ADDRESS TO THE FENIANS.

AN EARNEST REMONSTRANCE TO THE IRISH CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OUR COUNTRYMEN IN IRELAND, ON THE FOLLY AND CRIMINALITY OF AN UNSUCCESSFUL REBELLION.

NEW YORK, Oct. 10th, 1865.

Fellow Citizens and Fellow Countrymen:

As this great city has been, and still is, constantly represented to you as the head quarters of a formidable Irish organization, capable of effecting, with such assistance as it can command in Ireland, a military revolution in that country, and as you are constantly urged to place your money and your lives at the disposal of this organization, we feel compelled, in conscience, to address you publicly on this momentous subject.

We need hardly say that we yield not to any member of any organization in love and affection for fatherland. No appeal for assistance to any Irish cause has been made to us in vain. And if, in the present instance, we take the tone of warning, instead of cheering, on the proposed movement—if we take counsel of prudence rather than of passion — if we appeal to your common sense, not to your over-excited expectations, you will do us the justice to respect our motives, and weigh well our words.

The greatest authority on military subjects of modern times, Napoleon I., writing to his brother Joseph, when King of Naples, used these memorable words: "Nothing strengthens a government like an unsuccessful insurrection." That is the conqueror's experience, from the beginning of history. And we may add, that in view of humanity and of religion, nothing can be more criminal than inadequate and ill-considered attempts at insurrection. The authors of such attempts, whatever their intentions may be, are morally responsible, before God and man, for all the fruitless flow of blood that may follow their attempts: for all the misery, crime and perdition that may follow. They deserve to be accounted the deadliest enemies, not only of their own people, but of all mankind.

And how seldom have the conditions which insure success attended any insurrection? These conditions are, equal resources on the part of the insurgents and the government, distance of the revolted provinces from the magazines of the power in possession, effectual recognition and alliance on the part of other great powers—how seldom have these been found attendant on any revolt? And where are they now in the case of Ireland? We challenge the promoters of the present delusion, before they begin to play with honest men's lives like gamblers, to prove that any one of the above-named conditions exists, in the case of Ireland, in 1865.

And if any country under the sun had dear reason to remember the price paid for an uncertain foreign alliance and an unsuccessful insurrection, it is Ireland. Seven times, in three centuries, have the most chivalrous and Catholic nations failed Ireland, through fault or default, as allies of insurrection. And every failure has led to a fresh exile, and a further depopulation of the old inhabitants of the Island. And this is the general experience of all nations; because an established government, as recent events among ourselves might have shewn every one, must always have immense advantages over any insurrectionary subject state, whatever way the sympathies of foreigners may lean. Now if the great Catholic states of the old world, in the palmiest days, when, for example, the revenue of Spain was sixteen times that of England; if, when all Christendom was marshalled in two camps, with England enrolled in one and Ireland in the other; if, when the mighty voice of Urban VIII. proclaimed the cause of the Irish insurrection a privileged crusade; if, with all these foreign incentives to insurrection, all hopes founded on them failed our fathers, what possible grounds have this Fenian brotherhood for pretending that they have found an alliance in Ireland based on better principles, or on motives more potent, to keep our statesmen to their promises, even if they had made promises?

We say our recent experience at home has taught us how all but impossible it is for insurrectionary states to combat an established government without the concurrence of one or more of the before-mentioned conditions of success. We saw, four years ago, twelve states of this Union, with a rare degree of unanimity, led by statesmen and soldiers of established reputation, assume the armed attitude of resistance with a marvellously complete organization; we know the result to-day; the South mourns its desolate fields, its banished or imprisoned chiefs, and cherishes no other hope but such as may be derived from the moderation and clemency of her conquerors. Will not even Fenians find the moral of that great struggle legible and readable?

In this age, by the agency of steam, London is as near to Dublin as Washington to Richmond. Two-thirds of the great internal lines of English railroad terminate on the Irish channel. From Milford, from Bristol, from Liverpool, from Glasgow, England could shower destruction over Ireland in a week, while her own interior industry and prosperity could remain as they are. Where is the unanimity of Ireland, we saw in the South? Where are the skilled captains and statesmen? Can, then, Ireland hope to succeed with these circumstances against her, when the South failed though she had them all in her favor?

As to this country or France going to war with England for the sake of a Fenian Republic, the idea is too absurd even for children. The French and English fleets have just been fraternizing at Cherbourg and Portsmouth; the French Emperor, in his fifty-seventh year, is only anxious to establish his dynasty. Our government when it goes to war with England, will choose its own time, and its own cause of quarrel; but assuredly it will not be dragged into such a struggle as an appendix to a silly Fenian fillibustering expedition.

This movement, then, of Fenianism, is as unwise as it is impracticable; it is not only a delusion but an enormous sin, denounced by high authorities of the Church having the confidence of Irishmen who here declare it to be immoral. And when, instead of aiding Ireland to rise and to rid herself of that misgovernment which occasions these anti-English associations, the tendency of this Fenian fillibustering is to defeat the great objects of reform for Ireland—tenant rights and abolition of the Church establishment—it must fail to win the support of the masses of the Irish people.

Therefore, fellow citizens and fellow countrymen, because we know the insufficiency of men who pretend to organize in New York this Irish expedition; because we know the futility of such expectations of federal aid they hold out to you; because we feel how recklessly cruel it is to endeavour to pit Ireland against England in the existing condition of the two populations; because we foresee that another "unsuccessful insurrection" must strengthen the British Government and still further weaken and decrease the people of Ireland—for all these reasons we respectfully recommend you to invest neither your money nor your lives in an expedition which can end only in shameful disaster, bitter recrimination among the leaders, an accelerated exodus of the native population, and the lasting dishonour of our common nationality.

Your countrymen and friends,
MANY CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

(From Herepath's Railway Journal.)

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

£9,000,000 was said to be Mr. Fleming's estimated cost of this line by those who are supposed to be not very favourable to the project. Mr. Nelson, the Secretary of the Committee for promoting its construction, has recently stated Mr. Fleming's estimate to be £4,000,000—a little different from £9,000,000!

The course of the line would be, it appears, from the eastern end of the Grand Trunk at Riviere du Loup to Woodstock, 188 miles, passing through a most beautiful and fertile valley, the line also being easy in gradients, and having light works all the way.

If the line is only 188 miles long, and traverses an easy route all the way, surely £4,000,000 would be very ample for its construction, especially as it would be £4,000,000 in money, not bonds.

At Woodstock it would meet the existing line to St. Andrew's. From St Andrew's to St. John the line is under contract. It then proceeds from St. John to Moncton, a line that is made. From Moncton to Truro the line is under contract. From Truro to Halifax it is made.

Taking this route, which would utilize the existing line and those making, an intercolonial railway could be completed by making only 188 miles of new line from Woodstock to Riviere du Loup, and these 188 miles are stated to be easy in construction, and to traverse one of the most lovely and fertile valleys in the world.

Let it be borne in mind that the greater part of the whole line from Halifax to Riviere du Loup is made and making, and the 188 miles to be made would be easy work; that when made, its traffic would doubtless be large, while the political importance of the line is evident.

The most direct intercolonial line would be from Riviere du Loup to Halifax via the greater part of the length of the Riviere du Loup and Woodstock line, then striking across New Brunswick via Boiestown, direct to a junction with the existing line from Moncton to St. John, striking this made line at about a third of its distance from Moncton to St. John; then from Moncton to Halifax via Truro by the lines made and making, as now proposed. If, therefore, the line from Woodstock to Riviere du Loup be now made, and form the intercolonial railway via St. Andrew's and St. John, the direct intercolonial Railway could, at any future time, be formed by a central line running off from the Riviere du Loup and Woodstock line at a point before Woodstock is reached, (from Riviere du Loup) and running into the existing line between Moncton and St. John. There is thus no risk in making the line from Riviere du Loup to Woodstock. Should the direct line ever be required, the railway from Riviere du Loup will in a large measure form part of it.

The intercolonial railway now suggested, via Woodstock, St. Andrew's and St. John, would certainly not be very direct from Riviere du Loup to Halifax, but it would doubtless be the best commercial line, and the great object of opening Canada to communication with England, all the year round, by a Railway entirely in British territory, would be attained.

In the postal service alone having a railway from Halifax to Canada would be of great importance, for a letter from England could reach the farthest extremity of Western Canada before the steamer made the passage from Halifax to New York.

Our Government would lose not a sixpence by advancing capital sufficient to ensure the construction of the remaining line from Woodstock to Riviere du Loup, and this capital amounts to a mere fraction of our annual national income. A line from Halifax to join the Grand Trunk would, among other advantages, render our trade with Canada entirely free from the fiscal enactments of the United States.

Some of the Northern papers—chiefly democratic organs—are publishing accounts of extraordinary outrages by the negroes on white citizens in the Southern States. The stories may be literally true, or they may only be "exaggerations" published with the view of exciting Northern sentiment against giving the negroes the right of suffrage. An exchange says:—

"Southerners look forward to the approaching Christmas with much anxiety, and an universal desire prevails that the Federal garrisons, throughout the country, may be increased and strengthened by white troops. The rebels are, for the most part, unarmed, and there is no telling to what excesses the negroes may be driven by want and disappointment. Already, in Anderson, S. C., which has been garrisoned by negro troops, the freed men have been committing fearful outrages. A lady friend of mine says that they entered her mother's house three times in one night and shot her brother in the head. The reign of terror was so great, that for eleven nights none of the family dared to undress, and the experience of other households was equally terrible. The citizens were driven to utter desperation, and resolved to attack the Garrison, who winked at these outrages, but it was wisely removed before the collision took place. It would be well if negro troops were removed from every post in the South, unless we wish to entertain the world with the tragedies of Cawnpore and Lucknow enacted upon an American theatre, and we would think the last four years had afforded enough of such representations to satiate the most morbid appetite for the horrible."

We are treated to other accounts of the sufferings of ex-rebels, as follows:

If the stories that come to us from East Tennessee are correct, it is high time that the Federal authorities did something to put an end to the reign of terror which seems to exist there. Old rebels and young rebels, says Brownlow's paper, who took a leading part in the secession movement, are being shot down and murdered in defiance of amnesty pledges and promises Cox, a well-known 'rebel' and spy for Longstreet, was shot down in the streets of Knoxville the other day by a young woman whose father had been killed by the Confederates. Brownlow says 'while we regret the necessity of such acts, society loses little by despatching such men as Cox.' Such language from a paper, the editor of which is Governor of the State, no less than the acts above recorded, shows to what a fearful condition society must be reduced in Tennessee."

THE NEW ZEALANDER.—The *Times* says, that the New Zealander must certainly be the most remarkable creature in existence. He combines every characteristic of the wild beast with the faculties of civilized man. We call him a savage, and as far as nudity, fierceness, and scarcely abandoned cannibalism can make him so, he is one; but no being of the human race is more intelligent. He can live on the mountains or in the bush like a wolf; but he meets his pursuers with all the resources of military art. He manufactures excellent rifles out of old ships' muskets, and makes percussion caps out of soldiers' buttons. He has never studied at a professional academy; but he is a greater master of the science of fortification than the average British engineer. If there was one thing that might have been expected of modern artillery, it was that it would render a Maori pah untenable; but the Maori sappers and miners counterplotted us in a moment, added a work to their redoubts which completely defeated our Armstrong guns. Our soldiers actually respect them for their extraordinary talent and eminent valor. With all this, too, they are singularly given to rhetoric and debate. They would as soon talk as fight—sometimes even rather, and they display incredible proficiency in negotiations and conferences. We must add to this sketch of the New Zealander that though his real conceptions of religion would be probably satisfied by the African Fetish, he has contrived to make a conquest of Christian bishops and missionaries, insomuch that these good people support him with devout fidelity, even against their own fellow-countrymen and friends — *London Times.*

The war between Paraguay and Brazil and its allies appears by late accounts to have commenced in earnest. A battle had been fought at Gayty, details of which show it to have been a most sanguinary struggle. On the 17th of August, the allied forces, 8,500 strong, encountered 3,400 Paraguayans. The latter were summoned to surrender, when they replied by shooting the messenger. For an hour and a quarter the battle raged without the asking or giving of quarter. At length the Paraguayans fled, pursued by the cavalry, when a slaughter took place, which was a perfect butchery. The Paraguayans left 1,500 dead on the field, and only 300 wounded. Their leader, Duarte, and 1,200 troops were made prisoners, together with all their stores. The allies state that their loss is only 250 killed and wounded. Another detachment of Paraguayans, 7,000 strong, on the opposite side of the river, were prevented from re-inforcing their friends by the Brazilian gunboats, and at last accounts were hemmed in by a vastly superior force. More important battles were daily expected.

The Florence correspondent of a New York paper states that the Emperor Napoleon and the King of Italy recently had a secret meeting, and adds:—"Do you ask the object of all this? The object has been simply and solely to discuss an arrangement with the Pope, which shall put an end to the occupation of Rome by the French, and bring about a reconciliation of the Papacy with the kingdom of Italy, and lastly to effect the commercial treaty with Austria, of which I have already written, which implies a direct recognition of the kingdom of Italy on the part of Austria."

A SERIES OF TRAGEDIES.—A few weeks ago two citizens of Pickens county, Georgia, went to church during service, and called for two men, against whom they had some grudge. The men refusing to come out they went in, and at once commenced firing, killing one man and mortally wounding a lady On Wednesday following, Dr. L. Harper went, with three citizens and three soldiers, to arrest them; found them with three other men in a house, armed and doors barricaded Two citizens approached the house to entreat them to surrender, when they were shot dead. A general fight ensued, lasting half an hour, two desperadoes being then killed and a third mortally wounded. The other two rushed out of the house, and attempted to escape by running. One was immediately killed, and the other said he would surrender, when he was dispatched by bayonets.

The *Army and Navy Gazette* has a good story about the French at Portsmouth. They took the greatest interest in the cricket match between the one-legged and one-armed pensioners, but were horrified by the statement in the report that when the latter had finished their innings the stumps (*moignons*) were drawn. The translator's error led to the belief that the drawing of the stumps was a punishment inflicted on the "one arm" for having lost the match.

The Albany *Evening Journal* denies pointedly, and as if by authority, the report that Secretary Seward has given information to the British Government of the movements and plans of the Fenians in this country.

INFANTICIDE IN EUROPE.

In course of an article on this subject, the Edinburgh *Scotsman* of the 30th September says:

"A very horrible instance has naturally turned the excitability of the public towards infanticide in England; but how much of this is there in other countries? A friend who was visiting the penitentiary for female convicts in Prague was struck by a collective expression used by the Sister of Mercy in charge of it. She spoke of "Kinder Morderinen"—child murderess—as a sort of collective portion of the population; and asked how many might be convicted in a year in the country to which the Scotch visitor belonged? When told that there might be one in the course of two or three years, she lifted up the hands of amazement, as Orientals say, and expressed a suspicion that we must be a barbarous people who took the crime of child murder very lightly. She had 400 women under her charge, and of these the proportion under sentence for child murder was 130. In Scotland, which was about two-thirds of the population of Bohemia, the number of women sentenced to penal servitude in each year is about 80; and if nearly a third of these were convicted of child murder, we should be on a social parallel with that department of the well ordered Austrian empire.

"The Germans themselves are not aware of this social phenomenon, and they never will be aware of it. If you should tell it to a citizen of Prague, who passes the door of the penitentiary every day, he would merely say it is some mistake, and resume his pipe; nor would he ever take the trouble to ascertain whether it is a mistake or not. Had we such a social evil among us, not only would it be recorded in our blue-books and debated in Parliament, but the press would take it up with the exulting spirit of finding something really worth telling, and make the news ring all over Europe. It is to be much regretted that, full as we are of minute statistics in this country, we should not have the means of comparison with others. We may depend on it, there are points on which it would not be entirely in our favor, and in which we would be taught a good example by those on whom we look down condescendingly from the heights of our supreme virtue.

"Ready as we are to call on all mankind to inspect the unseemly parts of our system—widely as we proclaim our sins and our calamities—it is yet wonderful how a source of mischief will go creeping on to formidable magnitude, and, though duly recorded all the while in the proper public register, yet pass almost unnoticed just because it goes on doing its mischief in its own quiet uniform way without betraying itself by any astounding eruption. The other day the breakfast table of Cockneydom must have been somewhat fluttered by an announcement in the *Times* that the inhabitants of London were getting killed at the rate of three hundred a year, and that merely by street accidents from vehicles. These deaths were an absolute fact, for they stood on record in the Register-General's returns. The number of serious injuries could only be inferred, but the proportion said to rule in such mattters is one death out of five such injuries, and so the serious casualties from this cause might be reckoned at 1500 in each year."

A Washington correspondent of a New York paper, who has travelled extensively in Virginia and North Carolina, says the waste of war has not in any respect been so bad as might be imagined. On this subject he writes as follows:—

"Excepting only the scenes of the great encampments, sieges or battle-fields and their vicinities, which in the aggregate were but a spot on the map, the country appears almost unharmed. The houses and fences have been left untouched, and only in the matter of neglected agriculture, it is difficult to see the hand of war. Matters are generally assuming greater activity than they ever before presented and a few years only will serve to obliterate every vestige of the effects of the war as they have reference to the physical appearance of the country. The writer does not speak so encouragingly of North Carolina, but says the evidences of dilapidation and neglect of farms, and stagnation of industry are greater than in Virginia. In trade, however, the most extraordinary activity exists Sales are all for cash or on the pledge of cotton, tobacco, &c The people in both States are more comfortable, to appearance, than at the close of the war. In dress and in other respects the improvement of their condition is very marked. The ladies are already up with the Northern fashions, and homespun is thrown aside. What is yet better, the general temper of the people is improved, and their political ideas more liberal. Every body accepts the result of the war as final, and although the people are not sanguine in regard to the working of the free labor system, there is a general disposition to make the most of it."

In an article on the slave states, contained in a late Boston journal, the following paragraph occurs:—"It should not be forgotten that, notwithstanding the emancipation proclamation and its complete extension by the sword throughout the States in rebellion, slavery still exists in the Union. The proclamation did not apply to Kentucky and Deleware, and those States, having taken no action on the subject, remain slave States to the present moment, although the system there is hopelessly broken up In 1860, Deleware had about 1800 slaves, and Kentucky over 225,000. It may surprise some to learn that New Jersey is a slave State, badly as her politics have sympathized with the institution. But, by the census of 1860, she had eighteen slaves, being the only ones recorded in the Northern States. It is something more than a curious coincidence that these three States alone, of those not committed to the rebellion, still continue to reject the constitutional amendment for the national abolition of slavery."

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EXAMINER.

SIR:—

I wish to call the attention of our citizens to a case which every one admits to be one of great hardship, but in which no one seems disposed to move. It appears that some four or five weeks ago, about 11 or 12 o'clock at night, an infant was deposited by some unknown person at the door of a house in Pownal Street belonging to Mr. Boswell, at present occupied as a Boarding House. Upon its discovery the police were immediately sent for, but they hesitated to do anything. At last one of them went for and brought a woman — Mrs. Dibbins — for nurse. The Boarding house keeper told the woman to take charge of the infant till the opening of the Police Court next morning — thinking that, as a matter of course, the City Fathers would make inquiries after the person who was guilty of exposing the infant, and would take charge of it for the present, as a perishing foundling. But the City Council would do no such thing, or anything else concerning it. The infant, meanwhile, was on Mrs. Dibbins's hands, and, being a poor woman, she sued Miss R—— for its support. The latter, of course, believes that, having paid her for the night, until the opening of the Police Court the next morning, she is no more liable for the support of foundlings and paupers than any other member of the community. Yet, strange to say, the Police Court gave judgment against her, thus making her the victim of all other citizens for the support of this object of common charity. This decision was, of course, appealed from the sitting Magistrates—who were guided by the Recorder's opinion—feeling the case to be one of cruel hardship, and formally memorialized the Administrator of the Government in Council. The Council, chary of establishing a precedent, refused to interfere.

Surely, Sir, it is time that some act was passed to provide for such cases as this. Will the citizens of Charlottetown stand still and see an infant exposed to perish, or have one or two innocent women victimized for its support? Every one cries shame! yet there is no one to do anything. And, mark you, what is the case of these parties may be that of any other householder in the city to-morrow. Let the appeal in this case be determined as it may, one of two innocent parties must suffer, unless the good sense of the citizens prompt them to action. All that is required is for some one to act, but who is to act? I would suggest, Sir, that the Mayor call a meeting of the citizens at once to provide, in the first place, for the case under consideration; and in the next place, to devise some permanent scheme by which individuals may be protected in future from similar annoyance, and whereby persons concerned in exposing infants may be effectually discovered and punished. Every one feels that when cases of this nature arise, they should be provided for at the public expense; yet no one can be found of sufficient charity or philanthrophy to set the public good will in action. Cases of this nature are well adapted to call forth the good services of the clergy and benevolent societies, and the public naturally expect all or some of them to move in this matter without delay.

I hope you will give this letter a place in your columns, and that you and the other gentlemen of the press in the city will call public attention to the subject of which it treats.

Yours, &c.,
A CITIZEN.

Charlottetown. 21st Oct. 1865.

The Examiner.

Charlottetown, October 30, 1865.

NEARLY every Mail from the Colonies brings us some papers in which we find reflections on the state of affairs in this Island; and the reflections, in no case, are complimentary to the character of our people generally. The country is represented to be in a state of insurrection; whereas the actual disturbance, or insubordination, is confined to two or three sections of Queen's County only, in which the inhabitants have heretofore claimed to be far in advance of their neighbors as regards the possession of property, intelligence and respect for the laws. It is too bad that the honest and peaceful yeomanry of King's and Prince Counties should have to bear any part of the odium which the misconduct of the Tenant Leaguers in Queen's County has brought upon the whole Colony: and, after the Legislature shall have met, and the financial statement for the year presented, the tax-payers of the peace abiding Counties will be apt to have their patience and temper disturbed when they find that *they* must pay, as well as others, according to their means and numbers, for the devilment of those refractory fellows — the loyal Orangemen, the wealthy freeholders and leaseholders, who have been pawning themselves off as pinks of propriety heretofore, and who have been making such an uproar through the country with their contemptible two-penny tin trumpets. Prince County and King's County have happily, though silently, discouraged the Tenant League movement. But had they gone to the extent of loudly and emphatically denouncing it at public meetings, they would have rendered a service to themselves and to their country generally; and they might have checked the mad career of the fools who were rushing with their silly tin trumpets to frighten away from their settlements every one who was suspected to be an officer of the law.

The Tenant Leaguers say—and their sympathisers and apologists echo the assertion—that there was not sufficient disturbance in the land to call for the bringing of troops here. This may be a difficult point to settle. What constitutes a *sufficiency* of disturbance to justify the employment of troops? It is true there has been no great row—no bloodshed, except the few drops shed at Curtisdale—not even has the sport been enlivened by the ducking of a bailiff. But, notwithstanding all this, can any one assert that the law between landlord and tenant has any practical effect in Queen's County? Will any one assert that a process for rent could be served, say, about New Glasgow; or on the Princetown road, near Bagnall's; or at Lot 49; or at the West River—(all sound in their veneration for the "immortal memory" of the Dutch King, and full of sound in their professions of loyalty),—yes, will any one venture to state that the law could quietly take its effect in those places as well as in Charlottetown, for example? No, no—those places have been the abodes of lawlessness—*they* are the nurseries of queer, infatuated people who gather in tumultuous crowds when the tin trumpets are made to blow their discordant blasts; and who—without offering any personal violence to an officer charged with Her Majesty's writ — plainly tell him that he must leave the settlement without performing the duty for which he entered it. Perhaps we shall be told that there should be no troops brought here until there was actual rebellion all over the Island — that the few Orange districts which chose to disgrace themselves by terrorism and intimidation, should be allowed to cultivate their characteristic pastimes, and should be winked at by that eye of authority which once smiled upon them, until they carried their pastimes a little too far, by smashing the heads of half a dozen bailiffs, and by giving Curtis his gruel for all time to come. Special constables—there were none of sufficient number; besides, the attempt to enrol special constables out of the ranks of orderly people, in districts not in the least disturbed, for the purpose of suppressing violence at a distance—is always sure to create much heart-burning that might lead to serious discontent in places that would be otherwise well disposed. A Militia we have not, except on paper; the Volunteer Force are exempted by law from acting in the suppression of local disturbance; and if they were not so exempt, it would be folly for the Government to give them arms and ammunition—to do what?—to put down the tin trumpetters, who were, many of them, the valiant Volunteers that pledged their allegiance to the Queen! But there is really no Volunteer Force in the country,—it was knocked into worse than a cocked hat when the Government withdrew the arms from the Force—suspecting, perhaps, that the oath of allegiance would not be kept by the gallant fellows, and that they might use their rifles improperly, (not to the comfort of bailiffs in the civil service of the Crown,) and that tin trumpets had more dulcet notes for their ears than the rattle of musketry.

Now, then, let us see what our position was: Smooth it over as we may, there was unmistakable resistance to the laws,—it was authoritatively proclaimed by the Tenant League Society, in one of their rules, that such resistance would be offered,—there was no local Constabulary to enforce respect for the laws—no Militia—no Volunteer Force. In such plight was it proper for the Government to let anarchy stride over the land, or to call in a small portion of the regular army? Let those who please answer the question. We must honestly confess we did not like to see the troops coming—we do not like to see them continued here as a mere police—we cannot patiently indulge the thought that the well behaved farmers at East Point, St. Peter's or Tignish, must help to bear the cost of Orange rowdyism in Queen's County; but rather than see the law set at defiance, and the bad example of very bad people allowed to spread to other parts — we are not now disposed to scrutinise too closely the means which the Government have thought proper to use in order to restore quietness to the country — trust in the ability of the authorities to enforce the law, — and if possible, to bring back some little portion of that respect and confidence with which we were regarded by our fellow Colonists on the main land before the Tenant League pestilence came to throw a blight upon our general character.

Those observations have been suggested by the perusal of an article in the Halifax *Evening Express* of the 20th inst., which we reproduce here, in order to shew the light in which a portion of the press of another Colony regards us. The censures of the *Express* on the Colony generally, we wholly repudiate, — its remarks about the militia, volunteer force, and constabulary, we have, we think, fully answered; and its apprehensions regarding the probable and proximate loss of our political privileges, are not at all shared by the writer of this article, who does not believe that the vagabondism of a few shall be allowed to come to such a head as to bring dire affliction on the many.

MATTERS IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

The Mother Country just now is deeply interested in the Fenian movement—the United States in the great work of Reconstruction; Canada and the Lower Provinces in the important question of Confederation; and the Island, or to give it all its honors, Prince Edward Island, is agitated to its centre with the sayings and doings of the Tenant League. The attitude of organized resistance to law and order which has been assumed by a considerable portion of the agricultural population of the fine little Province in our immediate neighbourhood, has attracted a very great deal of attention outside its own limits. The reason is obvious. The Island is but a small place, and its affairs have been managed hitherto in a small and rather odd way—not always calculated to elevate them, particularly in the estimation of sensible and moderate people. Its Government, too, have occasionally excited a smile at the somewhat inflated self importance they have been in the habit of assuming, even towards British Ministers of State, which may, perhaps, be all right and very spirited, but it has the effect of reminding one of the fable of the cock-sparrow and the eagle. This, however, is a small matter; we have all our little failings, and should not, therefore, be too hard upon our neighbours. This Tenant League business, though not a matter directly of any great consequence to other people, is of very serious importance to the Islanders themselves. They are now, to a certain extent, upon their trial, and the issue will prove whether they are worthy of being entrusted with the responsible duty of self-government.

As a question of law or equity, of principle or common sense, the foolish and infatuated "Leaguers" have not a leg to stand on. Still we don't like the manner in which the Island Government have gone to work to put the nuisance down, and still less do we like the blatant bluster of a Government newspaper about "bayonets and minnie bullets and British soldiers." There is no service so disagreeable, so hateful indeed to the British soldier as to be brought out against an unarmed mob, or a crowd of foolish and riotous people. He dislikes it, because, in the first place, the contest is altogether unequal, and also because the rioters are his fellow-countrymen. It has generally happened accordingly, that a British regiment or company will bear a great deal before it will yield to the extreme of firing into a promiscuous crowd. They will do their duty, but not the less will they dislike the work None of us would like to hear that an infatuated assembly of these deluded creatures—the Leaguers—had been fired into, and some of them, as a matter of course, either killed or wounded.

The gallant regiment itself would feel a sort of degradation, and an indignant feeling that they should ever have been called upon for such work. Nor should they. Either Prince Edward is fit for self-government, or it is not. If it is, then it ought to possess within itself the means of quelling such disorders, and of bringing to punishment the violators of law and order. If the public sympathy is so strong in favor of disturbers of the public peace, and destroyers of the good name of their native place, that the Government of the day finds itself impotent, then it is clear that such a place is totally unfit to be trusted with the privilege of self-government, and should at once be tacked on as a pendicle or portion of a larger and more advanced state. There have been formidable organized combinations of Barn Burners and Anti-Renters in the State of New York—people who held, like the "Leaguers," that they had a common right to other's property without any preliminary industry or outlay on their part. The doctrine, however, was not a palatable one to property-holders, though they used pretty much the same argument as the Island tenants, and public opinion put them down without the aid of soldiers. How has it happened that the local militia or volunteer force has not been called into play? or why were not three or four hundred special constables sworn in to keep the peace and enforce the law? It is a disgrace to modern civilization that a Sheriff should be violently assaulted in the performance of a duty which he could not avoid doing; that the officers of the law should be maltreated with impunity, and that even the ermine of a Judge could not protect his person from gross insult.

All these things, it seems, have happened in Prince Edward Island,—and for what? Because certain land-owners, having leased their farms at from sixpence to one shilling an acre, insist upon their rent being paid. The land is generally excellent and easily worked; produce commands a ready sale and a fair price; and besides all this, these very tenants, when they leased their farms, bound themselves voluntarily to abide by the bargain. Were the rents burdensome, there might be an excuse for complaining; but they are in fact all but nominal; and if public opinion cannot put these unreasonable people down, then it is very evident that both public spirit and public principle are at a shockingly low ebb in the Island. While we have no sympathy whatever for the Tenant Leaguers, and no respect for those who countenance them, we think that, upon the whole, the sending for a company of soldiers was a rather questionable policy. If the soldiers had fighting material before them, they would doubtless render a good account of themselves; as it is, they will act reluctantly, and without vigour, unless matters are driven to extremities. The best remedy would be the quiet, but determined, enforcement of the law by the civil power, with a temporary constabulary of sufficient strength, sworn in, as to make resistance hopeless. Let recusancy have the common law to deal with; and let violence find relief in the penitentiary at hard labor. If this cannot be done, let the Island Government notify the fact at head-quarters, and confess that, being too small to take care of themselves, they would petition to be annexed either to New Brunswick or Nova Scotia.

WE noticed in the *Patriot* of the 21st inst. part of an editorial article taken from the *Montreal Herald* of the 14th instant, reflecting on the conduct of "Lower Province Politicians," touching the question of Confederation. Mr. Whelan's name is introduced with some sneering — and what was intended to be, perhaps, disparaging—remarks; and the *Patriot*, anxious to pick up garbage of that kind, readily copied such portions of the article as suited the taste of the pious editor. But, as the sequel will show, he made a great mistake. We see no reason why the whole article may not be republished here. If there is any thing really offensive and hurtful in it, the Hon. Edward Palmer is the sufferer. He is, or was, the champion of the anti-Confederation party in this Island; and his duplicity and inconsistency are well exposed in the remark about his going "all through the country" (Canada,) "speaking as if he had approved of the articles" [of the Quebec Convention], "and did approve of them; and yet he had no sooner got back to Prince Edward Island than he openly and strongly declared against the whole plan."

There is a quiet sarcasm in the allusion to Mr. Palmer being "seduced into signing the Quebec Report" "in such a way as to make the world believe that he approved" of the articles it contained, "while the affirmation which his signature attested really did nothing of the sort." What a poor, green, soft, innocent man he is to be hood-winked in this way! What a shocking thing it was for the Delegates at Montreal, on that fine Sunday morning that we wot of, to impose upon the disingenuous nature of the P. E Island Attorney General! But it seems he was a pliant tool for deception—that he took it kindly and naturally; for, according to the *Montreal Herald*, he went about Canada practising deception, leading people to believe that he "approved" of that to which he had put his signature in his abnormal state of innocency, when no such approval was intended. The *Montreal Herald* evidently refers to Mr. Palmer's most unfortunate Toronto speech, in which he strongly eulogised the project of a union of the Provinces, but which he afterwards in this Island so emphatically condemned. The least allusion to this incident must be painful to Mr. Palmer, if anything can be; and Mr. Laird did not act the part of a friend towards him in reviving the recollection of it.

As to the *Montreal Herald's* assertions, that as regards Confederation, "even Whelan has fallen from the true faith," and that *while lately in Canada, in company with the Hon. George Brown*, he, "Whelan was meditating a cruel abandonment of the cause" —there is much foolish twaddle, as we shall presently show. The ground on which the *Montreal Herald* bases these assertions is the following extract from a letter which Mr. Whelan wrote or "meditated," *not* in Canada, but in Shediac, several hundred miles this side of it, some time in September last:—

"'As to the Quebec scheme,' he wrote from Canada to the Charlottetown journal which he edits, 'there is no doubt that it is objectionable in some of its parts, especially to the small and poor Colonies—*I am not at all sorry that it has been laid aside.*'"

The *Montreal Herald* is singularly unfortunate in its reference to affairs connected with the Lower Provinces. The editor pretends to be well versed in those affairs, but he never writes an article touching them without committing himself to several blunders, which, though not always very important in themselves, nevertheless show the loose and careless way in which the writing for the *Herald* is done, and must materially damage its general character for veracity. In the extract above quoted we see nothing at all to justify the assertion, that Mr. Whelan has abandoned, or thinks of abandoning, the "cause of Confederation;" or that he has fallen one iota from the "true faith" that was in him, twelve months ago, when he accepted the Quebec plan of Confederation as the best compromise that could be effected to reconcile the conflicting interests of the several Provinces. It was impossible to adopt any plan without mutual sacrifice of opinion and concessions. The Quebec plan appeared to be the best that could be framed after the three weeks deliberation given to it; but Mr. Whelan never said, at any time, that it was *not* "objectionable in some of its parts." In all public places, indeed, where he had an opportunity of giving his opinion, he referred generally to the "parts" that were the most objectionable to the Maritime Provinces, but especially to this Colony. He referred to the peculiar case of this Colony, openly and plainly, at London, and Hamilton, and Kingston, in Upper Canada, a few weeks ago, in the presence of the Canadian Ministers. There was no secresy, no private meditations, no hobnobbing over the "bumper" with Mr. Brown or any one else, when he declared that this Colony ought to have had more favourable terms proposed to her than the Quebec Report guarantees; but as it turned out that they could not be had, he was willing to accept Confederation on the scheme propounded, if the other Colonies agreed to it, as being some improvement on the present political condition of all the disjointed Provinces.

Mr. Whelan was always well aware that the Quebec plan of Confederation was one which rested with the people themselves to accept or reject. He never, at any time, or in any place, promulgated the doctrine that it should be *forced* upon them — no matter what may have been written to the contrary in this place or elsewhere by lame, contemptible, and lying scribblers The proof of his having said that it could be "forced" must be substantiated by particular and correct quotations before the charge can be entertained The 70th article of the Quebec Convention made an appeal to the people absolutely indispensable before that Convention could have any effect. The article is as follows:—

"The sanction of the Imperial *and Local Parliaments* shall be sought for the Union of the Provinces, on the principles adopted by the Conference."

And mindful of the respectful consideration for public opinion which the foregoing article of the Convention clearly indicates, Mr. Whelan used the following language in his speech at Montreal, on the 29th October, 1864, when, at the public banquet in that city, he had the honour of addressing one of the largest assemblages he had seen on a festive occasion in Canada:—

"The union proposed by the Conference, in which there were mutual concessions of small sectional claims, and a unanimous desire for conciliation, will not, when its deliberations are more fully known, alarm any man. Large sectional rights and interests are proposed to be preserved. The connection with the British Crown will not only be not impaired, but will be strengthened; and for the preservation of those free institutions which we all value so much, and which we hope to transmit to future generations, he thought there was but one remedy, and that remedy was union. But let no man imagine that this much desired object can be effected at Quebec or Montreal. *The great work is but commenced. The halls of the several local Legislatures, the constituencies of each Province in public meetings assembled, and at the hustings, are the places in which the great question must be settled.*"

These views plainly shewed that the responsibility of accepting or rejecting the Quebec Report belonged to the people themselves. If it be "objectionable" in some of its parts, as Mr. Whelan affirmed on many occasions, WHY SHOULD HE BE SORRY AT SEEING IT LAID ASIDE, as he said he was NOT in his letter from Shediac? That expression of *want of sorrow* in the matter of the public disapproval of the Quebec Report, does not prove that he is unfavourable to some plan of Confederation. The Canadian Ministers are well disposed to revise the plan of last year, as may be seen by Mr. Brown's speech, (which the *Patriot* most disingenuously omitted), and they are willing to receive suggestions from the Maritime Provinces touching the details, so as, if possible, to make a better plan. Now, then, why should Mr. Whelan be rebuked because he happens to say that he is not sorry for the rejection of a scheme which clearly depended upon public favour—to which he was never much attached from the first — and which the people in all the Provinces — (Canada included) — have agreed to set aside for some better scheme?

We will, without further delay, give the whole article from the *Montreal Herald*, and we hope it will not lose any little effect it was intended to have from this long preface:—

[*From the Montreal Herald, Oct.* 14.]

THE LOWER PROVINCE POLITICIANS ON CONFEDERATION.—Light occasionally comes to us from unexpected quarters, and if some of us have been inclined somewhat to contemn the dimensions of Prince Edward Island, we cannot refuse to admit that we have gained a good deal of political information from that quarter. It was from thence that we first ascertained the real value of the unanimity which we had previously supposed had prevailed at the Quebec Convention, and that instead, as had been given out, of all the members of that self-constituted body having agreed to the resolutions adopted, they had only agreed to "authenticate,"—in other words to certify—the genuineness of the minutes of their proceedings, while some, at all events, dissented from the conclusions arrived at. Whether this very clever trick to get the names of all the parties to a set of agreements to which they did not agree, would ever have become known to others beside the first contrivers, if Prince Edward Island had not lighted up the otherwise obscure transaction, we shall never know. But while thanking her for this service, we shall, we confess, be glad, if we are to have anything more to do with her, if she will send us gentlemen who know and can explain their own minds better than those whom we have so far had the honour of receiving as her representatives. We recently had occasion to express this desire with respect to our own Provincial Secretary; and certainly no person can be better fitted to confederate, in point of similar stability of opinions than the Hon. William, and some of our Prince Edward Island fellow subjects. We know that Mr. Palmer, for example, at the very moment he was writing a protest against some of the articles of the Quebec Conference, was seduced from the accomplishment of his design, by an offer from his colleagues to permit of his signing those articles in such a way as to make the world believe he approved of them, while the affirmation which his signature attested really did nothing of the sort. We know that he went all through this country speaking as if he had approved of the articles, and did approve of them; and yet he had no sooner got back to Prince Edward Island than he openly and strongly declared against the whole plan. But if our friends who approve of Confederation ever had an ally on whom they could hopefully trust, it was the Hon. Mr. Whelan. When Palmer fell off last year Whelan was staunch; and when Palmer this year declined again to come among us, Whelan showed his cordiality by eating as many dinners as came in his way, and making thereat as many Confederation speeches as were called for. Yet even Whelan has, we see, fallen from the true faith. Even while he was sitting at the elbow of our Minister of Agriculture; even while he was listening to those lively disquisitions on the three elements of national greatness, with which we understand Mr. Cartier charmed, though he somewhat bothered Sir Bulwer Lytton, who had to use his ear trumpet, as he has frequently before and since charmed a Canadian audience; even while bowing over the edge of his bumper to Mr. Geo. Brown, Whelan was meditating a cruel abandonment of the cause. "As to the Quebec scheme," he wrote from Canada to the Charlottetown journal which he edits, "there is no doubt that it is objectionable in some of its parts, especially to the small and poor Colonies—*I am not at all sorry that it has been laid aside.*" It is laid aside, *he says*, writing from head-quarters, in spite of all the eloquence which he listened to, and to which he contributed his share at the St. Lawrence Hall only last week. Whatever conviction of this truth we had from other quarters, we should not have guessed it from the confident tone of the speech makers. But if any one ought to know all about it, it is the Hon. George Brown, and we find a speech of his, in Upper Canada, published as a most encouraging sign of progress, in a New Brunswick journal, which began by being a red-hot partizan of the Quebec resolutions; then declared as the people of New Brunswick would not have them it was of no use to say anything more on the subject; and now professes to be for Union, but not for the terms agreed to at Quebec. These are the words in which Mr. Brown spoke of that solemn treaty, which no member even of the Canadian Legislature was to dare to touch in one jot or tittle. "Let Mr. Wilmot," said Mr. George Brown, "tell the people of New Brunswick, and especially his able colleague, Mr. Smith, that the Government of Canada were ready and willing to sit down with them and consider any proposition they might make as to the details of the scheme; and if they responded frankly the Union of these Provinces would be an accomplished fact. He hoped Mr. Wilmot would take back to New Brunswick the assurance that the Government of Canada were prepared to consider with respect and sincerity any suggestion that might be made by the Government of his Province for the removal of the existing difficulties." That touch about Mr. Wilmot's able colleague, Mr. Smith, and the anxiety felt by the speaker to quiet Mr. Smith's apprehensions, is admirable, when we remember the terms in which Mr. Smith and all his colleagues were assailed last spring in our Parliament, by Mr. Brown and his colleagues, as Yankee Annexationists, whose sole intention in preventing New Brunswick from acceding to Confederation was their wish for the other alternative. The complimentary fit comes admirably after the vituperative, from a gentleman so well able to blow hot and cold; but the personal is after all of less consequence than the public, and if Mr. Brown was not "exaggerating" again, he admitted when he used the above language that the Quebec scheme must be abandoned.

OUR REASONS FOR INTERFERING BETWEEN THE TENANT LEAGUE AND THE GOVERNMENT.

IT is, we understand, *disapprovingly* asked by some of our Liberal friends, what cause we have for interfering between the Tenant League and the Government. In their opinion, in our denunciations of the Tenant Union, and in our apparent coalition with the Government on that score, we have mistaken the course which due regard for the principles of our party required us to pursue.

They say that the League has had its origin in the bitter feeling of disappointment to which the crooked and deceitful policy of the Government party, touching the Land Question, has given rise in the public mind. They aver that no Government, how obnoxious soever, which has previously had existence in this Island, has been held in such thorough detestation as the present. They maintain that the great majority of the people are determined upon its overthrow; and assert that they who are loudest in their execrations of it and the parties by whom, in the Legislature, it is sustained, for the betrayal of the public trust reposed in them — are the very men who were the most zealous in supporting them, at the last general election. And, moreover, they declare that the attempts of the Government to suppress the League, and to strengthen the hands of the proprietors, will have no effect so certain as that of increasing the odium in which it is at present held, and of rendering its downfall, if possible, more rapid and complete; and that, therefore, if true to our professed political creed, and really desirous for the reaccession of the Liberals to power, and the re-establishment of *genuine* Responsible Government, we ought not to have interfered, in any way, to check the progress of that discontent and disaffection, which give such full assurance of the happy disruption of the Tory party, and an early termination of their intolerant rule.

To the political morality of such reasoning as this, we must strongly demur. If we mistake not, it intimates the propriety of setting material ends above moral means; and such a doctrine we hold to be one of the most dangerous and indefensible that can be inculcated in society.

Political parties and rival statesmen, when contending for power, are not always found to be as scrupulous about the nature of the means which they employ for the attainment of their ends, as they would be were they influenced by nothing but a desire for the well-being and happiness of the people over whom they aspire to rule. But seldom, we believe, either in our Parent State, or in any of its dependencies, can public men be found so vile as to be willing to accomplish the overthrow of a Government, at the expense of the constitutional liberties of the people; and, thank God, none, who have the honor to be acknowledged as leading men among the Liberals, would, we are certain, be so base as to endeavor to compass the depression of their political opponents at so ruinous and damaging a price; and such of the liberal party as have stood aloof from all connexion with the Tenant League, and yet censure us for our denunciations of it, are, we feel persuaded, blind to the nature and extent of the real danger and calamity which, as consequences of its existence, are now impending over us. Yes, blinded as they are by their antipathy to the ruling party, whom they regard as the selfish betrayers of the interests of the people, the only consequence which they apprehend as likely to ensue from the existence and machinations of that organization—at least the only consequence worthy of their consideration — is the overthrow of that intolerant and tyrannic party. Thus blinded as they are, they cannot, however, be unconscious of the loss and misery which many of the tenants are now called upon to endure, in consequence of their having enrolled themselves as members of the League. The sufferings of such men, however, they may, and probably do, regard as nothing more than the just punishment of their folly, which has made them the pliant victims of the crafty apostles of that illegal association; and, in their estimation, perhaps, the overthrow of the Tories and the reviviscence of Self-Government from its long entombment, would be cheaply purchased, could it be realized at no greater cost than the endurance of such partial distress among the people.