over various rumours respecting a Fenian raid, and as the day grew apace, these rumours increased in extent and importance. Monday night His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor received a telegram, in cipher, from Washington, stating that a raid—what kind was not stated—on New Brunswick was contemplated. His Excellency, the same evening, telegraphed to the Attorney General to come to St. John without delay. On arriving here, Mr. Smith, it appears, was put in possession of this information, and he received His Excellency's instructions to meet him at St. Andrew's or St. Stephen. Thither the Attorney General proceeded in the cold of last night—His Excellency having gone direct from Fredericton. Their efforts there, it is thought, will be directed to placing the frontier in a state of defence as to guard against surprise or incursion from that direction.

Soon after the Attorney General's arrival, the Police Magistrate and Chief of Police were communicated with, as were the Bank Presidents and Col. Grierson, the officer commanding the forces here.

The latter expressed his readiness to cooperate, in any way necessary, with the civil power, for the preservation of the public peace. The Bank Presidents were directed to redouble the present securities and safe-guards on their precious treasure; and the Police force were cautioned to exercise more than their ordinary vigilance, hence, the passengers who arrived by the Atlantic boat last night were very closely scrutinized.

Consultations have been frequent to-day between the military, leading officers of the militia, and the civil officers, and every precaution will be taken to guard against surprise. The military are under orders to be ready at a moment's notice, and it is feared that the city can be held against any force that may openly attack it; but, as a further security, a request—so it is said—has been made upon Halifax for a gunboat.

While all these precautions have been taken—and in the face of the warning sent, it would be needless to repeat, the citizens really no cause for alarm. The indefiniteness of the information, the certainty that any attempt made upon us would result in failure, and the general improbability of any such attempt being made, while not sufficient to neglect in being forewarned, afford very little ground upon which to tremble at the existence of real danger.

THE FENIAN CONSPIRACY.

From the report of the preliminary examination before the Dublin Police Court, of Stephens, the Head Centre, and his associates, we make the following extracts:—"The evidence which Mr. Barry produced yesterday is most important, laying bare the very core of the conspiracy. It also supplied an explanation of the strange conduct of the prisoners have been kept from communication with one another. One of the documents produced, if rightly ascribed to the Head Centre, revealed the startling fact that he (Stephens) undertook the defence of the prisoners connected with the *Irish People*, and employed to conduct their case of the prisoners, who were in the document, which has no signature stated:—"We selected Nolan because he promised us, if he was retained he would give us charge of this case, and that after a first interview, he had given him and the prisoners, either or both of us (the writer and Mr. Cushman) might represent him in the prison. Both Cushman and myself acted in good faith, and used Nolan as the only means by which we could communicate with the prisoners, which we felt to be our duty under the circumstances, and I think it too bad that our well meant efforts to serve the prisoners, and to be a medium of communication with their friends outside, should be turned into a fault."

Mr. Barry said he now proposed to read the documents which had been sent to Stephens' house. The first was a "list of officers" who had received funds since their arrival here, with the amount advanced and paid to them at the other side previous to their embarkation." In one column were the names of 24 persons; the next column stated the rank—as colonel, major, lieutenant, &c.; and then there were columns in which were given the names of the officers, as money advanced, and then "money advanced in U. S. £48, £37, 10s." and so on. One was marked "paid his own expenses"; three were marked "nothing"; two received sums of £7, and there were various other sums ranging from £10 to £70. In another column was given the names of the officers, and then there were columns in which were given the names of the officers, as money advanced, and then "money advanced in U. S. £48, £37, 10s." and so on. 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