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POETRY.

WE'LL SING ANOTHER CHRISTMAS SONG.

We'll sing another Christmas song, for who shall ever tire,
To hear the olden ballads round the Christmas fire?
We'll sing another Christmas song, and pass the wassail cup,
For Christmas that refresh the heart should never be
divided up.
Ne'er tell us that each Yule-tide brings more silver
to our door;
Time seldom scatters half the snow that quickly
gathers there.
The gilding of Ambitions thorns—the tawling head
of gold—
'Tis these do more than rolling years in making us
grow old;
Then shake Old Christmas by the hand—in kind-
ness let him dwell,
For he's the king of right good company, and we should
treat him well.

Why should we let pale Discontent sting canker on
the hours—
Unjust regrets lurk round the soul like snakes in
leafy bowers?
And though the flood of Plenty's tide upon our lot
may pour,
How oft the lip will murmur still the horse-leech
cry for "more!"
We sigh for wealth—we pant for place—and get-
ting what we crave,
We often find it only coils fresh chains about the
sleeve.
Year after year may gently help to turn the dark
locks white,
But Time ne'er fades a flower so soon as cold and
worldly light,
Then shake Old Christmas by the hand—in kind-
ness let him dwell,
For he's the king of right good company, and we should
treat him well.

Be glad—be glad—stir up the blaze, and let our
spirit yield
The incense that is grateful as the lilies of the
field;
"God will do all"—his sweet and rich, and helps
to keep away
The wrinkled part of frowning brows—and mid-
dle shades of grey.
Be glad—be glad—and though we have some cy-
prus in our wreath,
Forget not there are rosebuds too, that ever peep
beneath.
And though long years may line the cheek, and
with'er up the heart,
It is not Time, but selfish Care, that does the sad-
dest part;
Then shake Old Christmas by the hand—in kind-
ness let him dwell,
For he's the king of right good company, and we should
treat him well.

—ELIZA COOK.

CONCILIATION HALL.

Monday, 30th November.

Mr. O'CONNELL, as Chairman, presented the following

REPORT:—

"The spirit of dissension has become too marked—too violent—too determinate—to leave any rational hope of speedy conciliation."

"The Repeal Association cannot with safety to the liberties, or even to the lives of its members, make any, even the slightest concession of principle. Such concession would be an irretrievable instrument in the hands of an Attorney-General. It would enable any Chief Justice—even a man less one-sided than Chief Justice Penzance, to dictate a conviction even to an honest jury. It would give the fullest latitude to the partiality, now indolent, but then more than colourable, of a packed jury."

"In short any the slightest admission of the physical force principle would convert the Repeal Association into an illegal assembly. It would justify, if not require, the Government to suppress it, no discreet or prudent man could take any part in the proceedings of the Association."

"It is impossible, therefore, that any concession could be made on this point by the Association."

"It raises a question of life or death—and we who are most firmly desirous of preserving that Association alive and energetic, until it shall procure the restoration of the Irish parliament, can never consent to its immolation."

"So much for the Repeal Association, organized as it is to carry by the exclusive employment of peaceable, legal and constitutional means, that measure, without which Ireland must continue in misery—the Repeal of the Union."

"On the other hand, there now stands forward, as the prominent head of a party, such as it is, a body to be called, or at least to be known by the denomination of 'THE LITERARY PHALANX'—men who, with various degrees of talent, choose to write in the attitude in which the late Sir Judkin Fitzgibbon declared that he wrote—that is, with a pistol in one hand, and a sword in the other; giving rather a ludicrous image of a 'Literary Association,' with three hands and no heart."

"The 'PHALANX' has now organized itself, or is about to do so, and it cannot be expected from its members that they will totally abandon the use of the sword. They are too much in the wrong not to observe that sword upon our peaceable proceedings. They know that all we want is the total and unconditional disclaimer of the use of the sword as an instrument for procuring constitutional rights and improvements, whilst we avow the right to use that sword in the defence against attacks of an illegal and un-

constitutional nature by domestic oppressors, or foreign invaders."

"The worst symptom about the members of the 'PHALANX' is, that they wilfully and doggedly seek to confound that use of the sword which is totally illegal and treasonable—namely, its employment to compel the amelioration of atrocious, or in constitutional institutions—with its use, which is in itself legal—namely, pure self defence against any illegal and unconstitutional attack."

"If one were not aware of the unhappy disposition of parliament to misrepresent those whom they deem adversaries, it would be almost incredible that the 'PHALANX' should endeavour to confound the principle of pure self-defence from illegal attack, which we Repealers avow and maintain, with the principle of seeking for or attaining constitutional amelioration by means of any kind of physical force as highly illegal, and most mischievous, and productive of the most unmitigated calamities."

"To place beyond a doubt in the mind of every rational and thinking man, the clear distinction between seeking for legal rights by the sword and the principle of self-defence, I here repeat the closing part of the report, adopted by the Repeal Association on the 13th July, 1846. That report contains in its concluding passages these words:—

"Having detailed the reiteration of the principle of action adopted by the Repeal Association, being in itself the very basis of that Association—namely, the principle that the amelioration of political institutions ought not to be sought for by any other means than those which are perfectly peaceable, legal and constitutional."

"That to promote political amelioration peaceable means alone should be used, to the exclusion of all others save those that are peaceable, legal, and constitutional."

"It has been said very unwisely that this principle prohibits the necessary defence against unjust aggression on the part of a domestic Government or a foreign enemy. It does no such thing—it leaves the right of self defence perfectly free to the use of any force sufficient to resist and defeat unjust aggression."

"He who desires distinctly to understand the controversy between the Repeal Association and the 'PHALANX,' may profitably re-read—even a second time—the part of the report of 13th July, 1846, which I have just set forth, and which I desire should be printed in italics. He who deliberately reads these passages will see as distinctly the right of self-defence against unjust aggression as set forth by us, as do distinctly assert the exclusive use of peaceable and legal means for obtaining constitutional rights and ameliorations."

"Having thus indicated the right of self-defence, I shall give the concluding part of that report to show how perfectly safe, as well as how powerful, are the means by which we intend to achieve the nationality of our country."

"The report of the 13th July continues, and concludes thus:—

"We emphatically announce our conviction that all political ameliorations, and the first and highest of all—the Repeal of the Union—ought to be sought for, and can be sought for successfully, only by peaceable, legal, and constitutional means, to the utter exclusion of any other—in short, that the Repeal of the Union can and ought to be obtained by the same peaceable means by which Catholic Emancipation was achieved, and by the same exclusively peaceable system of action by which the Anti-Corn Law League so gloriously triumphed over every resistance and obtained the repeal of the Corn Laws—by such means alone we can, we ought, and, with the blessing of Almighty Providence, we will obtain the Repeal of the Union."

"I have been thus this minute, in order that every Repealer, and every inhabitant of the land, may, if he pleases, distinctly understand the basis of the controversy which has arisen between the Repealers and the 'Phalanx.'"

"It has been suggested that the Association ought to change some of its expressions and terms; but those who require such alterations do not tell us what terms or expressions ought to be substituted. For my part, I should be ready to alter the expression or terms of the report of the 13th July, 1846, if I could find any other phraseology that would more emphatically mark the meaning, and more distinctly describe the basis of the Association."

"How little it is understood that the Association could not subsist for one week if it were to relax and let in the possible use of the sword!—how little it is known the intensity of application—of study, and of thought, which it required in order to frame the Catholic Association and to protect it from legal peril!"

"It may appear, and perhaps not unjustly that there is something of vanity in my making such declaration. For it was the architect of that Association—its prophet and its guide."

"It would require the tediousness of historic detail to give even a faint idea of the difficulties I had to encounter—the jealousness by which I was met—the secessions by which the path before me was broken up—the active vituperation poured upon me, not only by the Orange press, but by the papers purporting to be in the popular interest."

"Yet we triumphed over all!—The honest minded men who stood around me, and by whom I stood, worked on with me in great disgust, but in no despair or even despondency."

"We triumphed, at last, and the people have a national church, both liberated and unshaken. Blessed be God!"

"Until the Catholic Association was framed, the Catholic proceedings were desultory and irregular—we quarrelled almost as often as we met—there was no continued demand for Emancipation—we petitioned occasionally—we debated from time to time—we had at one period a Catholic Bazaar, then a Catholic Committee again. These efforts were brief and transitory, badly organized and evanescent, having no permanent effect. Our aggregate meetings made from time to time considerable impression, but by the accurate description and consequent exposure of the grievances of the Catholics, and of the oppressions of the Protestant ascendancy party."

"But the people soon became habituated to excited hopes and repeated disappointments—and the Catholic aristocracy—the landed gentry, and many of the principal merchants—almost all our expectant lawyers—many, very many of the middle classes—also—scurily collected, and self-satisfiedly struggling in our weakness, and in the midst of ascendancy—pride—power and contempt."

"The clergy, too, took little or no part with us. The hideous crimes that had been committed in the name of liberty, by the monsters who desolated France, the well known hatred of religion by the European Liberals, and by some of that class nearer home, filled our clergy with alarm, and made them shrink from any compact with men who had the then odious word 'Liberty' used for their banner."

"Thus deserted by most of what should constitute Catholic strength, his vituperated and abused by many nominal, and some real Catholics, unsupported by the countenance of our venerated clergy—venerated, calumniated, and despised by our Protestant adversaries, there still a few of us determined to struggle to the last, animated by a conviction of our rights and by a desire of enduring wrong; some few of us, with a spirit of civil and religious liberty unflinching and warm as war—some few of us continued the strife, even in the downfall of Napoleon, and the apparent destruction of popular rights all over the continent. We continued the strife with others despairing, and we made perpetual claim for the establishment for the Catholics of the benefit of the principle of freedom of conscience."

"It was under such unfavourable circumstances that the plan of the Catholic Association first flashed upon my mind, and strange to say, my conception of giving strength and efficacy to the Catholic cause was by creating a parcel of land in the nature of what we afterwards called the Catholic Rent."

"I had accordingly, three rural parishes in the county of Kerry collected, and succeeded so well that I paid in the sum of £79 to the funds of the Catholic Bazaar. I thought that I should have been met with applause, and approbation, and praise, and that I should be called upon to develop my plan, and bring it into execution."

"It was no such thing—in the contrary, I was most bitterly assailed by the Orange press, aided, as usual in unhappy Ireland, by the so-called Liberal portion of the press. To such an extent was the calumny carried, that I was actually accused by the Liberal and Orange press of high treason—that is, of facilitating levying money on the King's subjects without the consent of parliament."

"The secession accordingly increased. I was deserted by almost every body, and was left so powerless that I was under the necessity of postponing the execution of my plan for no less a period than eleven years, commencing in the year 1812."

"I, however, never ceased to struggle, and availed myself of every opportunity of bringing forward Catholic grievances. I supported the practical annual petition, and of pressing upon parliament the impolicy and wickedness of continuing Catholic degradation."

"At length, after twelve years, amidst the perseverance of a few and the wrath of many, a brighter day began to appear—the seceders began to see the folly of their conduct; the pleasure of continuing to abuse and vilify their Catholic fellow-countrymen was embittered by the continuance of their own exclusion from civil rights. At length many of the seceders showed a disposition to join us. I saw that the time was come to make the attempt of organizing a permanent Catholic body to attend perpetually to Catholic affairs—by influence, by peaceful and legal means, public sentiment—to conciliate our friends, and expose to shame and ridicule the opponents of Emancipation."

"My plan of the Association is composed of three parts:—

"The first, consisting in the formation of a deliberative body, to be constituted of the educated classes, able and willing to devote time and money to forwarding Catholic interests."

"The second part of my plan consisted in forming a permanent fund, by collecting, in each locality in Ireland, money sufficient to defray the expenses incident to the Catholic cause."

"The third, was the embodying into the Association the entire Catholic people of Ireland, by their becoming, on payment of a small sum, 'associates' of the deliberative body. This was the entire of my plan. There was great difficulty in avoiding legal objection."

"We were under the necessity of disclaiming every species of delegated or representative capacity. If we had not done so, the Association would have been indicted under the Convention Act. But the great danger and great difficulties was, to carry out our plan of embodying the associates."

"It is true that without having the people at our back, we should be very inefficient, indeed. On the other hand, the embodying the people, unless restrained

within the most cautious and peaceful limits, might render us liable to a charge of endorsing or carrying out purposes by force—in short, a charge of high treason."

"It would have been a false charge; but one of the Saurin's juries might have been easily induced to find a verdict of conviction for treason without any evidence of force or of any intention to use force."

"It was my solemn and sacred duty, on the one hand, to put the great machine of the Catholic Association into motion; and on the other hand, to preserve the members of the Association from prosecution and legal penalties."

"We had at that time to act under the eye of one of the most illiberal and bigoted Attorney Generals that ever existed—Saurin. However, besides, my private, my most anxious, and bitter enemy."

"I felt the necessity of being cautious in the extreme; and the better to exercise that caution, I brought my plan forward, not as an entire scheme, but by instalments. I first began with the deliberate body, the Association itself; but, in its creation, I guarded it carefully from every legal objection. The only qualification to become a member was the payment of one guinea. There was to be no test, no sign, no password or token—nothing, in short, that could in anywise bring the Association within the illegal Societies' Act."

"There was, also, as I have already stated, a total disclaimer on my part of delegated or representative capacity, or any assumption of such capacity."

"I thus guarded against prosecution under the Convention Act."

"Its basis was then declared to be to obtain Emancipation by the Exercise of legal means and no other, specifying, as such legal means, petition, information, as to matters of fact, discussion, publication and petitions to parliament, and finally parliament, and its legislation, thus framed and guarded, with this constitutional basis, the Association commenced its operations in May, 1812, and for some time worked well and wisely, but the usual torpor and apathy prevailed."

"By our rules we were to meet but once a week, a meeting was to commence at seven o'clock, qualified thus—that if there were not ten members present at half-past three, that day was to be an adjournment."

"It is a curious circumstance of the little support I obtained from the public, that, in having prepared an elaborate report for the establishment of the Catholic Rent, no less than three weeks elapsed before I could get ten members to use a Parliamentary privilege in my own house."

"Avoiding much in public details, I took the legal precaution that the collection of the Catholic Rent should be, as the Repeal Act is, perfectly voluntary."

"The third statement of my plan consisted of the admission of associates. This was the great difficulty. The legal dangers were great, and could be met and avoided only by the perfectly legal, peaceable, and constitutional basis of the Association body. The slightest intermingling of allusion to physical force would have rendered the Association illegal—would have caused our instant dissolution, and would have postponed our Emancipation perhaps half a century."

"Fortunately there was not among us any ten in one enough to suggest fighting or to talk of using the sword. The pacific nature of our constitution was not disturbed by any suggestion of physical force; no attempt was made, because none could be made to indict the Association on the illegal ground of any illegality. We proceeded peaceably and with perfect unanimity to extend our influence through the far greater part of the country. The peaceable nature of our doctrine and conduct was undisputed, we kept always within the protection of the law, and we were infinitely more formidable to our enemies than all the idle vapouring prosaic and petty, about new fangled muskets, and little and swords, and all the idle balderdash of that description."

"In a short period—that is, in less than six years—we triumphantly succeeded; and we were not one single allegation of crime against the members of the Association, my expectations, and these allegations were fulfilled and easily exploded. No member suffered life, limb, liberty, or property, not a breath of the law was committed, not a drop of blood was shed, and we completely and triumphantly succeeded. My peaceful policy victoriously exhibited itself—good men of all ages sided us, and Providence graciously smiled favourably upon our peaceful exertions."

"Why not allow us to work out the Repeal of the Union by the use of peaceful means? How can any man now justify himself, in now in the seventh hour, objecting to a policy which in its nature is perfectly harmless, and so far from guilt or punishment, and so far from being eminently successful? Why adopt the crude scheme and blustering violence of men who, as yet at least, have achieved no victory, and cannot point out any conquest? Why above all things will they affect to be patriots, and at the same time virulently assail the only body of our organized in an operation for achieving Irish nationality?"

"Why do they advocate a different policy from ours, without showing in what respect our policy is defective? Above all, why do they dispute our policy—and at the same time, laud that policy most highly?"

"If indeed, the secession were sought to be justified by any truly or falsely alleged defect, or criminality in my peaceful policy that secession would be intelligible; but in

the name of common sense, what is to be said of the men who, admitting the perfect wisdom and suitability of my plans of operation, yet accuse me for my fifty year's services with all manner of abuse and malignant insinuations."

"What an unhappy country do we belong to! What an ill-fated nation is ours. Strife, and contention, and dissension are disseminated through the land. The public mind is embittered—the public strength is weakened and exhausted in the effort to subvert my policy, and all this by men who themselves submit a most abundantly the wisdom and efficacy of that very policy."

"The seceders exhibit the strangest anomaly. They excited the anger of the principles of the Repeal Association, and yet they assail with all manner of violence men whose only crime is maintaining those principles intact and inviolate."

"Let no man say that I exaggerate or mistake. I prove the truth of my assertion not only from the subordinate, but from the very leader of the secession himself, whose very words respecting my policy I shall quote."

"Mr. W. Smith O'Brien, in his letter dated Cahine Moye, October 29, 1846, has the following emphatic words:—speaking of himself and the other seceders, here are his words:—'We desire to achieve a Repeal of the Union by peaceful means, believing that such means are more durable and more efficacious than any other.'

"Could I possibly wish for more? This emphatic testimony, borne by, now, alas, an antagonist, is all I could desire, and more than I could have expected. See what it is. It is a proclamation by the eminent gentleman who is the leader of the Phalanx loudly declaring in a letter written in a very hostile spirit that my peaceful policy is the 'most desirable and most efficacious.'

"I cannot avoid conjuring him in the name of old Ireland, to return to that policy which he himself admits is the most desirable and most efficacious. Let him fling away the dew-drops from the lion's mane, every plan and scheme of policy and warlike declaration inconsistent in any way with my peaceful policy which he himself has stamped with the seal of his highest approbation, for he could not do higher than declaring it 'most desirable—most efficacious.'

"I now next turn to the Cork resolutions, and what testimony do I find borne there to my plan of operations—my moral force peaceable policy? I find this testimony—that such moral force doctrine is absolutely ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESSFUL ISSUE OF OUR POLITICAL ECONOMY. They go further, and they add that this moral force doctrine was wisely inculcated AT ALL TIMES BY ME, whom they are pleased to call the great leader of our country."

"See now the position in which I stand between the Cork men on the one hand, and the leader of the Phalanx, Mr. Smith O'Brien, on the other. I have my moral force policy proclaimed to be wise at all times, and ESSENTIAL FOR SUCCESS—'most desirable and most efficacious.'—It is withal bitter and melancholy that I enjoy the triumph over those who have lately indulged themselves in calumny and vituperation against me."

"My very antagonists make these admissions—first, that my peaceful policy is essentially necessary to success; in other words, that without it we cannot succeed."

"Secondly—That this peaceable policy has at all times been wisely inculcated by me, whom they can expect to induce me to inculcate any other? I would rather abandon all hope for my loyal country that inculcate any other than peace."

"Thirdly—That my peaceful policy is the most desirable of all. What common sense can there be in any man's deviating from the most desirable policy?"

"Fourthly—That my peaceable policy is the most efficacious for success, essential and efficacious for success!—always wise, and always desirable! WISE, DESIRABLE, ESSENTIAL, EFFICACIOUS."

"And am I to quit a policy thus lauded, thus sanctioned, even by those who demand a change?"

"I ask this question, referring to another and a higher consideration—am I to change this policy, this lauded policy, to quit the paths of safety and prudence, and to involve myself and all the members of the Repeal Association in legal crime and punishment, and the utter ruin of the cause?"

"It has been said and repeated, and will be said and repeated, notwithstanding the fact, that the Repeal Association ought to have allowed the principle of the use of physical force to be debated, and that we have improperly precluded discussion by totally preventing any such debate. Those who say so should already know, or, if they do not know it, they should be informed, that any assembly which allowed the discussion of the principle of any crime, with a view to have it adopted, would be an unlawful assembly, which any magistrate would have a right to disperse, and any judge to punish."

"No assembly can allow the principle of sanctioning burglary, robbery, or a felon of any kind, or even a breach of the peace, to be discussed for adoption, without becoming at once an unlawful assembly."

"How much more lawful, then, would it have been if we had allowed to be discussed for adoption the principle of physical force in obtaining or attempting to obtain, the repeal of an act of parliament? It would be, to say the least, a-t of it, sedition; and if accompanied or followed by any overt act, it would be no less than treason."

"I have thus been minute to fineness in repeatedly demonstrating the utter impossibility of our making any concession to conciliate the members of the physical force phalanx. We cannot do it without dissolving the Association, or putting it in the power of our enemies to dissolve it."

"In truth, I cannot consider the men sincere in their love of Repeal, who persevere in refusing to abide by the peaceful principles on which the Association was formed, and seek either to destroy that Association, by weakening its strength, or by delivering it bound hand and foot to the enemies of Repeal in Ireland."

"This, then, is our only to the Cork resolutions, and to all others who seek from us an alteration, however slight, in the fundamental rules of the Association. We are for peaceful, legal, and constitutional means of action for procuring the Repeal. We disclaim and abhor all other means, and we will not co-operate with any persons but those who concur with us in the principle of peace and legality."

"Instead of asking us to change our peaceable principles, would it not be more wise in the resolutionsists and remonstrants to call upon the physical force phalanx to abandon their warlike propensities, and to seek with us, in the paths of peace, law, and harmony, the restoration of Irish nationality."

"Let us, my countrymen, despond—let us not relax our efforts for Repeal, by reason of the secession of men who, with very few exceptions, aided us little, and embarrassed us greatly in our constitutional struggle."

"I, for one have nailed my colours to the mast—the colours of old Ireland. If I have but a shorter time of life allotted to the struggle, it only becomes a sacred duty to redouble my efforts in the sacred cause of fatherland."

"I have often experienced treachery and calumny, secession and folly, and obstacles of every kind, yet I have succeeded. There is vitality still in the cause of Old Ireland. The appalling distress and misery that afflict the land, are adduced as evidence of our weakness, whereas they are only proof of the absolute necessity of our continuing our organized plan of obtaining the restoration of our national parliament."

"Let me conclude by again referring to the state of the controversy between us & the seceders. The question between us and them is one of principle on our part. It is a principle without which the Association must cease to exist—the principle of seeking for the Repeal by peaceable and legal means alone. Founded on this principle—adhering to this principle—refusing to allow it to be broken in upon, diminished, or even tampered with by the seceders, we devote ourselves to the cause of the Irish people. We will never relax—we will never compromise—we will never postpone the assertion of our right to an Irish legislature. We will never cease our efforts, till we re-establish the nationality of Ireland, and make her what she ought to be."

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

"DANIEL O'CONNELL,
Chairman of Committee."

FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—A handbill has been issued, offering a reward of \$500 for the arrest of Charles F. Dwyer, formerly of this city, and who kept a clotheing store on the corner of State and Platt Streets, some three or four years since. The handbill states that in the spring of 1844, Dwyer purchased a large amount of dry goods in Boston, making at the time of purchasing certain false representations of his property, and giving as security for the goods purchased, because due, he absconded from that time to the present, leaving his creditors to get their pay from the securities that he had placed in their hands, which upon examination proved to be entirely worthless and fraudulent. It seems that he purchased the goods in Boston with the avowed intention of bringing them to this city, but instead of doing so, he immediately shipped them to New York, sold them at auction below first cost, and pocketed the proceeds. His Boston friends heard of the operation and immediately came to arrest him, but he eluded their grasp by taking passage in a packet ship to some distant port, whence he made his way to Canada, and it is supposed has been concealed near Toronto during the last six months. It is said he has in his possession, or had a short time since, four hundred \$50 notes of the Bank of British North America, payable in Montreal.—He sometimes passes by the name of Charles D. Phillips, and sometimes by that of Dora. Information concerning him may be communicated to Clark Gamble, Toronto, Capt. Wilby, chief of Montreal Police, George T. Dwyer, Rochester, or to John Wilson Boston.—(Rochester R-p.)

We copy a part of a well written letter which appeared in the last "Mercury," signed "Quebec," in reference to a ruffianly attack, made by the Montreal Courier, upon Captain Armstrong, of the Sydneyham. That gentleman's professional ability is acknowledged by those most competent to judge, his employers, and we may add, the mercantile community. The Courier, among other things, called Captain Armstrong a compound of "Cook, Parser, and Steward," who was not fit to command a canal barge. What the Press has to do with the conduct of Steam-boat Captains, beyond the mere publication of their good, and evil, deeds, we cannot make out. Our contemporary considered himself justified in pouring forth half a column of declamation, merely, because Capt. Armstrong had been complimented by the Times, on some particular act of his life, which the Editor of that print, very correctly, considered worthy of public notice. Now, private individuals may commit actions, either good or bad, which bring them for the time being before the public; but it is the action which calls forth public attention, not the individual, according to the merits of the action, does the individual come in for the wreath of public praise, or the lash of public censure. Now it is not because Captain Armstrong serves a Mercantile Company that he becomes a public personage, or that his character becomes public property; he is a private individual, liable, like every other individual, to criticism, whenever particular acts, on his part, shall have rendered him amenable to public opinion. For instance: when Captain Armstrong gives the passengers in his boat reason to be grateful for some increased convenience, or some unusual service, whenever he undertakes a special duty for the benefit of the public, he is deserving of public praise, whenever he shall, by any neglect or mismanagement, incommode his passengers, he is liable to public censure, but he is not a public man, and is not liable to animadversion by the general public. His having given satisfaction to his employers, proves his ability and general good conduct, his long employment, proves his having given satisfaction, and the press has nothing to do with the matter. But as it is one of the duties of an Editor to denounce such of his brethren as violating private rights, we will just give the Courier the benefit of our opinion on his conduct. He says: "these men employed in Canada as steam-boat Captains are utterly unfit for their occupation." We will observe there are persons employed in Canada as Editors, whose language disgraces the paper they write on, and whose motives are blacker than the ink they dabble in. We will observe, further, that in Canada every man who holds a place, even at the hands of private persons, is considered as a public character, because the only political office here is place-holding, is keeping a fat thing from an avaricious & envious neighbor, who will get you abused if he is not in a position to do himself. This feeling is sooner or later manifested towards any man who appears permanently situated; how persons in such situations escape being poisoned to create a vacancy, we really cannot imagine. The passions of envy and avarice, find plenty of vent through the press of Canada, and every disappointed party can, among the members of the press, find some loathsome enough. The most serious part of the matter is this: that those very conductors of the press, who are capable of the meanness we have described, pretend to excessive delicacy, and in dealing with public defamers, delinquents, in office, leaders of party, political criminals possessed of influence, carefully eschew all manliness of thought or speech, and look on those powerful investees, and heavy blows which a Burke, a Grattan, or a Cicero, regarded as the chief glory of their eloquence, as coarse and scurrilous, in fact altogether too heavy for their weak stomachs.

It is obvious with regard to the Montreal Courier, that a gentleman very generally known and as generally respected here—namely, Captain C. L. Armstrong, of the Sydneyham. The occasion seized upon for this unprovoked-onset appears to have been a well meant but probably incorrect paragraph in the Times, in which it is stated that certain shippers by the Canada on her last trip down, had made it a condition that Capt. A. should take charge of her.—It is no doubt to be regretted that such a statement was published, as it might possibly lead persons who did not know Captain Roach of the Canada, to suppose that some doubts of his capacity existed. Those who know Captain R., would not require to read his gentlemanly and temperate letter in the Courier to be convinced that this was not the case. The Editor of the Courier might with great advantage to himself and his readers imitate the moderation and temper shown by Captain R., instead of inflicting on those who have patience to read it half a column of flippant nonsense about steamship, from which one would suppose his knowledge of such matters had been acquired in that celebrated amphibious corps "the Horse Marines."

THE KINGSTON PENITENTIARY.

The Upper Canada papers have been occupied with a discussion which has elicited the fact of the most infamous cruelty, dishonesty and corruption having distinguished the management of the Kingston Penitentiary, employments purchased by bribery prisoners cheated out of the prison allowance by a vile system of peculation, and the wanton torture of the wretched inmates of that which now appears to be a habitation of horrid cruelty, prove that the vile Swindlers connected with the direction of the principal prison of the Province, are more worthy of confinement than the felons they rob of their daily bread.

"Shamrock" was rather precipitate in his original remarks. This however is an error which will occur to the best intentioned persons. We inserted his letter as we find that publicity is the touchstone of truth. Finding himself in error he of course retraced his charge and as we are now in possession of the merits of the case, we publish the statement. We cannot however permit our correspondent to withdraw the charge which he brought against the gentlemen to whom he alludes, without saying that as far as we have been able by careful enquiry to gain information concerning the management of the Seminary, it is worthy of every praise, and we never heard the dispensers of Education in that Establishment otherwise than favorably spoken of by those under their care, but more particularly so by those of British origin.

To the Editor of the Freeman's Journal and Commercial Advertiser.
SIR,—Since my last communication I have been informed that the "Dignitaries," whom I intimated as having insulted some of our young countrymen, have declared that such a thing as giving an insult never entered their minds. As I am not disposed to enter into a dispute with those gentlemen, especially since the merry time of Christmas is approaching, I will believe them. Their sacred character would not allow me, for a moment, to suppose them capable of willfully telling an untruth. It is very evident when I heard that those young gentlemen were insulted; and who, with a drop of Celtic blood in his veins, would not feel the same; and, consequently, expose the affair, since those young gentlemen, on account of their situation, could not well do it themselves. Insults arising from prejudices, especially when offered to gentlemen who cannot well resent them, are alike unmanly, disgraceful, and unchristian. The authors of them deserve to be exposed to the public view; particularly so, when they are gentlemen, whose calling ought to make us suppose, that such a thought ought never to cross their minds. Such insults as appear from those gentlemen's own words, I think, should be more indignantly and indignantly rebuffed. I have said about the affair. And as it is the duty of every man to make reparation for an injury he may have done, I, by this letter, wish to address my remonstrance upon the public mind, in relation to those gentlemen & their institutions.
Yours, &c. SHAMROCK
Quebec, 22nd December, 1846.

Though first written by Ethu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, for the instruction of the subscribers of the Christian Citizen, an U. S. periodical—whereby our UN-REMITTING friends & promoters of news-illustrations of the author draws paper publishers and their assistants, as carefully as the author's article, as carefully as the authors were originally addressed to the readers of this periodical. Our friends who regularly remit their acknowledgments of our services can have no other feelings than satisfactory on perusing such an article, unless it makes them pity the unwarded printer, or excite their indignation at the unscrupulous reader of their favorite newspaper, whose support of it is no better than a rotten walking stick is to a traveller.

"Limitations of Human Responsibility."
There is an idea conveyed in this term which seems to prevail extensively among the readers and subscribers of newspapers and other Periodicals, and which renders their sense of obligation to the Printer exceedingly obtuse and impracticable.
There is no class of working men who are dependent upon the printer for their support, and who are consequently in a position to be able to pay for their services. They are unfortunately situated, at every point of their dependence, and consequently their claims are liable to be forgotten. The families visited by their publications are scattered, it may be, over the country. The Post office at which they are received, is a kind of dispensary of Providence, where rain and dew and sunshine, and other gratuitous blessings, are given out with a charity as broad as the light. No connection is discerned between the Post master and the Publisher; between the post office and the press-room. The perusal of the well filled sheet scarcely suggests the idea of compensation and press men with families dependent for bread on "retains" by the mail, which carries the product of their night hours of labour over the land and sea. And perhaps some honest readers have come to regard a newspaper as an abstract spirituality, nothing but clear thought, having no specie basis to lean upon, and no other capital invested but somebody's intellect. As the definition they derive from it is purely mental, they lean to the belief that it is made up of nothing but abstract mind, without any adjunct of matter, which costs money. Many good people live in the fog of this idea, who pay up rapidly for any article of wool, iron, wool, cotton, hemp, &c., because these are materials, not spiritualities, and cannot be manufactured by the brain. Now this is a dreamy fantasy of the imagination. There is as much corporeity in a newspaper as in a name; there is as much flesh and blood interest in it—as much money and material capital in it—as in a case of calico, a loaf of bread, or an iron shovel, in proportion to its cost. Paper, in its blank state, is just as much a cash article as wheat flour before

it is made into bread. Then why is not a good newspaper as much a cash article after it is printed, as a loaf of bread after it is baked? Do the editors of the night thoughts, spread over the sheet by a score of paid hands and founts of money-bought types, evaporate the cash material of the paper and transform it into a parallelogram of moonshine? If the printer could make such a use of his work both ways, or so as to extend to his paper-maker's bill, he might be partially reconciled to the idea we have noticed. But let us carry out the illustration into our own business. Here is a young baker just setting up business. He has a good mortar, and he uses the best of flour and makes the best of bread. He has borrowed a little to the capital he earned as a journeyman, and, depending on his integrity and industry, he sends his bread to a trifling discount, he receives his pay for a year's supply, and promises to leave a loaf of the finest wheat at your door every morning for twelve months. This he fulfills to the letter. You are pleased, and to him he sends your compliments, and to him. The year expires, and the young baker, detesting himself that he has deserved your patronage, continues to leave a wheaten loaf at your door as regularly as the stars in the firmament, and he contents himself with his limited means, rather than do such a generous patron. Another year rolls around, and at every meal, his bread is sent in by his fingers a little longer in his morning visits to your door, hoping you will offer to pay him. Still he drives away at his bakery without cheerfulness, confident that he is a "good" man, and that he may have against you. As the sum accumulates, he begins to attach a special interest to it, as so something on deposit for "a rainy day." But after he has sent you your loaf for a year, you find your loaf left at your door, who delivers his errand according to the words you have put into his mouth: "Pa says he don't want your loaf, but he has sent you one for one year, and he has paid it." Now, good friend, was the sum you paid in advance for one year's supply of bread, the "limitation of human responsibility," on your part, to that young man, who has sent you your loaf for a year, and you did not promise to take his bread but for a single year; but you did take it, and you ate it, and broke it up to your children, and, perhaps, invoked God's blessing upon a thousand of his kindred. You have it, and never remembered the baker's name.

You have another neighbour, in his circumstances, and he is a Printer. His earnings are small, but honest, large. He has a wife and children, and he has a heart that is trained to the uttermost, things need without cash, and he has a heart that is trained to the uttermost, things need without cash. He aspires to feed his wife and children, and nourish in your young and dim in never die. The lamp by the side of his intellect for your mental repose, while you are asleep, for any man's mind, and he has a heart that is trained to the uttermost, things need without cash. He aspires to feed his wife and children, and nourish in your young and dim in never die. The lamp by the side of his intellect for your mental repose, while you are asleep, for any man's mind, and he has a heart that is trained to the uttermost, things need without cash. He aspires to feed his wife and children, and nourish in your young and dim in never die. 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