

interrogatories; and next, because his carriage was now announced as quite ready, and a more pressing duty hurried him away; nor must the reader suppose that, even for an investigation of such moment, any time beyond that which the smith's preparations rendered unavoidable was spent by Mr. B. in the inn; in fact, though our description has been necessarily long, scarcely more than ten minutes elapsed from the arrival of the old booby, to the termination of the young gentleman's inquiries of the butcher; and now, rapidly replacing with his own hands the pile of plate in the wallet, he put it into the carriage, flung himself after it, ordered his servant to follow in the chaise that had just arrived, with the suspected person in custody, and giving directions for fiery driving to his own position, started off for Kilkenny. But, we should not forget to say that, on his quick passage from the inn to the carriage-door, he looked round in vain and inquired in vain for the old man, whose strange whisper, before he wielded his staff, now recurred to Mr. B.'s mind as something very necessary to have explained. Disappointed, however, in seeing him near, Mr. B. could, in his urgent despatch, only leave additional commands with his servant to look after this person, and, if possible convey him also to Kilkenny.

Pat gaped thunderstruck at the order to sit down in the same vehicle with the greasy and otherwise soiled butcher; and just as his master drove away—

"Please your honor, wouldn't it be well done to make the hostler rub him down a bit, he's so mortal dirty?"

"Pat," answered his master, "your wit, as I have frequently told you, is often ill-timed; obey my commands carefully; look to your pistols; and see that you have this man forthcoming, within two hours, in Kilkenny."

"Upon my conscience," resumed Pat, as the carriage drove off, "it's a mighty purty joke sure enough; faith he might just as well say to me, Pat, put a hape of maure in the chaise, and take good care of it,—it bates all I ever heard of."

"Ullaloo, Pat," here interrupted his charge, as two men approached to place him, bound, in the chaise, "yez are going to put me fere I never thought I'd see myself; well, by de lokey, de butcher boys of Kilkenny 'll have fun for a week f-nd dey sees myself peeping out at 'em from a grand po-chay wudee; I say, master Pat, you scullion, you, come wait on me."

"Get out, you nasty baste," answered Pat. "Get in, you mane; and here I goes, and fait, a-gra-bawn, I'm the boy that never liked to be tumbling through de gutter, upon a long road, f-nd 'tis so very asy to get an umperrn' all de way home for nothing."

"Move over to the far corner," said Pat, as he ascended the steps of the chaise, to place himself by his scurvy companion.

"None of your gab, you lick-plate; and how dar you spake to your butthers?" said the other; and the tone only of Pat's indignant rejoinder was heard, as the chaise drove rapidly away in the track of Mr. B.'s carriage. But when, some three miles on the road, the postillion pulled for a moment to take his 'offer' of strong liquor, and en passant peered into the windows of the vehicle, the appearance of the servant, newly as soiled as his fellow-traveller, with a scrawled lip, that must have come from the knee or head of the other, and that other's battered eye and blood-spinkled visage, plainly told they had not agreed so well as might have been expected from the coolness of the butcher, or from Pat's genuine good-humour.

(To be continued.)

IRELAND.

(From the London Tablet) The R. P. Adolphe Perraud's Etudes sur l'Irlande Contemporaine, published at Paris during the current year, and preceded by a letter from Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, dated April 9, 1862, is a natural and valuable sequel to the celebrated work of M. Guizot de Beaumont, of which we gave an account in our last number. We very strongly recommend our readers, and every one to whom the present condition of Ireland is a subject of interest, to procure and to read carefully this important work. When we speak of "every one to whom the present condition of Ireland is a subject of interest," we are speaking of a class which certainly ought to include everybody of intelligence or education in the United Kingdom, whatever his birthplace, his religion, or his politics may be.

Certainly, we cannot conceive how any educated Catholic could desire to be excluded from this class. It would seem superfluous to urge upon the Catholics of Ireland the expediency of their making themselves acquainted with an honest and earnest work by one who has taken great pains and shown considerable ability in his service. But the Catholics of Great Britain will and ought to feel themselves bound by no trifling obligation to seek for correct information on this difficult and most important question. Their Protestant countrymen, with whom they associate, naturally expect from them some knowledge of the facts, and some understanding of the merits of the case. It is not easy for a Scotch or English Protestant, who derives his knowledge on the subject from the Press, to distinguish between truth and falsehood, to know what to believe, or how to make due allowance for the fraud or the ignorance, the prejudice or the carelessness, of his newspaper. A Protestant will often repeat innocently before Catholics the lesson which he has been taught, without half believing it; but if his Catholic friend is not in a position to set him right, he will be apt to say to himself, with some plausibility, "It must be true after all, for well informed Catholics have nothing to say against it."

It would be too much to expect that Father Perraud's work should be free from errors, or that many of his statements and inferences should not be open to criticism; but it must not be blamed for not giving us more than we are entitled to expect from it. It is not the work of a philosophic statesman like M. de Beaumont. It does not pretend to be a profound investigation into the difficulties of the question, or to prescribe either the particular remedies required, or the means by which they are to be sought. It is a popular exposition of the condition of the people of Ireland in 1862. It tells of facts and of grievances as they have been presented in the popular press, and as they strike the popular mind. But it contains a great amount of useful information on most interesting matters; the candour, moderation, and sound judgment of the author, are often conspicuously displayed; and we know of no book to which we could

Etudes sur l'Irlande Contemporaine. Par le R. P. Adolphe Perraud, Prêtre de l'Oratoire de l'Immaculée Conception. Précedées d'une Lettre de Mgr. l'Evêque d'Orléans. Paris: Charles Doniol, Rue de Valenciennes, 29. 1862.

better refer a reader who sought for an elementary introduction to the questions which are at present under discussion respecting Ireland, with the intention of investigating for himself the several parts of the case after gaining a general notion of it. The two volumes contain about 1100 pages, an historical introduction; and eight books.

Political equality is the title of the first.—Landed property, of the second.—Industry and commerce, of the third.—Emigration, of the fourth.—Poverty, of the fifth.—Poor laws, of the sixth.—Public education, of the seventh.—and the Religious question, of the eighth. We propose to help our readers to a better acquaintance with this work, by an account of it which cannot be compressed within one article.

Certainly the circumstances of Ireland are sufficiently critical to warrant us in sparing no pains to enable men to judge fairly, both of the facts of the case, and of the recommendations which are pressed upon them by contemporary writers.

Father Perraud's book is preceded by a letter to the author from the Bishop of Orleans, in which the Bishop says: "I have only to congratulate you again, my dear friend, on having been in this whole book the faithful organ of our Common Mother, on having raised on behalf of Ireland a free, sincere, disinterested, bold, and pure voice, worthy of bringing to the oppressor the words of truth, and to the oppressed the words of Resurrection. Such books honour the Priesthood."

And again the Bishop says: "After having read your book we see what consolation, life, and strength the Church can maintain in the breasts of nations destitute of all human help. We see also how much persevering ardour in evil, how much obstinacy and oppressive perversity, error once dominant can impart to a government which, in other respects, is sensible and enlightened, and, perhaps, in every other respect, the least imperfect of all."

"Evidently from the historic point of view, and according to the innumerable facts so exactly and impartially analysed in your book, the Cause of Ireland's Woes—nothing is more glorious for her—is her attachment to the Church."

"If, in the 16th Century, as you powerfully show, Ireland had followed the fatal bent by which England fell, Ireland would have been left in peace as the reward of her apostasy."

"But in that Isle, evangelised, by the glorious St. Patrick, in that Isle of Saints, which sent formerly so many Missionaries and generous Apostles over Europe, there was found a race faithful to the Gospel, ready to sacrifice all else to the sacred rights of conscience, and, rather than to sell its soul and the souls of its children, ready to endure the martyrdom of blood, the martyrdom of famine and exile, the continuous martyrdom of indescribable poverty, so long as it pleased God to permit the excess of Protestant oppression to show forth the Miracle of Catholic Heroism."

"After three centuries of frightful injustice this people preserves its faith, its superiority of its morals, its loyalty of its character, and its fidelity to the rulers whom the impenetrable justice of God imposes on it; and it is mainly in its unconquerable attachment to the Catholic Church, that it finds the strength to practise virtues worthy of the Catacombs."

"Well, in this protracted duel between mighty but Protestant England, and frightfully oppressed but Catholic Ireland, which is the victor and which is the vanquished? I mean, for it is a question of moral victory, on which side is dignity, honour, and justice,—which will have to give in at last? Evidently England—all the world proclaims it, all your book demonstrates it—under penalty of a universal anathema, and perhaps of her own ruin, England must change her harsh laws, her detestable customs, her oppressive traditions."

"And at this moment I am happy to ascertain that anti-Catholic prejudice is dying out in England. That great nation seems at last capable of listening to the truth, to the whole truth on the Irish question. Its statesmen, though convinced with more difficulty than any that honor and justice are the best policy, have ceased to say of Ireland what Pharos's councillors said of the Jews, Oome, let us oppress them wisely. If they have not as yet courage to suppress all unjust laws, at least they make no new ones. It is clear that justice and good sense will end by triumphing over old prejudices of sect and race."

"Long patience, obstinate fidelity in faith and morals, the peaceful but incessant reclamation of its rights and liberties, will have accomplished this deliverance of a whole people."

"This is the Catholic Church's method for the re-education of oppressed nationalities. She never advises, she never practises violence: but she never wearies, she never despairs, she never pauses in following the maxim of the Sacred Books. Erue esqui ducentur ad mortem, et qui trahuntur ad interium liberare ne cessas." (Prov xxiv. 2.)

The first book on Political Equality, treats in nine chapters:—

1. Of the true spirit of the Emancipation Act.
2. Of the unequal distribution of public functions between Protestants and Catholics.
3. Of the unequal distribution of Parliamentary power, and of electoral rights between England and Ireland.
4. Of the want of impartiality in the administration of justice.
5. Of the system of striking juries.
6. Of the exorbitant power of grand juries in matters of local administration.
7. Of municipal and parochial institutions.
8. Of the financial relations between England and Ireland.
9. Of exceptional laws and measures to which Ireland is subjected.

The first book is, we think, the least valuable in itself, and the errors in it are more numerous than in any of those which follow. For example, it is true that the principle of religious inequality is retained in the Emancipation Act by the exclusion of Catholics from the Lord Lieutenancy, the Chancellorship and the Vice Chancellorship of Ireland, but it is a mistake to say (page 71) that the principle of religious inequality is not also maintained as concerns the Catholics of England and Scotland. It is a mistake to say (page 80) that the Irish constabulary instituted on the motion of Sir Robert Peel, are for this reason called Peeliets; and again we doubt whether the unequal distribution of public functions between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, except in the cases provided for by the Emancipation Act, can rightly be treated under the head of "political" inequality between them.

Father Perraud says (page 82):—"Wealth and poverty are divided in Ireland between two classes very clearly separated. There are very few Protestants who are not rich, or, at least, in easy circumstances; and the great majority of Catholics are in a situation nearer to misery than to poverty."

The majority of the inmates of the Workhouses in Ireland are therefore Catholics, and the majority of Poor-Law officials are Protestants; that is a misfortune and an evil, and it would be wise and well in every way to restrict it as much as possible; but it is not reasonable to refer this inequality wholly to "partiality, or the spirit of exclusion founded on difference of religions," when it may be and is due in great measure to the social inequality existing between Catholics and Protestants.

His wealth and education and the influence of powerful friends and connections, have done more for many a Protestant functionary in Ireland to get him his appointment than his Protestantism, and to omit this consideration is to mistake one great cause of the Irish difficulty. So, too, in Father Perraud's chapter on the unequal distribution of parliamentary and electoral power, between England and Ireland. It is true that Ireland returns only one member for 54,900 inhabitants, while England returns 7 for 40,000 inhabitants; but the franchise in Ireland is lower than in England, and it is not political inequality, but inequality in means, to which the difference is due.

Again, in the same chapter, Father Perraud notices that the power of the Irish Landlord over his tenant makes the latter unable to use his franchise freely, and exposes him to the gravest dangers, if he should resist his landlord's will. And he says, that in England public opinion and tradition restrains this exercise of a landlord's power, so that electoral liberty really prevails.

But even if this were true, (and the compliment to England is undeserved,) it could not well be referred to political inequality. As a fact, we believe that the Irish tenants do much more frequently vote against their landlords' wishes from the highest motives of religious and patriotic duty, than English tenants do vote at their landlords' bidding, and if an English landlord does not punish a tenant who votes against his wishes, it is not from any generous tradition, or fear of public opinion, but from fear that he might not find it easy to get as good a tenant to replace the voter.

In his chapters on the Administration of Justice, on the Striking of Juries, and on the Powers of Grand Juries, and on Municipal and Parochial Institutions Father Perraud follows M. de Beaumont's invaluable work. As he truly says, the question is not whether the system be good in itself, but how it works in Ireland. Since M. de Beaumont wrote, much has been changed; some abuses have been suppressed, some modified, and some have been aggravated, but still the root of the matter is, that the greater part of the soil of Ireland was confiscated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and only one-eleventh left to its former owners, so that, though in the present century, and in the last ten years especially, a certain number of Irish Catholics have become proprietors, it is still generally true that the soil of Ireland has for its masters Protestants of English or Scotch extraction, who exercise the greater part of the public power, and who directly influence the judicial and administrative institutions of Ireland."

The landlords are the magistrates of Ireland, they compose the grand juries, they administer justice at petty and quarter sessions, and Father Perraud says that, "six times out of seven the landlord, magistrate or 'grand juror is a Protestant.'"

Here then again we come back to the one point—Hostility between the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland, hostility between the higher and lower class of Ireland.

Father Perraud says:—"When the Government wants a condemnation, if the accused is a Catholic, it is almost necessary that some Protestant should be allowed upon a jury," and then he goes on to show how a jury can be packed. There is exaggeration here, for it amounts to a libel on the Catholics of Ireland; but that trial by jury does not work in Ireland owing to enmities between Protestants and Catholics and landlords and tenants, supporters and opponents of Government, and that to overcome the difficulty recourse has habitually been had to packed juries, is notorious.

Father Perraud illustrates these events by quotations from Spenser, by Mr. John Mitchell's trial, by the trial of the Phoenix Conspirators, and by the case of Hardy v. Sullivan; but though he devotes several pages to that case, he misses the point of it, which was, not that the Catholics on the jury panel were far fewer than the Protestants (for that proves nothing,) but that the proportion of Catholics to the Protestants on the jury panel was smaller than the proportion of Protestants on the jury lists from which the panel is taken.

He gives a table, which he says shows the proportion of Catholic to Protestant jurors, with the most rigorous exactitude, but he falls into the same arithmetical error as the Dublin newspapers did, and in every case commits a mistake of representing that one out of ten, or one out of twelve, means ten to one or 12 to one.

In his chapter on grand juries Father Perraud treats their power of imposing taxes as a violation of the constitution, and a peculiarity of Ireland. Grand jury abuses are notorious, but it is a mistake to suppose that taxation and representation are by the constitution inseparable; that the power of the Irish landlords to impose local taxes in the grand jury room has nothing to resemble it in England. The English landlords at Quarter Sessions impose local taxes, and their power to do so is not a violation of the constitution.

We have specified some of the errors which we encountered in this early portion of Father Perraud's Book. They are slips which may easily be corrected in a second edition, and they do not impair the essential value of his labours.

The second book, which contains 16 chapters and 225 pages, is to our mind the best and most important part of the work. Its title is "Landed Property." It treats—

1. Of the origin and historical antecedents of landed property in Ireland.
2. Of the different kinds of holdings.
3. Of tenancy at will, and its conditions.
4. Of the powers and rights of landlords.
5. Of absenteeism.
6. Of agents and the Crowbar Brigade.
7. Of legal confiscation.
8. Of the consolidation of farms; of the substitution of pasturage for grain crops; of the fertility and productive capacity of Ireland; of the population that Ireland could nourish; of the statistics of production in the famine years; of the sort of progress due to the consolidation of farms.
9. Of evictions.
10. Of the deplorable consequences of the system.
11. Of the Tenant Right of Ulster.
12. Of the condition of the agricultural classes in other countries of Europe.
13. Of the Incumbered Estates Court.
14. Of legislative attempts before 1850.
15. Of the Bill of 1850.
16. Of the condition of the tenantry since the Bill of 1850.

We have said that this was the most valuable and important part of the book. How could it be otherwise? The Land Question is the one Irish question, compared with which all others become insignificant. We wish that it were in our power to make everybody read these chapters of Father Perraud's through, and, having read them through, to write from memory and abstract of them. They are not philosophical, they do not deal with causes, or effects, or remedies, but they state facts, and those facts are tremendous.

The political and religious evils of Ireland are almost all contained in the one sentence of Father Perraud, that the Protestants are still masters of four-fifths of the soil of Ireland; for when the fact is developed by the addition of the hostility and ill-will existing between the Protestants and Catholics, almost all the political and religious difficulties of the case are understood. Not so with the land question.

This is an abyss—in the depths of which a lower depth is still found by every one who tries to sound it. It is the monster evil—the great Problem. It involves the destinies of Ireland, and the fate of the Irish people.

IRISH INTELLIGENCE.

HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS THE NINTH.—We congratulate the Catholic community of the Archdiocese of Dublin on the promotion of the Very Rev. Andrew O'Connell, D.D., the beloved Pastor of St. Mary's Parish, Donnybrook. Apostolic letters have been lately received, through his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, appointing the Very Rev. Dr. O'Connell to the marked honour of Chaplain to his Holiness. We wish Dr. O'Connell—now Monsignor—many happy years in the enjoyment of his well-merited dignity.

MONUMENT TO O'CONNELL.—In a letter to the Freeman, Mr. R. R. Madden, of Dublin, says:—"The O'Connell monument in this city, in the Glasnevin cemetery, has not been completed. In a communi-

cation of this kind facts must be very briefly, but intelligibly stated. Soon after O'Connell's remains were removed to this country a committee was formed, consisting of gentlemen of whose honour and integrity there can be no question. It was determined to apply to the celebrated Dr. Petrie, an artist, as well as an antiquary of the highest character, for plans and designs of a suitable monument to O'Connell's memory. The plans and designs were prepared in a very elaborate manner by Dr. Petrie, were furnished to them and accepted by them. They ordered a model to be made of the proposed monument, and on it wood was accordingly made by a very competent person, Mr. O'Brien, under the supervision of Dr. Petrie. That model was placed in the hands of the committee. Dr. Petrie received £50 for his plans and design, Mr. O'Brien £20 for his model. The accepted design of Dr. Petrie comprised three separate objects. The monument was to consist of a round tower, a mortuary chapel adjacent to it of the form of one of the ancient small stone-roofed chapels, in which the remains of O'Connell were to be deposited, and in front of the chapel *fac simile* of one of our old beautiful Irish crosses. A very distinguished Englishman, renowned in science, Sir R. Murchison, having seen this design, when it had just been completed, said—"This monument will be, if completed, and all its details carried out, not only the fittest monument that could be devised for O'Connell, but one of the finest specimens of Christian monumental art in existence." Alas! it has not been completed; the details have not been carried out. The round tower exists, and a vault has been superadded to it, which was no part of Dr. Petrie's plan. A mound of earth several feet deep has been thrown up round the base of the tower, to the great disfigurement as well as injury to the monument. The chapel was intended by Dr. Petrie as the fitting place of deposit for O'Connell's remains—it remains to be erected. The old Irish cross figures in Dr. Petrie's design in front of that most suitable place of burial—but it weakly to be erected."

We (Weekly Register) are rejoiced to find that the movement set on foot by Dr. Gray for the erection of a National Monument to O'Connell in Dublin is advancing most satisfactorily. Already several of the Irish municipalities have entered heartily into the matter. Dublin, Clonmel, Kilkenny, Waterford and other corporations have passed strong resolutions in favor of the project. Dr. Gray brought the matter before the Dublin Corporation in a very able and appropriate speech, and we are happy to say that, with the exception of a wretched creature named Bonnell, every member of the municipal body approved of the object, the warmest supporters of the grant of a suitable site being not only Protestants but members of the anti-Catholic party. The clergy, of course, are early in the field, as might have been expected when the question involved a tribute of gratitude to the memory of O'Connell, and the laity are no less alert in promoting an object which the honor of Ireland required to have been accomplished long since. However, the delay that has been suffered to intervene, will have one good effect. The momentary prejudices and fleeting passions that set many Irishmen against O'Connell, are now buried in his grave.

IRISH CRIME.—Amid the babel of tongues that accuse us it is very rare to hear the accents of a witness outside of our own land who knows the fact and declares it truly as he knows. Such a witness we have, however, in Mr. Goldwin Smith, the Professor of History at Oxford. After a long and patient examination of our history, and a careful study of the phenomena of our position, he does not hear testimony of malice against us. He recognises in us the nature of man, and not of beasts; but a nature still, that, were it less genial, less generous, less noble, would have been tortured by the wrongs our people have endured into a reproach upon order and civilisation. He does not conceive that all the duty lies upon the side of the ruled towards the rulers, and that the latter, in the enjoyment of power, are to enjoy in its exercise immunity from all blame for opportunities neglected, ameliorations withheld, or justice refused. It is in this spirit that a letter has been addressed by him to the Daily News, in reference to the recent ventilations of the views of English writers upon Irish guilt, and chiefly in relation to that view which only finds the living equals of the Irish peasantry in blood-thirsty depravity amongst the Indian devotees of murder. It is well to note what such a man as Goldwin Smith says of this, and we give the extract:—"Irish agrarianism is not ordinary crime, such as duns the character of a nation. It is the lingering remnant of a long civil war, in which a people disinherited by violence and fraud struggled for their lives, and for the lives of their wives and children against their disinheritors. The new proprietors fought with the arms of law, and mowed down their enemies in the mass with evictions, which turned out the victims to death by hunger or to exile. The peasants fought backed with the illegal and less deadly blunderbuss. Law, by the power of England, prevailed over lawlessness, and the struggle of centuries closed after the death by famine or the expatriation of millions of the Irish people. History can, I believe, show nothing in the annals of misgovernment, at least among civilised nations, approaching to this catastrophe." Were it some Irishman, but with the blood that burned with the injustice wreaked upon his race, who made it, how would a declaration of this kind be received? Coming from an Englishman, a man of deep thought and profound information, what can invalidate such evidence? Shamed at its memory, he desires to wipe the stain from the name of the people of his native land, and declares that they were guiltless of it. No doubt they were, but it was the name of England, and the power of England, and the purpose of England, in which were consummated such horror and crime. Following up the subject, Mr. Goldwin Smith repudiates the truth of the parallel, that the contest of the peasantry against their intrusive and confiscating landlords was analogous to "Thuggee." The Jacquerie, the Peasants' War, and the self-sufficing under Wat Tyler, makes its parallel more to his notions. No doubt, his adaptation of such episodes of history is more justly applied to the incidents of our peasant disturbances than that which sensation writing has culled for their similitude; but still there is an element in the Irish case which is not in any of those. The continuous feeling of hostility, first initiated in the invasion and springing six hundred years of success and domestication, is flush still amid the dominant class. This had no equivalent sentiment in the historical instances quoted. In other portions of his comment upon our condition, Mr. Goldwin Smith intimates the presence of this fact before him, for he says that recent crime, kindled in a burst of passion by one incident or another of our condition, is the "embers of the agrarian civil war" fanned into a flickering flame, and is but the remains of the old and expiring evil that we see. Out of all this he comes to one assertion which deserves attention:—"It is not to be denied that the Irish people still hate their Government. If they loved it they would trade human nature, which, low as it may fall, is incapable of loving flagrant and naked injustice." This is bold and true. From such an authority it deserves regard. In the Church Establishment, the most monstrous of State engines ever used for human subjugation and national degradation, Mr. Goldwin Smith beholds an evil which no other people would endure, and which is justly an unfeeling well of bitterness and disaffection. Applying the case it creates in Ireland to the condition of England—"Fancy," he exclaims, "Roman Catholicism established in England by the bayonet!" Could anything, or any eloquence, be more suggestive of the terrible wrong thus perpetuated?—Nation.

When we referred last week to the Orange riots at Belfast, we had not the advantage of seeing Lord Palmerston's special organ, the Morning Post, and of learning, through that authentic source, that the late display of Orange truculence in the Ulsterian

Athena was designed as a demonstration of the feelings of the Orangemen in favour of the principles and policy of the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and of their hostility to those members of the Government who are not notorious for their animosity to the Catholic Church. It is satisfactory to us to find the view we took of this matter confirmed by the Morning Post, and that we did not do Lord Palmerston and Sir R. Peel an injustice in holding them up to censure as the *primum mobile* of the Belfast meeting which has ended so disgracefully. It is admitted by the Morning Post that the Orange meeting at Belfast was intended not as a menace to the Government, but as a *pronunciamento*, as the Spaniards say, in favor of the Prime Minister of the Whig Government and his *protege* the Irish Secretary.—And this important fact, to which we hope the Catholics of the Empire will pay serious attention, is confirmed by the overwhelming testimony of the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Hanna, who was one of the conveners of the meeting, and one also of its most inflammatory orators. This gentleman in a long letter to the Times, which he hoped by his fulsome flattery to win over to his side, states without reserve, that the Orangemen of Ireland have no cause of complaint against the Premier or Sir Robert Peel, and that their quarrel is with Lord Carlisle, whom they accuse of undue favor to the Irish Catholics. We must do the Times the justice to say that it has not swallowed Mr. Hanna's sycophantic humbug, and that it has administered to that turbulent Presbyterian minister a rebuke which he will hardly forget before the next anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. Neither the calculated praise of the Times itself, nor the devotion of that journal to Lord Palmerston, could induce our influential contemporary to throw its shield over as wanton an outrage upon decency and as flagrant a breach of the most obvious duties of religion and society as ever were committed by any class of persons in any country. The Times saw clearly that to encourage so unprovoked a challenge to party conflict as that thrown out by Colonel Verner, and the Rev. Messrs. Millar, Cooke, and Hanna, in convening the Belfast meeting and in delivering the sentiment which they there expressed, would be fraught with enormous evil to the best interests of the Empire. Peace and prosperity must vanish from any country in which men are set against men like bull dogs in a pit, and the worst passions of fellow subjects are aroused for no better reasons than those assigned by Mr. Hanna in his vindictive appeal to the people of England through the Times. The only justification which the apologists of the Orangemen are able to advance for their late factions assemblage in Belfast consists in recriminating upon the Catholics that they made a great muster in Dublin when the corner-stone of the Catholic University was laid, and in charging the Government with a criminal connivance in that demonstration, and with giving to Catholic barristers more than their fair share of forensic promotion. Now if all this were true to the letter, it would not have warranted the assemblage of 70,000 Orangemen (we assume the accuracy of their own enumeration) in such a town as Belfast, where the Catholic and non-Catholic population is so nicely balanced and where former similar meetings had led to results almost as bad as those that have disgracefully characterised the late meeting. But Mr. Hanna's principal ground of defence fails through its utter and notorious want of truth. The Dublin demonstration was not, nor was it pretended or taken to be a menace or an insult to the Irish Protestants. It was avowedly levelled against Lord Palmerston for his ungenerous, unwise, and unjust refusal of a Charter to the Catholic University, and so it was interpreted by the Government, by the Parliament, and by the Press. There was nothing sectarian about it. Who asked Parsons and Ministers Millar, Cooke, and Hanna to take up the cudgels for Her Majesty's Ministers and repel an attack which we should suppose those noble and right honourable persons are well enough able to ward off or repulse themselves? And if they were content to bear the assault in silence, was it not a great impertinence on the part of the getters-up of the sympathising Belfast Orange meeting to interfere in what in no way concerned or touched them? But we are forgetting: the charge which their friend Mr. Hanna launches against the Government is that they actually connived at the Catholic demonstration in Dublin. To make connivance at an attack upon oneself a ground of charge against the party conniving is certainly a blunder, which from a descendant of the Scotch Covenanters, though residing on the shores of the Lagan, was hardly to be expected. But passing that by, the allegation is a notorious untruth. Sir Robert Peel stated in Parliament that the attention of the Government had been fixed upon the Dublin demonstration with a view if possible to find in its proceedings or accessories a peg upon which to hang a prosecution, but that the lynx eyes of the legal advisers and of the Privy Council failed to discover one. There was no prosecution, simply because there was no breach of the peace and no violation of the criminal law.—Weekly Register.

DUBLIN, Oct. 9.—Twelve magistrates of the county of Kerry were occupied with the Garraizi rioters at Tralee on Monday. Seven of them are Protestants and five Roman Catholics, including the stipendiary magistrate, Captain Segrave. If the majority were Roman Catholics, the cause of law and order would have been safe in their hands. There was no effort, no disposition to screen the men who had broken the peace, though they meant to honor the Pope. Informations were unanimously granted against a number of the rioters on the evidence of the constabulary, who seem to have done their duty in a manner satisfactory to all parties. The court was very much crowded. The populace were rather excited, and they made an attempt to interrupt the proceedings, which was at once sternly repressed. The Protestant inhabitants of the town felt quite reassured by the determination of the Bench to punish the violators of the peace, without respect to considerations of religion or party. The cases were sent for trial at the Quarter Sessions.—Times' Cor.

Alienated in heart Ireland must ever be so long as she is treated with injustice. Therefore justice to Ireland is the first and highest interest of the British Empire, and of England herself and its largest and most flourishing member. Justice to Ireland is the interest of England. In conclusion we need hardly say that, in our vocabulary, "justice to Ireland" means, first and chiefly, the total abolition of the intruded Church Establishment. We have no space or time to prove that to-day. Moreover we have the difficulty in proving it which every man feels, when he sets himself to prove what is self-evident: to prove for instance, that two and two make four. We do not believe that there lives upon earth any man who honestly doubts it, however many may for their purposes, deny it. To-day therefore, without attempting the proof, we shall merely repeat that the greatest and most formidable enemy of the British empire is the Irish Church Establishment, and that the first duty of every English statesman, even if he considered monster nuisance from the face of the earth.—Weekly Register.

ADDRESS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.—Yesterday a deputation, consisting of representatives from each of the Christian Doctrine Confraternities of Dublin, waited upon the Lord Archbishop, and presented him with an address on the occasion of his return from Rome. His Grace replied in eloquent terms, and imparted his Pontifical Benediction to the deputation.—Dublin Morning News.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE "DOWNSHIRE PROTESTANT."—The proprietor of the Downshire Protestant announces that, finding its management too severe a tax on his health and time, he has come to the determination of relinquishing its publication. He adds:—"This determination has been borne to with regret, and after due consideration."