

MR. S. O'BRIEN'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

PART VIII. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.

It is not my intention to revive the controversy which, in 1846, gave occasion to dissen- sion amongst the Nationalists of Ireland with refer- ence to the question whether Peepers ought or ought not to solicit and accept situations under the British Government. I feel bound, in- deed, to say, that when I joined the Repeal As- sociation in 1843, and flung aside for ever all connection with English party, I did so upon a distinct understanding that the future policy of the National party was to be that of entire free- dom from connection with the Whigs or Tories of England. Repeal or Separation was an alterna- tive which I might have been prepared to accept, but I did not conceive it to be consistent with the dignity of our country to write upon our banners—Repeal or Place—I thought that it was impossible for a man to accept office under the British Government, and at the same time manfully uphold the right of this country to an independent legislature. Whilst I still maintain this opinion, I admit that many of those who differ from me were pure-minded and patri- otic men; and since grievous mistakes were com- mitted on both sides, it is better now to consign the past to oblivion than to revive a fruitless and irritating controversy. I now feel that what- ever may be my own individual opinion, it would be quite unavailing for me to tell the Irish peo- ple that they ought to abstain altogether from seeking situations under the British Govern- ment. We have, therefore, only to inquire un- der what circumstances Irishmen can participate in the administration of imperial concerns with as little injury as possible to the national interests of Ireland, and with as little disparagement as possible to the national honor.

I hope that I have convinced a portion at least of my readers that the parliamentary repre- sentatives of this country ought not to be Pa- tronage-brokers for their constituents. I hope that, I have convinced you that you cannot be effectively served by men whom you encourage to surrender their independence for the sake of situations under Government.

This principle being admitted, we have next to consider in what way a substitute for this class of service can be provided. Such a sub- stitute can be found in the system recently in- troduced of conferring admission to the public service by competitive examination. If situa- tions under government be thrown open to the whole community, it is clear that the interven- tion of your members as patronage agent will be no longer needed; and, on the other hand, the acquisition of a place under government will be- come an evidence of merit and ability, which deserves to be honored, instead of being, as it has often been in past times, the reward of servility which deserved to be despised.

Fortunately, we have not to treat this ques- tion as a matter of theoretic speculation. It has been tried to a limited extent, and the result have been highly satisfactory. The re- sults, indeed, have been so much in favor of the public at large that the classes which formerly en- joyed a monopoly of government patronage have become alarmed, and have recently attempted a retrograde movement. Let us illustrate these observations by reference to a single depart- ment—the Ordnance. Formerly, introduction to Woolwich was a matter of special favor, which was purchased by conciliating the good of some great functionary by services which were often of a very questionable kind. At present, admission to Woolwich is open to every young man in the empire who is able to prove the su- periority of his attainments as tested by a com- petitive examination. This system has been eminently favorable to Ireland, because Irish- men never fail to succeed when they have a fair opportunity of distinguishing themselves and are not excluded by factious impediments. At the last examination held for the admission of cadets to Woolwich, out of thirty young men who proved themselves qualified by the superiority of their attainments, nine had been educated at the University of Dublin. It happens that at present Trinity College (Dublin) obtains a large share of these appointments, because some of the most distinguished professors of that University have specially devoted themselves to this branch of educational training; but what has been done by Professor Galbraith and Haughton might have been done by any hedge schoolmaster in Ireland, provided that he possessed abilities equal to those of these eminent men.

It is manifest that such a system is eminently favorable to the democracy; and this has been felt so much by the English aristocracy that they in- duced the late Whig Government to cancel regula- tions which were found in practice to give to Ire- land, and to the people of the empire at large, advantages which were formerly enjoyed almost exclusively by the scions or protégés of the aristoc- racy of England. I need not describe in detail the arrangements, which were devised for the purpose of neutralizing the advantages of the competitive system, because they are about to be rescinded in obedience to a resolution of the House of Commons, which was passed lately at the instance of Mr. Mon- sell, member for the county of Limerick. Mr. Mon- sell deserves to be much commended for the part which he took on the occasion—more especially as he was recently connected with the Whig Govern- ment by which the retrograde movement was com- menced. Upon this question, therefore, he separated himself from his former allies. Nor is this the first occasion on which he has shown himself to be inde- pendent of party connections; and if, instead of con- senting to be a "hanger on" of the Whigs, he would henceforth act as one of the chiefs of an Independent Irish Party, he would hold a very different place in the estimation of his fellow-countrymen from that which belongs to a subordinate official of the British Government.

With their usual blindness, the Conservatives at- tempted to defend a position which was indefensible, and were beaten—beaten in supporting an obnoxious measure, which did not originate with their own party, but had been left as a parting bequest by the Government of Lord Palmerston to the country. They have, however, still an opportunity of recover- ing in some measure the credit which they have lost. Nearly twenty years have elapsed since I heard the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli deliver an excellent speech upon the diplomatic ser- vice of Great Britain, by which he convinced at least one of his hearers that the diplomatic arrangements of the empire ought to undergo a complete reform.

None of the abuses which have been described here, so far as I am aware, have been corrected. He sought now, with the aid of Lord Malmesbury—Secretary for Foreign Affairs—to re-model the whole of this depart- ment of the public service, basing his reform upon the principle of competitive examination. If this principle be applicable to the admission of a cadet to Woolwich, it is still more applicable to the selection of an attaché to an embassy or of a consul. There ought to be a regular gradation in every department of the public service—admission being determined by competitive examination, and promotion being made to depend upon seniority or upon pre-eminence of capacity. Even under the most despotic govern- ments of the Continent, every officer of the army—whether he be the son of a prince or of a peasant—must serve as a private for a certain number of years before he can be advanced to the higher grades of the profession, and every private may hope by superior merit to become a field marshal.

There are, indeed, a few offices to which it is diffi- cult to apply the principle of competitive examina- tion. Amongst these I may mention judicial ap- pointments. Such appointments ought to be award- ed to the eminent men of the legal profession, on the ground of superior ability and general estimation, not as rewards of political subservency.—If there were an Irish Independent Party in Parliament, they would insist that men who possess to a large extent the public confidence—such, for instance, as Mr. Thomas O'Hagan and Sir Coleman O'Loghlen, among the Liberals—such as Mr. Francis Fitzgerald, among the Conservatives—should not be neglected, merely because they do not speculate in politics, or con- descend to the petty intrigues and party machinations which find favor at Dublin Castle.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

As it is now admitted by statesmen belonging to all parties that the system of representation which exists in the United Kingdom requires amendment, it is not necessary to occupy your time with arguments in favor of Parliamentary reform. We have only to consider the extent to which change ought to be car- ried. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that the voice of the united people ought to be raised in favor of a liberal and comprehensive measure of Reform.

THE SUFFRAGE.

The first question which presents itself for con- sideration is—What ought to be the electoral qualifi- cation on which the right of voting shall depend? If I were to answer this question in accordance with my own personal feelings, I should say that a House- hold Suffrage ought to be at once adopted. Person- ally I entertain no distrust of the people, and if I were to solicit the votes of my fellow-countrymen (a contingency which is possible in case an Irish Par- liament shall sit in Dublin during my lifetime), I would much prefer to address a constituency formed upon the widest basis, rather than a limited and pri- vileged section of the population. Many persons imagine that the interests of the poorer classes are at variance with those of the rich, but to me it seems that the antagonism of classes is created by artificial exclusion rather than by antagonism of interests.—When the poor are treated with kindness and consid- eration by persons who occupy an elevated position in society, they are seldom indisposed to offer to such persons as much respect as they deserve. Main- tenance of the rights of property is as essential to the well-being of the laboring classes as to that of the more opulent classes. There never has been—there never will be—a condition of human society in which exemption from toll can be enjoyed by more than a very small portion of the community. Any of our laborers who have been in the United States of America will tell you that the laboring classes work harder in the Great Republic than in Ireland. Prosperity amongst the working classes cannot co- exist with insecurity of property; and the most de- sirable condition of society is that in which the laborer finds easy opportunities of purchasing, by the produce of his industry and frugality, a portion of the soil—in which case he becomes directly and im- mediately interested in maintaining the rights of property. Such are my own individual sentiments; but considering the state of feeling which at present exists amongst the influential classes of society, it would be in vain to expect that a proposition in favor of Household Suffrage will be sanctioned by the Le- gislature. I would recommend you, therefore, to accept by way of instalment as an advantageous com- promise a suffrage co-extensive with liability to rating for the relief of the poor. Under such a suffrage every person who holds a tenement valued at four pounds per annum would be entitled to vote as a parliamentary elector. This is the basis of franchise recommended in a project of reform which has been put forward by the County Club of Cavan, in a document that well deserves your consideration. A franchise less liberal than this could scarcely be considered as an improvement that would be worthy of your acceptance.

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

I have already urged you to consent to no plan of Reform which shall withhold from Ireland its due proportion of representatives; but whatever may be the number of representatives accorded to Ireland, it is manifest that there ought to be a new ar- rangement of the electoral districts, so as to correct the monstrous anomalies which at present exist in regard to the allotment of electoral influence. A few examples will illustrate my meaning.— By reference to "Thom's Official Almanack," for 1858, page 81, you will find that the borough of Portlinton, with a population of 2,964 persons, and rated property valued at £4,159 per annum, returns one member to parliament, whilst the city of Dublin, with a population of 265,252, and rateable property amounting to £2,621,639 per annum, returns only two members. In like manner, the borough of Downpatrick, with a population of 4,854 and rateable property amounting to £10,369, returns one member, while the county of Cork, with a population of 563,576, and a rated rental of £832,045, returns only two members. So also the county of Down, with a population of 320,817, and rated property amounting to £608,188, returns only two members.

In re-adjusting the representation of the United Kingdom, it deserves to be considered whether an arrangement could not be devised by which minor- ities shall be represented in due proportion. It was proposed not long since that in those cases in which three representatives may be allotted to particular districts each elector should be entitled to vote for only two representatives, so that if the minority were considerable, it should not be left wholly unrepre- sented. This proposal being an untried innovation, it is impossible, to say whether, in practice, it would give general satisfaction, but in theory the principle appears to be undoubtedly just.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS.

There appears to be no reasonable ground for up- holding the existing law which requires that Mem- bers of Parliament shall possess a certain amount of property. It is a relic of feudalism quite unsuited to the present age. In so far as the operation of this law is effective it tends to exclude from parliament some of the ablest men in the community; but, in truth, it is so ably evaded, that it practically ex- cludes no speculator in politics, whilst it throws an impediment in the way of honest and conscientious men. In Scotland no such qualification is required, yet it has not hitherto been found that any evil whatever results from the absence of this require- ment.

ELECTION EXPENSES.

Instead of limiting, by an artificial exclusion, the range of selection, it is for the interest of the whole community that it should be extended as much as possible. It may be reasonably doubted whether it is advisable to encourage men to seek seats in parlia- ment by granting liberal allowances to members, but at least every impediment which tends unnecessarily to limit the choice of the electors ought to be re- moved.

Hitherto the arrangements connected with elections appear to have been devised for the pur- pose of compelling the electors to choose none but men of large fortune. This end has thus been at- tained by indirect means at least, as effectually as by the requirement of a property qualification from candidates. At the present moment the expenses of a contest are so great that (except in the very rare cases in which constituencies are animated by public spirit sufficient to induce them to return their mem- bers free of expense) none but very rich men can, with due regard to prudence, present themselves as candidates for the representation of the people. It is astonishing that the middle classes of society, in whom electoral influence now chiefly resides, do not perceive that this expensive mode of conducting elections operates so as practically to exclude the middle classes from parliament. Take, for instance, the case of a medical man who has retired from the exercise of his profession. Why should he not be considered as eligible to represent the people as somebody whose only merit is that he possesses a few thousands pounds per annum? Yet the present electoral arrangements are such, that educated and accomplished men of moderate income dare not en- counter a struggle with a favored child of fortune, whose qualifications for parliament consist only in the length of his purse. For instance, there are few men of large property in Ireland who are so well qualified by intellectual attainments to represent an Irish constituency as Dr. O'Connell of Kilkenny; but such men as Dr. O'Connell cannot draw from the practice of his profession—can sel- dom venture to present themselves as candidates for boroughs, still less for counties. The remedy is simple. It might, perhaps, be proper to exact a de- posit of trifling amount from each candidate in order to prevent frivolous and vexatious contests, but in other respects, the expense of taking the poll ought to be borne by the public just as it is borne in the case of municipal elections or of elections for guar- dians of the poor.

If the laws relative to elections were rendered per- fectly simple, the grounds for election petitions would be proportionately diminished; but it is, perhaps, im- possible to devise any electoral system which shall altogether obviate the necessity of appeals against the returns made by the sheriffs. What has been said in reference to the expenses of the Poll is equally ap- plicable to expenses incidental to the trial of con- troverted elections. At present the trial of an election petition generally costs several thousand pounds. This fact alone is sufficient to prove that the present system is eminently unfavorable to the interests of the Democracy, and that it ought to be corrected without delay.

Let it not be supposed that in vindicating the just rights of the Democracy I am desirous to get up a cry against the aristocracy. The original meaning of the word aristocracy is "the rule of the best and ablest men in the State." If the best men can be found amongst the wealthy or titled classes, let them, by all means, be selected in preference to other competitors; but, on the other hand, if the best men can be found amongst those who are less gifted by fortune, it is equally unjust and impolitic to exclude them by factitious impediments either from official station, or from the high functions of legislation.

DECLARATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

After the recent decision of the House of Com- mons, by which an overwhelming majority rejected a motion in favor of Triennial Parliaments, it seems almost futile to suggest that you ought to call upon your members to support triennial elections; but parliamentary decisions do not form an unerring standard of right and wrong—of expediency or in- expediency. Believing that a period of not less than three years, and not more than four, is that which is best calculated to secure responsibility on one hand and experience on the other, in the representatives of the people, I have no hesitation in advising you to include triennial elections in the plan of reform which shall receive the sanction of the Irish nation. I wish that the attainment of all our national re- quirements were as inevitable as is the eternal adop- tion of this behest.

BALLOT.

There remains still to be considered the question whether ballot at elections ought or ought not to be adopted. Ballot with a limited constituency would give a monopoly of powers to that portion of the middle classes which possesses electoral privileges. This is the great defect of the Constitution of Belgium, which, in other respects is very admirable. The number of electors bears but a small proportion to the whole population; and as they are shielded by the ballot, they constitute, in fact, an irresponsible oligarchy. Ballot, without an extension of the suf- frage, is, therefore, to be deprecated by the humbler classes of the Democracy. For my own part, I confess that I dislike exceedingly secret voting; but I dislike still more coercion or intimidation of any kind—either by landlords or by mobs. If the suf- frage were adequately extended, it is possible that it might be found more difficult than it is at present to coerce the votes of the electoral body; but, notwith- standing all that is ranted about the superior en- lightenment of modern times, I fear that the prin- ciples of true liberty are as little understood now as at any former period. I am, therefore, prepared to accept ballot as an alternative less objectionable than intimidation. It is also satisfactory to know that in the Australian Colonies, where ballot has recently been established, it has been received with great favor by the population at large, and that the experiments has been considered eminently suc- cessful.

Having now sketched a programme—necessarily imperfect—of the policy and measures which appear to me to be applicable to our present domestic con- dition, I shall conclude this address by inviting your attention to the bearings of the colonial and foreign relations of the empire upon the national interests of Ireland. I remain, your faithful friend,

WILLIAM S. O'BRIEN. Cahirmoyle, May 11, 1858.

IRISH INTELLIGENCE.

The Rev. James Lagan and the Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, students of the Missionary College of All-Hallows, and lately ordained for the diocese of California, sailed for their mission on Tuesday last.—*Tablet of 22d May.*

TIPPERARY CATHOLIC CHURCH.—This splendid temple is rapidly progressing, owing to the zeal and energy of the beloved and esteemed Very Rev. Dr. Howley, and his truly generous parishioners. There are over forty tradesmen daily employed, under the superintendance of Mr. Fahy, and the workmanship could not be excelled. The chancel arch is nearly forty feet in height, the front window will be thirty-five feet, and the tower 180 feet in height. The roof will be covered in during summer. Tipperary may well boast of its Catholic progress.—*Tipperary Examiner.*

The late bazaar in aid of the Sisters of Mercy in Clonmel realised the magnificent sum of £250, exceed- ing by a large amount the proceeds of any former bazaar.

Captain George Helsham, High Sheriff of Kilken- ny, has publicly refuted a statement which appeared in the *Limerick Chronicle*, to the effect that he waited on Archbishop Cullen preparatory to his canvassing the electors of Kilkenny for the office of M.P.—The denial of the gallant gentleman is spirited and lib- eral. He says—"I honoured myself by waiting on Archbishop Cullen as the head of the Catholic Church, persecuted as it is by the Irish Church Mis- sionary Society, and against that persecution, as long as I can wield a pen, it shall be devoted to that cause."

The Rev. John Keating has received from the good and generous people of the parish of Glenbryan a magnificent gift—a beautiful and well stored purse as a pledge of their affection and esteem, on the occasion of his departure from amongst them to another mission.—*Wexford People.*

THE CASE OF JOHN BYRNE.—The Freeman publishes the following letter from his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam:—

Tuam, May 11th, 1858. My dear Dr. Gray—I beg to forward to you the annexed bank order for £4 sterling, from Baltimore, towards the Byrne Fund, of which you have been one of the treasurers. The letter, which is alike credit- able to the piety and patriotism of the subscribers, contains five-and-twenty names, all bearing evidence of their recent or more remote connexion with the old land, as they call it, for the sufferings of whose people they manifest such laudable sympathy. Of these fifteen subscribers a dollar each, to evince the warm interest they feel in the fate of those whom they do not still cease to regard as their fellow-coun- trymen. It would be well for the country if all those who remain were actuated by such generous senti- ments as those whom harsh treatment is continually banishing from its shores. They have already tasted the bitter fruits of injustice, and it is a sad reflection that general appear utterly insensible to the blessings of justice until they are cast by oppression from their enjoyment. The blame, however, does not lie with the tenant class; a large share of it should be borne by those other classes who, so long sustained by the devoted fidelity of the tenantry of Ireland, appear now indifferent to the just claims of gratitude. The tenant class should not despair, for what they could not hope from the gratitude of certain parties, or the impartial justice of the government and the legisla- ture, they may be sure of obtaining through the influence which they can and should exercise, through the feeble remnant of their representatives, impress- ing on them that they never will again suffer them- selves to be made the victims of adverse factions for mere selfish purposes, but that their own existence, and preservation, and independence, as farmers and freeholders, shall be the first and essential condition of their cordial co-operation in any of the various schemes now discussed for the advancement of the social interests of Ireland.—I remain, my dear Dr. Gray, your faithful servant, "J. JOHN M'HALE."

HOGAN, THE SCULPTOR.—A public meeting was held at the Commercial Buildings on Monday, at two o'clock, for the purpose of having steps taken on the part of the citizens of Cork to assist in making provision for the widow of the late eminent Irish sculp- tor, John Hogan. The attendance was very numer- ous, and comprised many of the leading citizens, the Mayor being in the chair. The first resolution was proposed by Sir Thomas Deane, and expressed the feelings of deep regret entertained by the citizens generally on learning the death of Hogan. Sir Thomas referred in terms of deep feeling to the com- mencement of Hogan's career and his own early acquaintance with him. He was followed by Mr. J. Nicholas Murphy, who seconded the resolution, and dwelt at some length on the great triumphs achieved in his art by John Hogan, and on the struggles he went through after his return to his native country. The meeting was next addressed by the Very Rev. Archdeacon Kyle, the Very Rev. Dominick Murphy, V.G., Dean of Cork; Dr. Lyons, Colonel Beamish, K.H., and Captain Brine, R.E. A subscription list was then opened, which in a quarter of an hour reached one hundred guineas.—*Cork Examiner.*

VILLANOUS OUTRAGE ON CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN.—This afternoon, about four o'clock, as Mr. Spaight was proceeding on his canvass through William St., Limerick, accompanied by the Rev. Matthew O'Con- nor, P.P., the Rev. Garrett O'Sullivan, P.P., the Rev. Michael Casey, P.P., and others, they were as- sailed by a mob of men, women and children, some of whom were armed with loaded sticks and stones. The Rev. Matthew O'Connor received a blow of a stone flung from the rear of the crowd, which obliged him to retire into Mr. Minter's shop. Fortunately the injury done did not prevent the Reverend gentle- man from continuing the canvass for the cause of the citizens and people, with whom he has ever been closely and consistently identified.—*Minister News.*

THE "CRIME AND OUTRAGE ACT" IN COUNTY DUBLIN.—We have learned with no little astonishment that, at the Petty Sessions Court, held in Coleraine, on Friday last, an application, to be forwarded to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, was made for an additional police force of fifty men, to be quartered upon the parishes of Dunboe and Killowen. The alleged ground of this application is said to have been that some letters of threatening nature have been sent to Charles James Knox, Esq., agent of the Clothworkers' Company of London! It is not pre- tended that any overt act has been done, and Mr. Knox, we are sure, knows the country too well to suppose that there is the slightest reason for apprehending any "crime" or "outrage" whatever. The inhabitants of the parish threatened, on learning the movement in contemplation, and immediately ap- plied for the use of the Courthouse, in which to hold a meeting for the purpose of remonstrating against the intended infliction, but this application was politely refused. The people were consequently ob- liged to hold the meeting at the Courthouse, in the open air.—*Derry Journal.*

THE MURDER OF MR. ELLIS.—One of the informers, Burke, was arrested in Liverpool on Wednesday night on the charge of perjury; and is to undergo an examination here to-morrow, at the head-office. Un- fortunately the Corkmacks, who died protesting their innocence of the crime, are now beyond the reach of human justice.

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR IRELAND.—In the *Celt* for the present month we find a well timed, able, and splendid article on the above named truly important subject. "The monthly issue of the *Celt*," says the article we have alluded to, "opened with a proposition for a Union of Irishmen. Since then, two months have elapsed, and the attention which the project to have 'Ireland United,' has won from the National Press and from the pen of various Irish- men who have written upon the subject, either to the editor of the *Celt*, or to those of various newspapers advocating popular rights, has satisfied us that the material for such a union exists in the country, and that the time was suited for having that material put in working order for the general and national good." We were the first, or at all events among the first to notice, and to point public attention to the proposi- tion forward by the *Celt*; for a Union of Irishmen, but we regret to find that, as yet, nothing practical has resulted from that remarkable and truly able document. May we hope that such will not be the case; may we trust that even now the real friends of Ireland will take council together and enter into some fixed plan for the purpose of effecting a "Union of Irishmen." There has been much writing, much speaking, much talking about the means of estab- lishing the long lost nationality of Ireland; but alas, "dam loquimur sicut in videri alicis." If the material for such a union exists in the country—and that it does we have not the least doubt—and that the time is suited for having that material put in working order for the general and national good, let us, in the name of God and of Ireland, commence at once the good work of organization. Let us, in this case, adopt the Scripture motto, let us "do quickly what we have to do." A good beginning is half the work—let us then make a beginning, a good beginning; for unless we make a beginning we cannot expect an end of our labours.—*Galway Mercury.*

Under the impression that a dissolution of parlia- ment was imminent, active preparations have com- menced in some of the counties and boroughs. In the county of Cork, it is said, an anti-Whig Liberator is prepared to address the constituency, and that his friends are already making an active canvass for him. It is rumored that the Whigs are prepared to contest Dungarvan again, but the contest will be bootless, as Mr. Maguire is a general favorite with the consti- tuency, which is not numerous. Captain Bellew will contest Galway county. Sir T. Redington has left town, it is understood, for Galway, on election busi- ness. Mr. Graves, of Liverpool, has been on a visit to New Ross, it is said, with a view to election mat- ters. Colonel White, son of the member for Long- ford, is very generally spoken of as a probable candi- date for the suffrages of the constituency of the county of Dublin. Alderman Reynolds, Alderman Ros, and an eminent member of the legal profession, are spoken of as likely to contest the city of Dublin.—*Dublin Freeman.*

The people of Limerick have, just now, toler- ably stirring times of it, and the electors of that important constituency have been prepared to per- form their constitutional duties with very great zeal, if not with equal intelligence and discrimination. Whether or not anything may occur, or may have already occurred, to stay the progress of the contest, and to disappoint the lovers of electioneering ex- citement, we cannot positively say, though we see it announced that, at the last moment, Mr. Ball has made up his mind to retire. Doubtless the near pros- pect of a general election may have operated to pro- duce this sudden change, and the determined resis- tance offered by a large portion of the people and the constituency to his pretensions may also have some- thing to do with it. Catholic gentlemen of Mr. Ball's class certainly occupy an anomalous, and, what ought to be, and we have no doubt, actually is to them, a painful position. Their connexion with the Whigs makes it absolutely impossible for the people or Clergy, who are resolved to support a policy of independence, to show them any favour; and when, notwithstanding this, they obstinately persist in forcing themselves on a Catholic constituency, they lay themselves open to popular reproach and odium. Especially when any undue or unfair in- fluence, of whatever kind, is attempted to be ex- ercised in their favour, the result, even when temporary success is gained, is sure to be an increase of popular exasperation against them. But it has been already abundantly proved that the people will go any lengths rather than submit to have forced on them Catholic representatives who ignore or repudiate the principle of independence, and that they will rather accept as representatives Protestants, whether of Liberal or Conservative politics.—The examples of New Ross, Sligo, and Mayo have sufficiently shown this, and certainly it is full time for all parties to seriously consider to what condition the continuance of internal dissension in the Catholic body is likely to lead us. If Mr. Ball's reported retirement, even at the eleventh hour, has been caused by any considerations of this sort, we think he will have done well, not only as a Catholic and an Irishman, but even for his own pros- pects of regaining the confidence of his countrymen, which he has forfeited solely by his connexion with the Whigs.—*Tablet.*

MELANCHOLY LOSS OF LIFE AT DUNMORE.—Sunday Evening.—One of the most fatal and greatly deplor- ed accidents occurred on this day at Dunmore. Three young gentlemen—Mr. Pope, teller of the Provincial Bank, Waterford; Mr. Cavet, of the Bank of Ireland, son of Dr. Cavet; and Mr. Harris, son of Samuel Harris, Esq.—all of Waterford—were amusing them- selves in a pleasure boat in the harbour, when a sud- den squall upset the frail barque in sight of a large number of persons on the beach. Immediately the pilot boat was out, Mr. Pope being seen to sustain him- self by swimming, his companions having disappear- ed, but, melancholy to relate, before the pilot boat reached the fatal spot, Mr. Pope also sunk to rise no more.

THE SUPPER AND THE BLANKET.—One of that lea- rned and exemplary body, known as Bible Readers, had the honor of an introduction to the Magistrate at College-street Police Court on Friday. His rever- ence had made his debut in the city at the Sarbonne in Townsend street. Here, under the auspices of that zealous disseminator and expounder of Protest- ant truth, the Rev. Mr. McCarthy, of proselytizing no- toriety, Mr. James Goggin, as the peripatetic reader was pleased for the nonce to designate himself, had entered on his gastronomic and biblical chairs, when he was politely invited by a Jaquoy, whose arms were distinguished by the cipher 70 B, to join a con- versation with Mr. M'Dermott. In the course of an interesting dialogue with that worthy gentleman, it appeared that though the Townsend street D. D. had not actually taken up his entire bed and walked, he is charged with so far following the Scriptural in- junction as to walk away with a very useful portion of the said bed—namely, the blanket. In this con- vey act, however, the gentleman versed in the Law and the Prophets appears to have had the benefit of a mysterious agency, in the person of a certain ubiq- uitous Mr. Clancy. Whether they were birds of a feather or not does not appear. The lady contrived to appropriate unto herself sufficient feathers to as- sist her by way of wings in her flight from the lodg- ings in Fleet street where, by a happy and singular coincidence, she had arrived the very same evening on which the Gospel messenger of Kilmallock took up his abode there. Mr. Goggin having been re- quested to give a somewhat more satisfactory ac- count of himself than he had yet furnished, his patron, the Rev. Mr. McCarthy, who had also been invited to the interesting discussion, suggested that the Apostle of the Blanket should be discharged on his own recognisance. This the magistrate, how- ever, refused to do; but admitted him to bail on condition that he should appear when required. On Tuesday last he received a second invitation, when, after some desultory conversation, he was requested to favor the Bench with another visit to-day, in order that the scene of his future labours might be finally decided upon.—*Dublin Catholic Telegraph.*

"DANGEROUS TO FAITH AND MORALS."—We have said that the commencement of the dissolution of the National Education system might be laid at the date of Dr. Whately's retirement from the Board.—In so expressing ourselves we are, as may be sup- posed, very far from desiring to convey an actual ap- proval of the state of things anterior to that event. As might be inferred from the course taken by the Catholic Bishops from time to time, the System, as administered by Tyrone House, would seem to have been from its very birth more or less cursed by a want of that honest, satisfactory assurance of safety to Catholics which alone could promise it success.—A more or less dim or dense haze of doubt, distrust and suspicion seems to have continually hung over the Marlborough street office. To the public it was a terra incognita, into which their vision never pene- trated, at least at the moments when the portals opened to let forth a resigning or expelled member. In the story of the outcome there was always enough to add to previous suspicion of the place; the natural question—Why he had waited to narrate it until he had passed the gates for ever? being answered satisfactorily enough by the reply, that without hypocrisy or open violation of the covenanted duties of his position, the reticence imposed on him as long as he held office could not be broken. But for the manifest truth of this plea, and a knowledge of the facts—creditable to them—that however silent to- wards the public, they were within the official realm strongly protesting against the causes of complaint, the revelations of resigned or dismissed commission- ers and officials would have little weight with the public; but, however, took a long time to "make" the feeling, with respect to the institution, culminate to the point of downright repudiation and denunciation, such as are now hurled against it from every section of the Catholic body. Men were naturally slow to