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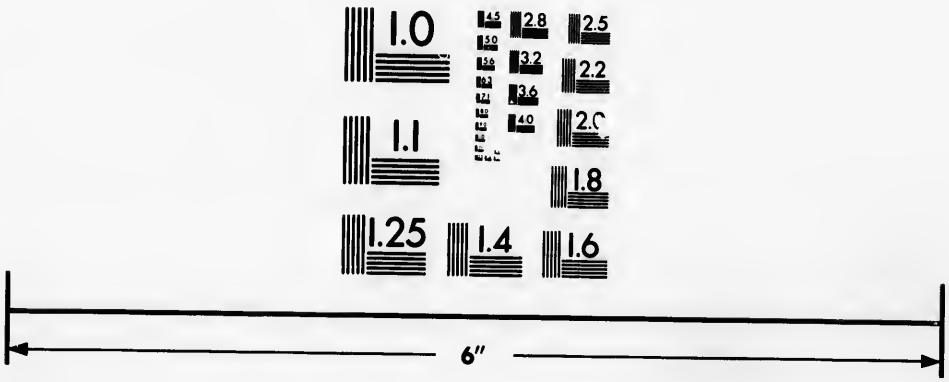

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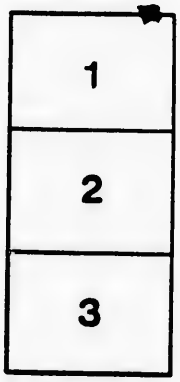

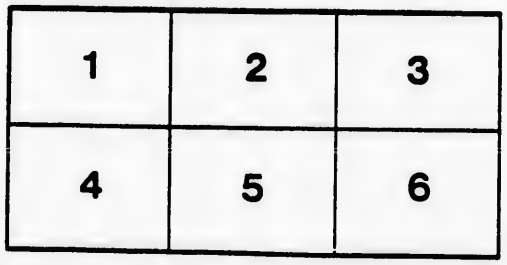

SOMETHING ABOUT

IRELAND AS IT IS,

AND

FENIANISM:

TOGETHER WITH

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT.

BY W. H. WALLER.

OTTAWA:
PRINTED BY I. B. TAYLOR, AT "THE OTTAWA CITIZEN" STEAM PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT.
1868.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The object of the following pages is to show that Ireland has grievances, and that they are real, heavy, and tangible; that they arise only from English mis-government; that Fenianism is but a remote consequence of a *cause*, and that that cause is England's misrule of Ireland; that we, in Canada, have suffered through Fenianism, from the stubborn injustice of the British Government, and that we must still suffer, if a proper remedy be not resorted to for the cure of the evil. What that remedy is, I point out towards the conclusion of my remarks. I make no pretension to style in this pamphlet, being bent only on plain talk, easy of comprehension. Considering that the furrows of forty have not yet settled on my brow, some respectable old conservative, whose body is of 1867 but whose mind is keeping pace with the slow coaches of an earlier day, may insist that it is presumption on my part to address this paper to the Canadian people and Government, and protest that the sentiments would have come better from an older and a wiser man. If so, I mean to deny the first proposition, that it is any presumption on my part; but will candidly admit the second, that the "sentiments would have come better from an older and a wiser man;" but I will further maintain that when this older and wiser man is not disposed to trouble himself in the matter—lest it should be neglected—it is the duty of the younger man to deal with it, to the best of his ability, leaving it to the thinking portion of the community to decide how far he has been successful, or the contrary.

W. H. W.

OTTAWA, March 12th, 1868.

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INTRODUCTION.

The custom with a certain class of writers on Ireland is to commence with the era beyond the flood, and, having demonstrated that Noah and his family, of the human species, only, were saved from the deluge, they proceed to argue that the Irish people are not the descendants of Cain. That important point settled, to their own satisfaction, at least, they refer to the migrations of our early ancestors; and, if we are told that some of those respectable people under Moses made the passage of the Red Sea, and that at a subsequent period their lineal descendants, under St. Patrick, gathered trefoil on Crough Patrick, we need not wonder at the narrative. And these writers do not forget to enumerate the mighty works with which our forefathers had been identified, for, far, far back into the misty past they penetrate, and lifting the drop-curtain, perchance of the ancient theatre of Egyptian architecture, they stand before the superstructure of the great pyramid, and pointing out a master mason with a veritable oaken *cloghelpeen* under his arm and a short pipe in the band of his hat, they tell us that he—the superintendent of the everlasting monument—was an O'Toole or an O'Shaughnessy, from whom came the artizans of a later day, who built the mighty halls of Tara, the palace of the ancient Irish Kings.

Thus, coming down by degrees from antediluvian times, these writers charmingly discourse on the happy days when Ireland was—as she ought to be—

> Great, glorious and free,
> First flower of the earth
> And first gem of the sea.

and, in choicest phrase they extol her ancient greatness, and exhort her children in impassioned terms

> To remember the days of old
> Ere her faithless sons betrayed her,
> When Malachi wore the collar of gold
> Which he won from the proud invader.

But, ere the enraptured reader has had time to revel in the

bright conjurations of the past, the writer has taken another stride, and is painting a moonlight scene in penal times—the Irish schoolmaster and his bare-headed, bare-legged pupils, sitting under the friendly shelter of a white-thorn hedge; he, in whispering voice, secretly imparting to them that simple education which an English statute proscribed their openly receiving. Having reached this point in Irish History, these writers unceremoniously rip open the graves of the sixteenth century, and drag forth dark deeds and the grinning skeletons of their authors; and they charitably ask us to execrate the rotting bones for the wrongs their original proprietors inflicted on our progenitors. Here they drop off their narrative, not deigning to intrude on more modern times, resting satisfied, no doubt, in having confounded their readers with "pre-historic records" or their equals, and dismissing them, vowing vengeance on the hated Saxon of 1867 for the injustice our forefathers suffered at the hands of the tyrants of ancient times.

I am not going to imitate the style of these writers, and for two reasons. First, because acting the part of an imitator is not always dignified; and second, that I believe the more of that kind of thing we have in the world, the more force is added to the arguments of a certain class of modern-day philosophers, who earnestly endeavor to establish a relationship between accountable man and the irresponsible monkey. I am not going beyond the flood, nor yet as far back as the landing of Julius Cæsar, nor the migrations of Fergus McEric and the Stone of Scone. I am only going to speak of "Ireland as it is," and will not exceed the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

IRELAND AS IT IS, AND FENIANISM.

THE PHYSICAL ASPECT.

Ireland as it is, I presume, is as beautiful to-day, physically, as it has been at any period since 1649, at least when Oliver Cromwell, of double-faith notoriety—his trust being in Heaven and in keeping the powder dry—battered the walls of her ancient castles and laid most of them in ruins. In fact some writers pretend to say that Ireland is more beautiful now than it was ten years ago—short though the period be—and for this reason, that it is more *green*; as official returns show that, of late years, emigration from the soil has been extensive; hundreds of the hateful hovels, through the agency of rack-rent, have been swept away, and the thousands of little farms, up and down the country, have been converted into spacious lawns and parks, over which, instead of the industrious cotter, roam the magnificent oxen and the fatted sheep. Physically, then, and from a horned-cattle point of view, the condition of Ireland may look charming; but, gazed upon through Irish glasses, it neither delights the eye nor gladdens the heart. And how could it, when the very humblest and least intelligent son of the soil sees that the change is being brought about by the extermination of the Irish people.

It is only by the process of driving out the small tenant and his family to go to America, if he has the means, and become a Fenian; or, if he has not the means, of taking him from the country, to waste away his life in the poor-house or the prison, that the sheep and the bullock replace the man and his family, and that the farm becomes a pasture; and, though the physical aspect, consequent on the change, may look green and beautiful to the wealthy English stock-jobber, the pleasure-seeking tourist and the heartless landlord, on his flying visit from his continental abode of recklessness and extravagance, to the Irish peasant—the rightful owner of the soil—it cannot possibly

prove pleasing or acceptable—and it never will. How applicable are not the following lines of Goldsmith to Ireland's present condition:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay,
> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade;
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed can never be supplied."

IRELAND,—SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY.

As to the social and political condition of Ireland as it is, I regret to feel, not much that is of a cheering character can be said. The social and political state of Ireland to-day is truly lamentable. No lover of his country, no friend of humanity and progress, no individual of liberal mind,—no matter what his nationality, be he English, Irish or Scotch,—can possibly view the present distracted condition of Ireland without feeling a certain amount of sympathy for the warm-hearted and hospitable people of that beautiful but unfortunate country. Ireland, to-day, as for half a century past, to go no farther back, is not unlike the Italian volcanic mountain, Vesuvius; it is in a state of agitation, from the centre all round to the sea; the spirit of peace and contentment has fled the land—not voluntarily fled, but banished by persistent injustice and oppression. Under discord and disaffection civil strife and commotion exist, and, periodically, like the ever-active volcano, that briefly slumbers for a time but to burst forth again with unabated fury, a destructive eruption takes place, which only paralyzes trade and commerce, fills the English prisons with unfortunate victims, gives employment to transports, who sail, well freighted, to Spike Island or Van Dieman's land, makes lone and widowed hearts, deserted hearth-stones, and stains the boards of English gibbets with the red, impurpling life-blood of Irish peasants.

Such, in brief, is the present condition of Ireland, socially and politically. Out of one of these periodical convulsions she has just emerged, or is about emerging, and with what result is already told. The late Fenian uprising was rapidly crushed under; the rebels were routed; some of them were slain, others groan in the dungeons of Dartmoor; and but a few days ago the Manchester gallows terminated the existence of a full quarter dozen of the disaffected crew.

Let me here parenthetically state that these Manchester ex-

ecutions should be held in remembrance as a grim curiosity of their kind. Their object, we are told, was, not to promote the ends of justice, but to "make an imposing demonstration of firmness and vigor, in order to put a stop to Fenian violence and disturbance,"—a most effectual means, I must solemnly protest, to the accomplishment of an end. If the gallows possessed the power to cure Irish disaffection, the unfortunate men, Allen, Larkin and Gould, would not be to-day in their graves. Many an "imposing demonstration" has the English gibbet made with Irish victims, since Emmett and Fitzgerald's day, and with what effect? Why, that Ireland, as civilization advances, is now able to supply *three* for the one she could afford in the past! And yet, years of practical experiment have been thrown away on the rulers, who still vainly hope, through the hand of the executioner, to reconcile an oppressed people to a state of misery and injustice t is not in human nature, where a wrong is inflicted, to patiently suffer under it without an attempt for redress, no matter what severities may be dealt with the view of exacting submission; and, as a frequent contact with vice reconciles the virtuous to its association and disarms it of its terrors, so it is with Ireland in the hanging business, the people have become so familiar with it that it has no deterring power for them, while cruelty and injustice crush them to the ground. The resort to the extreme penalty, in Ireland's case, can only have an opposite effect to that desired. Throw oil on a raging fire, and what will be the result? why, that the conflagration will rage more wildly, and the sooner consume the material it assails; and as certainly will every drop of Irish blood that stains an English gibbet but add to the deep-seated disaffection and desire for revenge, which must necessarily rankle in the breasts of a people who have labored under centuries of misgovernment. I challenge a denial of the fact.

THE IRISH PEOPLE ARE BLAMELESS.

The Irish people are not to blame for the efforts they put forth—fruitless though they be, and fraught with disaster—towards obtaining justice for Ireland. Their only error lies in employing the physical rather than the moral force to the accomplishment of the end. Say that they are to blame, and you libel the Great One, through whose forbearance you live, and move, and have your being! The noble, unoffending stag of the forest, is he to blame when he defends himself from the bloodthirsty fangs of the hunter's dog. You would not have him to lie down tamely and suffer himself to be torn to pieces, while,

with his hoof or his horn, he could keep his tormentor at bay? Do you (I need scarcely ask the question, for you do not) blame the brave people of Candia for rising in insurrection against the persecuting Turk? And why, then, blame the unfortunate Irish if they kick against wrong and injustice that have been heaped upon them for centuries, and under which they at present suffer? The almighty endowed the people of Ireland, as He did His chosen people the Jews, with an indestructible nationality. He, the Great Author of the universe, implanted in their breasts a strong and lasting love of country; and, if under its Divine influence, they weep for Ireland's woes; if, under the sway of this *amor patriæ*, pricked by oppression's spurs, they burst forth periodically, like some stream whose accumulated waters sweep away its dam,—if thus they break forth with the hope of regaining freedom or compelling justice, they but do so under the direction of a heaven-bequeathed impulse which they have no power to resist, and he who blames them for the act but libels the Omnipotent Being who constituted them as they are.

In England, and even in Ireland and in this country, there *is* a class of persons who will not believe that Ireland has any real grievances to complain of; who will not admit that the Church and the State connection is a cause for discontent, or that the land law is unjust and a great source of dissatisfaction; in fact, who will not believe that Ireland has any grievances at all, but that the prevailing disaffection is simply the result of imaginary wrongs, arising from a feeling that the supposed injustice done our forefathers of three hundred years ago has not yet been addressed, and that it is the special duty of the present generation to make England atone for it. This class is the utter ignorant and intolerant, who live only in the corrupt atmosphere of bigotry and prejudice, and who, if removed out of such a sphere into a purer and more enlightened, would as certainly pine away and perish as does the fish out of water—and because of being out of their natural element. On such I intend to waste no words.

THE CAUSE OF DISAFFECTION.

Some one asks, what is the cause of this Irish disaffection, which has become chronic? From what springs this discontent; this periodical convulsion of the nation; this filling of English prisons with Irish victims, and this staining of English gibbets with Irish blood? Is there any cause for all this? In the human body, disease becomes chronic except through

the continuance of abuses and violation of fixed laws: in the body politic, chronic disaffection proceeds from no other source —at least, such is the record of the world's history,—and can Ireland's disaffection be without a cause then? It is scarcely possible. Hear what Mr. Fox said, soon after the Union, in 1803 :—

> "If it be true that treason has tainted the people; if the poison of Jacobinism pervades the whole mind of the multitude; if disloyalty be so rooted and universal that military despotism can alone make the country habitable, it would be against the experience of the world that such a wide-spread and deadly disaffection could or ever did exist in any nation, except from the faults of its governors."

And, if the spirit of Fox could to-day be permitted to appear at the bar of the British Parliament, it would alter but one word in the foregoing, by substituting for "Jacobinism" an ism of another kind, familiarly known as Fenianism. The cause of Irish disaffection is indisputably English misrule. This I intend to establish.

THE LAND GRIEVANCE.

One of the sources of Irish disaffection, consequent on bad government, is the land system, which affords no protection whatever to the tenant against the whimsical or despotic conduct of the landlord; the other source is the Church and State connection, whereby the vast majority of the people, who are Roman Catholic, and always have been, are compelled to pay for the support of an alien Church, imported into the country with the view of proselytizing them,— in which, I may add, it has been an utter failure. As the land law now stands in Ireland, and has stood for years, the tenant is at the mercy of the landlord; there is no steadiness of tenure; and at any moment he may be turned out of his possession and have his house levelled to the ground, without being allowed a cent of compensation for improvements which he may have made; and all this when he does not owe a single cent to his landlord. The majority of the Irish landlords at the present day are not native born, having come into extensive possessions in Ireland through the operation of the Incumbered Estates Court. They have no sympathy with the people; they seldom come among them,— for the most part residing in England or on the Continent. They draw their rents through Agents, who generally happen to be land sharks in Dublin; and these latter transact business with the peasantry through a class of men known—aye, too

well known—in Ireland as bailiffs; and it will not be exaggerating to say that a more unfeeling set of wretches walks not on the face of earth than are these same Irish bailiffs. I speak of them from a personal knowledge of their rascalities. In the selection of these men, the agent to the absentee landlord seeks out the most determined he can get—men who will be invulnerable to widows' tears and orphans' cries, and who will promptly execute the warrants with which they are entrusted. No one would believe who had not seen it with his own eyes, the cruelties to which the Irish peasants are sometimes subjected by these callous-hearted bailiffs. But, does any one ask, is there no law to prevent all this harsh treatment? I answer, without fear of contradiction, there is absolutely no law to protect the poor Irish tenantry from the severities inflicted on them by the landlords or their emissaries acting for them. I will not be understood as implicating all the landlords of Ireland. There are some of them excellent men, and where they deal fairly and honestly with their tenants, the latter are thrifty and industrious. But the fair-dealing landlords are few and far between. The majority are out of the country, and in their cases the abuse principally exists.

The following quotation from a speech of Mr. McGuire's in the English House of Commons, a short time ago, will more than confirm the foregoing remarks:

"Mr. McGuire said the land question was really the source of Irish discontent, and he believed that as many as a million victims had borne practical testimony to the unwillingness of Parliament to do justice to the occupiers of the soil. In four years 340,000 persons were dispossessed, and in one year alone, namely, 1849, as many as *two hundred thousand!* The late Sir Robert Peel stated at the time, that the records of no civilized country gave a more awful picture than the descriptions of the miseries produced by these evictions; and he quoted the report of one of the inspectors which stated that the ejectments were often illegal, being carried out *without previous notice*, and that midnight on the 31st of December, on one occasion, was the time selected for the perpetration of these cruelties, the unfortunate people being exposed to the inclemency of a stormy winter's night. Some of the children were sick and their parents implored that they might remain in their houses till morning, but their prayers for mercy were fruitless, and many died from the hardships they experienced. Sir Robert Peel stated one case in which the father was found dead on the floor, the mother in the last stage of dysentry, and two starving children lying sleeping on the corpse. In another instance—and he remembered how Sir Robert's voice trembled with emotion as he related it—the miserable hut which a poor man had erected for his protection was set on fire as he fled across the moor. In Kerry £20,000 was spent in deporting the people, who were flung on the quays of New York in such a wretched state that the American Government was obliged in self-defence to impose a tax on Irish emigrants.

Thus the landlords were the cause of the emigration, and the Incumbered Estates Court, though it relieved a certain class, did nothing for the farmers, but handed them over like cattle to the new proprietors with no protection against removal or banishment. There was nothing to prevent the repitition of these scenes. Indeed in Tipperary only last year the purchaser of a property in the Incumbered Estates Court obliged the 200 human beings who lived on it to quit, although they did not owe a farthing of rent and were anxious to continue tenants. They betook themselves to America, of course, there to swell that discontent which, hereafter might prove a formidable danger to England. On one estate producing £30,000 a year, the absentee proprietor sent a notice to quit to all his tenants every May, thus keeping them in a state of complete serfdom. It was good government alone that would furnish the styptic which Ireland required. Any danger that threatened Ireland from America might be aggravated by folly, but if we make the people of Ireland contented, we might laugh at conspiracy."

Now, I appeal to the fairness and liberality of every man in this country, if this land question in itself is not a sufficient cause for Irish disaffection, and particularly so when, for years past, the Government of England has acknowledged—or been forced to acknowledge—the wrong, but yet will not attempt to remedy it. Only a few months ago it was compelled to admit that, in this particular, reform was absolutely necessary for Ireland, but in the next breath it proclaimed that, "in Ireland's present condition it could not think of redress!" or, in other words, here is what the English Government says: "This unjust land law—or rather absence of any law—coupled with the Church anomaly is the great source of trouble in Ireland; that this state of things is due to our want of just legislation, in behalf of the majority of the people, admits of no denial. Fenianism is undoubtedly the child of these abuses, there is no question about that; but, Fenianism is an impudent child, that by physical force would wring from us reform. We are not to be coerced into acts of justice, by this impudent upstart; our first duty must be to adopt the stamping-out process, and lay its lifeless body on the green, and when we have accomplished this, at our leisure we can think about reform." This is practically what the English Government says at this moment, while the Irish sore goes on festering for want of the proper salve; while the heart-burning and disaffection increases, and this "upstart," Fenianism, the child of misgovernment, is growing a very giant, and awakening uneasy sensations at the foot of the throne.

Who is to blame for all this? The abuser or the abused? The injured Irish or their iron-handed rulers? How long would we put up with such a state of things in Canada? Let us judge the people of Ireland by our own feelings. We would

not for a moment tolerate such abuses. Much as we desire connection with the Mother Country; much as we pride in the old flag of England, under which so many of our countrymen won honor on many a well-contested field—and for England's glory—we would not for a moment tolerate an oppression, in this country, such as Ireland now suffers from, while the way to indepence was open to our march. Let us not be unreasonable then and say that the Irish people are sorely to blame for the agitations and disasters of the hour; that they are a stubborn and rebellious generation of vipers who hiss without a cause; nor wound the high-toned sensibilities of a noble but unfortunate people, by blindly persisting in the assertion that all the severities they are dealt, in striving for simple justice, are only what they merit. But grant to them that they suffer from misgovernment; that they are justified in an effort to obtain redress, but differ with them concerning the means they employ to the accomplishment of the end. Only do this much and you do a great deal. You open the Irish ear to your argument in favor of the "moral force," which is the mighty power that moves the world; and which, when wisely, vigorously, and persistently applied, in behalf of what is just and right, can no more fail of success than that God can fail to be just or overlook the iniquities of the wicked! But, on the other hand, if you shut your eyes on Irish wrongs, and your ears against the truth, and persist in the stupid assertion that Ireland's grievances are imaginary and her sons rebellious and disloyal, you close the Irish ear against reason's voice, and help to make an enemy of the man who, treated with honest sympathy and candor, you might rely upon standing by your side in the hour of need, to repel invasion and protect our country.

THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

Ireland's second grievance—against which, for half a century, she has kicked, and which no one at this day can scarcely be found to excuse, in Canada at least, except he be morally depraved, and sadly so—is the imposition, on the Catholic people of the country, of the Established Church. Little argument is necessary to prove that the effort to force the Protestant Church of England on the Catholic people of Ireland has been and is a flagrant act of injustice, and a potent cause of wide-spread and lasting discontent. It ought only be necessary for the enlightened world to know that, of the population of Ireland, but a very small modicum of its people at any time has been Protestant, and that, at the present moment, the proportion is some-

what like five millions to five hundred thousand; or, for every member of the Established Church in Ireland there are ten professing the Catholic faith. The Irish Romanists look, and always have looked, upon the Established Church as their avowed enemy—the determined subverter of their ancient faith. They early set their face against it; and notwithstanding the most strenous efforts of (no doubt sincere men in their profession) scripture readers, tract distributors, and such like disseminators of Protestant principles, they held firm to the faith of their fathers and could not be proselytized. All this the English Government sees—is forced to admit—plainly perceives that the planting of the Established or Protestant Church in Ireland has borne no good fruit, but has been a source of heart-burning and disaffection, and is as obnoxious to-day and as great a bane as ever; and yet, with all this knowledge, with all this consciousness of wrong, they refuse to deal liberally and justly with the Irish people, and stubbornly insist on the five millions of Roman Catholics contributing to the support of the church of the half million Protestant. Is this just or right? And if not just or right but galling and unjust, have the ill-treated people of Ireland or have they not a right to complain? And if remonstrance of fifty years standing be of no avail, is or is not a resort to more forcible means to some extent justifiable?

What I might say further on this subject, will come better from the pens of liberal writers on the English press, and perhaps have more weight. On the occasion of the late debate in the British Parliament on the motion of Sir John Gray, the member for Kilkenny, and a Protestant himself, which motion was to the effect that, "the position of the Established Church in Ireland is a just cause of dissatisfaction to the people of that country, and urgently demands the consideration of Parliament," the London *Universal News* thus remarked: "One of the most important features in Sir John Gray's able speech, is the support he derives from the testimony of Protestants themselves. It is they above all others who have shown most conclusively the utter barrenness of the Protestant religion in Ireland. He has most demonstratively settled that the Irish Church is no sentimental grievance, but one practically affecting the peace and government of the country. Whatever may be the immediate result of his motion, the discussion he has initiated must ultimately tend to open the eyes of the public, in England especially, to the nature and extent of this standing grievance—the Church Establishment—against which the Irish people

have so long protested, and against which they now most solemnly protest, with all the energy of their nature, as an insult to their religion, a violation of the very tenets of Protestantism, and a scandalous anomaly which England is bound to remove, if she would maintain a character for justice and fair play in the eyes of the nations of Europe."

The Liverpool *Post* thus: "In Ireland there are 6,000,000 of people, and they are all Christian. Five millions are Roman Catholics and nearly half a million are Dissenters, and somewhat more than half a million are Protestants of the Established Church. The half million, however, are in the ascendency. The Government recognizes them as specially entitled to its favors. The Roman Catholics are only partially recognized. The Roman Catholics in reference to numbers and in reference to industry, are really *the* people. They are the tillers of the soil; they are the laboring population; and they compose the majority of the tradesmen. Equality in a political and religious sense is demanded; but equality is denied, and in the denial are involved two very important principles which have always been insisted upon in these columns. First, that the government in this country, as in all others, is the government of the many; and the two Houses of Parliament are permitted to govern so long as their government reflects the opinion of the public. In the second place religion, which ought to be full of charity, of justice, of fair play, has not yet escaped, even in England, from a spirit of intolerance. For fear of offending that intolerance the Imperial Legislature denies justice to Ireland. On Tuesday, Sir John Gray, temperate, forcible, and true, brought the question of the Established Church of Ireland before the House of Commons. * * * Sir John is a member of the Established Church, and he therefore claimed, and very properly claimed, to be considered an advocate, not an opponent of the church to which he belonged. * * * Sir John proved conclusively that the Established Church is a great grievance in Ireland, and yet it is permitted to endure, because the people of England, whether they are Dissenters or belong to the Established Church, oppose every alteration, and the only ground on which they can base their opposition—their *hatred of Popery.* The nation has to endure wrong directly and indirectly because the *religious part* of the community *is full of prejudice.* Intolerance stands in the way of right; and Fenianism, active or latent, is to be encouraged rather than the Legislature should justify its wisdom and extend justice to Ireland."

The London *Times*, in a powerful leader, paid the following tribute to Sir John Gray's speech: "Whoever doubts," says the *Times*, "the anomaly or the failure of the Irish Church, may be recommended once for all to peruse the speech of Sir John Gray;" and again it says: "England governs Ireland with an overpowering strong hand and a bad conscience."

From the London *Review*:

"Whatever may be the fate of Sir John Gray's motion the question of the Irish Church is not likely to sleep. The liberal party cannot remain indifferent to the injustice inflicted upon the sister country, by the existence of an ecclesiastical establishment, which offends in almost every conceivable way the feelings of a high-spirited and sensitive people. It is alien in its origin; it is a memorial of conquest; it is inseparably associated with oppression and intolerance; it has no history which is not a history of wrong done and sufferings inflicted upon the nation with which it is connected by a *forced* and unnatural alliance; its doctrines are heretical in the opinions of those amongst whom it professes to minister; and it marks in the most offensive way, the weakness of the country which gives it a name, and a home, by the contrast it perpetually suggests between Scotland with its own Church and Ireland with the Church of the stranger. * * * *The possession of the very qualities which fit men to be good citizens renders them bad ones when their faith, their sense of independence, their love of country, their pride of race, are outraged as we outrage those things in Ireland,* by maintaining an institution which sins against every principal of political justice, and violates every sound rule of political action."

I think, by the foregoing, I am pretty strongly fortified in my position as to the Church grievance in Ireland, and all liberal and honest minded men, of whatever country or creed, will agree with the authorities I have quoted, that Ireland has reason to be dissatisfied, and that the present troubles are not of her own making, but are forced upon her by the injustice of the British Government.

That I be not accused, by those who do not know me, of hatred or of inveteracy towards the Protestant Church, let me state that, from my father backwards, all belonging to me were Protestant, and liberal at that; and that at this moment I have in Ireland near and dear poor Protestant relatives, and rich ones also, the latter the possessors of estates, and I regret to say, from all I can learn of their tactics, not a little addicted to the popular vice of Irish landlords, spending most of their time and money out of the country. Justice, therefore, will only be done me by those who peruse these pages, in believing that I write from no feeling of prejudice or disloyalty, but from an honest and conscientious belief that the position I have taken is a true one, in so far as the cause of Irish wrongs is concerned, and their consequence.

THE REMEDY FOR IRISH DISAFFECTION.

I have endeavored briefly to shew that "Ireland as it is" is in a lamentable condition, and groans under the pressure of injustice; that the wrongs of the people are grievous; that all liberal minds in England admit that Ireland is heartlessly oppressed,—that the Government of England itself is conscious of the wrong, is not and cannot be denied. Having attempted so much, let me now say a few words on what I consider to be the only remedy for Ireland's disquiet. And first, let me reiterate a social axiom, that "there are no more generous, hospitable, and warm-hearted people in existence than are the Irish people;" no people who, if but dealt with in anything like justice and fair play, are more easy of being reconciled. This is saying a great deal; but it is only simple truth, as all who have been among the Irish people at home, and studied their peculiarities, will at once attest. There are no other people who feel more sincere sorrow for injury inflicted, or who are more ready to forgive an injustice, if approached with candor and an earnest manifestation or desire to compensate for the wrong. As the old song says of the Irishman:—

His hand is rash, his heart is warm,
  But principle is still his guide,
None more repents a deed of harm
  And none forgives with nobler pride.
* * * * * * *
His inmost soul he will unlock,
  And if he does your merits scan,
Your confidence he scorns to mock,
  So generous is an Irishman.

And such being the nature of this noble, ill-treated animal of Hibernia, I cannot help thinking that, even now, after centuries of heart-burning and wrong, if the British Government would but awaken to a sense of common justice—ascend to the summit of moral excellence, and at once apply the axe to the root of Irish disaffection, which is mis-rule—abolish the hateful and manifestly unjust Church and State connection; enact equitable land laws; encourage agriculture and manufacture, and let the members of the Royal Family—and the Queen herself betimes—come amongst the people as she does annually amongst the Scotch; build a little palace at Kilkarney, or the Vale of Avoca, for summer resort, than which lovely valley Moore tells us there is not in the wide world another so sweet, and it is more than probable—it is certain—that, in a short time agitation would become extinct in Ireland, and no more loyal devoted

subjects of Her Majesty to be found in the extent of her wide dominions. Her Kingdom would thus be vastly strengthened —and let it be understood that Ireland is England's strength or weakness, as her rulers may desire to have it. And thus strengthened, having the cordial co-operation of the Irish nation, in connection with the brave Scot and the determined Saxon, well may her Legislators afford to look with confidence into the future, and see no reason to fear that the old flag which has braved for a thousand years the battle and the breeze, will not in the year A. D. 2367, be found holding its own on the land and on the sea. But, let injustice be persisted in, and the hangman's rope rather than a just measure of reform be extended to the Irish people, and—I do not choose to assume the prophetic in predicting the consequences that must ultimately befall the oppressing power.

There are in Ireland at the present day 5,000,000 acres of waste land, whose lowest elevation is 203 feet above the level of the sea at low water. At least, we are told, 4,000,000 acres of this land are capable of being reclaimed and rendered fit for cultivation. Many thousands of acres of arable land, which in the past were divided into farms, and upon which the Irish people lived and labored, of late years, under the operation of a bad law, have been converted into deer parks and pastures, and the people driven off. It will not be extravagant to say that all the money spent by the Imperial Government, within the last fifty years, in keeping the Irish nose to the grinding stone, would have more than sufficed to purchase out half of the landed estates of absentees, and converted all the bogs and swamps in the country into a state of cultivation; have settled the people on the land thus obtained on equitable terms, giving them an interest in the soil and a sense of security, which would have made them happy and contented and loyal to the crown. It is not yet too late to reform, and the sooner that the British Government makes up its mind to take some step in this direction the better, not only for England and Ireland, but for Canada also.

FENIANISM.

Fenianism is the lawful offspring of English misrule in Ireland. No other parentage can it claim—none other does it claim—and the most learned genealogist can trace its birth to no other source. It is settled then, without further argument on the point, that Irish Fenianism, or disaffection, is the child of English misrule. Who is to blame for its conduct? Who

if not its author. If Fenianism had never been born it would never have played so unruly a part, and disturbed the peace of the old and new worlds. If twenty years ago England redressed Ireland's grievances, Fenianism instead of being to-day powerful and wide extended—rampant even at the foot of the British throne—would be sleeping in the cold embrace of death under the beautiful folds of the daisy quilt; Ireland would be prosperous and happy, and England would be secure. If the complexion is otherwise—as it is; if Ireland is in misery and dejection; England in a state of constant alarm, subjected to feelings of insecurity, and Fenianism the terror of the age, English misgovernment of Ireland is alone to blame for the sad state of things.

Will it be implied from the foregoing remarks that I countenance Fenianism, and would justify its acts? I answer, that Fenianism, in so far as Ireland is the field of operation, is perfectly justifiable; but, I differ with its leaders as to the means they employ towards redressing Irish wrongs. I disapprove of the physical application in Ireland or in England either, towards obtaining justice for Ireland, and for this reason only: that it ends in disaster and but makes a body already sadly scared and almost drained of its life blood, bleed anew and become weak and exhausted. I countenance only the use of the "moral force" power in Ireland's behalf. Some will say the "moral force" power has been tried long enough to no avail. True, it has been tried for half a century without *much* effect—let us credit O'Connell with having employed it to *some* avail. But we are more enlightened to-day, by a long way, than we were fifty years ago. The world is moving onward. Ireland has hearty sympathisers to-day in those who a quarter of a century past were all deaf to her cries. REFORM is spreading its huge branches over the civilized world, from the sands of Siberia to the cotton fields of the South, and the day is not far distant—if Irishmen could only be taught to see it so—when Ireland under the grateful influence of its mighty shade, may recline in peace and prosperity, divested of her shackles, if her sons will but lay down the scythe and the pitchfork, the brickbat and the pike—sorry implements of war—and, with united and persistent effort, wield the moral lever under the direction of, or in co-operation with, liberal John Bright and the members of the English Reform League. This process may be considered slow—and with good reason by a people galled to the quick—but it will have this to recommend it, that it will cost no blood, destroy no lives, and *must* end in ultimate success.

Ireland certainly has been very patient considering the weight of her wrongs, and if to-morrow she were strong enough to hit John Bull a *polthogue* between the eyes and the nose, that would knock fire out of the one and disfigure the other, so long as the result would be her receiving a measure of justice, I would say with all my heart, in familiar phrase, "let him have it!" But she is not strong enough—she is too weak—and therefore the power which she can best wield and with most effect, is the moral power which I recommend.

The feeling amongst liberal Englishmen of influence and position, at the present hour towards Ireland and concerning Fenianism, will be inferred from the following extract from the report of the proceedings of the English Reform League, at a meeting held on the 23rd of October last. The discussion was confined to the consideration of a letter, written by Mr. Beales on the Fenian question. Mr. Beales, speaking of the arming of the police, says:

"'Every effort should be made to prevent a foolish Fenian panic from being converted into a pretext for infringement of the law and the constitution, introducing practices dangerous to rightful and independent popular action, and fruitful of enormous national mischief, by setting the English people against the Irish, and thus further separating and weakening, instead of uniting and strengthening, the two countries.' Having stated that in Dublin he had urged on the people there the necessity of adopting the League's principle—namely, the seeking, by the people, in their numerical strength, to remove national grievances by the firm, resolute but peaceful expression of public opinion in a lawful, constitutional manner, Mr. Beales goes on to say:—'Had the Fenians adopted that principle in Ireland, and had they enlisted and rallied public opinion there round a moral force, instead of a physical force standard, they might now have been assisting to exercise an irresistable force for the benefit of both countries, instead of by violent, sanguinary and greatly irritating but abortive proceedings, exciting a spirit of animosity and hostility here, tending only to retard the political and social advancement of their own country.'

"Upon the motion that the letter of the president be entered upon the minutes, Mr. Lucraft objected to the publication of the letter, and he also objected to that portion of it which condemned Fenianism, because he felt that the Irish people were fully justified in using physical force to redress their wrongs, when they had received such fearful provocation.

"Mr. Whitford said that the Irish were an excitable people, and it would be very unwise and imprudent to publish the letter. The people of Ireland had been so much trodden upon that it would not be right to utterly condemn them in this way.

"Mr. Davis did not think that the question of Fenianism was before the council at all.

"Mr. Cooper did not believe in putting a stop to a discussion on this question. He wished to say that he cordially endorsed the remarks of Mr. Lucraft as to the justification of the Irish using physical force. So

great a provocation had they received from England for seven hundred years that he was not one to blame any Irishman for using force. However he might say the conduct of the Fenians was imprudent, he fully sympathized with them. He was no Fenian, but he knew that there was no argument so powerful to get justice from England as that addressed to her by the Fenians. An Irishman was fully justified in appealing to force, and the only question was, the prudence for so doing.

"Mr. Odger fully endorsed the sentiments of Mr. Lucraft with regard to Fenianism, and asserted that the English Government had provoked the latter. The Irish had good reason to be displeased with English rule, and he was fully persuaded that if he was an Irishman, he would be a Fenian. (Cheers). Ireland would never make an impression upon her rulers until she knocked down some of them, whether in the way of the Hyde Park railings or otherwise he did not know. Fenianism, if not policy, and what they all liked, had some cure in it, for it taught a lesson—a sad lesson—to jobbing governments. Until Ireland was placed in a proper position, there would be a black spot in the kingdom. To denounce the Fenians as the government had done, was the greatest mistake they could have committed; and unless Ireland was righted it was for Englishmen to see what they should do.

"Mr. Brisk endorsed everything that had been said in favor of Fenianism. He would say, 'let Fenianism go on and prosper.'"

What conclusion does this lead to, if not to this; that Ireland is sadly misgoverned, and that England's rulers are alone to blame. The English people are not Ireland's enemies; they sympathize with her—at least a great body of them do so—it is only the Lords and Commons and the great men in lawn, who are stiff-necked and obstinate. If those men of liberal and expanded minds in England, who have peculiar advantages of judging of Ireland's sufferings,—if those men of influence and position, I say, maintain that Ireland has real grievances, and that Fenianism is justifiable—even in its physical application, on what ground, apart from ignorance and intolerance, or hatred or contempt for anything or everything that is Irish, do Intellectual pigmies in Canada pronounce her evils imaginary and brand her sons with the choice epithets of "bloody villlians," "rascally cut-throats," implacable vagabonds," and such like, and sneeringly assert, in the littleness of their little souls, that the severities inflicted upon them are only what they deserve. The reprobate conduct of such persons cannot be too strongly condemned; and if for no other reason than that a manifestation of such feeling in Canada towards Ireland, can possibly have but one effect, and that effect the creating of *disunion* amongst ourselves, and weakening the very bonds of brotherhood which as a new nation should bind us together in harmony and concord The Irish people in Canada and their descendants it must be remembered are very numerous; they are capable of exercising a powerful influence on this country,

for good or for evil, and it is only reasonable to ask that their feelings should be respected and their sympathies with their suffering brethren at home be not taunted or mocked.

FENIANISM IN CANADA!

Notwithstanding that we hear from high places that Fenianism has taken root in Canada, and is assuming such formidable proportions as require the close eye of the government, I do not believe that throughout its wide extent, from one end to the other of the Dominion, there is a Fenian organization in the country. If there is, if the government have cognizance of the fact, they are guilty of a most criminal neglect that they do not come down on the disaffected party—for insignificant, very insignificant they must be, if they exist at all—and put them out of harm's way. If Fenianism exists in Canada, and that the Government is not aware of it, (the $100,000 secret service money considered,) either the Government is very weak and inadvertant of its duty, or else Fenianism is such a contemptible thing, that the same difficulty of finding it out awaits the detective, as looking for a needle in a bundle of straw. If a Fenian organization exists in Canada, it is a most extraordinary anamoly, and still a more extraordinary piece of business that the Government, if conscious of the fact, does not promptly and with vigor stamp it out. But, as I have already affirmed, I do not believe there is a Fenian organization in the country, and the giving countenance to the notion that there is can answer no other end than to warrant a call, immediately preceding the next general election, for another $100,000 secret service money to look after the votes—I mean to say after the votaries of Fenianism in Canada. Fenianism must not take root in Canada. If any mischief-designing idiot should attempt to plant the smallest shrub of the genius on the free soil of our Dominion it must be promptly plucked up, and the planter be placed in safe-keeping. In this country Irishmen have nothing to complain of, they enjoy here those privileges denied them at home, and all the liberties civil and religious that any reasonable mortals may desire. Here they have happy homes which they can call their own, they fear no tyrant landlord, and they are asked to pay no taxes for the support of a Foreign Church. They have nothing to complain of in Canada, no one solitary grievance and should they be mad enough (which I hope and trust they never will) to enter into any secret association detrimental to the interests of this their adopted country—which, as the nativity of their children who are to occupy their places when they are no more, they

should love and cherish—there would be no voice raised in their behalf. They would not only deserve to be meted out the most ignoble punishment, but to have a stigma attached to their names that would go down in derision to the fourth generation.

But I fear not Canadian Fenianism—it is only a myth. There is but one way I see possible for converting it into anything like a reality, and that is for the government of the country to aid in casting a doubt on Irish loyalty, thereby inviting the Englishman and Scotchman to look with suspicious eye on their Irish neighbor, thus putting the latter in the position of the virtuous lady, whose jealous husband was doubtful of her chastity, and who, in the end, under such cruel and unmanly treatment, made up her mind that if she were doomed to inherit the name, she would have the satisfaction of benefitting by it to some extent. This is simply human nature, as operating either in the breast of an ill-treated woman or an injured man, when both alike are conscious of innocence. The figure may be taken for what it is worth—perhaps it contains a moral.

FENIANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Fenianism in the United States—in so far as its object is to obtain justice for Ireland—is perfectly justifiable, if Uncle Sam is not troubled with the institution, and if the Fenians would only direct their attention solely to Ireland, and let us alone in Canada. It is most cruel and unjust for them to attempt to visit vengeance on us for the wrongs that Ireland suffers from English misrule. They may say that they do not invade Canada to injure its Irish inhabitants. That is all trash and nonsense. The Irish in this country, and their descendants, are the larger component of the population, and no invasion, from whatever source, can disturb this country without injuring —and sadly injuring—the position and prospects of the Irish portion of our people. This is self-evident to the least reflecting. It is true the destroying angel of the Lord passed over the children of Israel when he slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt; but then he was enabled to discriminate by the blood-stained lintels of the houses. The Fenians would have no such mark in Canada to enable them to pass over the Irish and only slay the "Canadian Saxons"—whoever they be I have not the least idea,—and even if they had a mark on the nose and forehead of every Irishman in the Dominion, they could not possibly regard it; and the result of an invasion would be the singular anamoly of one set of Irishmen killing another set, burning their houses, plundering their properties, and inflicting all manner of mischief——and for Ireland's sake!

From this one solitary point of view alone to argue the manifest injustice of a Fenian invasion of Canada no further, it is sufficiently plain that it is the duty of every Irishman in this country—and of every other man—to use every effort in his power to resist all attempts of invasion, Fenian or otherwise, on this country. Ready as we, Irish in Canada, may be to say, with Mr. Brisk, "Fenianism go on and prosper" in Ireland, we cannot by any means tolerate its inflicting punishment on us in Canada for England's misconduct. No one but a madman or an idiot, or some designing scoundrel, who would not care a button if Ireland and its people were all gone to the bottom of the sea, can hold any other view on this question of Fenian invasion of Canada from the United States.

A FEW WORDS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT.

Does some impulsive Irishman, an ardent lover of his country, ask if I mean to say that Irishmen in Canada should endeavor to do nothing for Ireland but inwardly sympathize with her? I answer, I mean to say no such thing; on the contrary, I mean to say that Irishmen in Canada have more reason to move in Ireland's behalf—present circumstances considered—than have Irishmen in the United States. But if they desire to evince a practical sympathy with Ireland, they must pursue a lawful and sensible course. Now what I would propose is this: That the Irish people of Canada get up a petition to the government of this country, praying them to remonstrate, for the people of Ireland, with the British government. This petition, I am satisfied, would obtain the signatures of the majority of the Canadian people. It would not only be signed by Irishmen, but by Frenchmen, English and Scotchmen; by Protestant and Catholic; and, I venture to say, would not fail to obtain the names of intelligent members of the Orange Association of Canada. Ireland's wrongs are so palpable that no man of liberal mind would refuse to sign the petition in question. The Petition could be got up by means of committees throughout the Province, who would report to a central point. A remonstrance from our government, to the Imperial, brought about by the means contemplated, would have considerable weight and might possibly have a good effect.

But some may say that the Canadian government has nothing to do with Ireland's sufferings, and should not interfere. With those who take such a view I beg most respectfully to differ. The Canadian government and the Canadian people

have much to do with the matter, and have good and tangible reason to feel deeply interested in Ireland's receiving full and immediate justice. If a wise son, arriving at the years of understanding, sees his mother departing from the path of rectitude and pursuing a wrong course, if he respects that mother, will he not reason with her, on her conduct? and if he should happen to suffer from her folly, how much more ought not he endeavor to dissuade her from the evil of her ways? Will any one deny this plain truth and show cause for the denial? No one can. Well, then, is not the relationship between England and Canada as that of mother and son—are not we proud of the connection? In refusing justice to Ireland, that an enlightened world proclaims to be her due, does not that Mother Country depart from the path of rectitude and justice, aye from the path of honor! And when *we*, her son behold her defects, and suffer from her evils deeds; when we suffer severely, and when the prospect is that we must suffermore if she mends not her ways, and that immediately, is it not our duty to express our disapprobation of her conduct, and request her to reform? Most undoubtedly it is, and no sane man will have have the hardihood—except at the hazard of being set down as a fool—to deny the fact. Does any one ask how Canada suffers from English injustice to Ireland? The answer is plain: In having her impoverished exchequer strained to the utmost farthing—in having to expend millions of money and to sacrifice the lives of *her* sons to protect the country from Fenian invasion. Fenianism within the last eighteen months has cost Canada *over a million and a-half of dollars*; and, why or for what cause? Because Canada is Britain's child; because Britain treats Ireland cruelly and unjustly; and because Irish Fenians in the United States want to strike us for our mother, or to strike the mother through the child. England to-day acts the part of an unrelenting despot, and we have to suffer for her crimes. Now, such being the stubborn facts, I pretend say, that it is an imperative duty, which the government of Canada owes to the country over whose destinies they preside, and the people who compose it, that they strike at the root of Fenianism by remonstrance with the home government to deal proper and speedy reform to Ireland. For, until Irish abuses are abolished, and justice—fair, liberal justice, done Ireland, we must suffer for England's sins and iniquities. It would be impious to hold any other view; since it has been ordained that the sins of the parents shall be visited on the children. Does some wiseacre assert that the children should suffer patiently, then,

the penalty? I hold the presumption as false, and ask for holy writ as a confirmation, if the asserter insists.

CONCLUSION.

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to demonstrate that Ireland suffers, at the present moment from misgovernment; that her grievances are serious; that English misrule is the sole cause of her troubles—the source from which her disaffection spring; that this same misrule has been the parent of Fenianism. I have shown that this country has suffered severely within the last eighteen months from Fenianism—this child of English misrule; that it is likely to suffer more if the proper recipe is not resorted to in time, and I have pointed out what I believe to be the duty of the Canadian people and government in the premises, if they study the safety and prosperity of this country. The injuries the Fenians have inflicted upon us, and the great expense to which they have subjected this country, is traceable solely to the door of the British Cabinet. The fact defies refutation. If Ireland was not grievously misgoverned there would be no Fenianism, and we would not have been invaded. So long as England refuses to redress Irish wrongs, so long will Fenianism exist; and so long will Canada be called upon periodically to protect her frontiers and deplete her treasury. What is our only true duty under the circumstances? I have pointed it out:—Petition the Canadaian government to remonstrate with Her Majesty's ministers in England to grant a full measure of reform to Ireland.

But some one asks, "Suppose the Canadian government should remonstrate, and the British government should give them a deaf ear or no satisfaction (something not at all probable) what then?" What then! just this: the sooner we cut loose from England's apron-strings the better. If a connection with the Mother Country is to cost us henceforth—because of her sins—the sacrifice of precious life and millions of dollars yearly for protective purposes; if we must be driven into a vast militia expenditure—which will prove an incubus on the Dominion, and help to cripple its industry and improvement, and all because England will act the part of an unjust despot, the sooner we proclaim our indepedence the better for our peace and prosperty. We are a mutual source of weakness to one another, at best, and if one possesses not the power to stop the abuses of the other, from which hardship arise and heavy losses are sustained, it is plain that a dissolution of partnership is the only cure. Once we had proclaimed our independence Fenianism troubled

us no more, and that our neighbours on the other side, in our new state of existence, would attempt to gobble us up, is a thing so utterable improbable that no one laying claim to statemanship would for a moment believe it.

Our only danger from our neighbours is in there being embroiled in a war with England through Fenianism, in which event Canada would be made the field of operations, and what a prospect of blood-drenched plains, devastated towns and villages, privations and miseries of the hardest kind, does not the contemplation of such a state of things open to our view! That we are not far from invasion of some kind or another on England's account—on account solely of her unjust treatment of Ireland—is the opinion of the public mind. The *Prescott Telegraph* of a late date tells us that it is "informed by a gentleman from Ogdensburg, who has good opportunities of learning the facts, and who is thoroughly trustworthy, that several batteries of field artillery, as well as 30,000 stand of small arms, have been brought by the Fenians from different parts of the States this fall, and deposited at certain points along the frontier between Ogdensburg and St. Albans. It is the opinion of the same gentleman that this movement of arms is a part of the Fenian preparations for a big raid on Canada in the spring." And it would appear that this information which the *Telegraph* has had is no idle rumor, but has truth for its basis; for, in the Canadian House of Commons, a few evenings ago, the Minister of Justice, Sir John A. Macdonald, in introducing a "Bill for renewing the Act of last session, to authorize the apprehension and detention of persons suspected of committing or meditating acts of hostility against Her Majesty's Government," thus confirmed the statement above quoted: "The hazard of invasion," he said, "was not so great now as it appeared to be at that time (June, 1867); but there could be no doubt that the organization which had threatened us still exists, and the government had *distinct evidence of increasing activity* on the part of that body. *It was beyond a doubt that it was true*, as had been stated in the public prints, that there had been recently a very considerable deposit of arms at convenient places along the frontier *for the invasion of what was the former Province of Canada!* The Government, therefore, felt that it would not be proper to allow Parliament to adjourn without having this law enacted. The Fenian body were now pursuing a course of outrage in England. They were also moving in Ireland. They were manifestly a widely extended organization, and the government should be authorized, if necessary, to arrest parties who might seem to be en-

gaged in an unlawful enterprise against the peace of this country. (Hear, hear.)" Here is direct testimony from the Minister of Justice of Canada—the head of the Canadian Government—that extensive preparations are at this moment being made on the frontier for our early invasion. And for what? Any crime we have been guilty of? No. What then? FOR ENGLAND'S UNJUST AND OPPRESSIVE TREATMENT OF IRELAND! There is the FACT, and I defy the united logic of the Dominion of Canada to shake it in the least. Not for anything that we have done are we to be invaded by the Fenians; the industry of our country disturbed; the blood of our young men shed on the frontiers, and our money squandered by the million; but for England's sins, past and present. The Fenian invasion of last year (which was but a contemptible fizzle of a few hundred men) cost Canada, as I have already stated, over *one million and a half of dollars;* and if the preparations that are being made for our invasion next spring are on ten times a larger scale, as we are assured they are, will it be too much to presume that on our part an expenditure of *five millions* will be small enough to meet the emergency? How long can we stand this kind of thing? How long will we stand it; The present moment is certainly a critical one to Canada. There is a choice to be made between alternatives, and a combined wisdom should view the really serious subject gravely and in earnest. Shall we endeavor to strike at the *root* of the evil which threatens us—at the *cause* of our troubles; or, like experimenting physicians of a certain order, attempt to vainly grapple with the *consequences,* while the source of mischief remains unattended to? Grappling with the remote consequences of a *known* cause are our statesmen when they make preparations to suppress Fenianism, while the wide-mouthed crater out of which Fenians are poured at the rate of two hundred thousand annually (see Mr. Maguire's speech) is not attempted to be shut. The endeavor is a mad one—with all due deference to the wisdom of our rulers—and it can be attended with but one result, and that a disastrous one. Shall we remonstrate with England to be just, and save us from being scalded by the boiling water squirted on us from the cauldron which she wraps with tormenting fire? Shall we, if she remains obdurate, cut our connection, and escape annual infliction from her enemies? or shall we rather hang to her skirt-tails until bankruptcy and Fenian persistency forces us into annexation to the United States? These are the alternatives between which we have to choose.

If we proclaim our independence we usher into a new state of being with no sins to answer for, and having no enemies.

Our surplus funds, instead of being squandered on the frontier, could be turned to internal improvements—and in a few years —a million annually being expended—the change for the better the country would undergo—economically governed—would be very visible. In proposing independence as an alternative, I will be understood in pointing to it only as a last resort. Let us not be subjected to suffering and wrong in this country, from England's stubborn folly and injustice, and I will be the last man in the Dominion to propose a severance of the connection; but under circumstances as they now stand, if England will not right Ireland, and that we must suffer as a consequence of our relationship, I leave it to the judgment of an intelligent community to say if the proposition is not justifiable and does not carry with it, at least, some force.

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