THE EXAMINER:

A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, and News.

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

Vol. XV. Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Monday, June 19, 1865. New Series.---No. 29.

1865. 1865.

LIVERPOOL HOUSE!
NEW SPRING GOODS!

Cotton Goods Reduced.

WILLIAM FULL

BEGS to announce to his Customers and the Public, that he has received per ship UNDINE from LIVERPOOL, G. B.,

A Select & Varied Assortment

OF

Staple and Fancy

DRY GOODS,

comprising many of the

LATEST NOVELTIES,

which will be sold

Wholesale and Retail,

at the Lowest Prices for Cash.

The present Stock comprises:

Staple Cotton Goods,

which have been purchased at the reduced rate, viz:—

COTTON WARP, in all colors, Grey and White Cottons, Striped and Fancy Shirting Prints, Ginghams, Drill Denims, Tickings, &c.; White, Red and Blue FLANNELS, Osnaburg, Sheetings, Bagging, Hollands, Linens, &c, &c.

Ladies' Hats and Bonnets,

in all the newest styles.

BONNET RIBBONS,

in great variety.

Flowers, Feathers, Hair Nets, Gloves, Belts, Parasols, &c.

Black and Coloured Cloth Mantles and Sacques, in all qualities.

DRESS GOODS,

in Coburgs, Lustres, Camelots, Delaines, Popaletts, Merinos, &c., &c.

Dress Linings and Trimmings, in variety.

CLOTHS,

in Doeskins, Tweeds, Broad Cloths, Russel Cord, &c, &c.

Gentlemen's Furnishing Department.

Ready-made Clothing of all descriptions, White and Fancy Shirts, Neckties, Felt Hats, Caps, Braces, &c.

—ALSO—

Prime Congo TEA, Muscovado SUGAR, and MOLASSES. Sole Leather, Candles, Soap, Glass, Nails, &c, &c, at

Thomas's Old Stand, Great George Street

WILLIAM FULL.

May 15, 1865. 10in

Ex Ships 'L. C. Owen' & 'Undine.'

ON SALE at Subscriber's ROOM—

Casks RUM, Raw and Boiled OIL,
Kegs No. 1 WHITE LEAD, 2 Tons PUTTY,
50 Coils Small MANILLA ROPE,
50 Boxes No. 1 CROWN SOAP,
50 do TD PIPES, 15 Boxes Starch,
20 Kegs Baking Soda, 10 Bags RICE,
20 Bbls Washing Soda, Bbls Crushed Sugar.

In Store,

30 Cases Cognac BRANDY, 1 doz. each.
25 do Brown SHERRY, 1 doz. each,
10 do CHAMPAGNE,
40 do Old Highland WHISKEY,
15 do RASPBERRY BALM,
15 do GINGERETTE,
10 do JAMAICA RUM.

ALSO,

By Brig Urania from London—

60 Chests of CONGO TEA,

All at the lowest prices for Cash or approved paper. WILLIAM DODD,

May 15, 1865.—4w Isl Queen Square.

Spring 1865!

LONDON HOUSE.

NEW SPRING GOODS,

CHEAP FOR CASH!

H. HASZARD would respectfully inform his friends and the public generally that he HAS JUST RECEIVED a large and well selected

SPRING STOCK

OF

London, Manchester, Glasgow, Bradford and Birmingham

GOODS,

comprising all the articles required for a general STOCK, in

Dry Goods, Hardware, Groceries, &c.

In the latest styles and newest fabrics of

Dress Materials, Mantles, Shawls, Hats, Caps, Bonnets, Ready-made Clothing, Cloths, &c.

All of which will be sold at the

Lowest Prices for Cash.

Charlottetown, May 15, 1865.

Spring Importations.

JUST RECEIVED by Ships "L. C. OWEN" and "UNDINE," and on sale at

Dodd's Brick Store, Pownal Street.

10 Bbls. Crushed SUGAR,
46 Boxes SOAP,
6 Casks Paint Oil,
50 Kegs White Lead,
10 Cwt. PUTTY,
40 Boxes Glass, (assorted.)
120 Bags Nails, (assorted.)
23 Bags Spikes,
20 Setts Plough Mountings, (Wilke's & Gray's.)

DODD & ROGERS.

May 22, 1865. 6in

FLOUR,

In Store.

300 BBLS. "EXTRA STATE" FLOUR,

Just Arrived,

Per Schr. *Cecilia* from BOSTON.

150 Bbls. "Government Mills."

Daily Expected,

Per Schr. "KIT CARSON," from BOSTON,

500 Bbls. "EXTRA STATE,"

(Choice brands.)

For sale by

J. ROBERTS ECKART,

Peake's Brick Building, Water-st.

Ch'town, April 24, 1865.

TO LET.

THE HOUSE and PREMISES on Queen Street, occupied by the late John M Gill. For particulars apply to the subscriber.

Wm. M'GILL.

March 20th, 1865.

Township No. 51.

THE COMMISSIONER of PUBLIC LANDS, having under the authority of the Act 16 Victoria, Cap. 18, completed the purchase of that portion of Township 51, the properties of WILLIAM and GEORGE F. MONTGOMERY, Esquires, hereby notifies all Tenants and Occupiers of Land on the above properties, desirous of PURCHASING THEIR SEVERAL LOCATIONS, that, in accordance with the 10th Section of the above recited Act, he is now prepared to receive the deposit of the Purchase Money of their several holdings, upon producing their titles, or agreements for the same.

JOHN ALDOUS, Commissioner.

Office of Public Lands, June 5, 1865. tf

TO THE TENANTRY OF P. E. ISLAND.

THE Legislature, during the late Session having passed "An Act to assist Tenants in the purchase of the Fee-simple of their Farms," by advancing to the Tenant ONE HALF of the amount agreed upon by the Proprietor and Tenant, as the Purchase Money of his Farm—

The Commissioner of Public Lands hereby gives notice to all tenants

desirous of availing themselves of the privilege of the above recited Act, that he is now prepared to ASSIST SUCH TENANTS in the purchase of their Farms, as in manner and extent provided under such Act.

FORM OF APPLICATION and full particulars may be obtained at the office of Crown Lands, Colonial Building, Charlottetown.

JOHN ALDOUS, Commissioner.

Public Lands Office, May 8, 1865.

MAILS

Per Steamers 'Princess of Wales' and 'Heather Belle.'

SUMMER ARRANGEMENT.

THE MAILS for the neighbouring Provinces, etc, will, until further notice, be made up as follows:—

For Nova Scotia, via Pictou, on MONDAY and THURSDAY mornings, at 9 o'clock. Also, via Brule, on WEDNESDAY and FRIDAY evenings, at 8 o'clock.

For New Brunswick, Canada and the United States, via Shediac, on MONDAY evenings, at 8 o'clock; and on FRIDAY mornings, at 8 o'clock.

For Great Britain, Newfoundland, the Bermudas and the West Indies, every alternate WEDNESDAY evening, at 8 o'clock, as follows:—

Wednesday,	10th May,	Wednesday,	2nd August,
"	24th "	"	16th "
"	7th June,	"	30th "
"	21st "	"	13th Sept.
"	5th July,	"	27th "
"	19th "		

L. C. OWEN, Postmaster General.

General Post Office, 29th May, 1865.

VACCINATION.

Charlottetown and Royalty.

MAY 24th, 1865.

IN accordance with the provisions of the ACT TO PROMOTE VACCINATION, I hereby give notice that I will attend at the old Court House on Wednesday next (31st of May), and on every future Saturday and Wednesday, until the 24th day of June, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, to vaccinate all persons, not successfully vaccinated, who may then appear there.

*** As the amended Act of the last session of the Legislature provides that vaccination shall be performed, *without any charge*, by the superintendant of Vaccination, it will, therefore, be my duty to enforce the penalties of the Act on all persons residing in Charlottetown and Royalty who have not been vaccinated, or who shall neglect to have their children or themselves vaccinated by a duly qualified medical practitioner, within three months from this date.

H. A. JOHNSON, Superintendant Vaccination.

OUR SPRING

Importations

Per *L. C. OWEN* and *UNDINE*,

ARE NOW READY FOR

INSPECTION & SALE.

BEER & SONS.

Ch'town, 15th May, 1865.

LONDON GOODS.

Expected daily per 'Urania.'

50 CHESTS TEA. (finest Kaisow.)
400 Boxes LONDON SOAP,
50 Casks WASHING SODA,
5 Tons OAKUM,
10 Cases ASSORTED CANDY, (in bottles)
10 Cases ASSORTED PICKLES,
2 Cases Composition CANDLES,
30 Kegs LONDON MUSTARD,
12 Boxes FINE STARCH.

Wrapping Paper, Corks, Sardines, Lucca, Olive and Castor Oils, Fry's Cocoa, Sauces, Blacking, Blacklead, Stationery, and sundry other small articles.

DOUGLAS M. HARINGTON.

Water Street.

May 8, 1865. 1sl rw 2m

Best Island Tobacco!!

THE subscribers, in returning thanks to their friends and customers for the patronage extended to them since their commencement in business, would intimate that they have

GREATLY REDUCED

The Price of their Tobacco,

which is pronounced by judges to be the

Best Manufactured on the Island.

Samples can be had by calling at their Store in Queen-street, next door to the Bank of P. E. Island.

LOWDEN & RICHARDSON.

Charlottetown, April 3, 1865. 1sl tf

Fresh Garden & Field Seeds

AT APOTHECARIES' HALL.

JUST ARRIVED per Barque "Undine" from LIVERPOOL, and steamer "Commerce" from BOSTON, a choice lot of

Really Fresh

GARDEN AND FIELD SEEDS,

in every variety.

T. DESBRISAY.

May 8, 1865.

Fishing Tackl.

BY Barque *Undine* I have RECEIVED FISHING RODS, CASTING LINES, FLIES, REELS, Landing Nets, Limerick Hooks, &c., &c., offered very low. T. DESBRISAY.

May 8, 1865.

Union Bank of P. E. Island,

NOTICE is hereby given that a DIVIDEND of Seven and one half per centum, on the paid up Capital Stock of this Bank, for one half year ending this day, hath been this day declared payable to the Stockholders, on and after MONDAY, the 5th instant.

JAMES ANDERSON, Cashier.

Union Bank, P. E. I., June 1, 1865.

COLONIAL LEGISLATURE.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

FRIDAY, March 24.

UNION OF THE COLONIES.

(Hon. Col. Gray's Speech concluded.)

A country starting, as it were, into life, with a surplus of a million, commences with happy auguries for the future. This sum would pay the interest on a loan of twenty-five millions, and we know that the Home Government would guarantee this at four per cent. It would pay for the Colonial Railroad, Canals wherever needed, and provide amply for the public defences; and, while mentioning the defences, I may remark that, not only would the people of this Island save several pounds per head, yearly, by the importation of so many articles, duty free, but they would save the expense of arms and material, and of annual maintenance of the militia. Mr. Speaker, we may rest assured that, in Confederation, or out of Confederation, the people of Great Britain will take care that they will not, in future, pay more towards the defence of the Colonies than what the recollection of their past and anticipation of their future, may satisfy them as right and just; and, Sir, if we prefer to remain outside the proposed Confederation, we will be under the necessity, which must sooner or later arrive, of taxing ourselves pretty heavily for this object of defence. The arms alone which we would require for the equipment of our sixteen thousand men would cost some eighty thousand pounds sterling, and material many thousands additional. The annual five days' drill of the Militia would be a heavy charge on the Treasury and individuals. Now, if we were in Confederation the general Government would furnish arms and material, and grant us an annual allowance for maintenance, &c. Again, all who are at all conversant with military matters know that there can be but one arm, one Executive, as it were, to work where military matters are concerned; but, if our people prefer it, they will find out that it is no small matter. Yet it must be done in some shape A few years ago we were in the presence of a neighbour with a standing army of eight thousand, now they have seven hundred thousand There are many other points to which I could advert, showing what would be the gain to this Island which would result from Confederation. I might dilate upon the good fortune of our young men, were so extended a field opened to their ambition; but I shall defer the consideration of that branch of the subject to another time; and I now gladly borrow from one of the most distinguished and venerable of the statesmen of British America, when he tells us that the choice offered to the Legislatures of these Provinces is, "on the one hand, Union under one Government, giving to British subjects in their confederate and growing strength, a nationality worthy of their origin, where putting forth the energies of free men, they and their descendants may, under a gracious Providence, have the opportunity of rising to degrees of political influence, material prosperity, intellectual and literary attainments, religious, educational and moral progress and refinement of taste and manners, which cannot be reached in small and contracted communities; or on the other hand, the perpetuation of the present isolated condition of the Provinces, few in number, unequal to the developement of our own resources, unable to furnish to our sons professional education, or to retain at home our enterprising youth. We have little prospect for the future beyond a dwarfed existence and ultimate absorption into the neighboring Republic. One of these must be chosen, the other rejected—there is no other alternative." Yes, Mr. Speaker, federation or annexation is what we must regard as our future. And I would ask have we considered the alternative? Do we imagine that it is remote, something to be thought upon at a future day? Already the warning notes have been sounded, and what steps have these Provinces taken to meet the reality? We know that the feeling in England has been, until very lately, most strongly excited against us, but since this question of Confederation has been agitated a more kindly spirit has been evoked, because, in Confederation, the Mother Country sees at length aroused a disposition heretofore dormant, an awakening to the sense of the duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity, and a determination on our part to unite as one people against the coming storm; and in this case they have promised to stand by us, but I know very little of the people of England, if we do not, before many weeks, hear that the late action of the people of New Brunswick has revived all the old distrust. If we are not, now, true to ourselves, in this great crisis, we may rest assured that England will not send a man to help us in our hour of need. We will find, to our cost, that on the very first outbreak, the Stars and Stripes will wave over us; what then will be the position in which our folly will have placed us? Already the debt of the Northern States is three thousand millions, to their population a tax, the interest of which is nine dollars per head! How will this suit us? Truly, in that hour it will not be a question of a few cents more or less in a tariff. Fancy every man among us, with five in family being under a yearly tax of forty-five dollars, and for what? The improvement of the country, the construction of railroads, or the erection of cities of palaces? No! but taxation incurred by another people, in sweeping with the besom of destruction, hundreds of thousands, (I believe the number exceeds two millions) of their fellow men into eternity, and turning into a howling wilderness the fairest country the sun has ever shone upon; and this is the alternative the opponents of Confederation offer us. I am told that it is unpopular with us—that those who oppose Confederation have gained a vast amount of popularity by decrying it. For myself, I may say, so far as rewards in this world weigh with me, I know none greater than the approval of my fellow men, but, to obtain even this, I cannot condemn what I truly believe to be for the best interests of us all; nor can I, for any amount of popular applause, give utterance with my lips to what, in my heart, I disapprove. Probably, as times go, I, too, might have acquired some *quasi* popularity, if, on my return from Canada, I had denied and repudiated all I had ever said in favor of Union and joined the cry against it; but then I would have lost what I value still more highly than popular applause—self-respect. The various details embodied in the Report of the Delegates speak for themselves. Hon. members need not to be told that delegates from six Provinces, each representing a diversity of interests, could only by mutual concessions obtain such a united whole as we could all agree in supporting and submitting to the people. That we had arrived at such a result I never for one moment doubted until my return here from Canada. Taken as a whole, I cannot come to any other conclusion than this, that the principles here set forth are well calculated to establish and consolidate a great nationality, and to be the means of elevating British America to a height of wealth, grandeur and prosperity, such as we can never in any other way attain to. And as far as this Island is concerned, as Confederation will bring prosperity to Halifax and St. John, whose rise will be ours, as it will bring us an influx of capital to develop the mines of wealth we possess in our fisheries; as it will build up harbors where needed for the interest of that trade; as it will give us manufactories in our midst with constant employ to our youth of both sexes, summer and winter; the means of banishing the discontent of the tenantry; a Government elected by four millions of people, which will be as formidable in its strength as ours ever has been impotent in its weakness; a Revenue amply sufficient for our local wants as heretofore; and instead of a Legislative Union, such as deprived Ireland of her separate Parliament, we are secured all the advantage of having our own Island Parliament for the management of our local affairs. Also the further representation of nine members in a general Parliament, and nine gentlemen should be able to represent this Island as efficiently as four times that number. Also the hearty support of England with her fleet and army. And as all this can be obtained without an increase of taxation, but, on the contrary, with a decrease in the amount now paid by the bulk of our people. Although the subject of Confederation has been made unpopular, because neither explained nor understood, yet I am glad to place on record my earnest and hearty advocacy of it, leaving my action to be judged by reflecting minds at a future day; being assured that neither you, Mr. Speaker, nor any other hon. member will do me the injustice to suppose that the few observations I have deemed it my duty to make on this momentous question, will be construed into anything approaching a desire to influence any hon. member in the vote he may now record; because, Mr. Speaker, both yourself and hon. members are aware what an overwhelming majority have made up their minds to oppose it. I can, then, but be fully conscious how futile would be such a desire on my part, or on that of any of the advocates of Confederation, at this juncture. I will not, therefore, say more, but conclude by borrowing again from my venerable friend, when I repeat that this is no small affair, the influences of which will die away with the excitement of its discussion; nothing of petty politics reaching no further than personal interests; no matter of party strife; our country and its destinies, our descendants and their future are the subjects, and the consideration should be approached with an earnestness, and the decision made under a sense of responsibility not to be exceeded in the discharge of the most solemn religious duty.

Hon. Mr. WARBURTON.—Mr. Speaker, I did not think this question would be taken up this evening. As, however, it has come up for discussion, and as it is expected that every member will give expression to his views on the question, I shall briefly state my opinions. I have always been opposed to this scheme. If we are to have a Union I would prefer a Legislative to a Federal one, under which this House would become a useless bauble, with no power save that of taxing the people. Last Session we sanctioned a delegation for a specified purpose—to confer on the subject of a Union of the Maritime Provinces. The Hon. Col. Secretary has stated that union is strength. It may be so; but a connection of the character recommended by the Report before us, would be a Union of the Lion with the Lamb; we would be devoured by the Canadians. The hon. member for Belfast told us that under the Union we would pay less taxes. I cannot see how that can be the result if we have to defray our proportion of the expenses of the army and navy, and of the fortifications necessary for the protection of Canada. The operation of the tenant system in this Island proves that our people cannot pay the rates imposed in that country. The Act which passed this House last Session precludes the idea of any relief being afforded to the tenantry under Confederation, for a law once passed must be obeyed. I, for one, opposed its passage and we have no reason to suppose that the United Government would abolish it; for, if they should do so there would be no security for any man's property. I agree that we have no influence at the Colonial Office. While I believe that the tenantry would have a better chance of freeing themselve from the Rent Roll system under the Stars and Stripes, I, myself, will never consent to live under any other than the old flag of Britain, under which there are no people on this continent who enjoy as much freedom from taxation as ourselves. In Canada it is known that the taxation is heavy; we increased our Tariff, but the people do not feel the operation of it as they would that of a system of direct taxation, such as obtains in Canada. This system properly adjusted would, I admit, be found to be the cheapest; but the people cannot be persuaded to adopt that view. There is a great and insuperable dread of direct taxation. The principle of representation by population, as embodied in the resolutions of the Conference, I cannot agree to; for, under it in the Confederate Parliament we should have no influence. Sir, I believe that nine tenths of the people of the Island are opposed to a Union, either Federal or Legislative. I myself shall use all my endeavors against it inside these walls and throughout the country, and if my constituents disapprove of my conduct, they can readily get some one else to represent them. We have heard hon. members enlarge upon the glory argument. It might be that I, by supporting the proposed Confederation and assisting in bringing the Island within its embracing folds, would obtain some high office in Canada from the Confederate Government, but considerations of that nature do not weigh with me. In conclusion, I repeat that I am opposed to a Union of any kind, but if we are to have any, I prefer a Legislative one to the mongrel scheme adopted at Quebec.

The debate was then adjourned.

MONDAY, March 27.

House resumed the consideration of the papers relating to the Union of the Colonies.

Hon. Mr. HENSLEY.—Mr. Speaker, I have heard it stated that all the talent in this House was enlisted on the side of the Union; assuming such to be the case, as I am not in the habit of making long speeches, which, under such a state of facts, must, of necessity, be productive of no benefit, I am happy to console myself by the reflection, that we have, at least, a numerical superiority, as there are some 25 or 26 members who are opposed to "all the talent" on this question. A question of this magnitude should be approached free from political or party bias. When the matter of Confederation was under discussion last Session the idea was expressed, and very generally acquiesced in, that united with only the Maritime Provinces, we would be absorbed, and quotations from speeches of the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, and others as to the absorbtion of that Province in case of Union with Canada were adduced to warrant the opinion. Well, Sir, if such would probably be the effect of our connection with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, I can only come to the conclusion that we would be entirely swamped if we cast in our lot with Canada. No doubt the idea of forming part of a great country is very captivating, if we really were a separate and solitary people; but I cannot recognize its force in our case when I call to mind that we are part and parcel of the great British Empire. The important question for our consideration is whether we are bound by the action of the Quebec Convention. It is quite clear that we are not. The Convention was held without any authority from this House, and the Delegates had no power to agree to any conclusions on the subject, but at the utmost, merely to report to this House. I regret that they agreed to so formal a document as the one before us, as it seems to convey the idea to the world that they possessed powers to treat and make a binding arrangement. It has been said and written that we shall be driven into this Confederacy. I would ask what foundation exists for such an assertion? Whence does it arise? We have no despatches before us indicating such an eventuality; in fact the documents submitted to us lead to the belief in my mind that we shall be allowed to deal with this matter as we please. I believe that the fact is that the Canadians, finding a general Union of the Colonies would be of service to themselves, sent Delegates here with the view of commending their project to the favourable consideration of the Legislatures of the Lower Provinces, and I do not blame them for doing so. The terms of the Report before us are, in my opinion, very unfavourable to this Island. On the scale of representation proposed, we would be without the slightest influence in the United Parliament. It is true that, if we went into the proposed Union, we would have no right to expect as large a number of representatives as either of the Lower Provinces, but then, if, or why should we throw away our independence which we now enjoy? There would, of necessity, be an increased tariff under the Union, and before I can admit the force of the argument that Canada and New Brunswick will supply us with boots, shoes, spirits and other articles manufactured and at a lower rate than we can get them at present, I should like to be satisfied as to their present ability to supply themselves with those articles. Such returns of importations into these two Provinces, for the year 1863, as we have before us, seem to me rather to indicate an entirely different state of things in that respect. Now, Mr. Speaker, if the people of these two Colonies cannot, with a high protective tariff, furnish the articles I have specified in quantities sufficient for their own requirements, it is not to be supposed that they can supply them to us. Our chief, because most advantageous, trade is with the United States and Great Britain, and as long as we shall find it to our advantage that it should be so, it will naturally seek these channels; and if we come under the influence of a higher tariff we shall be taxing our best customers and crippling our most profitable channels for commercial intercourse. I cannot think that Great Britain will look favourably on a scheme which, so far as the Lower Colonies are concerned, will have the effect of placing heavier duties on the importation of her manufactured goods.

TWENTY YEARS' EXPERIENCE OF IRISH LIFE IN AMERICA.

THE HON. T. D. McGEE'S LECTURE.

The Hon. T. D. McGee, Minister of Agriculture in Canada, who went to Ireland as the leading member of a delegation from the Canadian Government to the International Exhibition, addressed a crowded meeting in the Assembly Rooms of Wexford, on the 15th ultimo — the Rev. Mr. Lambert, President of the Young Men's Society, occupying the chair, in the unavoidable absence of the Mayor.

The hour of meeting was eight o'clock, and at that time a very large audience, evidently interested in the subject, and prepared to welcome Mr. McGee on his appearing again among his townsmen, had assembled. Mr. McGee was received on entering the hall with warm and repeated cheering.

After silence had been restored,

Mr. McGEE, being briefly introduced by the President, said—Mr. Chairman, and Fellow-Townsmen of Wexford, I thank you most heartily for this very cordial welcome after so many years' absence from among you. It is more than I expected—it is much more than I deserved; and I can only account for it by the number of faces of old schoolfellows I can easily count on every side of me. But I will confess to you that I revisit our good old town under depressed spirits; for, as you know, of all those to whom by the ties of nature I was bound, but one remains to bid me welcome — the rest lie quietly in the shadows of Selskar churchyard. There my first duty was paid yesterday; to-day, however, I am called upon to remember my obligations to the living—especially to those who sent me back to my native land upon a gratifying official mission—obligations which I shall endeavour to discharge in part to-night, by giving you frankly, fully, and fearlessly, my "Twenty Years' Experience of Irish life in America." I say twenty years, for you will remember that I spent the years from 1842 to 1845 in the United States, and that I was one of the Young Ireland fugitives of 1848. I am not at all ashamed of Young Ireland—why should I? Politically, we were a pack of fools; but we were honest in our folly; and no man need blush at forty for the follies of one-and-twenty; unless, indeed, he still perseveres in them, having no longer the fair excuse to plead of youth and inexperience. Before I proceed to the subject of my lecture, you will allow me to observe that it is not only because I am at home here that it may be particularly proper for me to talk freely, as among friends, but also because I am at present in Ireland by the appointment of his Excellency our Governor-General, Lord Monck, who draws his title of Baron of Ballytrannon from this neighbourhood, and who is interested as a proprietor in Wexford and Wicklow. His Excellency was pleased to give me for associates a dignified Protestant clergyman, and another Irish Catholic layman, a meritorious public officer of a quarter of a century's standing in the civil service of Canada. I wish some of your bigots on both sides, Catholic bigots or Protestant bigots, who profess to believe that men of different creeds cannot act cordially and confidentially together in the public service, would only condescend to consider how we contrive to do so, without sacrificing principle on either side, in the country I come from. But I feel that I must avoid such reflections for fear of getting into a scrape (laughter). I know this is a land of philippics, and that the immense vituperative resources of the language are nowhere better understood (laughter). I therefore close this reference to our appointment by saying that it was with great satisfaction I felt myself called upon to represent the first province of the British Empire at the opening of the International Exhibition, in that beautiful and beloved city, which must still be the metropolis of the Irishman's heart, in whatever quarter of the world he may reside. Our mission—the Rev. Dr. Adamson's, Mr. Devine's, and mine—was intended by the Government of Canada as a compliment to Ireland; and, without respect of persons, I hope I may say that it was a compliment the Irish people will acknowledge (cheers). The intimate relations of Ireland and North America, in this middle period of the century—the interests, the action, and reaction which have already sprung out of those relations—are subjects of very real, I was going to say very urgent, consideration to every publicist throughout these kingdoms. Let no man think, when he has heard the last sob from the ship's side—when he has seen the last glimpse of the emigrant ship itself—that he has heard the last, or possibly seen the last, of that living load of passion, affection, hatred, remembrance, prejudice, and speculation, and power—stronger than distance, stronger than every influence but God's or death's—which has just launched itself out in the Atlantic. The Atlantic may prove the grave to a small per centage of those out-going myriads; but so sure as steam has narrowed it to, at most, a fortnightly ferry, so sure the future of these myriads is destined, within our own time, to play an important part, directly or indirectly, in shaping the destinies of the lands they leave, as well as the fate of the lands they sail for. The transfer of a third of a million of productive people a year—mostly adults—from old kingdoms to new republics, from a monarchy to a democracy, is a fact in the history of our times before which most other things that are called politics sink into insignificance, whether regarded in their causes or in their consequences. Is there not a balance of production as well as a balance of power? Is there not a war of ideas in the world—a war of which our widespread language has long been the battlefield—as well as dynastic wars and civil wars? (cheers). My object, however, is not so much to discuss the great general question of the economy of emigration as to lay before my fellow-townsmen, and so many of my fellow-countrymen as may do me the honor to read the report of what I have to say, the true position of our countrymen by birth, both in Republican and in British America. However it may conflict with any existing theory, I must set out with the plain statement of this fact — which every one who knows the United States people knows well to be true—namely, that there is no such thing in existence as a national sentiment of sympathy with Ireland in that country. The electioneering rhetoric of the stump orators, the spontaneous benevolence of the Americans during the famine—a benevolence which they exercised towards Madeira and the Cape De Verdes in their famine, and Hamburg when it was laid in ashes, just as cheerfully as towards Ireland — has misled many in this country to attribute to another and more permanent cause that noble exercise of national benevolence. But I state here, as an indisputable truth, that there is no more national sympathy for Ireland as Ireland, in the United States, than for Japan, and far less than exists for Russia. Let me account for this, which I know will not prove a palatable truth to tell to your pre-occupied public (cheers). In the first place the six Northern or New England States—strongly tinctured with Puritanism—prosperous, and proud of their prosperity, and highly trained in mere school learning—hate the Irish Catholic emigrant for his creed, despise him for his poverty, and underrate him for his want of book learning. In the midland States—the most felt bodies of our emigrants—the Irish democrats of the great cities, like New York and Philadelphia—unaccustomed to the duties of suddenly-acquired citizenship, have been used and abused by native-born and Irish-born demagogues. They have come roughly into competition with native labour; they have jostled native respectability at the polls; they formerly arrayed themselves insanely and most cruelly against the Negro, while right and justice were plainly on the side of the slave. It is for these, and other reasons, that the Irish of this generation, their numbers and industry considered, are, socially and politically, the weakest community in the Republic — weaker than the negroes themselves in the free States. As to the Irish in what were the slave States, they were always a mere fraction—not exceeding 400,000 in 1860—a number not greater than might be found within ten square miles of the City Hall of New York. Still, the social distinctions in those States being founded on colour, the Irishman at the South, especially if a person of education, rose at once to the rank of "the most favoured nation." He was not deluded by the fallacious freedom (for him) of the North; he enjoyed an easy equality with the best sons of the soil, and he became attached to that soil with an ardour, and fought for it with an enthusiasm, which, under all the circumstances, was not surprising (cheers). On this point—the comparatively outside, unintimate, and uninfluential position of the Irish democracy in the United States—I hope I may, without impropriety, repeat what was said to me fourteen years ago at Washington, by a well-known Irish-American general, whose own career, in the Senate and the field, is a striking commentary on the remark he then (in 1851) made. "McGee," said the gentleman to whom I refer, "an Irishman in this country must not only do as well as another man, but he must do twice as well, before he gets half the credit." I understood, afterwards, very well what my gallant friend meant. The *prestige* (if I may use the word in that sense) of defeat was against us—the illiteracy and squalor of the famine emigration brought face to face with a prosperity-proud people was against us — the overbearing insolence of our own demagogues was against us. These were all reasons why personal desert in our ranks seldom received its due; why the meritorious individual was dragged down by the lowering tendencies of the class with whom he ranked. Let me endeavour to describe to you the position and mode of life of one of that numerous class of Irish-born demagogues which, in the great cities where they abound, have done such irrevocable mischief to Irish character. He is not seldom a dealer, by wholesale or retail, in spirituous liquors; sometimes a lawyer, sometimes an editor. He is always ready with his money subscription to the church, but seldom goes to Church. He lies up on Sunday, after the toils of the week, reading a sporting journal or a police gazette. He has a ready, rowdy sort of rhetoric, and is never at a loss, when called on, to propose or second a resolution. He has heard of "Philips, Curran, Grattan, and Emmet"—this is the order in which he arranges their names—an order which shows his profound knowledge of the men; he is particularly savage on England, and grows quite pathetic, unprepared as he is, at the mere mention of the "old land." A fair share of mother wit—a sufficient stock of spending money, and a vast deal of brass—complete the equipment of this very active, very important, and much courted individual. The social life of which this species of politician is the public and external representative has features hardly less repulsive. The continental scatterment of the emgration breaks up all family ties. Youth is without diffidence, and age without following. The prevailing presumption, even as to matters of judgment, is against the old and in favor of the young. I do not say, Sir, that this is the universal rule; I have met as well-ordered Irish families in the United States as there are in Ireland; I have met as worthy men and as amiable women in private life; but I say the rule is generally as I have stated it, and the true reading of the commandment there would be, "Parents, obey your children, that your days may be long in the land." (Laughter). You will not be at a loss to judge from this very rapid sketch which I have presented to you of the public general position of the Irish in America, why it is that I am not, or ever was satisfied with that position. Very early I perceived that herding together in great cities, running up debts with storemen in idle spells, and squandering their wages when flush of cash, was destroying our people. I endeavoured to set on foot in 1855, at the Buffalo Convention, a plan for the systematic settlement of our people in the inland States and in Canada; but, though I still believe it was a good plan, it failed for want of support, and the next year I voluntarily transferred my household gods to the valley of the St. Lawrence. Loud and fierce was the outcry of the demagogues at this desertion, as they were pleased to call it. They did not hesitate to fling foul phrases and ribald reproaches after me. I was no Irishman—no freeman—because I preferred an orderly British Province in which to live, and a moral city like Montreal in which to bring up my children. They called me traitor! renegade! apostate! but I tell them from this spot—those of them who still survive to hear me—I tell them in your presence, my fellow-townsmen, who have of all others most closely watched my course, that I have done more in ten years, by a steady, constitutional line of public conduct; by blending the warm Irish impulses (which I shall only cease to feel when I cease to live) with rational and lawful public objects; that I have done more, humble as I am, to conquer back the respect of intelligent men in Great Britain and America for the Irish name, than any half hundred of the demagogues put together. (Cheers). Forgive me, Sir, I did not intend this; but having now mentioned my removal to Canada, you will expect me to say something of the position of our countrymen in that and the adjoining Provinces. British America—if we speak of the whole region from Newfoundland to Vancouver — including the vast territories held by the Hudson's Bay Company, covers about one-third of the Continent; it is, in extent, greater than the Republican States, greater than all Europe—or, more statistically, it is about 3,000 miles from sea to sea, and 1,600 from the American frontier to the Pole—including about 4,000,000 of square miles. Of this region the subdivision may be thus generally compared to familiar standards here "at home:"—Vancouver's Island is as long as Ireland, by about half as wide; British Columbia is about the size of England Proper; the North-Western territory, or Central British America, is an immense region, larger than all Rusia; Canada is about the size of these kingdoms, France and Italy taken together; while New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, with the Islands of Prince Edward and Newfoundland, cover unitedly a larger space than the area of the whole United Kingdom. The population of this immense region in 1832 was set down at 1,200,000; in 1860, in one generation, it had increased to 4,000,000—nearly 400 per cent. I do not intend, gentlemen, to occupy you with many details, but rather to sketch for you truthfully the social condition of our own countrymen who have made their homes in those provinces with which I am best acquainted—that is Canada and the Provinces on the Atlantic. Our countrymen by birth and their immediate offspring in those provinces, Protestant and Catholic, as nearly as I can make out, exceed half a million—one-eighth of the whole population; those who more remotely derive their origin from this kingdom may represent another eighth. They are not in number one-tenth as numerous as our brethren in the United States; yet knowing both communities well, admitting the enhanced energy which total independence gives a new country, I venture to say that our half million yields a larger aggregate of sterling worth, character, and influence than the millions of our democratised countrymen put together (cheers). The Irish in those provinces occupy a sort of middle position between the same classes here and those who have made their homes in, and fashioned their manners to the style of the States. They have uncoiled under the electric touch of property; they have braced all their practical faculties in the keen air of the New World; they are struggling, earnest, and usually successful in the battle of life; but they are unspoiled Irish still—they have lost little of their social nationality, and they do not blush to touch their hats to a superior, or to kneel at the knee of the order which enlisted them at their birth into the ranks of Christendom. They have shaken off that painful servility of manner which, I must say, is most grating on the ear of every man who respects his manhood; but they have not yet mistaken impertinence for independence, or blasphemy and scoffing for "freedom of speech" (loud cheers). Our politics, if not more important to others than ourselves, have not at all events demoralised the simple-minded emigrant, or converted the astute resident of earlier date, into a dealer in the manufacture and sale of his countrymen's votes. I need hardly say in Wexford, and still less in the next county if I were speaking there, what part the Irish, especially of this angle of Leinster, have borne in the population and politics of Newfoundland. I believe the Irish in Newfoundland still hold their own; I must infer that their position is reputable and influential, judging by the representatives they sent us last October to the Quebec Conference, in the person of my friend the Hon. Ambrose Shea. In Nova Scotia the Irish status is upheld by such men as his Grace Archbishop Connolly, the Hon. Mr. Kenny, President of the Upper Chamber; Mr. Tobin, member