

disbandments dissolved the victorious confederacy... which almost the entire Catholic body was bound together.

Again, to pass over many apposite details, the fragments of the popular party coalesced in 1852, after twenty years of varied fortunes...

Since then we have had abundant instances of the two edged qualities of the Press and Trial by Jury. They have been both occasionally engines of the most oppressive tyranny or of the most heroic virtue.

I must confess I do not sympathize in the complaints so generally expressed of the Press, especially to the extent to which they are carried.

It is not creditable to the Press to promulgate that an honest and fearless one is a *rara avis*, neither is the assertion more creditable to the country.

Such a favourable moment for negotiation may not again occur. Be assured that England and France will not remain tranquil spectators of a contest which affects the interests, I may say the existence, of many millions of their population.

Your faithful servant, JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.

LETTER OF W. S. O'BRIEN TO THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER ON THE WAR IN AMERICA

My Dear Meagher.—I have read with much interest the speech recently delivered by you at Boston; but though I admire its fervid eloquence, and agree with many of the sentiments which it contains, I differ altogether from the conclusions which you endeavor to enforce.

I am not, indeed, surprised that you have taken up arms in defence of the Constitution and of the Union. When I first heard of the attack made by the Southern upon Fort Sumpter I felt that if I had been a resident of New York I should have said to myself—

Since the Southern appeal to arms we must not shrink from the struggle. We will not yield to force what we might have been willing to yield to negotiation. This was the first impulse which excited the dormant passions of the North, and it is so natural an impulse that it cannot be said to merit commendation.

You have denounced as "conspirators" and "propagandists of national dishonour and of national ruin" those Americans who advocate peace. These terms can scarcely apply to me, though I am an advocate of peace.

Let us first contemplate the case in which success shall have crowned the efforts of the Unionists, and that Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, Montgomery, Mobile, Memphis, and New Orleans shall be in possession of the Federal troops.

Does not the whole course of history show that a conquered nation can be kept in subjection by the means by which it was conquered?

It is generally passed through that little angle of Italy, which still remains subject to Austria. I cannot state the exact number of Austrian troops which are employed to retain it in subjection, but I have reason to know that more than thirty thousand Austrian soldiers are now quartered in the town of Verona alone, and that the other Austrian garrisons in Italy are maintained upon a scale proportionate to this number.

Have you considered the probable operation of this system of military government upon the conquering and conquered States of the Union?

Do you believe it possible to maintain a Republican form of Government in the conquered States? If representative institutions be allowed to subsist, will not the discontent of a conquered people break out, not only in impatient murmurs, but in perpetual efforts to contract the policy of the Union?

On the other hand are you prepared to dominate over ten millions of people and their descendants through all time by the coercion of military power? Do you believe it possible to maintain the Republican institutions of the North concurrently with the maintenance of a standing army consisting of half a million of soldiers, who must necessarily be placed at the disposal of an executive chief?

These will be the results of an issue of the present contest, which shall be favorable to the Northerners. Let us now contemplate the remaining and more probable alternative. Already this unhappy war has destroyed the power and prestige of the Republic, in its relation to foreign states.

What has been the result of all this expenditure of blood and treasure—of this fearful severance of affection—of this irrecoverable loss of power and of prestige? At the present moment it is difficult to say whether either of the contending parties has gained a single point of ascendancy in relation to the other.

Such a favourable moment for negotiation may not again occur. Be assured that England and France will not remain tranquil spectators of a contest which affects the interests, I may say the existence, of many millions of their population.

These are my views respecting the present contest in America; and, to prove the sincerity of my convictions, I am willing to go to America at my own expense, to act as internuncio between the contending parties, in case my services be accepted in that capacity.

Believe me, my dear friend, Most sincerely yours, WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN.

IRISH PROSPERITY (?) TO THE EDITOR OF THE (LONDON) TABLET.

I have already drawn attention to some significant facts: 1,230,986 Irishmen have emigrated from Ireland during the last ten years. The population of Ireland has diminished by 767,812 persons; while the population of England and the population of Scotland have both increased considerably.

But this does not thoroughly represent the state of the case with regard to Ireland. 2 part from emigration, the tendency to increase, by the excess of births over deaths, is of course the principal test of the prosperity of those who live in the country.

The Government, however, have constantly refused to provide any machinery for ascertaining the births and deaths in Ireland. This is one of their points. At the same time they broadly assert that the people are prospering.

This is the table of the Registrar-General, which, as he says, is only an approximation, but at the wrong side:

Table with 4 columns: Years, Population, Excess of births over deaths, Emigrated. Data for years 1851-1861.

This table of emigration was made only up to 1859, and the population for each year calculated according to the English standard of births, deaths, and marriages. I have filled in the emigration for 1860.

Now, from this, the following facts are evident.—The average excess of births over deaths in Ireland (taken for ten years) is 1 in 139-2 of the population for the year, or 0.71 per cent. The average increase, by excess of births over deaths, in England is 1 in 75-4, or 1.326 per cent.

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Ireland for the Irish.—It is a remarkable fact, not, as we recollect, noticed by him or by recent essayists on the same theme, that in the consolidation of farms consequent upon the emigration of thousands of small holders, it is the Irish farmer, the true-born Celt, who has reaped benefit, and not a stranger.

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