

remnant of the Celtic race. Not being able to submerge the hated Island for four-and-twenty hours in the bosom of the Atlantic, according to the wish of a cruel Saxon (who met with a similar fate himself afterwards) she would destroy all the inhabitants if she could, and repee the Ireland with Cockneys and English boors of the right sort. This, however, is a physical and moral impossibility. She cannot extinguish Ireland. No: if she should slay a million of Irishmen to-morrow, the country will still remain, the race is indestructible. God in his immutable justice, reserves them for the punishment of England. Ireland will continue a thorn in her side—a mill-stone around her neck, until the time fixed by Providence when the accumulated murders and cruelties of seven centuries will be fully avenged, when a terrible retribution on English guilt will vindicate the ways of God to man—when, as we fully believe, *England will be humbled to the dust through the instrumentality of Ireland.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the letter signed *Hibernus* relative to the so-called *Loyal Address* to Her Majesty from the Tories of Nova Scotia. But we must be excused for declining its insertion. The motives of the parties concerned are well understood here, and no one can be imposed upon with regard to the impudent passage in the Address in which the Irish of Halifax are sought to be insulted, we think it merits nothing but contempt, or a hearty laugh. We have seen the names of a few of the old women who headed the Address, and as the fair sex is privileged even in its dotage, we do not mean to quarrel. With the exercise of their prerogative. Only a few months have elapsed since all that party were threatening to leave the County. They could not live here, forsooth, whilst those nasty vulgar Liberals were in power. They next prated about annexation to the United States, and complained that British connexion was of no possible use, because it did not permit them, as of old, to rule the Country for their own exclusive benefit, and against the well understood wishes of the people. Now, they are turning *Loyal* again in order to have a slap at the Irish. We are not, however, in the least displeased. We are so delighted at their returning allegiance that we cheerfully forgive the insult. What would become of us, if they abandoned the Province? What would become of Her Majesty, if they declared against her, or even if they remained neutral, in these critical times?

Whilst we are thankful for the friendly and charitable spirit manifested in the communication of "A Protestant Clergyman," we cannot publish his remarks, unless he favours us with his real signature. We can assure him that with regard to the Bible he is totally misinformed. Catholics, both lay and clerical, love and respect the Bible, as one of God's richest treasures to man. Every Catholic Clergyman, from the Pope down to the humblest Subdeacon, is bound to read portions of the Holy Scripture for more than an hour every day of his life. "A Protestant Clergyman" ought not to be surprised at the refusal of Catholics to read any translations of the Bible that are not approved of by the authority of their own Church. There is but one version solemnly approved of by the Catholic Church in General Council, namely, the *Vulgate*. The translations into other languages, which are used by Catholics, are recommended by the authority of the local or national Bishops and Divines. The *Donay* Bible is that which is universally used by those Catholics who speak the English language, and if "A Protestant Clergyman" will send us 300 copies of this Bible for distribution amongst Catholics, we will pledge ourselves to get them distributed within a fortnight, and to publish the names and residences of the recipients without any fear of "the opposition of the priests." Is not this a fair offer? We would suggest to our correspondent that whenever he wants to get a rational solution of his difficulties, or a proper answer to his objections against our tenets, it would be much better to apply to the Clergy and the authorized teachers of the Catholic Religion, than to poor Catholics such as he describes, whose faith and zeal generally exceed their stock of Theological knowledge.

PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH.

ADDITIONAL SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Mr. John Skerry (subscription)	£0	10	0
" Kyran Skerry (do.)	0	10	0
Collected by Miss M. Power	0	11	10
DARTMOUTH.			
Collected by Miss M. Sinnott	1	5	0
" " Hutchinson	0	7	6
" " Fitzmorris	0	10	0
" Mrs. Marshall	0	0	0
" Mrs. Hynes & Miss Farrell	0	11	6

THE IRISH REVOLUTION.

It would be the grossest hypocrisy for us to make believe that a general insurrection in Ireland at the present moment involves the "sin of rebellion," or the legal crime of treason. We believe the Union to be not law; the imperial Parliament a usurpation; the powers exercised in its name to be illegal; and the awful sanctions of conscience and duty to be on the side of those who stand—on the battle field if necessary—for the Queen, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. The

Acts of the Imperial Parliament to coerce insurrection have exactly so much authority as force lends them and no more. Of the "divinity that doth hedge" legitimate rule under any of its forms they have not a particular, and we regard them exactly as *Gil Blas* regarded the injunctions and threats liberally bestowed on him by the occupants of the robber's cave. We feel extremely anxious that there should be no mistake about our opinions on this point. What we say may be true or false; but we believe that the pith and kernel of the Repeal question is contained in what we have now stated. There are many great [though subordinate] reasons for Repeal; but the greatest of all is that the Union keeps Ireland under the dominion of a Government which the people—whether truly or falsely at all events most obstinately—persist in believing to be an illegal Government; a sheer and naked tyranny; a Government whose edicts are not clothed with the authority of law, and are not revered as law should be revered; a Government whose functionaries are not entitled to consider themselves the Ministers of God—even if their mandates chance to be the wisest that human sagacity and uprightness could devise. A more frightful position for a man to be placed in can hardly be imagined. We desiderate repeal to put an end to a Government which is not a Government; which nine-tenths of its compelled subjects deny to have legal authority; and which we fully believe would be so reparded by them a hundred or two hundred years hence if by possibility it could endure so long.

To the difficulties in the way of a native Parliament—the social difficulties more particularly—we are by no means blind. But whatever these may be, they sink into insignificance when contrasted with the hopelessness of the attempt to continue a rule which after so many centuries has brought so little fruit. Look back any number of years you please and tell us whether English rule is to be maintained in Ireland in order to accomplish in the future a corresponding result to that which has illustrated the past? Does the solid, stolid English beefeater desire to retain his hold over Ireland in order that the next half-century may be like the last? That the fifty years from 1848 to 1898 may exhibit the same kind and amount of progress as have developed themselves from 1798 to 1848? Or that the next century and a half may be spent like the interval between Dutch William and English Victoria? Or that in the two centuries that are to follow we may do as much towards drilling and organizing Ireland as we have done since 1618? Surely the result of all our labours may be stated very shortly—We have failed. We are the finest people in the world; the ablest, soundest, most resolute, persevering, orderly, sensible, humane and industrious. Above all things we are remarkable for our respect for law and our fondness for legal methods; but yet, during these centuries (and many more) we have literally done nothing towards convincing the Irish peasant that our law is his law: is for him, in any sense, and in any way, a copy of those divine benefits for which, after his own fashion, he has a most extraordinary reverence. Having failed to this extent it really becomes important that we should open her eyes to the magnitude of the failure; to its hopeless, irreversible, fatal, final character. We have not, we do not, we shall not, we cannot govern Ireland. Looking at it practically and merely as a social fact with no eye to theory at all—what exists in Ireland under that name is no more a Government than is the administration of the bulks. It is a sham; a false pretence; a miserable delusion. It performs none of the functions of Government, and exercises none of its wholesome influence. It is well, then, both for our own sakes and for the sake of Ireland, that Englishmen should begin to understand that this antiquated rottenness, which time has rendered hoary but not venerable, is not Government; is not Law; has no one title of legitimacy; and no reasonable prospect of earning that truly august appellation. It is a thing built up by force; maintained and continued by force; which will continue so long as force holds it together; but which will never stand upright by any principle of internal cohesion or organic life.—*Tablet*.

SPIRIT OF THE CONFEDERATE PRESS.

As some of our readers may not have the opportunity of seeing the Nation or the United Irishman, we give a few extracts of the spirit in which they are still carried on. Under the head of "Ireland's Defiance," the Nation says—

"We love not the prospect of civil war, but our dread of it is dead—it died in the famine. It is time for Ireland to strike; she has negotiated in vain for half a century. In her name we choose—and we beseech Heaven to sustain and bless our choice—civil war rather than submission to English tyranny! We choose this course with deliberation, and after full reflection on all the duties which belong to us, in our generation, and we call on the people once more to prepare England has thrown down her gage! Ireland takes it up." On the establishment of a National Guard, it says—"The People's Power,—The popular power, arrayed in arms, is becoming organized throughout all Europe. It resumes its natural place as an element of the State. A National Guard, to protect the rights, interests, and honour of the nation, was the earliest demand of every people who had won their freedom in our day. National honour is no longer in the keeping of Kings and Ministers, it is guarded by the strong hands of the people. Ireland, too, demands this guarantee for liberty and order. To secure it we must make certain that there are men ready and competent for so serious a duty. And this trial is begun. The following declaration is in course of signature. The first name is that of William S. O'Brien—'Resolved—That inasmuch as the circumstances of the present time require that every man should hold himself in readiness to take up arms in defence of his country, and that the names of those who are willing to perform this duty should be known to the British Government and to their fellow-countrymen, it is recommended that the following declaration be signed by all Irishmen between the ages of eighteen and sixty, who are willing to serve as members of a national guard—We, the undersigned, hereby declare that we are willing to enrol ourselves as a national guard, for the purpose of preserving social order, and of protecting this Island against all foes, domestic and foreign—that we are prepared to furnish ourselves with suitable weapons and accoutrements, and are resolved to hazard our lives in defence of our country, in case any emergency shall arise which may require our services in its behalf.' This declaration will be signed by all men who are prepared to abide by it, and we trust by no others. It is not a light undertaking, and must not be lightly assumed; for it involves life and honour. God speed the army of the people!"

The "United Irishman," at the conclusion of an address to the Protestant farmers of the north of Ireland after dilating on the way in which their tenant-right is perilled, observes—"While a landlord Parliament rules over Ireland whether the same sit in College-green or in Westminster, no popular rights will ever be acknowledged by 'law.' This is a fundamental axiom in politics; if any one of you doubted it before, I hope the way in which you have been defrauded in the matter of tenant-right within the last four years has at length convinced that doubter. And all this time, while Parliament and Ministers are conspiring to rob you by 'law' in London, landlords, agents, and bailiffs are conspiring to nibble away your property at home.... Now, it is not the Repeal of the Catholic Emancipation Act, nor yet the Repeal of the Union Act, by itself, that will cure all this. Nothing will cure it, save the total overthrow of the aristocratic system of Government, and the establishment of the people's inalienable sovereignty. We must have Ireland, not for certain peers and nominees of peers in College-green, but Ireland for the Irish. I scorn and spit upon 'Repeal of the Union.' The 'Queen, Lords, and Commons of Ireland' will never be seen in bodily form upon this earth; 'the golden link of the Crown' is as great a humbug as the great peace-principle of the 'mighty leader of the Irish people.'

ALARM OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Some excitement was produced on the 20th inst. by sudden military demonstrations, as the exact cause or object of which the public generally were entirely in the dark. The *Freeman's Journal* of the 21st gives the following account of the movements.—"The Post Office—Yesterday evening a good deal of curiosity was manifested in Sackville-street, in consequence of a large military force having been marched into the Post Office. Immediately after the despatch of the mails the gates were closed, when an officer's guard of the 31st Foot was mounted inside. The College—About the same hour 100 men belonging to the 55th Regiment were marched into the College, where guard was also mounted

The remainder of the men were placed inside the College square. The Custom House—Into this building, at eight o'clock, 100 men also of the 55th were marched, and guards mounted inside the railing, fronting the river." About eight o'clock, p.m. a special train arrived at the terminus of the railway at Kingstown, with an order for the marines and a party of the seamen belonging to the men-of-war in the harbour to proceed forthwith to Dublin, and within a quarter of an hour the same train returned with nearly 400 men, drafted from the Dragon and the Amphion steam frigates, accompanied by their officers. The cause generally assigned for these sudden demonstrations, was the holding of private and special meetings on the 20th by the Confederate Clubs of Dublin, at their various committee-rooms, "to transact business of importance." It is asserted that the proceedings of the clubs had reference to the organization of a National Guard. There was not the slightest indication of disturbance during the night.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

His (Lord John Russel's) words pass by us as the idle wind which we regard not!"

Dublin, April 24, 1848

Fellow-Countrymen—Lord John Russel has declared himself utterly and determinedly opposed to Repeal, and his colleague in the Lords, the absentee Lord Lansdowne, has been guilty of a somewhat similar folly.

These declarations are but idle words, fellow-countrymen! Their authors forget, or do not see fit to remember, that English Ministers far more powerful have pledged themselves quite as stoutly against former measures of right and justice, and yet at the first difficulty of the empire have swallowed their own words, and done the very thing they protested against!

Attend to us now but for a few moments, and you will see how idle, and how little to be regarded are these brave declarations.

But have we no instance in our own time of sudden changes in Ministerial and Parliamentary determinations? Is the history of the Emancipation Act forgotten? How often was not that act of justice insultingly refused, and how solemnly did not Peel and his colleagues pledge themselves against its concession! They had majorities in both Houses of Parliament quite as loud in their shouts, and quite as inveterately hostile as those against us at present, and a prince of the blood actually swore an oath against us in the House of Lords!

Yet within three short years Peel himself proposed and carried the emancipation measure declaredly against his own will and conviction as well as against those of both Houses of Parliament of the Monarch then upon the throne!

And the same within a far briefer space will be the history of our present struggle—provided always that we do not by any rashness throw away the game that is in our hands!

Henceforth for each succeeding month of obstinate denial of our rights must England pay by heavily and ruinously increasing expenditure! She must pay for the pleasure of keeping us in degradation, and her debt, which now requires for the mere payment of annual interest thirty out of the fifty-four millions of revenue, will presently absorb, by its increased charges, the whole profits of her industry and sap the vitality of her enterprise.

Fellow countrymen, bold as the minister speaks, neither he nor his coercing majority in Parliament are easy in their minds in thinking of the fearful and brooding discontents in England herself. They affected to laugh at the Chartist demonstration of the other day; yet if a triumphant foreign enemy had been at their gates there could not have been more anxiety nor more warlike preparations.

We know that Ireland is a millstone around her neck, and must, if not believed, ere long drag down England herself into equal wretchedness, bankruptcy, and ruin!

England will seek our friendship for her own sake in her difficulties, and thus, without a blow struck—without a crime committed—without a loss of one of the young and gallant spirits whose chivalric devotion makes them so eager to shed their life's blood for Ireland—we shall speedily receive back, and thenceforth forever enjoy the full measure of our ancient liberties, and, in especial, the full and unquestionable right, privilege, and power of making our own laws in our own parliament at home!

(Signed) "JOHN O'CONNELL, Chairman of the Committee."