the Fenian. He sees in England only the "oppressor and murderer" of his brethren, the "fell enemy of his faith." No doubt this is exaggerated language, if not, indeed, untrue, but it expresses a genuine feeling, and the question is how has this feeling originated? We cannot get over the difficulty of saying that the Irishman is an unaccountable being. Perhaps, in a general way, he does not reason so logically as his Saxon brother. Perhaps he is impetuous and unreasoning, hot headed and warm hearted, faithful to the death where his affections are engaged; be the objects ever so absurd or so little worthy of his regard. But of his abilities to feel, think, and talk there cannot be a question, and it is not surprising that his faculties have been turned into such a current, and have taken such a course as we see developed in the designs of the Fenian brotherhood.

We have viewed this question solely in its moral aspect, and in no other is it worthy to be regarded. Those who know the preparations which are necessary for an invasion, and have any idea of the power of this country for repelling one, can afford to smile at the pretentions of the Brotherhood, but they cannot afford to neglect that very potent lesson which their hatred teaches us. As was well said by Mr. Cobden at Rochdale on Tuesday night, injustice, whether national or individual, recoils on the head of the perpetator. The Arab proverb says that curses like chickens, always come home to roost; and injustice possesses the same characteristic. In may not be our immediate conduct which has occasioned the Irish exodus, but we are reaping the mischiefs of it. We may have been desirous of doing the fullest justice to Ireland; but our fathers, as we cannot deny, did her a deep injustice; and the burden falls on our shoulders. Our fathers have eaten sour grapes, and their children's teeth are set on edge. The long night of Ireland's mourning may have passed away, but her relief came from America more than from England, and it is not surprising that the Fenians turn to her with a kindly feeling, and turn from us in bitter loathing. The question of race ethnologically is no longer of any value. The Celtic blood of Ireland is largely mixed with the Anglo-Saxon. Her ancient language is almost forgotten. Still there remains the influence of country and name, and it is worth the attention of our statesmen to determine if anything reasonable can be done to satisfy the claims of both. Some one has said that the love of a dog is worth having, still more is the love of a people worth acquiring. It is neither to our honor nor our benefit that people leave our shores with hatred to us in their hearts. If we cannot keep them with us, let us at least learn to win their sympathy and regard. As for the Fenian Brotherhood, it is as well they should know there is no terror for us in their threats. It is the sense of wrong under which they labor that we would fain alleviate, and every right-minded Englishman will coincide with us. We have no wish to be charged with injustice by the humblest of our countrymen. Probably we shall not see the subsidence of the Fenian excitement for a generation or two, but we rely on the fair air of the American prairies to blow it away, as we rely upon the justice of the British people to regenerate Ireland with no other implements than wise laws and brotherly treatment.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FOR THE PUBLIC.

(No. 4.)

"Justum ac tenaceum proponti virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida."—HORAT.

MR. EDITOR:

Than the Bible, considered in itself, no party of men, under any circumstances, could perhaps select a better foundation on which to erect any favourite superstructure. The foolish usually build upon the sand. And what renders the vast bulk of mortals so open to the accusation of the worst of follies, is the mournful fact that they are ever too prone to rear their various edifices, whether either of a spiritual, moral or social character, on this worse than useless basis, instead of on that indistructible rock of ages—the truth of God itself. And this, we fear, notwithstanding all that has hitherto been written and said on the subject, will be found to be the real choice which has also been made by our existing Tory consociation in this country. We do deeply regret, for their own credit, that instead of having homologated the Bible in any commensurate respect as an integral element of their public political platform, they have only been employing it all the while as a grand subterfuge or screen to hide from close inspection the constitutional rottenness of that entire civil fabric which they claim as the especial result of their peculiar principles, and of their own combined handiwork. We do indeed feel sorry to have to record it as our decided impression that the day is not far distant which must reveal the fact, that whether intentionally or not, they have at any rate substantially, only as yet, made that use of it which General Taylor was once said to have made in Mexico, when at a dead stand for any other material—profanely seized it as wadding for their political guns, to enable them to keep up what might otherwise have proved an unsuccessful contest with their political adversaries. To have politically adopted the Bible for their real directory—to have strictly and consistently exemplified its sublime and holy doctrines in either their private or public capacity as an experimental compact of Christian men, would indeed have been a glorious developement of sterling reform in these degenerate days. It would have caused us to have verily anticipated the speedy advent of the long promised millennium to our common race. But alas! like nearly every other illusory prognostic of such a consummation in times past, we greatly fear that all those among us, who may have been induced to regard those recent unusual Biblical protestations of our present Tory rulers in this particular light, are only once more doomed, like many of their before too-credulous predecessors on earth, to find their hopes completely and forever dissipated.

Those angry discussions, which have so lately marred the social harmony of this community in relation to this precise Bible controversy, could never surely have derived the slightest countenance from any thing which that Bible itself contains. Every one knows that they partook far too much of a spirit diametrically opposed to the sacred teachings of God's Word to have possibly in any way acquired their birth from its humane and benignant precepts. What were some of the only practical results which those discussions themselves would hitherto seem to have produced on the current masses of the people? Were they in any known aspect either good or salutary? Were they not rather the very opposite? I myself have repeatedly, during some of our late public political contests, when the question was rife, so to speak, among the lower as well as the higher orders of society, if orders of society can be correctly applied to this country, met with men who were actually, to use a common proverbial expression, "as drunk as Bacchus" vociferating the most direful denunciations against all, as they described it, who would dare to identify themselves with those who would *oppose the Bible*. To what particular shade of politics such men belonged it could not, of course, be hard to determine. But this is nothing in itself. They were at least no credit to any society; and the only great underlying truth which they at the time served and still serve to place beyond dispute, is the pitiful certainty that the very spirit in which numbers of the vast ordinary masses of our population entered from the first into the advocacy of the then popular Protestant side of this express controversy, was any thing but either an intelligent or a commendable one. It was, on the contrary, in no small degree utterly *inconsiderate*; and the only natural result which such support could possibly be expected to inspire into the minds of all calm observers could only be dignst, spontaneous disgust, and almost unmeasured and unmeasurable contempt. The populace, however, in this, as in nearly every other party commotion of the sort, are untailingly ready to follow their reputed leaders to do battle for whatever divinity they may choose to select. "Great is our 'Diana'!" is sure to be the invariable war cry of the "crude multitude," in every country, and under any circumstances, whenever thus led on by their respective party generals of the particular faction to which they have been submissively accustomed to adhere, without even once for themselves so much as giving the question a serious thought as to whether the factional deity, for which they thus "shoulder arms," is, in the abstract, actually worthy of their homage or altogether undeserving of their rational notice. Those factional leaders of prominent notoriety, consequently, and not the mere subservient masses themselves, are the proper persons with whom we have here strictly to do. And what shall we say to them as thus constituting the appropriately intelligent agents who may be supposed righteously liable to bear all the current responsibility which the subject may involve? We say distinctly and emphatically this—Let the Bible reign forever in the hearts of men, let it be said that such discordant ebullitions of human feeling and base human passion as those which we now deplore, find any sanction whatever, within its blessed covers, or any, even the slightest attributable connection with its intrinsically divine and regenerating principles.

Had either the reckless and crafty politicians, or some of their still more inconsiderate supporters who have now for some years past made such a pompous use of the name of this Holy Volume, in order to compass their own selfish and secular ends, been truly influenced in their own spirits by its humble and tranquilizing philosophy, they never in the first place would have dared to reduce it to the low level which as we have already read, by making it a matter of ordinary civil Legislation, they have now most assuredly done. This is, therefore, one decided action in their past conduct for which we unhesitatingly find fault with them. We maintain, on principle, that they erred exceedingly in thus taking the initiative in reducing this matter to a common par with all other simply local questions of a purely civil or legislative character. In taking this step, we charge them with the entire responsibility of inaugurating in this country a fundamental impropriety which should never under any consideration have been permitted to occur in the universal progress of our political experience. They have thus opened a door which they may never find themselves competent again to shut, and whatever may be the future complications which this same religious squabble may yet assume in this very Island, we ask them now to bear in mind the fact that they were the first to drag it officially as a corporate movement into the common list with all our other ordinary affairs of a mere current or commercial importance. The Bible, we determinately persist, should never have been thus treated. It has already God's own authority as its infinitely superhuman certificate. Man can have no conceivable liberty to legislate on the word of his Maker. And I care not who he is, but I honestly avow my belief that the man who can deliberately concur in subjecting the Bible in any sense or case whatever to the base criterion of such legislation, can have but precious little of anything even approaching a proper reverence in his own mind for either the book itself, in the first place, or even in the second, for the great Being Himself, whom he pretends to accredit with its Authorship. There is something, at all events, every one must feel, both naturally and exceedingly repugnant in the concrete idea. The young king Edward the VI, we are informed, felt horror stricken when requested to make use of the Bible as a temporary pedestal for what was in itself a merely indifferent purpose. But these men have not scrupled to make it a footstool—a stepping stone to the attainment of purely secular, if not in fact, in some cases wholly selfish and sensual objects. They have dragged it through the mire of petty politics, and exposed it in the open glare of the world's face to all the degradation of local human legislation.

By the tenor of these remarks it will at once be seen that on this distinctive subject three of my inherent premises are, that the essential inquiry at stake is neither—whether the Bible in itself be really a good book—whether as such it may be properly used in our Public Institutions of Education—or, whether even its use in such a capacity ought to have been permitted in this or in any other country to have assumed the irreverent form of common local legislative investigation. On each of these three separate points I am fully satisfied in my own mind, and in reference to the last, as well as either of the others, I hold the positive ground, that the entire controversy from beginning to end is one which should never have been introduced into our public legislative economy at all. Each of these specific premises consequently I mean fairly to establish in the course of my progressive predelictions. But should I thus positively succeed in making each of these in due order appear conclusively substantiable by adequate elucidation, it may here be anticipatively demanded by some—who the parties were who first brought the question on the carpet of public discussion in the precise form thus deprecated? I have already specified who were the first to submit it to the humiliating ordeal of mere human authority itself. They were in this country, every man knows, none other than our present Tory rulers. On this head, consequently, there can be no room for argument. They were the first to take any positive deliberative action upon it as a constituent civil Government, legally convened, for the legitimate purposes of ordinary legislative duty in the land. This, we aver, is nothing more nor less than absolutely in itself the plain, honest, unalterable fact. Still, I am aware that the apologists for Tory institutions throughout the Province are in the habit of justifying this fact, by endeavouring to throw the onus of it on other shoulders than their own. They still point back to Bishop McDonald's celebrated letter, as the primary, determinate, and instigative cause of the whole course of procedure, and in fact, as the efficient solution of the entire difficulty. Now, I have already distinctly enunciated the necessary truth which lies fairly at the very threshold of all practical political economy itself, that no Government can in any country under the sun, ever be held excusable for taking as unconstitutional, or in any respect an intrinsically wrong step, in their overt management of the common public interests, on the ground of any evidence whatever, which can or may be derived from any merely external source—or outside pressure which may in any way be brought to bear upon it by the temporary circumstances or conduct of any separate class or section of the people. Much less then can they hope for justification in any overt act to which they admit themselves to have been instigated, if that act should be in itself impolitic by the insulated conduct of a simple individual, or even by the whole minority of the population, who may at the time compose their own well understood political opponents. Here, indeed, we might well stop any further argumentation in support of this minor population. The elementary truth of our position is quite too transparent either to require or deserve any particular illustration. Those apologists for the conduct of our Tory administration, in relation to this peculiar topic, who are thus in the habit of appealing to the Bishop's letter, as a sufficient justification for that conduct, must surely therefore be worse than 'judicially blind,' if they cannot see in so doing they are only supplying their opponents with immeasurably stronger arguments against themselves than they could even otherwise have legitimately obtained. The Bishop, and even the 'Bishop's party,' as they were then themselves in the habit of denominating it, were certainly in that minority at the time of their taking out legislative action on the Bible question, which was powerlessly in opposition to their own dominant political rule, which in itself constitutes a fact, pregnant with the very strongest of all universally recognized reasons, why they should not have paid the slightest attention to the letter in question whatever. And still they have the assurance to bring this incessantly forward in special justification of their own uncontrolled and uncontrollable act. Manifestly, if this be their only practical excuse for that act, it is in all sincerity a pititully lame one indeed. Not only so, but if their act is otherwise in itself indefensible, this very excuse must under all the known principles of universal political economy, render it forever, and in every allowable sense, doubly—yes, on their part manifestly and undeniably—doubly impolitic. But the Bishop's letter, they may plead, was written before they became the accredited rulers of the country—before they obtained the civil power as a constituent Government! Well, what if it was? No previous Government were ever known to have taken any public action on the subject, prior to the date of their own positive accession to power, which leaves them still in the same uncontrovertible position—of having been the first to take open legislative action on the matter, and it that action can be shown to have been in any respect impolitic, and if they at the same time admit that they were actually influenced in taking it by either any or the whole of that minority of the population which at the time constituted their own well understood political opponents—then their position becomes incomparably less justifiable, and we must charge them with having been the first to adopt a certain impolitic course of action from what in itself simply amounts to the most essentially impolitic of all possible reasons. This is clearly a fair deduction from the intrinsical merits of the case. But to prove that it is positively predicable in its full extent of the actual conduct of our present Government, in relation to their particular legislative course of proceedure on the main question now before us, we must first establish the proposition, that that line of conduct with which we thus impeach them was in itself necessarily impolitic. This proposition, therefore, we shall endeavour pointedly to establish in accordance with our own legitimate conception of the real facts, strictly involved in the entire case itself, viewed in all its own exclusively more homogeneous and appropriate aspects.

W. KEIR.

Malpeque, Dec. 30, 1863.

The Examiner.

Charlottetown, January 4th, 1864.

THE OLD YEAR.

A RETROSPECTIVE glance at the events of the year 1863, and the slightest reflection on the relative situations of the Powers of the world, will satisfy the most careless or obtuse that the womb of Time is big with events of truly cosmopolitan character. Turning our eyes to Europe, we behold Great Britain engaged in hostilities against China and Japan—France effecting the conquest of Mexico—the so-called King of Italy looking with longing eyes in the direction of Rome and Venetia—Austria intent on retaining the latter, while the Emperor of the French guards the former from his friend and ally, in whose interest he fought and defeated the Austrians. We behold the descendents of the once famous Greeks offering the throne of their country to any foreigner who would accept it, and substituting, after the uneasy Crown had been refused by an English boy, a Danish child for the stupid Bavarian.

Turning to unhappy Poland, we witness a state of things which fairly transfers the idea of

——"The BLOODIEST picture in the Book of Time"

from the Poland of which Campbell wrote to the Poland of to-day. The history of that land of "fair women and brave men" has emphatically been written in blood; and the atrocities now being inflicted on its people cause the moral aspects of the Reign of Terror in France to "pale their ineffectual fires." France suffered all the evils of the reaction of a long misgoverned people, rising against a continuance of oppression, which had necessarily prepared the materials and laid the train ready for the explosion when the fatal moment should arrive. And if the record of the events of those days causes the men of this generation to blush for human nature, we must recollect that the tyrants and victims were alike French, and that the revolutionary party were taking vengeance for wrongs believed to have been caused by their opponents; and a bloody revenge they did take—

"When France got drunk with blood to vomit
crime."

But Poland groans under the iron heel of an alien despot. No Poles complain of, or fight against their fellow countrymen They are all—men, women and children—united in their hatred of the Barbarian and the hordes which he sends to desolate their country—to hang, and shoot, and scourge, and banish, without trial or investigation, the aged, the infirm, the matrons and the maidens, whose crime is, that they, or some of their relatives, may have dared to love their country. The perpetrators of these outrages have not to plead in extenuation the mutual acerbities which precede and cause one portion of a people to take up arms against another, for in every national characteristic Poland is totally different from Russia. While yet the Tartar hordes were shifting their tents to new pastures for their flocks, Poland had a history of her own, and her sons stood high in the civilization of bygone centuries.—After the decision of Austria, France and Britain, not to interfere by material aid, the victim of Russian brutality must endure its sufferings as best it may, until it shall please the King of Kings to loosen the grasp of the spoiler from its throat, and restore its sorely vexed people to the right of being considered as human beings, and of being treated as such.—The old adage that charity begins at home has received the sarcastic addition that it also frequently ends there; and the conduct of the Autocrat, who, by one stroke of his pen, manumitted twenty millions of Russian serfs, and immediately afterwards transferred their shackles to the chivalrous Poles—affords a melancholy verification of the saying.

Leaving this sad theme, we find all Germany disturbed. The more important States of the Germanic Confederation, as well as the numerous petty Principalities—"Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart, little dogs and all"—are growling and snarling in most admired discord. The King of Prussia seems bent upon driving his subjects to despair of Constitutional Government, so long as *he* shall occupy the throne of his ancestors; and not content with openly over-riding his obligations to his people, he has suggested to the latter the idea that a successor in every way acceptable is to be found in the person of the heir apparent—the husband of the Princess Royal of England. The Prince, influenced doubtlessly by his experience of British institutions, has openly expressed his disapproval of the conduct of his father's Government. This disapprobation was forced from him by the course adopted by the King towards him, and although communicated with moderation and filial respect, has, as might be expected, offended the modern asserter of

"The right divine of Kings to govern wrong."

We consider that a dignified declaration that his sentiments were in accordance with those of the Constitutional Opposition in the Prussian Legislature was due to the heir of the throne as much as to a reversioner to guard against the tenant wasting the estate; and it may be, that out of respect for the character and feelings of the son, the sturdy Prussians may have decided to endure longer than they otherwise would have done the idiosyncracies of the sire. History shows that heirs, apparent and presumptive, to Crowns, are often found in opposition to the Court. This has been verified in no Royal House in Europe so frequently as in that of Brandenburg; and in that family the estrangement has had the peculiarity of being caused by the conduct and whims of the monarch for the time being. The stubborn tenacity with which the present Sovereign has resisted all the legitimate claims of his people—the sullen disregard he has shown to their wishes—and the contemptuous indifference with which he has treated the amicable suggestions of other Powers—have created an impression that a good understanding exists between him and his neighbour of Russia—that his permission to the pursuers of the fugitive Poles to follow their unholy crusade over Prussian territory, was matter of arrangement; and that the despot in *esse* would be willing to make common cause with the despot in *posse*.—The vast armaments that Russia is preparing must have their origin in the idea of hostilities, either offensive or defensive, being imminent. The despatch of a large squadron across the Atlantic, to secure their release from the frozen Baltic, teaches the same lesson.

The dispute about the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, of which we have, on several occasions, given account, is also assuming proportions ominous to the continuance of the peace, not only of Germany, but of all Western and Northern Europe; for it is evident that if once an appeal to arms be made by any of the German States on the subject, France and England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, Denmark and Sweden, will be drawn into the struggle; and one result will be the total extinction of some of those pugnacious little Princes, who, at present, seem inflated with a degree of self-importance calculated to result more injuriously to themselves than to others. Like Mrs. Partington, first alluded to by the Rev. Sydney Smith, and now of world-wide fame, they may be good at a slop or puddle, but when the ocean is roused their pattens and besoms will be found inadequate to keep the angry elements from their little kitchen doors.

While British subjects are giving aid and comfort to the recognised authorities in Cuba, in crushing an invasion or insurrection—(we hardly know how to designate it)—they have been employed in the neighbouring Empire of Japan in deeds of wholesale destruction and slaughter; and however right and necessary it may be to strike prompt and heavy blows at those wretched Orientials whose political and moral codes are almost diametrically opposite to those of Western civilization, no one who may have read the account of the bombardment and destruction of the large and populous town of Kagosima can feel any other emotion than that of regret that so great a waste of property, and so frightful a loss of life, should have been inflicted in satisfaction for the death of a gentleman, to whose imprudent disregard of the advice of his fellow countrymen led to the violent termination of his existence. The destruction of a town of 180,000 inhabitants must have caused a very large amount of suffering, and loss of property and life, on the part of countless multitudes, innocent of all complicity in, or even knowledge of the death of Mr. Richardson, whose fate has been minutely described in nearly all the papers; and it certainly seems the mere wantonness of superior Power to exact so terrible an atonement.

"'Tis beautiful to have a giant's strength—
'Tis tyrannous to use it as a giant."

In happy contrast to those disturbed States, it is pleasing to contemplate the recuperative energies put forth by British India in the comparatively short period which has elapsed since her cities and villages were reeking with the blood of the great Mutiny. Her financial progress has displayed an elasticity which reflects the highest credit on the statesmen who propounded the principles of the system, and have carried them into successful practice.—While the tillers of the soil are becoming sensible of the benefits accruing to their class from the Government policy on the land question—(for that is the question in India, as in some other places less known to fame)—the landlords are contented, and the revenues are augmented.—The opening of hundreds of miles of railway, and the establishment of light draught steamers have co-operated with the stoppage of the supply of Cotton from the States to give an impetus to the growth of Cotton and production of Wool, which is already changing the aspect of every department of Indian business. Within two or three years the supply of wool brought down from the Hill Country has increased from 2000 to 10,000 camel loads, and this increase is owing to the extension of the Railway System into the interior; and no one doubts that the supply will increase in a steadily progressive ratio; and the demand for the article has been enhanced by the absorbtion of nearly all the cotton of native growth for the requirements of English manufacturers.

This reminds us that in virtue of our editorial ubiquity, we can outstrip Ariel, and while the tricksy sprite required forty minutes in which to put a girdle round the world, we can be in Europe in no time.—The marriage of the Prince of Wales is an event which many persons may think should not be passed over in silence, in a review of the prominent occurrences of the year; and if any proof were wanting to show the firm hold that the throne and Royal Family have on the hearts of the British people, it would be found in the enthusiastic loyalty with which the arrival of the Bride elect and her union with the Prince was so universally hailed.

The misery attendant upon the Cotton Famine, so nobly and patiently borne by the operatives in the manufacturing districts, and so liberally relieved by all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, is, we are happy to find, rapidly subsiding; and the supply of their staple, is giving steadily increasing employment to the industrious millions who depended upon it for their daily bread.—The supply of Cotton coming from sources but recently, and, as yet, very partially developed, will, in all probability, exercise a most important influence on the future condition of the world. Although India and other new fields of supply would leave the planter of the Southern States a tolerably wide margin in his favor, in the items of freight and insurance in the English market, yet there is no doubt that the new Cotton fields will have a material influence on British exportation of the manufactured goods, as it will induce the establishment of factories in the places of production.

The desolating Civil War in the States drags its slow length along with a wearisome alternation of successes and defeats, and a constantly recurring change of commanding officers. In fact, the only unvarying characteristic of the struggle hitherto hath been in the amount of carnage and ever widening gulf of mutual antagonism between the parties.—The seizure of the Steamer *Chesapeake*, of which we have recently given an account, indicates a new line of action struck out by the Confederates, which, if carried on as successfully in future attempts, will seriously affect the Northern coasting trade and that between the Eastern States and the British American Colonies.—It is sad to think that productive industry must continue checked, and Europe stand idly looking on, while the mutual butchery is so long protracted, and no sign of its cessation is yet visible.

The Union of the Lower Colonies, of which so much has been spoken and written, will probably again undergo discussion in the respective Legislatures to be affected by it, during their ensuing Sessions. We are by no means insensible to its importance, as we have shown in former Nos., and can at present merely express the hope that the general consideration of the subject will be characterised by enlarged and liberal views worthy of Statesmen—and that before the majority of the people of this Island give their assent to the adoption of the measure, ample security will have been had that our interests are not to be sacrificed in the details of so important a change in their political condition as that contemplated.

As the only public matter in which the people of this Island take any interest is the settlement of the Land Question, and as nothing has been done towards the attainment of that object, it cannot properly form a topic in a review of the occurrences of the year just closed. The only *event* connected with the subject is, that whereas two Delegates went to the Colonial Office—did nothing—both failed in their mission—one has returned to his anxious country—the other has not—

"Jack and Jill went up the hill
To fetch a pail of water,
Jack fell down and broke HIS crown,
And Jill—DID NOT come tumbling after."

It would be easy to extend this review by a notice of other occurrences which characterised the year that is past, but our object is not to write the history of that particular period. It is the duty of a journalist to give "a brief abstract and chronicle of the times," as they are passing before him, and to suggest matters for contemplation and enquiry, that, by adding to our store of wisdom and experience, may be of service to us in the battle of life. And if disposed to moralise—which we are not—the ever changing incidents in many of our domestic circles would revive, in the minds of some of us, the most pleasing recollections, and in others the very reverse. Far be the wish from us now to lift the veil which shrouds the domestic circle, or enquire whether Joy or Sorrow has found a sanctuary there in the year that is sped. But let us be permitted to peer hopefully into the future. The world has as many bright sides as dark ones, and much to rejoice at, in possession and anticipation, as well as to sorrow over. We can only pray and trust that the measure of joy to all our friends will be filled to overflowing in the year upon which we have entered; and if the bitter Chalice of Sorrow be presented to our lips and theirs may the draught be a light one, and such as to leave no pangs that will give enduring bitterness to our Cup of Pleasure.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF P. E ISLAND—PAST AND PRESENT.

As sufficient time has elapsed since the late elections to allow the excitement that attended them to subside, it may be well to review our conduct, and calmly and dispassionately consider the tendency and probable results of the policy then pursued by a large portion of the people.

The situation of this Colony is very different from that of any other. The questions which have divided this community are of quite a different class from those which have occupied the attention of the people of the sister Colonies. The inhabitants of this Colony have been delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of a few large landholders. These, though they receive their rents, perform none of the duties of landlords. The sole business of a landlord in this country is to give leases, and to pocket the rent. He takes no interest in the welfare of the people. He makes no exertions to improve their condition. In most cases he cordially hates and heartily despises them. He bears no considerable share of the public burdens. "He reaps where he has not sown, and gathers where he has not strewn." Though he has failed to fulfill the conditions by which he holds his lands, and has been treated with the utmost leniency by the Imperial Government, yet he is generally an exacting creditor, demanding the uttermost farthing from the toil-worn tenant. As he possesses power, respectability, wealth, and intelligence, he has been able to form an important party in the Colony. This party exercises great influence over our local affairs. Whenever it cannot accomplish its ends here, such is its influence in Downing Street that it commonly succeeds in stifling any measure which is considered prejudicial to its interests.

The people, on the other hand, feel indignant at the manner in which they have been treated by the Home Government. They cannot see why this little Island has been made a theatre for a puny landed aristocracy in which to play its fantastic tricks. They do not see what sins they or their forefathers have committed that the curse of serfdom should be laid on them, and entailed on their posterity. They feel that the man who has spent the vigour of his life in felling the forest, and in clearing the land, has the best right to the soil. They do not see why the mistake, perhaps unintentionally or heedlessly made in the first instance, should be so obstinately and unjustly persisted in. They cannot see why they are obliged to bear their full share of the public burdens, while the proprietors hardly touch them with one of their fingers. They look upon themselves as forced to toil and sweat for those who do nothing for them, and care nothing for them.

The question between landlord and tenant has been *the question* of this Island. The landlords, wealthy and intelligent, have been united—the people, discontented but poor and intelligent, have been disunited. The policy of the landlord party has been to keep power out of the hands of the people as long as possible, and when this could no longer be done, so to divide them that the power possessed by them should become inoperative. The policy of the people should have been to have remained firm and *united*, and, by continual agitation and unflinching assertion of their rights, to have wrested from the proprietors the power that they had so unjustly obtained, and so unrighteously exercised. The tenantry have not constantly pursued this line of policy, and consequently have been defeated by their more prudent and sagacious opponents. The instinct or the intelligence of the proprietors has prompted them unswervingly to pursue the course best calculated to obtain their ends. As long as opposition was possible, they opposed the acquisition of power by the mass of the people. When the people's voice, in spite of their most strenuous efforts to prevent it, made itself heard in the Government of the Colony, they devoted all their energies to rendering the popular influence inefficient, by creating divisions among the people. In this they have succeeded. At a time when the principles of toleration were universally acknowledged, and in a country where danger to the religious liberties of the people was the last thing to be dreaded, they so worked upon the prejudices and fears of a large portion of the tenantry as to render them blind to every evil but the imaginary one—conjured up for the occasion—of Catholic Ascendancy. Having no political character on which to base their claims for support and confidence, they professed instead an ardent zeal for Protestantism, and an undying hatred of the Roman Catholic religion They pretended to entertain the most lively fears lest the liberties of Protestants would, in some mysterious manner, be spirited from them by the magical arts of the "priests of Rome." By dark insinuations and well simulated alarm, they excited the fears of that large portion of the tenantry who, from childhood, have formed the most distorted notions of the nature of the Catholic Church, of the character of her priesthood, and of the principles of those who profess to be guided by her teachings. While these appeals were addressed to the fears of Protestants, a series of wanton attacks on the Catholic religion were made by several members of the Conservative (?) party, lay and clerical. These attacks served two purposes: they completed the alienation of those Catholics who still adhered to the Tory party—made the breach between the Tories and the Catholics an impassable one—and they served to secure the support of those Protestants who consider virulent abuse of "Popery" the best proof of ability and the surest test of orthodoxy. Having, by these means, according to their showing, identified Toryism with Protestantism, and the Liberal cause with Catholicism, they considered their success as certain. And notwithstanding the staleness of the trick, and the shallowness of the artifice, the result realized their anticipations.

It must not be supposed that the whole Protestant population suffered themselves to be frightened out of their principles by the phantoms conjured up by the political schemers and others of the Tory party. There were two classes of Protestants who saw through the whole trick. The first of these were the Liberal Protestants, than whom there does not exist a more intelligent, and a more independent set of men in these North American Colonies. These, in spite of the odium attempted to be cast upon them by their designing and their deluded co-religionists, kept the even tenor of their way, and were not to be charmed into supporting the Proprietary party, even though the Syren, Spiritual Pride, sang the sweetest strains; they were not to be daunted from lending their aid to the Liberal cause though the Giant's Bigotry and Intolerance frowned their blackest, and threatened their worst. The other class, who were not duped, were the dupes and the more intelligent Conservatives—Conservatives from principle—who, though they deprecated the kindling of the fire of religious discord in the country, did not refuse aid which was obtained by means that they would not condescend to employ.

But a division of the tenantry was what the schemers planned, and that division they succeeded in making. Well, who has gained and who has lost by this victory? W. H. Pope has gained a lucrative post under Government, and ample leisure to pursue his plans for increasing his gains. He has also gained a seat in the Assembly and a place in the Government. The Rev. George Sutherland has obtained a situation in the House of Assembly as a prayer of prayers, and what is infinitely more grateful to a man of his character, an amount of consideration and importance that was not accorded to his talents as a minister, his abilities as a writer, or his virtues as a citizen. The Rev. David Fitzgerald has also obtained an office, but as he has lost infinitely more as a clergyman than he has gained as a political agitator, it is perhaps hardly right to count him among the gainers. John Arbuckle has been allowed to retain a situation which he has rendered contemptible by his incompetency, and every claim to which he had forfeited a hundred times by his neglect. J. B. Cooper has been able to live a while longer without being tormented with what he so much hates—hard work. Donald Currie has, also, for some time longer, been kept from a useful employment to waste his days in the Colonial Building, writing bad editorials for a newspaper that nobody reads. A few Orangemen have been elevated to posts of little honor and little profit. A few more have harmlessly strutted about after the manner of turkey-cocks, inflated with the cheap honours and empty but high-sounding titles of their respective Orange Lodges. These have been the gainers. A few Government officials—one or two sensation clergymen—and a number of small-minded people, whose vanity is gratified, and whose self-importance is increased, by being called "Grand" and "Worthy" by those who are, perhaps, a degree or two more insignificant than themselves. Who have been the losers? We answer, every tenant and every tax-payer on the Island. All those who have been deluded into placing confidence in that gigantic humbug, the Land Commission—all those who, in consequence of the delusive hopes held out by unprincipled politicians, have suffered the pangs of that hope deferred which maketh the heart sick—those broken spirited tenants who were encouraged to look upon the Award as the means of their deliverance from that dreadful incubus—Back Rent—all those who have been distrained upon by Proprietors, who have made the alleged favorable terms of the Award a pretext for increased severity: all those who have to pay from their hard-won earnings the expenses of the aforesaid Humbug, and those of a still greater Humbug—the Delegation: all those who, in order to educate their children, are obliged to pay more than four times their former school tax, or suffer them to grow up uneducated: every poor man who has to pay a greatly enhanced price for molasses, which, when the season of milk is passed, is to him and his children a necessary of existence. These have been some of the losers. During the last five years the public burdens have been steadily augmented, while the public debt has increased to an alarming degree. The whole, or nearly the whole legislation for that period has been a complete make-believe—a desperate attempt to keep up appearances. Nor could anything better be expected. With Messrs. Yeo, Pope, Palmer & Co. in the Government, it would be folly for the tenantry to expect that any measure really favourable to them could be honestly supported and successfully carried. These men have interests directly opposite to those of the tenantry, but it is requiring too much of frail human nature to expect that they would sacrifice those interests for their good. But this is not the worst—it is only natural to conclude that they would use the power entrusted to them to further their own interests, and to establish more firmly Proprietary rule in the Colony. This they have, without doubt, attempted to do. Whether they have succeeded or not, time alone will show.

It cannot be denied that the people of this Island are imbued with a hearty hatred of the landlord system. Any man who has lived a year in the country will be convinced of this. But they have certainly taken a very singular way of expressing that hatred. They have placed in situations of power and trust those men who are the life and and soul of the Proprietary party. They have surrounded the Governor by a set of men who possess no feelings in common with the oppressed tenantry—men who have been for years their enemies and oppressors. These, doubtless, have made such representations of the views and feelings of the tenantry as suited their own purposes. They have put it in the power of those who have an interest in keeping them in subjection to stifle any measure that may be proposed for the amelioration of their condition. Would a stranger believe that a large majority of the people of this Island were the openly declared enemies of the Proprietary system when he saw that the offices and honours in the gift of the people were bestowed upon Proprietors and their agents? How can Proprietors be expected to part with their lands on favorable terms to the people when they find that the possession of the lands is the surest passport to social position and political power? Let the people rest assured that so long as they thus pet Proprietors and their creatures, so long will they be forced to groan beneath the iron yoke of Proprietary bondage.

When a man is suffering from disease he uses every means that science and skill can suggest to drive it out of his system. No sacrifice is considered too great if making it will ensure his recovery. He would be pronounced a madman and a suicide who would deliberately use such means as tended to increase his sufferings and aggravate his disease. Such a man would deserve neither compassion nor assistance. Landlordism is the disease of our body politic. Of late, instead of wisely endeavouring, at all risks, to eradicate it, we have used those means best calculated to render it more painful and more dangerous. It, instead of elevating landlords, landlords' agents, and landlords' dependents, to places of power and profit, we had adhered to the policy of rigidly excluding them from all situations of public trust and political power—if they were hooted from the hustings and excluded from the Colonial Building—their condition on the Island would not be nearly so pleasant and powerful a one as it now is. They would still possess the influence of landlords, and some of them would occupy the station of private gentlemen; but their means of injuring the people would be marvellously lessened, and their consequence in the Colony considerably diminished. This that we have suggested is the line of policy to be pursued by the people of Prince Edward Island. It is exceedingly simple. No one, the most remotely connected with landlordism, should be elected to either branch of the Legislature. The union of the people on this point should be complete. Landlords should be made to feel that their day of political power is past—that the direct power to defeat all legislation in favour of the tenantry is wrested from them. Let no bugbear, created by politicians or fanatics, prevent a union so necessary. Common sense, self-interest and self-preservation, demand that the proprietary influence be lessened in this Colony. Let the people be true to themselves, and the victory is certain. A better day will then dawn for the tenantry of this ill used country. If, on the other hand, they suffer their enemies to divide them, their defeat is sure, and their state hopeless.

THE DECEMBER BLAST OF INTOLERANCE FROM THE ORANGE ORGAN.

"He is the heretic that makes the fire,
Not he who burns in it."—SHAKESPEARE.

WHEN an educated and generous mind reflects upon the subject, nothing seems more surprising than that any one professing to follow the maxims of Christianity, or acquainted with the lessons of civilization, can practise intolerance against another for holding views upon religion or politics imbibed in early days, and through circumstances, perhaps, over which he may have had no control. Yet, it is said that even in this enlightened century one of the truest tests of magnanimity is to be truly tolerant. The fact, however, that young men are more intolerant than aged men proves that much of the intolerance which exists is to be attributed to ignorance. As the young move on, and through the world they get many of their rough corners rubbed off. They find, through experience, that every thing is neither wise nor noble in the party or sect to which they may happen to belong. They, moreover, in the course of time, discover that there is much worthy of respect in the views and characters of those religiously or politically opposed to them. When they get out of the little circle in which they had moved, and become the observers of other spheres of action, they become disgusted with the very things which they themselves had formerly encouraged or enacted. We are assured that the Orange Lodges in this and other communities are for the far greater part recruited from the ranks of the young, and that as they become aged and enlightened, they almost invariably withdraw from the Orange and similar intolerant associations.

The ignorant and inexperienced, then, are the most numerous blocks in the pyramid of intolerance. There is hope that reason and charity may be got into the heads of the blocks, or rather the blockheads, but how are we to deal with the weeds and briars that flourish so luxuriantly amongst the wise acres? In due time they, too, shall rot and perish in the sun. Perhaps all might end as well to let them reach their full growth, as to pluck up one now and then. But it is urged in favor of the latter course that if the noxious crop be allowed to vegetate undisturbed, they may wholly poison the air with their unwholesome exhalations. We must admit that the seeds of intolerance are yielding to the sowers fully ten-fold in this Colony. Recently, amidst the bitter breezes, and the biting frosts of dreary December, a plant has blossomed forth in the hot house of the *Monitor*. As this plant is remarkable for its astonishing proportions, we propose to describe it for the instruction of our readers, and to try our pruning hook upon it for our own amusement. Dropping metaphor, we may say that an article has appeared in our local papers for a long time which appears to us to be so intolerant and unaccountable as the Editorial article in the *Monitor* in reference to the Concert in aid of the School recently established in the Western part of the city. In the heat of controversies writers often say hard things, and the writers in the *Monitor* often excuse themselves by alleging that many of their bitter articles are in retaliation for attacks made upon the vulnerable parts of some member of the Monitorial corps. But this recent display of "all uncharitableness" was wholly unprovoked. During the last six months we have not seen the name of the versatile genius who, by the way, is now an ornament of the highly useful and honorable pedagogical profession, coupled with the name of the publisher of the *Monitor*. Various reasons have been assigned for the bad temper of the article. Bile is said to be