

ed, their early teaching is totally diseased, and has in these two particulars imprinted on the young national feeling...

"The missionaries, if they wish to gain the ear and confidence of the natives, will have to do what the Reformers did for the Christian India. The people in the 16th century, no doubt, believed that the worship of the Virgin and saints, auricular confession, indulgences, all rested on the authority of the Bible. They could not read the Bible in the original, and they were bound to believe what they were taught by the priests. Now, as the Reformers pointed out that all these were institutions of a latter growth...

"Here is Mr Muir publishing in all the schools of India the lies of Exeter Hall, to which is added the veracious English statement 'that a friar was ordained without having ever seen a Bible.' Here is a civil servant of the East India Company publishing in a book for school instruction a gross, deliberate falsehood! Mr. Muir, D.C.L., the historian, the teacher of youth in the Bengal civil service, does not mention the name of the friar nor the Bishop who ordained him, nor the convent to which he belonged, nor the place where he lived; no, Mr. Muir, D.C.L., like a true writer on religion, omits these trifles; and he thus adds another instance to the unnumbered English libellers of Catholic policy, and of the universal ancient faith of our fathers.

"On the same principle of deceit by which they decried all foreign institutions, they, with a fraudulent misrepresentation for another purpose, publish the wisdom, the power, and the wealth of their own country as immeasurably raised beyond all past or present comparison. When Cobbett lived he often pointed out this melancholy deception practised by our legislators on the people in order to swallow in Government funds the entire monies of the Empire. By this stratagem Government now owes to its own people the incredible sum of nearly one thousand millions of money! or as Cobbett used to say, 'taking the width of a guinea at three quarters of an inch, this sum in guineas laid after each other, would form a ring of Gold which would nearly go round the circumference of the earth at the equator.' With this sum, an amount of money exceeding all the specie in gold and silver, in all the countries of all the world: with this sum due to the British people it is boldly asserted that this Government, so owing this money, is the richest Government in the world. As Cobbett used to say, 'there never has been in the whole history of mankind such a deception practised as this national debt; and although the delusion must in coming time be unfolded in national bankruptcy and terrific revolution, the public still cling to the delusion with pleasure and with pride, saying that at least the catastrophe will not happen in their days.'

"The next most astounding fraud advocated by English writers is the Church Establishment. The sum of eight millions and a half pounds sterling, paid annually to a clergy for teaching men to read the Bible, is an instance of the folly of a nation which has no parallel in the history of the world. That is to say, the English people pay this enormous sum to others for doing the thing which they themselves can do. The royal road to heaven, in England, is travelled by any man who reads the Bible, and who believes in the efficacy of the sufferings and death of the Messiah. The whole English people actually, and in point of fact do believe, that if the entire Protestant hierarchy at this moment perished, they can travel this road in perfect security, without the advice or instruction of bishop or minister. Is it not then, to say the least of it, more than surprising that such a keen, money-making, mercantile nation can consent to pay the astounding sum referred to, for services which are unnecessary, to officers who are useless, to teachers who are rather an incumbrance than an advantage to the rising generation!! England, without doubt, stands alone in the world with its two national appendages, viz.—its National Debt and its National Church Establishment. The first of these two wonders of the world will yet end in irretrievable bankruptcy and rebellion; and the second cannot fail of spreading a popular indifference or individualism, which must essentially terminate (as all history publishes) in the loss of all religious principle and in incurable infidelity.

"Strange as it may appear, it is this principle of falsehood in England which has laid the foundation of almost all her differences with the neighboring states. And although circumstances may appear to change the complexion of her relations with these states, there still lurks beneath this surface an under current which at any moment may rise to the top and disturb the public tranquillity. The late European revolutions owed their origin in a principle measure to this British falsehood: the English appeared to encourage the revolutions: they corresponded with the chiefs: they associated with the leaders: they leaned to the side of revolt: they certainly did aid in sapping the foundation of the throne and the altar: and ages will pass and generation after generation decay, before the wounds inflicted, by this perfidious English diplomacy shall be healed or forgotten by the kings and the people of Catholic Europe. The storms of '47 are now past; but the seas are still unsettled: and any close

observer of the passing events can see that in every movement where England happens even to touch the European Continent, Naples, Austria, Spain, Italy, all seem to take a simultaneous warning and movement in closer ties their national combination against the intrigues of the great European disturber.

"Her history can be told in very few words: she adopted her new creed in the face of the known truth, changing the old faith; and effecting the severity of the ancient moral discipline of the Church. Hence she could only maintain her new position by falsehood and by granting to her followers an unbounded license of human passion. Again, in her apostasy she quarrelled with all the Catholic states; and in her subsequent warfare she laid the foundation of the enormous debt, the very interest of which absorbs the revenues of the state. From her early apostasy, therefore, have arisen the two difficulties, which will yet weigh her to the ground—viz., her National Church fraud and her National Debt. She has forged a new Gospel, belied the neighboring nations, and swindled her own people. There must be, in coming time, a heavy chastisement for these crimes against God and man; and there must be reserved a just Providence which will yet vindicate the cause of injured religion and humanity: and which (as in other states now comparatively extinct) will in good time exact a grinding retribution from England proportioned to her long and manifold offences.

April 15.

D. W. C.

REV. DR. CAHILL

ON SPOONER'S MOTION AGAINST THE ENDOWMENT OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.

There has been no period in the modern history of England in which the opposition of party in Parliament has been carried to a more factious extent than at the present moment. In the past struggles of the House of Commons, heretofore, the contest lay so during the Corn Law League and the Free Trade discussions: it was the same in all the debates on foreign policy: and even in the passing of the bill, by Lord Stanley, for the suppression of the Irish Protestant Bishops, this rule and feeling were distinctly observable. But the late history of the British Senate affords a continual example of a different sentiment. Now it is a party rivalry for power between leaders: it is a personal struggle for political aggrandisement: it is a pecuniary effort for patronage, place, and emolument: and St. Stephen's, if this practice be not checked, may soon be considered, by the public consent, as a mere legislative exchange, where the character of the nation is offered in discount, for family or party purposes. And the whole House of Commons, in the belief of our foreign neighbors, would, under such circumstances, appear little better than one large rotten borough, where the votes were given and majorities obtained, in order to advance self-interest or achieve a party triumph. This decidedly was not the character of ancient Whiggery or Toryism: these factions in past days, objectionable as they otherwise were, had in view the higher sentiments of the public good; and the success of a principle, more than of a member or a Cabinet, is palpably traceable through the past decisions of our national representative assemblies. Often, no doubt, a bad or unjust principle was advocated, as the Penal Laws can testify; but still it was a principle, and not a personal conflict for pecuniary considerations—one sad case only excepted, namely, the passing of the heinous Irish Bill for the so-called union between England and Ireland.

"During the last eleven years there has been an unceasing contest carried on between Lord Derby and Lord John Russell: diversified somewhat by the occasional substitution of Lord Palmerston for the Durham leader. Concomitantly, however, with these personal competitions the British and Irish constitutions have had their attention differently excited by unusual bitter party and sectarian discussions: in which bishops, priests, nuns, creeds were unsparringly reproached: and in which the Blessed Virgin, as a principal Popish culprit, always came in for a superabundant share of Parliamentary abuse, and of Exeter Hall slander. When the heads of a nation or of a Church set a good or an evil example, their conduct, like a river running in its course, will, in due time, make its way through all rank and classes of that Kingdom: and like the salubrious or poisonous waters of this stream will invigorate or weaken morality or faith according to the character of the sources of political and religious society. When, therefore, the senate house sets the example of pure party contention, irrespective of the public good, it lays the foundation, as the history of Europe can prove, of political party divisions through the masses of the people: and when senators can successfully demolish churches, ridicule doctrines, and disendow a priesthood, in one instance, there is no reason (from all past records) to doubt that they will not carry the same successful resistance against the national law Church, whenever the sectarian temper of the times or the straightened revenues of the State call forth their hostile Parliamentary combinations. These perpetual personal struggles for preminence tend every day, more and more, to unsettle the national political mind: while the Durham letter, the rancour of Exeter Hall, and the sectarian poison infused into the universal Protestant literature of the country have gone far, up to this period, to push the rising generation outside the boundary of simple faith and charitable feeling, into infidel inquiry and unpeppable religious animosity. Clubs are now forming in England to remodel and totally change the present Parliamentary representation: the ballot—good news for Ireland—is the law, which, in the most extended form can alone satisfy these advanced pupils of senatorial teaching; while the English Gospel is publicly branded in all the manufacturing towns as an antiquated deceit, a pecuniary swindle, and the very essence of hypocritical turpitude! Beyond all doubt, the seeds of a deep-seated revolution have been planted of late, through a vast section of the English people, while an undisguised incurable infidelity has effaced almost every vestige of the Christian faith from the artisan and the labouring classes. England may very soon regret the policy by which she has degraded her colonies, and by which she has attempted to extirpate Catholicity. She has created two monsters which she may yet fail to conquer: she has awakened the unsatiated spirit of the reign of Charles the First: and she has evoked the religious license of the times of Cromwell. Time will tell whether this policy will protect her in coming time from domestic embarrassment, and an approaching terrific external danger.

"Who, on reading the English press, is not shocked by the daily crimes of infanticide, matricide, patricide, and fratricide committed in every part of England: who, without horror, can listen to the account of fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers, cruelly murdered, ferociously butchered by the hands of their own children. And the unnatural atrociousness of the crime is even surpassed by the cold-blooded motives, and by the thrilling savagery of the weapons used. In these deeds of spilling a parent's blood. Some few guineas, a few shillings, a miserable cabin, in some instances a suit of clothes, have, in this unrivalled, civilized, and reformed England, urged the son to take a father's life, the robber to slay his victim. In Ireland, the unhappy murderer spills blood, it is generally the result of long revenge, for real or supposed social injury, or for agrarian oppression. His houseless children, his star-

ving wife convulse him with rage, and nerve him to the awful crime, but in England the crime is committed for the selfish gain of a shilling, or a cold blood. Alas! the wretch, there, for one pound, places English crimes in the quality of atrocity and of motive far more heinous than any black deed in either modern India or in ancient Rome. And when it is recollected that the English people are willingly admitted to be naturally a generous, a benevolent race, it follows, as an essential deduction, that their brutality in the daily cases referred to is the result of their sordid worship of money: of their love of their belly above all natural feelings: and of their total ignorance of their moral responsibility of the law of God and the doctrines of Christianity.

"While the Parliament House is thus agitated with party contentions, and while murders, suicides, and scandals rend the public feeling outside, Mr. Spooner is determined to add his portion of religious rancour to this confused heap of moral and political ruin; and hence he, as the exponent of one of the poles of religious rancour towards Ireland, will soon bring on his motion for the disendowment of the Maynooth College. Mr. Spooner has reduced this question of the Maynooth disendowment to something like an Astronomical system. According to this theory, Mr. Spooner represents the Earth, having two motions: one, his diurnal motion at Exeter-Hall: the other, his annual motion in the House of Commons. Besides representing the Earth under the circumstances referred to, he has the peculiar philosophical character of representing Jupiter: since he has four moons revolving round him, namely, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Culling Eardley, Mr. Drummond, and Lord Roden. Here, however, the comparison of our solar system ends, as Lord Derby, I have reason to believe refuses to be the centre of the Spooner system. Lord Derby has more than he can do, at this moment, to keep his place against all the personal aspirants who surround him: he cannot, of course, make the blunder of at once diminishing his friends and increasing his enemies by giving motion, light, and regularity to Mr. Spooner. No, the Exeter-Hall Religionist will be signally defeated in the year 1858. But he will again assemble his forces and will come to the assault with additional strength. The next attempt, however, may be directed against the Established Church and not against the Catholic College. I can assure the Reader that the English people, in the aggregate, are more disposed to demolish the title swindle than the Maynooth grant. The Baptists, the Independents, the Methodists, and a large section of the modern Protestants are ready, actually ready, under favourable circumstances, to do all that men can accomplish, to annihilate all State Endowment of all Churches. One great money panic, added to a great manufacturing panic, and these two panics producing the small loaf, and the hunger panic, would disendow the Protestant Church in one Session of Parliament. But the plan, all powerful, the clear, efficient cause which in approaching time will strip the Establishment fraud 'stark-naked' will be the Bullat. In the day on which this will be the law of England, in that hour the title swindle will be expelled from this country, in the midst of universal joy and unbridled exultation.

"It is no wonder that foreign nations say that the English people is the most incongruous race at present on this our terrestrial globe. They are the most enterprising and successful in commerce: they are the fondest of money of all mankind; they pursue gain in the thrilling snows, in the burning sands on land, and amidst tempestuous and frozen seas on the deep boundless oceans. And when they have accumulated hundreds of millions of money in their matchless industry, they give all this treasure (at a call from the Government) to fight battles with all nations: and they are content to receive in return for all this hard earned cash (as Cobbett would say) common tanned sheep skin endorsed by the English Exchequer! It is not the Government money which pays the armies in these victories, in Persia, India, China; no, it is the money of the mercantile community in a large majority of instances: a continued addition to the unrivalled National debt! The people willingly lend the money but he is a wise man, indeed, who could tell when the nation will be repaid. What renders the English national character so singular in this respect is, that no new wars, no new demands of money can discourage them. When Lord Wellington conquered the French in Spain his expenses for some weeks were one million sterling a week! The late war in Persia cost England £100,000: and who can count the millions of cash and the rivers of blood which are the price of our late blunders in India and China. Yet one would think from late proceedings in London that England burns with an intense agony for a fresh rupture with France, and for an accumulated increase of the enormous debt. This is the insanity which precedes national ruin: and England must beware not to allow victory over the Sepoy to mislead her in measuring the power of her former enemy, now become doubly formidable by additional resources and highly inflamed national anger.

"These considerations have reference more to the future of England than to present time: but as certain as the tide advances and rises by insensible accumulating waves, the National debt will yet cover and submerge the universal institutions of England. And although, during this advancing period, England may enjoy the triumphs of liberty and the repose of a fallacious wealth, within her own shores she will concede neither the one or the other to the down-trodden people of Ireland, who are the bulwark of her present power. Such has been the virulence of English prejudice and religious rancour towards Ireland during the past ten years, I do believe that if the wisdom of the House of Lords and the threatening attitude of French sympathy did not interpose an obstacle to the bigotry of the House of Commons, they would, at this moment be more disposed to enforce the penal laws against the Irish Catholic than in the reign of William the Third.

D. W. C.

Thursday, April 22.

MR. S. O'BRIEN'S ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

PART IV.

I resume my enumeration of the measures which may with advantage engage the attention of an Irish Independent Party.

INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS.

"There are several questions affecting the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, as constituent parts of the United Kingdom, which ought to be constantly borne in mind, even though we may not hope that they will be settled in a manner consistent with the claims of international justice. Some of these are connected with the financial relations of the two countries.

FINANCE.

"During the repeal agitation, which occupied the minds of Irishmen since 1843 to 1848, much stress was laid (especially in the able writings of Mr. Michael Staunton and of Mr. John O'Connell) upon the financial injustice which had been inflicted upon Ireland by the Parliament of Great Britain, in requiring that we should contribute to the taxation which is applied to defray the interest on the debt incurred by Great Britain before the Union. Although the subject has ceased to occupy public attention, and although the champions of Irish rights have said little about it during the reign of the Whigs, this national grievance remains not only unredressed, but it has even been aggravated by the financial measures which have been enacted since 1848.

"It may be clearly proved that the interest on the separate debt of Great Britain would, after making due allowance for the separate debt of Ireland, incurred before the Union; impose upon Great Britain separate taxation, to the extent of more than £15,000,000 per annum; whereas the separate tax-

ation to which Great Britain is now liable does not amount to £3,000,000 per annum. English politicians endeavor to evade this liability, by a financial jugglery, and by a factitious arrangement of the public accounts to give to Ireland a largely indebtedness to Great Britain; but their reasoning is clearly at variance with every principle of equity, that this question may be said to depend upon the relative strength of the two nations, and as we happen at present to be the weaker nation we have no alternative except submission to this injustice. But the time will come when, if we be true to ourselves, we shall be able to dictate our own terms to England, and we may then hope that the claims of international justice will be entertained. We must, therefore, avoid in the meantime everything that can be construed as a waiver of this claim—more especially as it affects every financial question which arises between the two nations.

"In regard, for instance, to the expenditure that is connected with the public departments, it will be found that Ireland does not participate in fair proportion with England. Though many of the Ports of Ireland—and especially the port of Cork—are singularly adapted for the purposes of a naval dockyard, all the expenditure resulting from the maintenance of dockyards is reserved for England. Indeed, if the naval estimates be carefully examined, it will be found that only a mere fraction of the enormous outlay which they involve is expended in Ireland.

"In like manner, metropolitan improvements have been carried on in London continuously by the aid of the land revenue of the Crown, and of special Parliamentary grants, whilst Dublin has been utterly neglected, though a large sum is annually remitted from Ireland to England as land revenue. In regard to Parliamentary grants for public improvements, it will, I am convinced, that more public money has within the last fifteen years been applied to the erection of a single building in London—the new House of Parliament—than has during the same period been granted for public buildings throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland.

REPRESENTATION.

"Among the international questions that remain outstanding for discussion between Great Britain and Ireland, as component portions of one United Kingdom, the most important, perhaps, is our claim for the allotment to Ireland of its due share of Parliamentary representatives.

"I shall perhaps startle some of my readers when I avow that after long consideration, it is my deliberate opinion that the interests of Ireland are damaged rather than promoted by its representation in the British Parliament, and that it would conduce to the national interests as well as to the national dignity of Ireland to be wholly unrepresented in the Imperial Parliaments. If France were for a time to obtain military possession of England, every high-spirited Englishman would consider it a degradation rather than an advantage to the English nation to send a few representatives to Paris. When the Australian province of Victoria sought a legislative separation from the province of New South Wales, it refused to elect acting members to the seats reserved for it in the legislature of New South Wales, and nominated in their stead some of the statesmen of England. I do not know whether our countryman, the French General McMahon, could be elected for a county or borough in Ireland, but it would be well for us if he or some of our countrymen now resident in the United States or in Australia could be elected in preference to some of the Irish members who lend their parliamentary support to the interests of England, even when those interests clash with the interests of their own country.

"If Ireland were wholly unrepresented, Irish opinion would find some mode of making itself unmistakably understood in reference to every question which really affects the interests of the nation at large; whereas, on the contrary, at present, the few and divided representatives sent by Ireland to London are induced either by corruption or cajolery to give an apparent sanction to the part of the Irish nation to measures framed with a view to promote English interests, and to gratify English feeling alone.

"An amusing instance of the power of Irish opinion, when unanimously expressed, to override English legislation recently presented itself to our observation. On the day of my arrival in Dublin, after an exile of seven years, I took up a Dublin newspaper, and found one whole side of the sheet occupied with a requisition. Upon examining it I discovered the names of all the leading inhabitants of Dublin, of every class, sect, and party. Here, I exclaimed, is that favorite dream of my life! Happy Ireland! Happy am I to have arrived at such an auspicious moment! I next proceeded to inquire what great occasion, what national grievance had brought about such unprecedented unanimity. Alas! I found that this mighty 'national movement' had for its object an address to the English Lord Lieutenant—beseeching that he would be graciously pleased to allow the drivers of jaunting cars in Dublin to drive from the sides of their cars rather than from the driving seats. Bitterly disappointed—not to say disgusted—I threw down the paper, exclaiming—'What a waste of national power! I left my fellow-countrymen engaged in a struggle for their national independence. On my return to my native land, I find all their energies absorbed in a police squabble! Could we but have obtained such unanimity as is here indicated, we might now have a parliament sitting in Dublin to make laws for the Irish people?' Not caring what might be the result of this appeal to his 'Excellency' I cannot speak with entire confidence as to the mode in which the matter was settled, but certainly national feeling carried the day in favor of the more unsafe mode of charioteering, and as if my memory report correctly, the public was tranquillized by a coup d'etat on the part of the Lord Lieutenant, by which he set at naught the decision of the officials who were acting under the authority of English made law in enforcing the obnoxious regulation which had evoked this grand demonstration of Irish opinion.

"But although such is my estimate of the value of our representation in the British Parliament, I am not disposed to waive any national claim which we can fairly urge; and, if we are to send any members to the British Parliament, we ought to send enough to secure to Ireland its proportionate weight in the councils of the empire. In the adjustment of representative influence, population is the only satisfactory basis upon which the allotment of members can take place. This would be the opinion of every intelligent Englishman if he were discussing the question in relation to foreign countries. If, for instance, he were speaking of the adjustment of representation between Belgium and Holland, previous to the separation, he would contend that to Belgium ought to have been allotted a number of representatives proportionate to its population. Proceeding upon this basis, Ireland, before the famine was entitled to claim an allotment of about one-third of the representatives of the United Kingdom. Now our claim must be more humble, since, in consequence of the decrease of our people, the relative proportion of the population of Ireland to the population of England, would give us a much smaller proportion of members. In 1851, the population of Great Britain, that is, England, Scotland, and Wales, amounted to 20,816,351; whilst that of Ireland amounted to 6,551,970. Total, 27,368,321. We are now entitled, therefore, to something less than one-fourth of the whole number of the seats in the House of Commons say, four-sevenths instead of 105. It would enable Dublin to have four members instead of two. It would give at least four members to the largest counties, such as Cork, Tipperary, Down, Antrim, &c., and would add greatly to the influence of Ireland in the Imperial Legislature.

"Assuming that this is a question which affects

the interest of Ireland, it will be for the Independent Party to consider what course ought to be pursued with respect to the Reform Bill, which is now pending in the House of Commons. It is not a question of the large proportion of the Irish members' support it. The Independent Party ought to lose no time in determining whether they shall stipulate for a large increase of the number of Irish members as a condition of their support to any measure of Parliamentary Reform. This is not at all probable that a Reformed Parliament will be more disposed, than the present House of Commons would be to increase the proportion of Irish Representatives. If, therefore, we now consent to any compromise of our national claim, we shall urge it in vain hereafter. For this reason I am inclined to think the Irish members ought at once to declare that they will support no Reform Bill which shall withhold from Ireland its due proportion of representatives.

IRISH FEEBAG.

"International wrongs have been inflicted by Great Britain upon all classes in this country—from the Peer to the Peasant. Probably there are few among you who are much about the dignity of the Irish peerage. The Irish nobility (I say it with the deepest regret) have identified themselves so little with the feelings and interests of the Irish nation, that the people have grown utterly careless about the feelings and interests of the Irish aristocracy. It was not so in former times. It is impossible to read the earlier history of Ireland without perceiving that the clans of Ireland felt a passionate sentiment of devotion to their chiefs, which almost exceeded that felt by them for the fathers of their domestic households. But if the Irish nobility really enjoyed the affection of the Irish people, you would feel indignant in finding that every successful lawyer, every opulent merchant, every scheming politician, who is raised to the peerage of England takes precedence of the oldest nobility of Ireland. An Irish title is now a disqualification rather than an honor. It surprises me, indeed, that any Irishman, who belongs to an ancient race, whether Gaelic or Norman, should covet a distinction which is so humiliating to personal and national pride. An Irish Lord does not inherit a seat in the House of Peers, yet he is disqualified from being elected as a member of the House of Commons for any Irish constituency, though he may be elected for an English or Scotch seat. He cannot even act as a Grand Juror, or take part at a Parliamentary election. If he sympathise with the mass of the Irish people, he can never hope to be elected as a Representative Peer. Speaking personally, I care little for titles, and am contented to leave this grievance to be discussed by those whom it affects. If I were myself interested by the question, I would ask that the disqualification which prevents Irish peers from sitting in the House of Commons should be removed, because I would much prefer to take my place in the House of Commons, as the representative of a large constituency, rather than to sit by hereditary title in the House of Peers. But, in alluding to international questions, I have felt it to be my duty to show that every class has cause to complain of the relations which at present exist between the two sections of the United Kingdom.

REMOVAL OF THE IRISH POOR FROM ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

"Let us now turn to a more grievous international wrong, which affects every industrious laborer or mechanic who goes to reside in England or Scotland. In all that I have ever read respecting the habits of the most uncivilized and most inhospitable barbarians, I have never found any practice that can vie in regard of cold-blooded inhumanity with the custom which prevails among our magnanimous neighbors in regard to the removal of Irish poor who became 'changeable' in England. The opulent Irish landowner who abandons the duties which he owes to his own country is a welcome guest in England. The gallant Irish soldier who sheds his blood for England is welcome. Even the Irish political adventurer who sells the interests of his country to England is welcome. But if a poor Irish laborer who may have expended the whole vigor of his life in the service of Englishmen—if his widow or his orphan ask but a crumb of bread for the relief of temporary distress, he will be taken prisoner by a Poor Law official and carried to the shores of Ireland, where he will be flung, in a state of utter destitution, upon any spot which may be nearest to his residence in England—however distant it may be from his original home in Ireland.

"If in a single year, through the inadvertence of the legislature, a few of such social outrages as those had taken place, they would be disgraceful to the British nation; but we find that this practice has been continued, year after year, notwithstanding that the attention of Parliament has been repeatedly called to it; and it has been brought into action against many thousand individuals under every possible form of cruelty. It will be for the Irish Party, if they can do nothing else, to expose to the execration of the whole civilized world, this fearful illustration of British avarice and selfishness.

"It is painful to me to apply such terms of reproach to a nation which contains many excellent, humane, and generous individuals; but nations as well as individuals must be judged according to their acts, and all the dealings of the English, with the people of Ireland, during a period of nearly seven hundred years, appear to have been governed by a spirit of the most intense selfishness. Of the continued operation of this spirit, no stronger evidence need be adduced than this mode of treating the Irish poor who labor in England, for the benefit of Englishmen.

"I should be led into too much detail if I were to suggest for your consideration many other circumstances and contingencies connected with the international relations that at present subsist between Great Britain and Ireland. I have said enough to show that an Irish Independent Party could treat such subjects with a boldness and freedom that can never be found amongst men who hold themselves bound to consider not only the merits of the questions which they have to decide, but also the bearing of their decision upon the personal interests of those to whom they are attached.

"I propose, in a future publication, to call your attention to some matters which belong to the administration of the internal affairs of Ireland.

I remain your faithful friend,
WILLIAM S. O'BRIEN.
Cabrimoyle, April 12, 1858.

IRISH INTELLIGENCE.

"THE O'CONNELL MONUMENT.—We are delighted to be in a position to state that the monument to O'Connell in Dublin is now an accomplished fact. The 30th of May, a day very memorable in connexion with the name of O'Connell, has been fixed on for the parochial collections throughout the country. At the late meeting of the Bishop and Priests of this part of the diocese of Killaloe there were at least forty Priests on that occasion.

"We much regret to announce the demise of Joseph Malcomson, Esq., of Portlawn, one of the very eminent firm of the Messrs. Malcomson, who have for years occupied so prominent a place in the commercial interests of this country. Mr. Malcomson will long be remembered as one of the members of the most enterprising mercantile firm which Ireland has produced, and one which affords a convincing proof of the results to be attained by talent and perseverance. The firm of Messrs. Malcomson—of which until lately the deceased was the guiding star—is most extensively engaged in trade; they possess the largest amount of steamers of any firm in the three Kingdoms, perhaps in Europe; have a most extensive ship building yard in this city, and their factory at Portlawn is so universally known, both from the amount of work performed in it, and the extent of the employment it has always afforded, as to require no explanation at our hands.—Waterford News.