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THE CATHOLIC.

QUOD SEMPER, QUOD UBIQUE, QUOD AB OMNIBUS CREDITUM EST.—WHAT ALWAYS, AND EVERY WHERE, AND BY ALL IS BELIEVED.

Very Rev. W. P. MacDonald, V. G., Editor.

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MR SHIEL'S SPEECH.

The case for the crown having closed on Friday evening, and it being generally understood that the Right Honorable Richard Lalor Shiel would open the case for one of the traversers, Mr. John O'Connell, M. P., the Court, the galleries, and indeed, all the avenues were filled from an early hour.—The passages to the bench were occupied with ladies of rank, fashion and beauty. Never did we witness such life and animation—it pervaded all parts. The High Sheriff was engaged in giving accommodation as far as possible, as well as in promoting the convenience of all.

At five minutes to ten the full Court sat. Immediately there was a dead silence, which produced a striking contrast to the previous hum and noise. The traversers were all in attendance. But there was some delay as regarded the Jury, occasioned by the absence of Messrs. Croker and Finn.—These gentlemen having appeared,

Mr. SHIEL rose and spoke to the following effect:—"May it please your Lordships and Gentlemen of the Jury, in this case I am Counsel for Mr. John O'Connell. The magnitude of this case, is not capable of exaggeration, and I do not speak in the language of hyperbole, when I say the attention of the empire is directed to the court in which we are now assembled.—How great then is the trust reposed in you, and how great is the task which I have undertaken to perform, and conscious of its magnitude I have risen to address you undismayed, but not unmoved, indeed; for at this moment, how many incidents of my own political life come back upon me, when I look upon my great political benefactor, my deliverer, and my friend; but of the emotion by which I acknowledge myself to be profoundly stirred, although I will not permit myself to be subdued by it, solicitude forms no part. I have great reliance upon you—upon the ascendancy of principle over prejudice in your minds; and I am not without some reliance upon myself. I do not speak in the language of vain glorious self complacency when I say this. I know that I am surrounded by men infinitely my superiors in every forensic and in almost every intellectual qualification. My confidence is derived, not from any overweening estimate of my own faculties, but from a sincere conviction of the innocence of my client. I know—and I appear in some part not only as an advocate, but a witness before you—I know him to be innocent of the misdeeds laid to his charge. The same blood flows through the veins of the father and the son—the same feelings circulate through their hearts. They are in all political regards the same, and with the father I have toiled in no dishonorable companionship for more than half my life in that great work, which it is his chief praise that it was conceived in the spirit of peace—in the spirit of peace it was carried out—and that in the spirit of peace it was brought by him to its glorious consummation. I am acquainted with every feature of his character—with his thoughts, hopes, fears, aspirations. I have—if I may venture to say—a full cognizance of every pulsation of his heart. I know—I am as sure as that I am a living man—that from the sanguinary misdeeds imputed to him, he shrinks with abhorrence. It is this persuasion—profound, impassioned, and I trust that it will prove contagious—which will sustain me in the midst of the exhaustion incidental to this lengthened trial—will enable me to overcome the illness under which I am at this moment labouring—will raise me to the height of this great argument, and lift me to a level with the lofty topics which I shall have occasion to treat in resisting a prosecution to which, in the annals of jurisprudence in this country, no parallel can be found. Gentlemen, the Attorney General, in a statement of eleven or twelve hours duration, read a long series of extracts from speeches and publications, extending over a period of nearly nine months. At the termination of every passage which was cited by him, he gave utterance to expressions of strong resentment against the men by whom sentiments so noxious were circulated, in language so venomous. If, gentlemen of the Jury, his anger was not stimulated; if his indignation was not merely official; if he spoke as he felt, how does it come to pass that no single step was ever taken by him for the purpose of arresting the progress of an evil represented by him to be so calamitous.—He told you that the country was traversed by incendiaries, who set fire to the passions of the people; the whole fabric of society, according to the Attorney General, has been in a blaze for the last nine months; wherefore, then, did he stand with folded arms to gaze at the conflagration? Where were the Castle fire engines—where was the indictment—and what had become of the *ex-officio* information? Is there not much reason to think that a project was formed, or rather that a plot was concocted, to decoy and ensnare the traversers, and that a connivance amounting almost to sanction, was deliberately adopted as a part of the policy of the Government, in order to betray the traversers into indiscretions of which advantage

was, in due time to be taken? I have heard it said that it was criminal to tell the people to 'bide their time'; but is the government to 'abide its time' in order to turn popular excitement to a useful official account? The public prosecutor who gives an indirect encouragement to agitation, in order that he may afterwards more effectually fall upon it, bears some moral affinity to the informer, who provokes the crime from whose denunciations his ignominious livelihood is derived. Has the Attorney General adopted a course worthy of his great office—worthy of the ostensible head of the Irish bar, and the representative of its interests in the House of Commons? Is it befitting that the successor of Saurin, and of Plunkett, who should keep 'watch and ward' from his high station, over the public safety, should descend to the performance of functions worthy only of the Commissary of the French police; and in place of being the sentinel, should become the 'artful dodger' of the State. (applause.) But what, you may ask, could be the motive of the Right Hon. Gentleman for pursuing the course he has adopted, and for which no explanation has been attempted by him? He will have obtained no advantage signally serviceable to his party by prosecuting Mr. Barrett, or Mr. Duffy, or Doctor Gray, for strong articles in their newspapers; or by prosecuting Mr. Steele, or Mr. Tierney, for attending unlawful assemblies.—He did not fish with lines—if I may avail myself of an illustration derived from the habits of my constituents at Dungarven—but cast a wide and firmly constructed trammel net, in order that by a miraculous catch he might take the great agitator-leviathan himself—a member of Parliament, Tom Steele, three editors of newspapers, and a pair of priests, in one tremendous haul together. [laughter]—But, gentlemen, there was another object still more important to be gained, had the Attorney General prosecuted individuals for the use of violent language, or for the attending unlawful meetings, each individual would be held responsible for his own acts; but in a prosecution for a conspiracy, which is open to every one of the objections applicable to constructive treason, the acts and the speeches of one man are given in evidence against another, although the latter may have been at a distance of a hundred miles when the circumstance used against him as evidence, and of which he had no sort of cognizance, took place. By prosecuting Mr. O'Connell for a conspiracy, he treats him the same as if he were the editor of *The Freeman*, the editor of *The Nation*, and the editor of *The Pilot* newspapers. Indeed if five or six other editors of newspapers in the country had been joined as traversers, for every line in their newspapers Mr. O'Connell would be held responsible. There is one English gentleman, I believe, upon that Jury. If a conspiracy were instituted against the Anti-Corn Law League in England, would he not think it very hard indeed, that Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright should be held answerable for every article in 'The Chronicle,' in 'The Globe' and in 'The Sun'? How large a portion of the case of the crown depends upon this implication of Mr. O'Connell with three Dublin newspapers? He is accused of conspiracy with men who certainly never conspired with each other. For those who know anything of newspapers are aware that they are mercantile speculations—the property in them is held by shares—and that the very circumstance of their being engaged in the same politics alienates the proprietors from each other. They pay their addresses to the same mistress, and cordially hate each other. I remember to have heard Mr. Barnes, the celebrated editor of 'The Times' newspaper, once asking Mr. Rogers, what manner of man was a Mr. Tompkins; to which Mr. Rogers replied "he is a dull dog who reads *The Morning Herald*." Let us turn for a moment from the Repeal to the Anti-repeal party. You would smile at the suggestion that Mr. Murray Mansfield, and Mr. Remondy Sheehan, should enter into a conspiracy together. Those gentlemen would be themselves astonished at the imputation. Suppose them to be both members of the conservative Association—would that circumstance be sufficient to sustain, in the judgment of men of plain sense, the charge of conspiracy upon them? Gentlemen, the relation in which Mr. Duffy, Mr. Barrett, and Dr. Gray stood to the Repeal Association, is exactly the same as that in which Mr. Staunton the proprietor of 'The weekly Register,' stood towards the Catholic Association. He was paid for his advertisements, and his newspaper contained emancipation news, and was sent to those who desired to receive it. Mr. Staunton is now a member of the Repeal Association. He will tell you that his connections with that body is precisely of the same character as that which existed with the celebrated body to which I have referred; he will prove to you that over his paper Mr. O'Connell exercises no sort of control, and that all that is done by him in reference to his paper is the result of his own free and unbiassed will. The speeches made at the Association and public meetings were reported by him in the same manner as in the other public journals. He is not a conspirator; the government have not treated him as such. Why? Because there were no poems in his paper, like the 'Memory of the Dead,' which altho'

in direct opposition to the feelings of Mr. O'Connell, and which he had frequently expressed, is now used in evidence against him. Gentlemen, I have said enough to show how formidable is this doctrine of conspiracy—of legal conspiracy—which is so far removed from all notions of actual conspiracy—to show you further how cautious you ought to be in finding eight of your fellow citizens guilty of that charge. The defendants are indicted for conspiracy, and for nothing else. No counts are inserted for attending unlawful assemblies. The Attorney General wants a conviction for conspiracy and nothing but conspiracy. He has deviated in these particulars from English usage—in indictments for a conspiracy, counts for attending unlawful assemblies are in England uniformly introduced. English juries have almost uniformly manifested an aversion to find men guilty of a conspiracy. Take Henry Hunt's case as an example. When that case was tried, England was in a perilous condition, it had been proved before a secret committee of the House of Commons, of which the present Earl of Derby the father of Lord Stanley, was the Chairman, that large bodies of them were disciplined at night in the neighborhood of Manchester, and made familiar with the use of arms. An extensive organization existed. Vast public assemblies were held, accompanied with every revolutionary incident, in furtherance of a revolutionary object; yet an English Jury would not find Henry Hunt guilty of a conspiracy, but found him guilty on the fourth count of the indictment, for attending an unlawful assembly. Some of the Chartists were not found guilty of a conspiracy, but were found guilty upon counts from which the word 'conspiracy' is left out. Gentlemen the promises of Mr. Pitt, when the Union was carried, have not been fulfilled. The prospects presented by him in his magnificent declaration, have not been realized, but if, in so many other regards, we have sustained most grievous disappointment—if English capital has not adventured here—if Englishmen have preferred sinking their fortunes in the rocks of Mexico rather than embark them in speculations connected with this fine but unfortunate country; yet from the Union, let one advantage be derived. Let English feelings—let English principles—let English love of justice—let English horror of oppression—let English detestation of foul play—let English loathing of constructive crime find its way amongst us. But, thank God, it is not to England that I am driven exclusively to refer for a solitary example of the aversion of twelve honest men to prosecutions for conspiracy. You remember the prosecution of Forbes, and Handwich, and other Orangemen of an inferior class under Lord Wellesley's administration; they were guilty of a riot in a theatre, but they were charged with having entered into a great political confederacy to upset Lord Wellesley's government, and to associate with him 'the exports of Ireland.' The Protestant feelings of Ireland rose—addresses were poured in from almost every District in the country, remonstrating against a proceeding which was represented as hostile to the liberties of the country, and a great stretch of the prerogative of the crown. The Jury did their duty and refused to convict the traversers. I recollect that the Irish Catholics at that time, heated by feelings of partizanship, were rash enough to wish for a conviction.—Fatal mistake! A precedent would have been created, which would soon have been converted into practice against themselves. Gentlemen, we are living in the midst of strong political vicissitudes. God forbid that I should ever live to see the time—(for I hate ascendancy of every kind)—God forbid that I should ever live to see the time, when there shall be found Catholic Judges at a trial at bar upon that bench, and the entire of that government bar who shall have been engaged in a public prosecution shall be Roman Catholics; and when a Catholic Crown Solicitor shall strike eleven Protestants from a special Jury List, and leave twelve Roman Catholics in that box. I re-assert it, and exclaim again in all the sincerity of my heart, that I pray that such a spectacle shall never be exhibited in this, the first criminal court in the land. I know full well the tendency of power to abuse. We have witnessed strange things, and strange things we may yet behold. It is the duty, the solemn duty—it is the interest, the paramount interest, of every one of us, before and above every thing else, to secure the great principle of liberty—in which we all have an equal concern—from invasion, and to guard against the creation of a precedent which may enable some future Attorney General to convert the Court of Queen's Bench into a star chamber and commit a farther inroad upon the constitution. Gentlemen of the Jury, it is my intention to show you that my client is not guilty of any of the conspiracies charged in the indictment; and in doing so, I shall have occasion to advert to the evidence that has been laid before you. But before I proceed to that head of the division which I have traced out for myself, I shall show the jury what the object of my client really was. I shall show you that his object was a legal one, and that it was by legal means he endeavoured to attain it. The Attorney General, in a speech of considerable length—but not

onger than the greatness of the occasion justified—adverted to the great number of diversified topics, quoted the speeches of Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell. He adverted to the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, in 1797, and he referred to the great era of Irish Parliamentary independence, 1782. That he should have been so multifarious and discursive, I do not complain. In a case of this measurable importance, we should look for light wherever it can be found. I shall go farther than the year 1782; but do not imagine that I mean to enter into any lengthened narration, or elaborate explication. Long tracts of time may be swiftly traversed. I do not think that any writer has given a more accurate or more interesting account of the first struggle of Ireland for the assertion of her rights than Sir Walter Scott. He was a Tory. He was bred and born, perhaps in some disrelish for Ireland; but when he came amongst us, his opinions underwent a material alteration. The man who could speak of Scotland in these noble lines, which were cited in the course of the trial, with so much passionate attachment, made a just allowance for those who felt for the land of their birth, the same just emotion. In his life of Swift, he says, "Molyneux, the friend of Locke and of liberty; published in 1793, 'The case of Ireland being bound by acts of Parliament in England and stated; in which he shows with great force that the right of Legislation, of which England made so oppressive a use, was neither justifiable by the plea of conquest, purchase or precedent, and was only submitted to from incapacity of effectual resistance. The temper of the English House of Commons did not brook these remonstrances. It was unanimously voted that these bold and pernicious assertions were calculated to shake the subordination and dependence of Ireland, as united and annexed forever to the crown of England, and the vote of the House was followed by an address to the Queen, complaining that although the woollen trade was the staple manufacture of England, over which her legislation was accustomed to watch with the utmost care, yet Ireland, which was dependant upon and protected by England, not contented with the linen manufacture, the liberty whereof was indulged to her, presumed also to apply her credit and capital to the weaving of her own wool and woollen cloths, to the great detriment of England. Not a voice was raised in the British House of Commons to contradict the maxims equally impolitic and tyrannical. In acting upon these commercial restrictions, wrong was heaped upon wrong, and insult added to injury—with this advantage on the side of the aggressors, that they could intimidate the people of Ireland into silence by raising to drown every complaint, the cry of 'rebe!' and 'Jacobine!' When Swift came to Ireland in 1714, he at first devoted himself to literary occupations; but at length his indignation was aroused by the monstrous wrongs which were inflicted upon his country. He was so excited by the injustice which he abhorred, that he could not forbear exclaiming to his friend DeLany, 'Do not the villainies of men eat into your flesh!' In 1720 he published a proposal for the use of manufacturers, and was charged with having endeavored to create hostility between two classes of her Majesty's subjects, one of the charges preferred in this very indictment. At that time the Judges were dependent upon the crown. They did not possess that 'fixity of tenure' which is a security for their public virtue. They are now no longer 'tenants at will.' They may be installed—be blinded by strong emotions, but corrupt they cannot be. The following passage in the life of Swift could not by possibility occur in modern times. 'The storm which Swift had driven was not long in bursting. It was intimated to Lord Chief Justice Whithed, by a person in great office, (this, if I remember right, was the expression used by Mr. Roes in reference to a great unknown who sent him here) that Swift's pamphlet was published for the purpose of setting the two kingdoms at variance; and it was recommended that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour. Whithed was not the person to neglect such a hint, and the arguments of the government were so successful that the Grand Jurors of the county and city presented the Dean's pamphlet as a seditious, factious, and virulent libel. Waters, the printer, was seized and forced to give great pains had been bestowed in selecting them, brought him in not guilty; and it was not until they were worn out by the Lord Chief Just-

ice, who detained them eleven hours, and sent them nine times to reconsider their verdict, that they at length reluctantly left the matter in his hands by a special verdict. But the measures of Whithed were too violent to be of service to the Government; men's minds revolted against his intemperate conduct.' Sir Walter Scott then proceeds to give an account of the famous Drapier's Letters. After speaking of the first three, Sir Walter Scott says, 'It was now obvious from the temper of Ireland, that the true point of difference between the two countries might safely be brought before the public.' In the Drapier's fourth letter, accordingly, Swift boldly treats of the 'Royal prerogative, by the almost exclusive employment of natives of England to places of trust and emolument in Ireland; of the dependence of that kingdom, and that power assumed contrary to truth, reason and justice, of binding her by the laws of a Parliament in which she had no representation.' And gentlemen, is it a question too bold for me to ask whether if Ireland have no effective representation—if the wishes and feelings of the representatives of Ireland upon Irish questions are held of no account—if the Irish representation is utterly merged in the English, and the minister does not, by a judicious policy, endeavor to counteract it—as he might in the opinion of many men effectually do—is not the practical result exactly the same as if Ire had had not a single representative in Parliament? Gentlemen, Swift addressed the people upon the topic in language as strong as any that Daniel O'Connell has employed. 'The remedy,' he says, 'is wholly in your own hands.' * * * By the laws of God, of nature, and your own country, you are, and ought to be, a free people as your brethren in England.' * * * This tract, says Sir Walter Scott, 'passed at once upon the merits of the question at issue, and the alarm was instantly taken by the English Government, the necessity of supporting whose dominion devolved upon Carre, who had just landed, and accordingly a proclamation was issued, offering £300 reward for the discovery of the Drapier's fourth letter, described as a wicked and malicious pamphlet, containing several seditious passages, highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his ministers, and tending to alienate the affections of his good subjects in England and Ireland from each other.' Sir Walter, after mentioning one or two interesting anecdotes, says:—'When the bill against the printer of the Drapier's letters was about to be presented to the Grand Jury, Swift addressed to that body a paper entitled 'Seasonable Advice,' exhorting them to remember the bargain made by the wolf with the sheep, on condition of their parting with their shepherds and mastiffs, after which they ravaged the flock at pleasure.' A few spirited verses addressed to the citizens at large, and enforcing similar topics, are subscribed by the Drapier's initials, and are doubtless Swift's own composition, alluding to the charge that he had gone too far in leaving the discussion of Wom's projects to treat of the alleged independence of Ireland. He concluded in these lines:—

"If then, oppression has not quite subdued,
At once your patience and your gratitude—
If you contractures compare not your undoing—
And don't deserve, and won't bring down your ruin—
If yet to virtue you have some pretence—
If yet you see not lost to common sense,
Assist your patriots in your own defence,
That stupid crew! be woe to their despair,
And know that to be brave is to be woe,
Think how he struggled for your liberty,
And give him freedom while yourselves are free."

At the same time was circulated the memorable and apt quotation from Scripture, by a Quaker, (I don't know, gentlemen, whether his name was Robinson, but it ought to have been)—'And the people said unto Sam, shall Jonathan die who hath wrought thy great salvation in Israel, God forbid? As the Lord liveth not one hair of his head shall fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day; so the people rescued Jonathan and he died not.' . . . His admonished by verse, law and Scripture; the Grand Jury assembled. It was in vain that the Lord Chief Justice Whithed, who had denounced the Dean's former tract as seditious and procured a verdict against the prisoner, exerted himself on a similar occasion: the hour of intimation was passed. Sir Walter Scott, after detailing instances of the violence of Whithed, and describing the rest of the Dean's letters, he says—'thus victoriously terminated the first grand struggle for the independence of Ireland. The eyes of the kingdom were now moved with one consent upon the man by whose unbending fortitude and prominent talents this triumph was accomplished. The Drapier's head became a sign; his portrait was engraved, worn upon

handkerchiefs, struck upon medals, and displayed in every possible manner as the Liberator of Ireland." Well might the epithet "grand" be applied to this first great struggle of the people of Ireland by that immortal Scotchman, who was himself so grand a soul, and who of mental loftiness, as well as of the sufficiency of external nature had a perception so fine, and well might our own Gratian, who was so great and so good, in referring to his own achievement in 1792, address to the spirit of Swift and spirit of Molyneux his enthusiastic invocation—'and may not I, in such a case as this, offer up my prayer, that of the spirit by which the soul of Henry Grattan was itself inflamed, every remnant in the bosoms of my countrymen may not be extinguished. A prosecution was not instituted against the great conspirators of 1782. The English minister had been taught in the struggle between England and her colonies a lesson from adversity, that school master, the only one from which ministers ever learn anything—when they shed so much blood, so much gold, and such a torrent of tears for her instructions. In reading the history of that time, and in tracing the gradual descent of England from the tone of despotic dictation to the reluctant acknowledgment of a disaster, and to the ignominious confession of a defeat, how many painful considerations are presented to us!—If, in time—if the English minister had in time listened to the eloquent warnings of Chatham or to the still more oracular admonitions of Edward Burke, what a world of woe had been avoided! By some fatality England was first demented and then lost. Her repentance followed her perdition. The colonies were lost; but Ireland was saved by a recognition of the great principle on which her independence was founded. No Attorney General was bold enough to prosecute Flood and Grattan for a conspiracy. With what scorn would twelve Irishmen have repudiated the presumptuous functionary by whom such an enterprise should have been attempted. Irishmen then felt that they had a country; they acted under the influence of that instinct of nationality, which for his providential purposes, the author of nature has implanted in us. We were then a nation—we were not broken into fragments by those dissensions by which we are at once enfeebled and degraded. If we were eight millions of Protestants (and Heaven forgive me, there are moments when, looking at the wrongs done to my country, I have been betrayed into the guilty desire that we all were,) but if we were eight millions of Protestants, should we be used as we are? Should we see every office of dignity, and emolument in this country filled by the natives of the sister island? Should we see the vast expenditure requisite for the improvement of our country denied? Should we submit to the odious distinctions between Englishmen and Irishmen introduced into almost every act of legislation? Should we bear with an arms bill, by which the bill of rights is set at naught? Should we brook the misapplication of a poor law? Should we allow the Parliament to proceed as if we had not a voice in the Legislature? Should we submit to our present inadequate representation? Should we allow a new tariff to be introduced without giving us the slightest equivalent for the manifest loss we have sustained? And should we not peremptorily require that the imperial parliament should hold a periodical session for the transaction of public business in the metropolis of a powerful, and, as it then would be, an undivided country? But we are prevented by our wretched religious distinctions from co-operating for a single object, by which the honor and substantial interests of our country can be promoted. Fatal, disastrous, detestable distinctions! Detestable, because they are not only repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, and substitute for the charities of religion the rancorous antipathies of sect; but because they particularly reduce us to a colonial dependency, makes the Union a name, substitutes for a real union a tie of parchment which an event might sunder, convert a nation into an appurtenance, make us the foot stool of the minister, the scorn of England, and the commiseration of the world. Ireland is the only country in Europe in which admissible distinctions between Protestant and Catholics are permitted to continue. In Germany, where Luther translated the Scriptures; in France where Calvin wrote the Institutes; in the land of the Dragonados, and the St. Bartholomews; in the land from whence the forefathers of one of the judicial functionaries of this court, and the first ministerial officer of the court, were barbarously driven—the

mutual wrongs done by Catholic and Protestant are forgiven and forgotten, while we, in whom that we are, arrayed by the false fanaticism which, driven from every other country in Europe, has found a refuge here, perpetuate ourselves upon each other in the numbers of sectarian ferocity into which our country, bleeding and lacerated is tread under foot. We convert this island that ought to be one of the most fortunate in the world into a receptacle of degradation and of suffering; counteract the designs of Providence, and enter into a conspiracy for the frustration of the beneficent designs of God (great appearances and clapping of hands in court.)

Chief Justice,—If in the feeling is exhibited again in this manner, or if the proceedings of the Court are again interrupted, I must order the galleries to be cleared—(Addressing Mr. Shiel)—I am sure, Mr. Shiel, you do not wish it yourself!

Mr. Shiel—There is nothing I deprecate more, my Lord; for it is not by such means the minds of the jury are to be convinced.

Chief Justice—Certainly not.

Mr. Shiel—I am much obliged to your Lordship for interrupting me, as it has given me few moments' rest.

Chief Justice—Whenever you feel exhausted, sit down and rest.

Mr. Shiel then proceeded—'It is indisputable that Ireland made a progress marvellously rapid in the career of improvement which freedom had thrown open to her; she ran so fast, that England was afraid of being overtaken. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dand is concurred in stating that no country had ever advanced with more rapidity than Ireland. Her commerce and manufactures doubled; the plough climbed to the top of the mountain, and found its way into the centre of the morass. This city grew into one of the noblest capitals in the world. Wealth and rank, and genius, and eloquence, and every intellectual accomplishment, and all the attributes by which men's minds are exalted, refined, and embellished, were gathered here. The memorials of our prosperity remain. Of that prosperity, architecture has left us its magnificent attestation. This temple dedicated to justice, stands among the witnesses, silent and solemn, of the glory of Ireland, to which I may appeal. It is seen from afar off. It rises high above the smoke and din of this populous city; it is the type of that moral elevation over every contaminating influence, to which every man who is engaged in the sacred administration of justice can ascend.—The penal laws were enacted by slaves and relaxed by freemen. The Protestants of Ireland had been contented to kneel to England upon the Catholic's neck. They rose to a nobler attitude, and we were permitted to get up in 1783, the Protestants of Ireland who had acquired political rights, communicated civil privileges to their fellow subjects. In 1793 they granted us the elective franchise—a word of illustrious etymology. There can be no doubt that the final adjustment of the Catholic question upon terms satisfactory to both parties would have been effected, and without putting the country to that process of fearful agitation through which it has passed, if the rebellion of 1798, so repeatedly, and with sincerity so effectively denounced by Mr. O'Connell, had not marred the hope of the country and essentially contributed to the Union. Mr. Pitt borrowed his plan of the Union from that great soldier to whom the glory of this country are under obligations so essential. It is not to be acknowledged, however, that they make up the zeal of their loyalty for the republican origin of their estates. Oliver Cromwell first advised the Union. He returned 400 members for England, 30 for Scotland and as many for this country; a report of the debate in that singular assembly was preserved by Thomas Burton, who kept a diary, and is stated in the book which I hold in my hand to have been a member in the Parliament of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1653 to 1659. It was published a few years ago from a MS. in the British Museum. The Members from Ireland were English soldiers who had acquired estates in Ireland. You would suppose that they were cordially welcomed by their English associates, for they were Englishmen bred and born, and they had very materially contributed to the tranquillization of Ireland. I hope I use the most delicate and least offensive term. I acknowledge that I had anticipated as much before I read the book. What was my surprise when I found these deputies from Ireland were considered to be in some sort contaminated by the air in which they had breathed in this country, and that they were most uncourteously treat-

ed by the English Members. A gentleman whose name ought to be Copley, says—"These men are foreigners." The following is the speech: Mr. Gowan said, it is not for the honour of the English nation for foreigners to come and have power in this nation. They are but provinces at best. Doctor Charles says, on behalf of Ireland, page 114, 'They (the Irish) were united with you and have always had an equal right with you. He that was King of England was King of Ireland or Lord. If you give not the right to sit here, you must in justice let them have a Parliament at home. How safe that will be, I question. Those that sit for them are not Irish leaguers, but faithful persons.' Mr. Gowan again observes—'It were better, both for England and for Ireland, that they had Parliaments of their own. It is neither safe, just, nor honourable to admit them. Let them rather have a Parliament of their own.' Mr. Austin observes—'If you speak as to the convenience in relation to England much more is to be said, why those who serve for Scotland should sit here. It is one continent, but Ireland differs. It is much fitter for them to have Parliaments of their own. It will be difficult to change it, and dangerous for Ireland. They are under an impossibility of redress. * * Their grievances can never be redressed. Elections can never be intempered. Though they were but a province, there were courts of justice, and Parliaments as free as here. * * I pray that they may have soon to hear their grievances in their own nation, seeing that they cannot have them heard here.' Sir Thomas Stanley observes—'I am not to speak for Ireland but for the English in Ireland.' * * The members for Ireland, and the electors are all Englishmen, who naturally claim to have votes in making laws by which they must be governed; they have fought your battles, obtained and preserved your interest, designed by the famous Long Parliament, obtained by blood, and sought for by prayer solemnly. You may ask of me, wherefore it is I make these references? I answer, because the institutions of a country may change the government, may, in its form undergo essential modifications; but the basis of the national character, like its language, remain the same, and, to this very day, there prevails in the feeling of Englishmen towards this country, what I have ventured to call elsewhere—the instinct of domination. Towards the Protestants of Ireland, when the Papists were ground to powder, the very same feelings prevailed, of which we see manifestations to this hour. The question is not one between Catholic and Protestant, but between the greater country and the smaller, which the greater country endeavours to keep under an ignominious control. Many of the men who voted for the Union lived to repent it, and Lord Clare himself, when designated as a plebeian Peer by a great Whig patrician, lamented the mistake which he had committed. The Union was carried by corruption and by fear. The shrieks of the rebellion still echoed in the nation's ear. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, the martial law had been proclaimed. The country was in a state of siege—the Ministers had a rod of steel for the people, and a purse of countless gold for the senator. He appeared with a crop of Cadmus to the one, and like the tower of Danæ to the other; but in the midst of that Parliamentary profligacy, at which even Sir Robert Walpole would have been astonished, the genius of the country remained incorruptible—Grattan, Curran, and the rest of those famous men, whose names cast so bright a light upon this, the brightest part of our history never for a moment yielded to a sordid or ignoble impulse. All the distinguished men at the bar were faithful to their country. Sir Jonah Barrington, in his history of the Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation, has quoted the speeches of the most eminent men of our profession; amongst which those of Mr. Goold, who argued the question of right with equal eloquence and subtlety, Mr. Joy, Mr. Plunket, Mr. Bushe, and Mr. Saurin, are conspicuous. Lord Plunket denied the right of Parliament to destroy itself. Mr. Saurin appealed to the authority of Mr. Coke. The same course was taken by Mr. Bushe, whom we have lost so lately—Bushe, whom it was impossible for those by whom the noblest eloquence was justly prized, not to admire—whom it was impossible for those by whom the purest worth was justly estimated not to reverence; and whom it was impossible for those by whom a most gener-

ous and exalted nature that could be appreciated not to love. The Attorney General has stated the opinions of these eminent persons, delivered at the time of the Union, ought not to be held on any account. I am surprised that that observation should be applied by him to Lord Plunket, when I recollect he so recently quoted one of his Lordship's aphorisms, when he was endeavouring to induce the Court to break through all its rules, in order to assist him in the eagerness of his pursuit. All the finesses of form were to be thrown down in order to accelerate the career of his Majesty's Attorney General. But what reason will he give for not attaching any value to the authority of Mr. Saurin? He said Mr. Saurin expressed his opinions in *meré debite*. So that the most important principles solemnly laid down in Parliamentary debate are to be regarded as little better than mere forensic asseveration. I can now account for some speeches which I heard in the House of Commons regarding the Education Question. I think, however, that if such doctrines be pronounced in the House of Commons itself, they will be listened to with surprise. You have heard, Gentlemen, in the course of this trial, something of the morality of war, and also something of the morality of rebellion; which the Right Hon. Gentleman was pleased to substitute as a synonyme for war; but of the morality of Parliament, I trust you will not form an estimate from the specimen presented to you by Her Majesty's Attorney General. But these opinions were expressed before the Act of Parliament was passed. Surely the truth of great principles does not depend upon an Act of Parliament. They are not for an age, but for all time. They are immutable and imperishable. They are immortal as the mind of man, incapable of decomposition or decay. The question before you is not whether these principles are well or ill founded, but you must take the fact of their having been expressed into your consideration, where you have to determine the intent of the men upon whose motives you have to adjudicate. The great authority to which the traversers appeal, gives them a right to a political toleration upon your part, and should induce you to think that even if they were led astray, they were led astray by the authority of men with whom surely it is no discredit to coincide. But whatever we may think of the abstract validity of the Union, you must bear in mind that Mr. O'Connell has again and again, stated that the Union being law, must, as long as it remains law, be submitted to: and all his positions regarding the validity of the Union have no other object than the constitutional incitement of the people to adopt the most effectual means through which the law itself may be repealed or modified. The Union was a bargain and a sale—as a sale it was profligate, and the bargain was a bad one—for better terms might have been obtained, and may be still obtained, if you do not become the auxiliaries of the Attorney General. Three-fourths of the Irish Protestants were suppressed. Not a single English member was abstracted, and there can be no doubt we stood in such a relation towards the English members, and that we were completely nullified in the House of Commons. But Gentlemen, one could perhaps be reconciled to the terms of the Union, bad as they were, if the results of the Union had been beneficial to this country.

We are told by some that our manufactures and our agricultural produce have greatly augmented; but what is the condition of the great bulk of the people of the country, which is, after all, the considerations which, with Christian statesmen, ought to weigh the most. The greater happiness of the greater number, is a Benthamite antithesis; but there is a great deal of Christianity condensed in it. When travellers from France, from Germany, from America, arrive in this country, and contemplate the frightful spectacle presented by the misery of the people, although previously prepared by description of the national misery, they stand aghast at what they see, but what they could not have imagined. Why is this? If we look at other countries, and find the people in a miserable condition, we attribute the fault to the government. Are we in Ireland to attribute it to the soil, to the climate, or to some evil genius who exercises a sinister influence over our destinies? The fault, as it appears to me, is entirely in that system of policy which has been pursued by the Imperial Parliament, and for which the Union is to be condemned. Let me see, gentlemen, whether I can make out my case. I shall go through the leading facts with great celerity; but in such a case as this I should not

apprehend the imputation of being wantonly prolix. Our time is, indeed, most valuable, but the interests at stake are inestimably precious; and time will be scarce noted by you when you bear in mind that the effects of your verdict will be felt when generations have passed away—when every heart that now throbs in this great assembly shall have ceased to palpitate—when the contentions by which we were once agitated shall touch us no further; and all of us, Catholic and Protestant, Whig and Tory, Radical and Repealer, and Conservative, shall be gathered where all at last lie down in peace together.

The first measures adopted in the Imperial Parliament were a continuation of martial law, and an extended suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Mr. Pitt was honestly anxious to carry Catholic emancipation, and to make at the same time a provision for the Catholic Clergy—You may—some of you may—perhaps think that Catholic emancipation ought never to have been carried; but, if it was to be carried, how much wiser would it have been to have settled it forty or fifty years ago, and without putting the country through that ordeal of excitement through which the Imperial Parliament, by the prostration of justice, forced it to pass. Mr. Pitt, by transferring the Catholic question from the Irish to the Imperial Parliament, destroyed his own administration, and furnished a proof that, in place of being able to place Ireland under the protection of his great genius, he placed her under the control of the strong religious prejudices of the English people. Mr. Pitt returned to the first place in the ministry without, however, being able to make any stipulations for the fulfilment of his engagements, or the realization of the policy which he felt to be indispensable to the peace of Ireland. The Roman Catholic question was brought forward in 1801, and was lost in an Imperial House of Commons. Mr. Pitt died of the battle of Austerlitz, and was succeeded by the Whigs. They proposed a measure, which the Tories who drove them out on the "No Popery" cry, carried in 1819, and then introduced the new doctrine, that the usefulness of public measures is to be tried far less by the principles on which they were founded, than the parties by whom they were accomplished. The expulsion of the Whigs from office in 1805, may, in your judgement, have been a fortunate proceeding; but, fortunate or unfortunate, it furnishes another proof that the government of Ireland had been made over, not so much to the Parliament as to the great mass of the people by whom that Parliament is held under control. The Tories found in the portfolio of the Whigs two measures—a draft bill for Catholic Emancipation, which the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Secretary for Ireland, flung into the fire; and an arms bill, to which clauses have been recently added, which even Mr. Shaw declared were "wantonly severe." You may conceive that an arms bill, with all its molestations, may be required; but it is beyond doubt that, in the year 1819, when England was on the verge of a rebellion, no such bill was ever propounded by the British ministry; and granting for a moment, merely for the sake of argument, that some such bill is requisite, how scandalously must a country have been governed, for almost half a century, if this outrage upon the bill of rights be required! Having passed the arms bill, and the insurrection act, its appropriate adjunct, the Imperial Parliament proceeds to reduce the allowance of Maynooth. There is but one opinion regarding Maynooth—that it should be totally suppressed, or largely and munificently endowed; and that an education should be given to the Roman Catholic Clergy such as a boy exercising such vast influence to receive. There are some who think that it were better that the Catholic Clergy were educated in France. I do not wish to see a Gallo-Hibernian Church in Ireland. Parisian manners may be acquired at the expense of Irish morality, and I own that I am too much attached to my Sovereign and to the connection of my country with England, to desire that conductors of French ambition, that instruments of French enterprise, that agents of French intrigue, should be located in every parochial subdivision of the country. State to an English Conservative the importance of opening a career for intellectual exertion by holding out prizes to genius at Maynooth, and he will say, it is all true; but the English government are unable to carry the measure. Why? Because the religious objections of the people of England are in the way. Another of the results of the Legislative Union.—In 1820, a decade since the Union had elapsed, the country was in a miserable condition—its degradation, its degradation were universally felt, and none more than the Protestants of Dublin. A requisition was addressed to the High Sheriff of the City, signed by men of the greatest weight and consideration amongst us. A meeting was called. Sir J. Riddell was in the chair. At that meeting Mr. O'Connell attended. He had in 1800 made his first speech against the Union, and in 1810 he came forward to denounce that measure. The speech delivered by him on that occasion was precisely similar to those numerous and powerful harangues which have been read to you. He is represented in 1814 by Her Majesty's Attorney-General as influenced by the most guilty and the

most unworthy motives. The people are to be arrayed together, in order that at a signal they may rise; and that a temporary republic should be established, of which Daniel O'Connell is to be the head—a view somewhat inconsistent with the magnificent coronation which, however, did generate into the puff of a cap maker at Mal-Jaguinas. If these are the objects in 1814, what were the objects in 1810? The same arguments, the same topics of declamation—the same vehement adjectives are employed. Gentlemen of the Jury, that speech will be read to you; I entreat you to take it into your box—to compare it with the speeches read on behalf of the Crown, and by that comparison to determine the course which you ought to take when the liberty of your fellow subjects is to depend upon your judgment. I am too weary at present to read that speech, but with the permission of the Court I will call on Mr. Forde to read it.

Chief Justice—Certainly.

Judge Ferrin—Where did the meeting at which that speech was spoken take place?

Mr. Shiel—At the Royal Exchange.

[This speech of Mr. O'Connell's, is a part of certain interesting proceedings of a meeting for a Repeal of the Union, held in the Exchange, 1810. Sir James Riddell in the chair. As read by Mr. Forde, the speech terminates with the sentence ending "an Irish King, an Irish House of Lords, and an Irish House of Commons."]]

Mr. Shiel then continued—Gentlemen, you have heard that speech read from beginning to end, because that speech conveys the same sentiments, the same feelings, and inculcates the same great principles, almost in the very same language, as we find employed by Mr. O'Connell in 1843 and 1844. That longer series of speeches and of writings produced by Mr. O'Connell within the last nine months, are no more than an expansion of the speech in 1810. Was he a conspirator in 1810? If so he was engaged in a conspiracy with Sir Robert Shaw, who took the chair when the High Sheriff left it, and declared that it was the boast of his life that he had opposed the Union, and that he persevered in the same sentiments; and will a man in 1844 be accounted guilty of a crime verging on treason, because he has repeated the opinions which he entertained when the shade of an imputation did not rest upon him? This is a consideration to which I am sure, that you will think that too much importance cannot be possibly attached. At that aggregate meeting, including so large a portion of the Protestants of this town, with the high Sheriff of the Dublin Corporation in the Chair, a series of resolutions were passed against the Union. It was determined that petitions should be presented to Parliament, and that they should be entrusted to Sir Robert Shaw and to Mr. Grattan. Sir Robert Shaw stated that he had supported the Union in Parliament, and that his opinions on the subject were unaltered. The following is the answer of Mr. Grattan; and that answer affords a proof of the falsehood of an allegation often made, that a great change of opinion had taken place in the mind of that illustrious man with respect to the Legislative Union:—

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to receive an address presented by your committee, and an expression of their wishes that I should present certain petitions and support the Repeal of an act entitled, "The Act of Union;" and your committee adds, that it speaks with the authority of my constituency, the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin. I beg to assure your committee, and through them my much beloved, and much respected constituents, that I shall accede to their proposition. I shall present their petitions, and shall support the repeal of the Act of Union, with that decided attachment to our connection with Great Britain, and to that harmony between the two countries, without which the connection cannot last. I do not impair either, as I apprehend when I assure you I shall support the repeal of the Act of Union. You will please to observe, that a proposition of that sort, in Parliament, to be either prudent or possible, must wait till it is called for and backed by the nation. When proposed, I shall then—as at all times I hope I shall—prove myself an Irishman, and that Irishman whose first and last passion was his native country.

HENRY GRATAN.

"Backed by the nation" Mark that phrase. It occurs again and again in the speeches of Mr. O'Connell. Mr. O'Connell again and again declares that unless backed by the nation nothing can be accomplished by him—And if it be a crime to apply all the resources of his intellect, with an indefatigable energy and an indomitable perseverance to the attainment of the object by the means described by Mr. Grattan in the phrase "backed by the nation," then is the son of Daniel O'Connell guilty. It will be strange, indeed, if in the opinion of twelve men of plain sense and of sound feeling it should be deemed a crime to seek the attainment of Repeal by the only instrumentality by which Mr. Grattan said it could be effected. What is the meaning of "backed by the nation?" What is the nation? We say, the Irish Catholics. The enormous majority of the people are the nation. You say the Irish Protestants, who have the property of the country, who are in the exclusive enjoyment of great intellectual advantages

and who are united, organised, and determined are the Irish nation. The Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants are both in the wrong. Neither constitute the Irish nation. Both do. And it was the sustenance of both that Mr. Grattan considered it to be indispensable to make the proposition in Parliament either prudent or possible. That just object—the combination of all classes and of all parties in this country—Mr. O'Connell has laboured to attain. You may think that he has laboured, and will labour in vain, to attain it; but you cannot consider it criminal to toil for its accomplishment; and, if you conceive that that was his object, and the object of his son—or if you have a reasonable doubt upon the subject, you are bound to acquit. In 1812, Mr. Perceval lost his life, and efforts were made to construct a cabinet favorable to emancipation; the project failed, and a state prosecution against the Catholic board was resolved on. Mr. Burrowes was counsel for the defendants, and at the outset of his speech, he boldly avowed to the fact that not a single Roman Catholic was upon the jury. He said: "I confess, gentlemen, I was astonished to find that no Roman Catholic was suffered to enter the box, when it is well known that they equal, if not exceed, Protestant persons upon other occasions; and when the question relates to privileges of which they claim a participation, and you possess a monopoly. I was astonished to find twenty-two Protestant persons of the highest respectability, set aside by the arbitrary veto of the Crown, without any alleged insufficiency upon the sole merit of suspected liberality. I was astonished to find a juror pressed into that box who did not deny that he was a sworn Orangeman, and another who was about to admit, until he was silenced, that he had prejudged the cause. These appearances, at the first aspect of them, filled me with unqualified despair. I do not say that the Crown lawyers have had any concern in this vexatious process, but I will say that they ought to have interfered in counteracting a selection which has resulted some of the most base men of this city; and must disparage any verdict which may be thus procured. But, gentlemen, upon a nearer view of the subject, I relinquish to despair by which I was acceded. If rest, my hopes upon your known integrity, your deep interest in the welfare of your country, and the very disgust which yourselves must feel at the manner and motive of your errand. You did not press forward into that jury box; you did not seek the exclusion; the total exclusion of any Roman Catholic—you, no doubt, would anxiously desire an intermixture of some of those enlightened Roman Catholics whom the Attorney General declared he was certain he could convince, but whom he has not ventured to address in that box. The painful responsibility cast upon you is not of your own wishing, and I persuade myself you will, on due reflection, feel more indisposed to those who court and influence your prejudices, and would involve you in an act of deep responsibility, without that fair intermixture of opposite feelings and interests, which, by inviting discussion, and balancing affections, would promise a moderate and respected decision, than towards me, who openly attack your prejudices, and strive to arm your consciences against them. You know as well as I do that prejudice is a deadly enemy to fair investigation—that it has neither eyes nor ears nor justice—that it hears and sees everything on one side—that to relate it is to exasperate it; and that when it predominates, accusation is received as evidence, and calumny produces a conviction." It might, at first, appear likely that a Protestant jury would take an address so bold in bad part; but they gave Mr. Burrowes credit for his manly frankness, and they acquitted the Traversers. The Crown resorted to a second prosecution; means more effectual were adopted and a conviction was obtained. Mr. Sturin did not deny that the Roman Catholics had been excluded. He was of opinion that Protestant ascendancy should everywhere prevail, and not least in those public tribunals, which are armed with so much authority, and exercise so much influence over the fortunes of the state—I do not blame Mr. Sturin. He acted, in all likelihood, conscientiously, and whatever was his fault, duplicity was certainly not among the number. I saw him in the height of his power and in his fall; he was meek in his prosperity, and in adverse fortune he was serene.—The lustre of adversity shone in his smile; for his faults, such as they were, his name, an almost inevitable inheritance of antipathy, furnishes an excuse. How much more commendable was his conduct, and the conduct of the government of the day, than if they had been profuse of professions they never meant to realize, and had offered an insult to the understanding, as well as a gross wrong to the rights of the Irish people; and yet I shall not be surprised if, notwithstanding all that has happened, the same cant of impartiality shall be persevered in and that we shall hear the same protestations of solicitude to make no distinction between Catholics and Protestants in all departments, but more especially in the administration of the law. The screen falls—the "French Milliner" is disclosed—"by all that

is horrible, Lady Teazle;" yet Joseph preserves his self-possession, and deals in sentiment to the last. But if, after all that has befallen, my Lord Eliot shall continue to deal in sentimentality in the House of Commons, the exclamation of Sir Peter Teazle, "Oh, damn your sentiment!" will break in upon him on every side!—The government, as I told you, in 1812 succeeded in their state prosecution. What good for the country was effected by it? Was the Catholic question put down, or did a verdict facilitate the government of Mr. Peel, who was soon after appointed secretary of Ireland. He was an Irish member. You are surprised at the intimation. He was returned for the borough of Cashel, where a very small, but a very discriminating constituency—under the influence of some very weighty arguments, though they had never seen him, and he believed he had never seen the chapel of St. Cornack—were made sensible of his surpassing merits. It has been remarked that young statesmen who are destined to operate upon England are first sent to dissect in this country. Mr. Peel had a fine hand and admirable instruments; and he certainly gave proof that he would give the least possible pain to any amputations which he might afterwards have to perform. He was decorous—he avoided the language of wanton insult; he endeavoured to give us the advantage of a mild despotism, and "dwelt in docencies for ever." Yet was his Irish government, and he must have felt it, an utter failure. He must have seen, even then, the irresistible arguments in favor of Catholic Emancipation; but he had not the moral intrepidity to break from his party, and to do at once what he was compelled to do afterwards.—The insurrection act was renewed, the disturbances of the country were not diminished, and Ireland continued to reap the bitter fruits of imperial legislation. A new policy was tried after Mr. Peel had proceeded to England, and the noble expedient was adopted of counteracting the Secretary with the Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Lieutenant with the Secretary. We had Grant against Talbot, and Wellesley against Goulburn. It is almost unnecessary to say that a government, carried on upon such a principle was incapable of good. The Roman Catholics of Ireland had been led from time to time to entertain the hope that something would be done for their relief. Their eyes were opened at the by the disingenuous dealing of George IV, who only smothered his laughter with the banker's chief with which he affected to dry his eyes; and Daniel O'Connell feeling that liberty could never be achieved by going through the miserable routine of supplication, founded the celebrated society by which results so great were almost immediately produced—the Catholic Association was created by him. He constructed a gigantic engine by which public opinion was to be worked—he formed the smallest wheels in his complicated machinery, and he put it into motion by that continuous current of eloquence which gushed with an abundance so astonishing, as if from a hot well from his soul. A vast organization of the Catholic millions was accomplished—the Catholic aristocracy—the middle classes—the entire of the clergy were enrolled in this celebrated confederacy. The government became alarmed and in 1825 a bill was brought in for the suppression of this famous League. Mr. O'Connell proceeded to London, and tendered the most extensive concession to the government. An offer was made to associate the Catholic church with the state. If the Catholic question had been adjusted in 1825, and upon the terms proposed, it is obvious that the fearful agitation that disturbed the country during the four succeeding years would have been avoided. Not only were the offers rejected, but the bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association was carried. It was, however, laughed to scorn, and proved utterly powerless and inoperative. The energy of Mr. O'Connell now redoubled. The peasantry were taught to feel that the elective franchise was not a trust vested in the tenant for the benefit of the landlord. A great agrarian revolt took place, accompanied, beyond all doubt with great evils, for which, however, those by whom justice was so long delayed were to be held responsible; the Beresfords were overthrown in Waterford, in Louth the Posters received a mortal blow, and at length the great Clare election gave demonstration of a moral power, whose existence had scarcely been conjectured! I remember to have seen the late Lord Fitzgerald—an accomplished and enlightened man—looking with astonishment at the vast and living mass which he beheld from the window of the room in the Court House where that extraordinary contest was carried on. There were sixty thousand men beneath him—sober, silent, fierce! He saw in it something far more important than his return to Parliament was at stake. Catholic Emancipation was accomplished; and here I shall put two questions. The first is this:—Do you think that up to the 13th of April 1829, the day on which the Royal Assent was given to the Catholic Relief Bill, the system of government instituted and carried on, under the auspices of an Imperial Parliament, was so wise, so just, so salutary, so fraught with advantages to this country—so conducive to its tranquillization

and to the development of its vast resources—that for nine and twenty years the Union ought to have been regarded as a legislative blessing to this country? The second shall be, you say, this:—Does it not occur to you, that if the present indictment for a conspiracy might be sustained, an indictment for a conspiracy might have been just as reasonably preferred against the men who had associated themselves for the attainment of Catholic Emancipation? There is not a count in this indictment which, by the substitution of "Catholic Emancipation" for "Repeal," might not have been made applicable to the great struggle of the Irish Catholics in 1828 and 1829. Money was collected by the Catholic Association.—In America, and more especially in Canada, strong sympathy for Catholic Ireland was expressed. In the Chamber of Deputies M. Chateaubriand adverted to the state of Ireland in the language of malicious intimation. Enormous assemblages were held in the south of Ireland; but more especially in Kilkenny. Speeches were delivered by Mr. O'Connell, and by others, fully as inflammatory as any which have been read to you. Yet, what would have been thought of an indictment for a conspiracy against Mr. O'Connell against the *Evening Post*, the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Morning Register*, Dr. Doyle, my friend Tom Steele, who was at that time, he is now a knight-errant against oppression in every form.—Would it not have been deemed a monstrous thing to have read a very exciting article in three Roman Catholic newspapers, against the men by whom perhaps they never had been perused? Such a thing was never thought of.—There were, indeed, prosecutions. The individual who now addresses you was prosecuted for such a speech on the expedition of Wolfe Tone. The bills were found; but Mr. Canning declared in the cabinet that there was not a single line in the speech, which, if spoken in the House of Commons would have justified a call for order, and he denounced the prosecution as utterly unjust. The prosecution was accordingly abandoned.—But, gentlemen, if I had been prosecuted for a conspiracy, and held responsible not for my speeches, but for those of others, in how different and helpless a situation should I have been placed.—Have a care how you make a precedent in favour of such an indictment. During the last nine months, the Attorney General had ample opportunities, if his own statements be well founded, of instituting prosecutions against individuals for what they themselves had written or done.—In this proceeding, whose tardiness indicates its intent you will not, I feel confident, become his auxiliaries. A coercion bill, if the repeal of the union is to be put down, would be preferable for it operates as a temporary suspension of liberty, but the effects of a verdict are permanently deleterious. The doctrine of conspiracy may be applied to every combination of every kind. It is directed against the Repeal association to day; it may be levelled against the Anti-Corn Law League tomorrow. In one word every political society, no matter how diversified their objects, or how different their constitution, is within its reach.—The Catholic question having been considered, the Tories were put out by a conspiracy formed among themselves. The Whigs come in, and the reform bill is carried—how? A hundred and fifty thousand men assemble at Birmingham, and threaten to advance on London—a resolution not to pay taxes is passed and applauded by Lord Fitzwilliam. Lord John Russell and Lord Althorpe become the correspondent of the Birmingham Union. Cumber is reduced to ashes; Bristol is set on fire; the peers resist, and the Whig cabinet, with one voice, exclaims, "swamp the House of Lords!" And who are the men—the bold, audacious men—conspirators, indeed! who embark in an enterprise so fearful and, which could be only accomplished by such fearful means? You will answer, Lord Grey. Yes, Lord J. Russell? To be sure, Lord Althorpe? No doubt about it. But is our list exhausted? Do you remember Mr. Hatchell asking Mr. Ross, "Pray, Mr. Ross, have you any acquaintance with Sir James Graham?" It is not wonderful that the Attorney General should have started up and thrown his bucket over the secretary of the home department. Sir James Graham has Ireland under his control.—From the Home-office his prosecution directly emanates. Gamblers denounce vice; drunkards denounce debauch; against immorality let wenchers revile. When Graham complains of agitation, his change of opinion may, for ought I know, be serious; nor have I from motives of partisanship, the slightest desire especially behind his back, to assail him; I will even go so far, for the sake of argument, to admit that his conversion may have been disinterested; but I do say that

s, of all men, the last under whose auspices a prosecution of this character ought to be carried on. The reform bill becomes the law of the land; the parliament is dissolved, and a new parliament is summoned and called together under the reform bill; and then very first measure adopted in that reformed parliament is a coercion bill for Ireland. The Attorney General read a speech of Lord John Russell's in favour of coercion. He omitted, to read the numerous speeches subsequently made by that noble person, in which his mistake with respect to Ireland is honorably confessed. Gentlemen, I shall not go through the events of the last ten years in detail. It is sufficient to point out to you the various questions by which this unfortunate country has been successively convulsed; the church question, the tithe question, the municipal bill, the registration bill. These questions, with their diversified ramifications, have not left us one moment's rest. Cabinets have been destroyed by them. The great parties in the state have fought for them. Ireland has supplied the fatal field for the encounter of contending parties. No single measure for the substantial and permanent amelioration of the country has been adopted; and here we are, at the opening of a new session of parliament, with a poor rate on our estates, a depreciating tariff in our markets, and a state prosecution; in her Majesty's court of Queen's Bench. Such, gentlemen, are the results of the system of policy adopted in that imperial parliament whose wisdom, and whose beneficence have been made the theme for such lavish panegyric. Gentlemen, I do not know your political opinions. I do not know, there is any one man among you favourable to the Repeal of the Union; but if every one of you are fearful of the measures becoming ultimately the occasion of a dismemberment of the empire, still its discussion may not be unavailing. If the councils of the state were governed by no other consideration, than those which were founded upon obvious justice, if measures were to be carried by syllogism, and government was a mere matter of dialectics, then all great assemblages of the people should be strenuously reprobated. But it is not by ratiocination that a redress of grievances can be obtained.—The agitator must sometimes follow, the example of the diplomatist, who asks for what is impossible, in order that what is possible may be obtained. It must strike the least observant, that when the government complained most vehemently of the demagogue audacity, their resentment is the precursor of their concessions. Take, as an example, the landlord and tenant commission, which there are some Conservatives think will disturb the foundation of property, and against which Lord Brougham addressed his admonitory deprecation to Sir R. Peel. For my own part, I think it may lead to results greater than were contemplated; for it appears to me to have been chiefly intended as a means of divesting public attention from the consideration of the other great grievances of the country. The main source of all these grievances, I am convinced, is to be found in the colonial policy pursued to this country. The Union never has been carried into effect. If it had, Ireland would not be a miserable dependent in the great imperial family. The Attorney General expressed indignation at the motto at Mullaghmast: "Nine millions of people cannot be dragged at the tail of any nation on earth." That sentiment is taken from a paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper, and I have no hesitation in saying that I at once adopt it. To mere members, without intelligence, organization, or public spirit, I for one attach no value. But a great development of the moral powers of Ireland has taken place. Instruction is universally diffused. The elements of literature, through which political sentiment is entirely circulated, are taught by the state. Ireland has, if I may so speak, undergone a species or transformation. By one who had seen her half a century ago, she would be scarcely recognized. The simultaneous, the miraculous abandonment of those habits to which Irishmen were once fatally addicted, at the exhortation of an humble friar is a strong indication of what might be done by a good government with so fine a people. Without saying that the temperance movement affords a proof of the facility with which the national enthusiasm can be organised and directed, I think it is one among the many circumstances which should induce us to think that we have come to such a pass in this country, that some great measure for its security and for its happiness

are required. I perceive the great literary organ of the Whig party has recently suggested many bold measures, which it represents as necessary for Ireland. There are numerous difficulties connected with some of the propositions to which I refer; but there is one which I consider to be as practicable as it is plain and just. It is recommended that the imperial parliament should sit at certain intervals in this great city. I cannot see any sound objection to the imperial parliament assembling now, in the month of October, for the discharge of Irish business alone, and that all imperial questions should be reserved until the London session commenced, as it now does, in the month of February. The public departments, it is true, are all located in London; but during the Irish session a reference to those departments would not be required. Such a session might be inconvenient to English members; but the repeal agitation and a state prosecution, like the present, are attended with inconveniences far greater than any which English Members, in crossing the Irish Channel, would encounter. The advantages which would accrue from the realisation of this project are of no ordinary kind. The intercourse of the two countries would be augmented to such an extent, their feelings would be identified, national prejudices would be reciprocally laid aside, and English domestication would take place. Instead of lending money upon Irish mortgages Englishmen would bring bonds to Ireland and live upon them. The absentee drain would be diminished; the value of property would be very nearly doubled; great public works would be undertaken and the great natural endowments of the country would be turned to account. This city would appear renovated and splendid. Your streets would be gladden by the roll of the gorgeous equipages in which the first nobles of the country would be borne to the senate house, from which the money changers should be driven. The mansions of the aristocracy would blaze with that useful luxury which ministers to the gratification of the affluent, and to the employment and comforts of the poor. The Sovereign herself would not deem the seat of her parliament unworthy of her residence. The frippery of the viceregal court would be swept away. We should look upon royalty itself, and not upon the insolent usage we should behold this Queen of England, of Ireland, and of Scotland, in all the pomp of her imperial legitimacy, with a disdain, the finest which her countenance beams with the expression of that sentiment which becomes the throned monarch better than the crown. We should see her accompanied by the Prince, of whom it is the highest praise to say that he has proved himself to be not unworthy of her. We should see her encompassed by all the circumstances that associate exalted rank with respect. We should not only behold the Queen, but the mother and the wife, and see her from the highest station on which a human being could be placed, presenting to her subjects the finest model of every conjugal and maternal virtue. I am speaking the language of a zealous enthusiast when I speak thus of her. I am sure that this project is not only feasible, but easy. If the people of this country were to combine in demanding it, a demand so just and reasonable could not be long refused. It is not subject to any one of the objections which attach to the Repeal question. No rupture of the two parliaments; no dismemberment of the empire is to be apprehended. Let Irishmen unite in putting forth a requisition for a purpose which the minister would not only find expedient, but inevitable. But you, gentlemen, shall only not assist in an unbecomingly so reasonable and so safe, but shall assist the Attorney General in crushing the men who have had the boldness to complain of the grievances of their country, you will lay Ireland prostrate. Every effort for her emancipation will be idle. Every remonstrance will not only be treated with disregard, but with disdain; and for the next twenty years, we may as well extinguish every hope for our country. Gentlemen, you may strike agitation dumb—you may make millions of mutes—but beware of that dangerous word, whose gloomy taciturnity is significant of the determination of its fearful purpose. Beware of its producing a state of things which may even now be avoided, to wit, a state of things which you may wish to prevent, and which will be lamented by those who contribute to their occurrence when required, like that of those who are for ever doomed, shall be unavailing, and a nation shall be prostrate. Gentlemen of the city, I do not deny that strong opinions have been made by my client, and by the rest of the travellers; but I do deny that Mr. John O'Connell may have used strong expressions, but he is not ignorant of the law. He is indicted for a conspiracy, and for a riot. I do not deny that he has been a strong expression, in the opinion of a great number of his countrymen, in their opinions.

he would find a justification. You probably have read some of the speeches made at the meetings of the Anti-Corn Law League. They were fully as violent as the Repeal bargades. The aristocracy is denounced as "solitary," "sordid," and "base hearted." A total overthrow of the existing order of society is foretold; references are made to the French Revolution, and the great emperors of the country are warned to beware! But the Anti-Corn League, it may be said, is a Radical institution. How is it? The Tories themselves, when under the influence of Partisanship, expressed themselves in reference to the Sovereign herself. You cannot have forgotten the consumptive heap upon the head of the Queen upon the resignation of 1839 of Sir R. Peel. I will not, gentlemen, disgust you by a more distinct reference to those traitorous diatribes, in which even clergymen took part. It is better we should inquire how it is that gentlemen connected with these very prosecutions have thought it decorous to compare themselves when their own passions were excited. The name of the Right Hon. Frederick Shaw is attached to the proclamation. I hold in my hand the peroration of a speech delivered by that gentleman, and reported in the Evening Mail of 9th March, 1735: "The Government might make what regulation it pleased; but the people knew their duty too well to submit to its laws. It might degrade our mitres; it might deprive us of our properties; but the government dared not lay his hands on the Bible, then we must come to an issue. We will cover it with our bodies. My friends, will you permit your friends to call out to you in vain? In the name of my country, and my country's God, I will appear from a British House of Commons to a British public. My countrymen would obey the laws as long as they were properly administered; but if it were sought to lay sacrilegious hands on the Bible, to tear the standard of the living God, and to raise a militated one in its stead, then it would be no more to wish but two things—then, in every hall and every valley, we will surround the cry of 'Po your teeth, O Israel!' I won't ask the Attorney General of Ireland what he thinks of this, because this speech refers to a subject somewhat embarrassing to him; and what his opinions are upon the Education Board, it is not very easy to conjecture; but I venture to ask the Solicitor General, who is himself a Commissioner of the Education Board, whether Daniel O'Connell, in his whole course of agitation, ever uttered a speech so full of inflammatory as this? With respect to Mr. Sergeant Wogan, the 15th suppose, agrees in every word of it, and only laments that after so much sound and fury the Recorder of Dublin is the steadfast supporter of the Government by whom all judgments thus vigorously denounced have been subsequently commuted. Gentlemen I find in the Evening Packet of the 24th of January, 1837, an account of a great Protest, at a meeting which took place at the Mansion House, where all the great Representatives of the Conservative in this country were assembled. Some very strong speeches indeed, were made at that meeting; the Earl of Chichester said, "Will gentlemen, you have a resolution in Parliament; you have a Lord Lieutenant, the slave and minion of a rebellious parliament." That speech was heard by the Right Hon. Thomas B. Ryan, C. Smith. Did he remonstrate against the use of language so unqualified? Not at all. He got up and made a speech, in which he stated that he was sorry to find that Roman Catholics were a nuisance and paid no tolls to their own. When the right hon. gentleman had such impressions I cannot feel surprised that care should have been taken to exclude every Roman Catholic from the Jury box. Let him get in as a juror and no. Presentment is not the feeling which the conduct of the right hon. gentleman is likely to produce. The right hon. gentleman has expressed great indignation at the references made at Mullin's to transactions from which the veil of oblivion ought not to be withdrawn. He said, and justly enough, that men should not gripe in the arms of their country for the purpose of dunting their those events whose resurrection can but appeal and scare us. But how does the right hon. gentleman reconcile that position with his having been himself a party to a resolution passed at the meeting of which I am speaking, in which it was stated that the condition of the Protestants of Ireland is almost as alarming as it was in the year 1742 when events took place, from whose recollection we ought to turn with horror and dismay? I referred you, gentlemen, to speeches. Permit me now to refer to the great monster meeting which have taken place in assertion of the rights of the Protestants of Ireland. I do not complain of those meetings. I do not complain that 75,000 men should be assembled and moved in order of battle; but I do complain that the men who were upon those occasions were so much in a hurry, when the purposes of their own party were to be promoted, that they were so much in a hurry, in which no such organized and perfectly physical force was made. The first meeting of monster character which I allude to is the great Carran meeting, where 20,000 men assembled and such circumstances were observed as to render it almost impossible to say that such a party as attended that

Religious meetings. The following incident is it I suppose;—The Rev. Marquis Beresford, stood up, and after a speech in his accustomed voice said—"I see amongst us a good and honest man of the county of Monaghan; who rendered considerable services, by routing Mr. John Laxless from Ballyby, I mean Mr. Samuel Gray—(cheers)—and were I a poet I should introduce him to you a couplet—
Here is Mr. Samuel Gray,
The Protestant hero of Ballyby.
(Cheers and laughter.)
He is a good, honest, straightforward Protestant, as glad to see the Protestants of Cavan, as they were to see him." Mr. Samuel Gray, who appears to have been transported by the reception given him by his Protestant brethren—(roars of laughter)—then came forward, and was received with loud cheers. He said "he was an humble individual, and could only claim the merit of being a sincere and consistent Protestant. He knew the Orangemen of Monaghan well; they were all prepared, and in the hour of danger would be ready to assist their brethren (cheers). As long as the spirit of the Protestants of Ulster remained unbroken—as long as they stuck together in heart, and so long may they defy Mr. O'Connell, aided by a Whig Government, to put them down (cheers). Should the storm arise a signal would be sufficient to bring him and the Orangemen of Monaghan to the assistance of their brethren (cheers)." But let us now proceed to the picturesque account given of the Hillsborough meeting. After describing the manner in which the people marched to the meeting, the report stated—"amongst those who marched at the head of the largest battalion, if we use the expression, were the Marquises of Londonderry and Downshire; Lord Clanwilliam, Sir Robert Bateson, Colonel Forde, Colonel Blacker, Lord Castle Renagh, and Lord Roden. The latter had fifteen thousand men in his followers. They marched from Drogheda at 12 o'clock the scene was the most imposing that fancy could conceive, or that language possesses the power of depicting. The spectacle was grand unique, sublime. There certainly could not have been upon the most moderate computation, less than 75,000 persons present, exclusive of the thousands who filled the town." From that description, I turn to a resolution passed by the Irish Orangemen on the 13th of November, 1834. And which I find in the Appendix to the Report from a select committee on Orange lodges. "And lastly, we would beg to call the attention of the grand lodge, and through their return our heartfelt thanks and congratulations to our brethren through the various parts of Ireland, who, in the meetings of three thousand in Dublin, four thousand at Bandon, thirty thousand in Cavan, and seventy-five thousand at Hillsborough, by their strength of numbers, the rank, the respectability, and orderly conduct of their attendance; the manly and eloquent expression of every Christian and loyal sentiment vindicated so nobly the character of our institution against the aspersions thrown on it, as the 'paltry remnant of a faction.'" That phrase, gentlemen, is one which Lord Stanley, in one of his wayward moods, was pleased to apply to the Orangemen of Ireland. You have heard much of the attempts to corrupt the military; just mark how the Orangemen to whom I have alluded, acted on that subject as recorded in the same appendix. "Will am Scott's 16th company Royal Sappers and Miners. That the company would most willingly forward all documents connected with the Orange system to any confidential persons in Ballymena, as prudence would not permit the printed documents should be forwarded direct to our military brethren." 1st January 1814: Resolved that warrant 1592 be granted to Joseph Mins, of the 1st Royal, 12th Dec. 1829, moved by the Rev. Charles

Blyton, seconded by Edward Cottingham that the warrant be issued to the 60th regiment, and that the Quebec brethren be directed to send in a correct return in order that new warrants may be issued. Gentlemen, I refer you to these resolutions with no other view than to show you what proceedings men who conspire to establish an influence over the army naturally adopt. If it was the object of the traversers to seduce the army from their allegiance, would not expedients have been adopted very different from those imputed to the defendants? Would not a clandestine correspondence have taken place between the "military brethren"? Would not money have been distributed to the soldiery? Would not the propagators of iniquity have been located in the public houses frequented by soldiery? Would not Roman Catholic Priests who attend at the Military Hospitals, have been charged to instil Repeal principles into the soldiers' ears? Does any thing of this kind appear to have been done? A letter written by the Rev. Mr. Power, a Waterford Priest who is not made a defendant—who is not to be punished for his letter, is given in evidence against my client, although he is as innocent of it as the Kureman of your jury. Whom that letter appeared in the Nation newspaper, why was not an official information filed against the Rev. Mr. Power? But that would not have answered the purpose of the Attorney General whose object was to ensnare. The Attorney General has not suggested a reason, or glanced at a pretence, for not having produced Father Power. He read this letter from the beginning to the termination. He told you that it was written by a priest—that his name was so. He does not prosecute the paper; but reserves it for the conspiracy on which his official renown is to be founded. What gentlemen has been the course adopted by the government in these prosecutions? Sir Edward Sugden begins by dismissing some of the most respectable magistrates of the country, on account of so meeting or other that was said in the House of Commons, and because "the meetings have a tendency to outrage." But Mr. Ross, the clandestine sub-inspector of the Home-office, in the very last words of his examination, stated that he saw no tendency to outrage whatsoever. Lord Concha declared in the House of Lords, that the proceeding of the Lord Chancellor was utterly unconstitutional. Let me be permitted gentlemen, to contrast the proceedings adopted by the Lord Chancellor in Ireland with the doctrines laid down in the charge of Mr. Baron Alderson, in his charge to the grand jury, delivered at the Mopmouth summer assizes, 1832: "There is no doubt that the people of this country have a perfect right to meet for the purpose of stating what one, or even what they consider to be their grievances; but in order to transmit that right unimpaired to posterity, it is necessary that it should be regulated by law and restrained by reason. Therefore let them meet, if they will, in open day, peaceably and quietly." Has a single respectable gentleman of station, and rank, and living in the vicinity of the place where any of those meetings were held, been produced to state to you that they were the source of apprehension in the neighborhood? Not one.
All the official persons examined—amongst whom were several of the high constables of the various districts—conferred in stating that there was no violation of the peace at any of them. Indeed, the assertion of the Attorney General was, that the peace was kept with the most tranquil intention of keeping the whole population to rise at a given time, and

establish a republic, of which Mr. O'Connell was to be the head. Forty-one of these meetings were held—all of the same character—and at length a proclamation was determined on and issued, for the purpose of putting a stop to the Clontarf meeting. You have heard the remarks of Mr. O'Connell, in reference to the course adopted towards that meeting, and to me they appear extremely reasonable.

It has been always the usage in this country to summon every member of the privy council. Upon this occasion the Chief Baron, although living in the neighborhood of Dublin, was not summoned; and Mr. Blake, a Roman Catholic, who was in the habit of attending the privy council, who lives also near Dublin, was not summoned. He had been appointed to the office of Chief Remembrancer by a Tory government; he had been the intimate friend of Lord Wellesley, the great statesman; he had never taken any part in any violent proceedings; yet was he left out, while the Recorder of the city of Dublin, by whom the jury list was to be revised, and in whose department an accident of a most untoward kind has happened, was summoned to the council. A proclamation issued; it is at once obeyed. Mr. O'Connell had long before declared that a proclamation should be obeyed. There was an end, therefore, to those monster meetings. For what purpose, then, did the crown institute this prosecution? The bills are found; the traversers apply for the names of the witnesses on the back of the indictment. One of the judges declared that he thought it matter of right; another of the judges intimated his opinion that it would be advisable for the crown to furnish the lists within a reasonable time. From that day to this the list has never been given. The list of jurors is drawn by ballot; there are eleven Catholics upon it. They are struck off. The trial comes on. A challenge is put in to the array, upon this ground that one-tenth, or very nearly one-tenth of the jury list was suppressed. One of the court expresses an opinion that the challenge is a good one. His brethren differ from him; but when in a trial at bar, at the instance of the crown, one of the judges gives an intimation so unequivocal as to the construction of the jury list, perhaps it would have been more advisable for the crown to have discharged the order for a special jury, and to have directed the high sheriff of the city to have returned a panel. I mention these incidents in order that your feeling that the traversers have been deprived of some of those contingent benefits given them by the law, should give them an equivalent for any loss which they may have sustained in your anxious performance of your sacred duty. At length, in the midst of profound silence, the Attorney General states the case for the crown, and consumes eleven hours in doing so. I was astonished at his brevity, for the pleading on which his speech was founded is the very Behemoth of indictments, which as you see, "upheaves its vastness" on that table. Nothing comparable in the brightness of its gigantic dimensions has ever yet been seen. The indictment in Hardy's case, whose trial lasted ten or eleven days, does not exceed three or four pages; but this indictment requires an effort of physical force to lift it up. Combined with this indictment was a tremendous bill of particulars in keeping with it. Gentlemen the Attorney General, as I have already observed to you at the outset of these observations, denounced the traversers at the end of almost every sentence that was uttered by him, but it struck me that it was only in reference to two of those charges that he broke forth in a burst of genuine and truly impassioned indignation. The first of those charges was; a conspiracy to diminish the business of a

court of law. How will good Lord Chatham exclaim; I remember to have read it somewhere, but I forget where: "Shako the whole constitution to the centre, and the lawyer will sit tranquil in his cabinet; but touch a single thread in the cobwebs of Westminster Hall, and the exasperated spider crawls out in its defence." The second great bit of the right gentleman was made when he charged Mr. O'Connell with a deplorable ignorance of law, in stating certain prerogatives of the crown. With respect, gentlemen, to the arbitration courts, the Society of Friends are as liable to an indictment for conspiracy as the defendants. The regulations under which the quaker arbitration system is carried on will be laid before you; and the opinions of Lord Brougham, who has always been the strenuous advocate of the arbitration system, will, I am sure have their due weight upon you. With regard to Mr. O'Connell's alleged mistake respecting the power of the crown to issue writs; what is it, after all, but a project for swamping the House of Commons analogous to that of Sir James Graham, and my Lord Stanley for swamping the House of Lords? The plain truth is this; the sovereign has the abstract right to create new boroughs. But the exercise of that right might be regarded as inconsistent with the principles of the constitution. Lord Denham and one of the late Majesty's law advisers in the House of Commons distinctly asserted the right to issue writs; and although that opinion was reprehended by Sir Charles Wetherall, I believe that of its being strict law there can be little doubt.—But the real question between the Attorney General and his traversers, was raised by the Attorney General when he said that there existed a dangerous conspiracy, of which the object was to prepare the great body of the people to rise at a signal and to erect a singular republic of which Daniel O'Connell should be the head. Gentlemen, how do men proceed who engage in a guilty enterprise of this kind? They bind each other by solemn oaths. They are sworn to secrecy, to silence, to death. They associate superstition with atrocity, and heaven is invoked by them to ratify the covenants of hell. They fix a day, an hour, and hold their assemblages in the midst of darkness and of solitude, and verify the exclamation of the conspirator, in the language of the great observer of our nature:

"Oh, Conspiracy,
Where will you find a cavern dark enough
To hide thy monstrous stage?"

How have the Repeal conspirators proceeded? Every one of their assemblages have been open to the public. No oaths, no declaration, no initiation, no form of any kind was resorted to. They did not even act together. Mr. Duffy, proprietor of the Nation, did not attend a single meeting in the country. My client attended only three; Mr. Tierney the priest, attended no more than one.—It would have been more manly on the part of the Attorney General to have indicted Dr. Higgins or Dr. Cantwell. Well, why did he not catch a bishop; if not Cantwell, at all events Higgins? For three months we heard nothing but "Higgins, Higgins, Higgins." The Times was redolent of Higgins; sometimes he was Lord Higgins, then he was Priest Higgins, afterwards Mr. Higgins. But wherefore is not this redoubtable Higgins indicted, or why did you not assail the great John of Tuam himself. He would not have shrunk from your persecution, but with his mitre on his head and his crozier in his hand, he would have walked in his pontifical vestments into goal, and smiled disdainfully upon you. But did not dare to attack him, but fell on a poor Monaghan priest who only attended one meeting, and only made one speech about the "Yellow Ford," for which you

should not include him in a conspiracy, but should make him professor of rhetoric at Maynooth. Gentlemen, an enormous mass of speeches delivered by Mr. O'Connell within the last nine months has been laid before you. I think, however, you will come to the conclusion that they are nothing more than a repetition of the opinions, which he expressed in 1810, and when you consider them in detail, you will I am sure, be convinced there runs through the entire mass of thought that came from the mind of Mr. O'Connell a pervading love of order. He declares that he would not purchase the repeal of the union at the cost of one drop of blood.

He does but ask "the Irish nation to back him; for from that backing he anticipates the only success to which, as a good subject, as a good citizen, and as a good Christian, he could aspire. But if, gentlemen, it be suggested that in popular harangues obedience to the laws and submission to authority are easily simulated, I think I may fearlessly assert that of the charges preferred against him his life affords the refutation. The learned gentleman then referred, with much power, to the fact of Mr. O'Connell's not having taken any part in the rebellion of '98, although a young man, and continued—Can you bring yourselves to believe that the man who turned with abhorrence from the conjurations of 1798 would now, in an old age which he himself has called not premature, engage in an undertaking, in which his own life, and the lives of those are dearer to him than himself, and the lives of hundred of thousands of his countrymen, would, beyond all doubt, be sacrificed? Can you bring yourselves to believe that he would blast all the laurels which it is his boast that he has won without the effusion of a single drop of blood; that he would drench the land of his birth, of his affections, and of his redemption, in a deluge of profuse blood, that he would lay prostrate that great moral monument which he has raised so high it is visible from the remotest region of the world! What he was in 1798 he is in 1844. Do you believe that the man who aimed at a revolution would repudiate French assistance, and denounce the present dynasty of France? Do you think that the man who aimed at a revolution would hold forth to the detestation of the world the infamous slavery by which the great transatlantic republic, to her everlasting shame, permits herself to be degraded? Or, to come nearer home, do you think that the man who aimed at a revolution would have indignantly repudiated the proffered junction with the English Chartists? To the charge that Mr. O'Connell and his son conspired to excite animosity amongst her Majesty's subjects, the last observation that I have made to you is more peculiarly applicable.

Mr. Shiel concluded as follows:—You may deprive him of liberty—you may shut him out from the face of nature—you may enter him in a dungeon to which a ray of the sun never yet descended; but you never will take away from him the consciousness of having done a good and noble action, and of being entitled to kneel down every night he sleeps, and to address to his Creator the divinest portion of our Redeemer's prayer. The men to whom that letter was addressed, are not guilty of the sanguinary intents which have been ascribed to them, and of this they put themselves upon their country. Rescue that praise from its technicalities—let it be no longer be a fictitious one; if we have lost our representation in the parliament let us behold in the jury box; and that you participate in feelings of millions of your countrymen, let your verdict afford a proof. But it is not to Ireland that the aching solicitude with which the result of this trial is intently watched will be confin-

ed. There is not a great city in Europe in which, upon the day when the great intelligence shall be expected to arrive, men will not stop a while in the public way, & inquire whether twelve men upon their oaths have dooped to incarceration the man who gave liberty to Ireland? What- ever may be your adjudication be is ready to meet it. He knows that the eyes of the world are upon him, and to a posterity—whether in a goal or out of it—will look back to him with admiration. He is almost indifferent to what may befall him, and is far more solicitous for others at this moment than himself. But I, at the commencement of what I have said to you—I told you that I was not a coward, and many incidents of my political life, two strange alternations of fortune through which I have passed, come upon me! But the bare possibility at which I have glanced has, I acknowledge, almost unmanned me. Shall I who stretch out to you in behalf of the son the hand whose fetters the father had struck off, live to cast my eyes upon that domicile of sorrow, in the vicinity of this great metropolis, and say, "Tis there they have immured the Liberator of Ireland with his fondest and best beloved child!" No! it shall never be. You will not consign him to the spot to which the Attorney General invites you to surrender him. No. When the spring shall have come again and the winter shall have passed—when the spring shall have come again, it is not through the widows of this mansion that the father of such a son, and the son of such a father, shall look upon those green hills on which the eyes of so many a captive has gazed so wistfully in vain; but in their own mountain home again they shall listen to the murmurs of the great Atlantic; they shall go forth and inhale the freshness of the mountain air together—"they shall be free of mountain solitude—they will be encompassed with the loftiest images of liberty upon every side—and if time shall have stolen its suppleness from the father's knee or impaired the firmness of his thread, he shall lean on the child of her that watches over him from heaven and shall look out from some high place far and wide into the island, whose greatness, and whose glory shall ever be associated with his name. In your love of justice—in your love of Ireland—in your love of honesty and fair play—I place my confidence. I ask you for an acquittal not only for the sake of your country but for your own.

Upon the day when this trial shall have been brought to a termination, when amidst the burst of public expectancy, in answer to the solemn interrogatory which shall be put to you by the officer of the court, you shall answer, "not guilty," with what a transport will that glorious negative be welcomed.—How will you be blest; adored, worshipped, and when retiring from this scene of excitement and of passion, you shall return to your own tranquil homes, how pleasurable will you look upon your children, in the consciousness that you will have left them a patrimony of peace, by impressing upon the British cabinet, that some other measure besides a state prosecution is necessary for the pacification of your country.

At the conclusion of the address, Mr. O'Connell perceived, to be much affected and on Mr. Shiel's resuming his seat, amidst suppressed murmurs of applause in the court, Mr. O'Connell shook the honor and learned gentleman warmly by the hand.

The Court suggested that it being then three o'clock, it might be as well not to hear fresh counsel that day. The court then adjourned till Monday, when Mr. Moore replied on behalf of another of the traversers.

All Letters and Remittances are to be forwarded, free of postage, to the Editor, to *Voy R. c. Wm. P. McDermid*, Hamilton.



THE CATHOLIC.

Hamilton, C. D.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1844.

The Irish Population.—The Irish are a religious people, and have all kinds of petty pious salutations always at hand. If they pass people at work in a field the regular form is "God bless your work," and the answers, save you too." If one praises a person or even a thing, or more especially a child, one must never forget to add "God bless it," for praise always seems suspicious to an Irishman, and, unless accompanied by an invocation of God's blessing it appears to him to indicate a desire either to possess it one self or to destroy it by calling towards it the attention of fairies and bad spirits, who are always upon the look out for what is beautiful. An Irish mother would rather hear a stranger say, "What a nasty, screaming, disagreeable brat your child is," than "What a charming little angel you've got there," unless he instantly warned off the bad spirits by adding "God bless him." As they never forget to ask a blessing, they are also most diligent in returning thanks, "Thanks to the great God," is a phrase often in their mouths, and certainly I believe in their hearts also. They often utter this thanksgiving even when speaking of a misfortune, as "I've lost my poor dear little child, thanks to the great God."—*Journal and Express.*

Contrast with the above mentioned modes of speech and salutation used amongst the poor benighted and idolatrous Irish Catholics, with those every where in use among our enlightened Protestant biblical and every way evangelized population of England. The salutation of these is a constant wish of damnation upon themselves and others. They damn their eyes; their blood, their limbs, against which they seem to have acquired an innate antipathy; nay their own very souls to the lowest hell!!! They pray God to blast them at every breath: and such are the every day aspirations of our reformed English population, uttered publicly in our hearing in jest and in earnest, in wrath and in kindness; on all occasions in their most trivial or serious conversation. This is *liberty of conscience* with a vengeance, allowed only to the evil spirit, who reigns in their hearts; and prompts them to invoke, what he strives to secure, the Almighty's curse upon their heads, and final reprobation.

THREE DAYS LATER FROM ENGLAND.
ARRIVAL OF THE PACKET-SHIP LIVERPOOL.

That famous packet ship, the Liverpool, commanded by Captain Eldredge, arrived on Friday, the 5th inst, from Liverpool,

with advices to the afternoon of the 6th ult. Our advices from Dublin are to the evening of the 5th. On that day O'Connell made his great speech on the State Trials. It was generally thought that the trials would end in no verdict.

General Bertrand is dead. The grand Duchess of Oldenburg, Lord Douglass, and General Cunningham are also dead.

After O'Connell's speech \$3000 "rent" was collected.

Spain was in a transition state, in consequence of the death of the Infanta Charlotte. It was looked upon as a sort of an *Irish den dand*.

France was pretty much as usual. No news from India. All parts of Europe are quiet.

IRELAND.

THE STATE TRIALS.

Our advices from Dublin are to the evening of the 5th ult. On that day O'Connell made his great speech.

On Saturday, 3d ult, the judges took their seats on the bench at ten o'clock in the morning. After the names of the traversers and the jury were called over, and answering,

Mr. O'Connell rose and said—I wish to state to the Court that the line to be taken by me will not be precisely that taken by the other counsel; and as I know that the materials which Mr. McDonough means to use will occupy the Court the greater part of this day, if it will not interfere with this course of the trial, I would ask your Lordships not to call upon me this day. I promise the Court what I have to say will not occupy much time, and I shall be enabled still further to condense my observations if I am not called upon until Monday.

The Chief Justice—Certainly Mr. O'Connell.—Does Mr. Steele mean to address the jury.

Mr. O'Connell—No, my Lord.

Mr. McDonough rose and resumed his address.

Mr. Holmes applied on the part of the junior bar, for liberty to occupy the gallery on Monday, during the delivery of Mr. O'Connell's speech, which excites so much interest.

The Chief Justice said the Court could not interfere with the excellent arrangements made by the sheriff.

The Court adjourned soon after to Monday.

We have received the following short but interesting letter from our Dublin Correspondent:—

DUBLIN. Feb. 4, Sunday Evening half-past 8 P. M.—The Court of Queen's Bench will once more become the centre of attraction to-morrow morning, when Mr. O'Connell is to commence his address to the jury. Mr. O'Connell seldom ever considers his topics before hand; but upon this occasion he has devoted much attention to the arrangement of the heads of his speech, which will, it is considered, be one of the most remarkable he has ever delivered. Indeed, I believe his chief difficulty will be to concentrate all the matter he has to argue within a single day. His address will be essentially different in the range of topics from that of the

counsel for the traversers, who have already addressed the jury. His statement will be much more of a political, personal, and historical character than an argument on the law of conspiracy or a commentary upon the evidence.—It was generally stated yesterday, that the counsel and agents for the traversers had determined not to examine a single one of the many witnesses now in town summoned up from all parts of the country, and including Roman Catholic Bishops, members of Parliament, and ex-Magistrates. The cause assigned for this arrangement was, that the case of the defendants was already so triumphant a one, that defensive evidence had become wholly unnecessary. On inquiry this day, I learned that this impression prevailed very decidedly amongst the traversers and their advisers; but, nevertheless, some of the leading counsel are anxious to examine witnesses—persons of property and station—to show that they joined the repeal movement, knowing that its objects were strictly legal and pacific, and that they would not for a moment have countenanced it, if there was anything connected with the association or its projects in the least degree at variance with public order, or the well-being of society.

A consultation of the counsel and agents of the defendants is to be held to-morrow evening, to determine the point whether witnesses are to be examined for the defence. It appears to be the general impression here that this "monster trial" will end without a verdict.

A Curious Fact.—The Indians are said to tame wild horses by breathing smartly into their nostrils. The buffaloes, hid in the prairie grass, too weak to follow the herd, when the hunter has breathed furiously into his nostrils, will follow him into camp like a puppy. The other day we had a young Durham calf hid or left by its mother in a distant pasture. When found it was wild, and retreated; we caught it and breathed into its nostrils; after the second attempt, it followed us to the barn like a dog.—*Gloucester Telegraph.*

PAYMENTS RECEIVED.

Hamilton.—Patrick Morgan, 15s.
Aylmer.—Messrs. J. & R. McDonald, 15s.
Mr. Charles McCarthy, 7s 6.
Mr. Chas. O'Flinn (Chelsea), 5s

DENTISTRY.

N. R. REED, M. D. Operating Surgeon Dentist, would respectfully announce to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Hamilton and its adjoining towns, that he has located himself permanently in the town of Hamilton where he will be happy to wait upon all who wish to avail themselves of his services.

Consultation gratis and charges moderate.

N. B. Persons or Families who desire it may be waited upon at their residences.

Office above Oliver's Auction Room, corner of King & Hughson Streets. Hamilton, Sept. 6, 1843.

DR. BARTHOLOMEW'S PINK EXPECTORANT SYRUP.

The causes of consumption are so numerous in all the northern latitudes, that some remedy as a preventative should be kept by every family constantly on hand, and administered at the first appearance of so distressing a disease. This Expectorant Syrup will in every case prevent the complaint. It is quite impossible for any person ever to have consumption, who will use this remedy on the first approach of cough and pain in the side, and in many instances it has cured what physicians had given up the cases as incurable.

This Medicine can be had at Bickle's Medical Hall; also at the Drug-gist shops of C. H. Webster and J. Winer, Hamilton.

THE SUBSCRIBER takes this opportunity of expressing his gratitude to his numerous friends for the flattering support received during the time of his Co-partnership, and begs to inform them, that in future the establishment will be carried on by the undersigned, who begs to solicit a continuance of their favors.
HENRY GIROUD.
Hamilton Livery Stables,
July 21, 1843.

NOTICE.
THE CO-PARTNERSHIP heretofore existing between Henry Giroud and Robert McKay, Livery Stable Keepers, is this day dissolved by mutual consent, and all debts due to the above Firm are requested to be paid immediately to Henry Giroud or Robert McKay, who will pay all accounts due by said Firm.
HENRY GIROUD,
ROBERT MCKAY.
Witness to the signing of the above
LEGATT DOWNING,
Hamilton, July 21, 1843.

O. K. LEVINGS, UNDERTAKER.
RESPECTFULLY informs the inhabitants of Hamilton and its vicinity, that he has opened an **UNDERTAKER'S WAREROOM** in Mr. H. Clark's Premises, John Street, where he will always have on hand every size of plain and elegantly finished Oak, Walnut, Cherry and Pine **COFFINS.** Together with every description of Funeral appendages.
Funerals attended on the most reasonable terms.
The charge for the use of Hearse, with Dresses, is £1.
Hamilton, Sept. 6, 1843.

REMOVAL.
JOSEPH O'BRIEN, Boot & Shoe Maker, returns his sincere thanks to his customers and the public for the patronage he has hitherto received, and begs to inform them that he has removed from Mr. Erwin's block to the house in part occupied by Mr. Rolston, John Street, where he will be happy to attend on his patrons; and begs also to remark that his work is reduced to the lowest prices, to suit the times, for which either cash or produce will be taken.
Hamilton Nov. 1, 1843.

FOR SALE.
BY the Subscribers, a few copies of the following works of late publication:
A Digest of the Criminal Laws, passed since 1835, containing also the Township Officer's Act, and some Forms for the use of Justices.—By Henry C. R. Beecher, Esquire—Price 5s.
Fame and glory of England vindicated Every Boy's Book; or a Digest of the British Constitution.—By John George Bridges, Esq.—Price 2s. 6d.
A. H. ARMOUR, & Co.
Hamilton, March, 1843.

D. P. LE FEVRE,
CONVEYANCER & LAND AGENT,
 At Mr. Curran's Court House Square,
 Hamilton.

Deeds prepared for 5s. Cy; Memorials, 2s. 6d; for Bonds, Mortgages, Leases, Wills, or any other Writings, the most moderate and reasonable charges.

A Register is kept for registering Real Estate for sale, in Hamilton, and the Districts of Gore, Brock, Talbot, and Wellington.

Descriptions of Farms, Lands, Town Lots, &c. for sale, entered gratis;—and for one Dollar, accompanying such descriptions, they will also be advertised, together with other lands for sale, in at least two of the newspapers published at Hamilton; for three months; unless sold sooner.

Commission on sales 2 1/2 per cent, on all sums above £100.

N. B. All letters to be Post paid.

THE HAMILTON SALOON,
 BY
HENRY McCRACKEN
 ONE DOOR EAST OF THE PROMENADE HOUSE.

THE above well known Establishment is now in the possession of the Subscriber.—He has made alterations and improvements that will materially add to the comfort of his guests. If a knowledge of his business—the employment of experienced, civil, and attentive waiters (combined with his disposition to please)—can claim support, he feels confident of success.

PARTIES

Can be accommodated with MEALS, at all regular hours, of any thing which can be obtained in the Market.

Private Rooms for social Parties.—Oysters in Season.—Mock Turtle, and other Epicurean Soups, always in readiness.

Families and others ordering them can be furnished with dishes, at their own houses;—in short, he will furnish every delicacy and substantial, in his line of business, which can be reasonably expected.

HENRY McCRACKEN,
 Hamilton, November, 1843.

HAMILTON IRON FOUNDRY,
 JOHN STREET.

E. & C. GURNEY respectfully beg leave to inform the inhabitants of Hamilton and the country generally, that they have erected and have now in full operation the above Foundry, where they daily manufacture, at the lowest possible prices, every description of **Ploughs, Stoves, & Machinery.** E. & C. Gurney would particularly call public attention to their own make of **Cooking, Parlour, and Panel Box STOVES.**

Consisting of upwards of 20 varieties,—which, for elegance of finish, lateness of style, economy in the use of fuel, and lowness of price, surpass any thing of the kind hitherto manufactured in Canada.

The following are some of the sizes:—

- Premium Cooking Stove.
- 3 sizes with three Boilers.
- 3 do with four Boilers.
- Parlour Cooking Stoves.
- 2 sizes, with elevated Oven.
- Parlour Stoves.
- 2 sizes with 4 columns
- 2 do with 2 do
- 2 do with sheet iron top.
- Box Stoves.
- 4 sizes Panel Box Stoves.

Together with a new style of **PLOUGH** and **CULTIVATOR**, never before used in Canada.

Also—Barrel and a half Cauldron Kettles, 5 pail do., Road Scrapers, and all kinds of Hollow Ware.

Hamilton, September, 1843.

SCHOOL BOOKS.

THE Subscribers have always on hand a large stock of such School Books as are in general use throughout the Province, which they dispose of Wholesale and Retail at unusually low prices.

A. H. ARMOUR, & Co.
 Hamilton, June, 1843.
 A. H. ARMOUR, & Co.

Dr. SPORN'S SICKHEADACHE REMEDY.

Read the following from Judge Patterson, for thirty years the first Judge of the County in which he lives.

Middletown, N. J., March 12, 1840.
 Messrs. Comstock & Co.

Gentlemen—You are at liberty to make such use of the following certificate as you deem will best subserve the purpose for which it is intended.

[Certificate of Judge Patterson.]

I HEREBY CERTIFY that my daughter has been afflicted with sick headache for about 20 years—the attacks occurring once in about two weeks, frequently lasting 24 hours, during which time the paroxysms have been so severe, as apparently soon to deprive her of life. And after having tried almost all other remedies in vain, I have been induced as a last resort to try Spohn's Headache Remedy as sold by you: and to the great disappointment and joy of herself and all her friends, found very material relief from the first dose of the medicine. She has followed up the directions with the article, and in every case when an attack was threatened has found immediate relief, until she is now permanently cured. The attacks are now very seldom, & disappear almost immediately after taking the quantity directed. A hope that others may be benefited by the use of this truly invaluable medicine, has induced me to send you the above, and remain your obedient servant

JEHU PATTERSON,

Judge of the Court of C P

This Medicine can be had at Bickle's Medical Hall; also at the Drug-gist shops of C. H. Webster and J. Wiener Hamilton.

Children's Summer Complaint Specific Cordial.
 Prepared and sold by Rev. Dr. Bartholomew for the wholesale dealers, Comstock & Co. N. Y.

MOTHERS should guard with their serious care the health of their children, and a little medicine always at hand in the house, may not only prevent immense pain and suffering to their tender offspring, but actually save their lives. What parents could ever forgive themselves, if for the want of a seasonable remedy they risked the life of their children till remedies were too late. The complaints of the stomach and bowels of children progress with such rapidity, that unless checked at the start, they are not only hazardous but almost always fatal. In country places this remedy may be taken with certainty to stop all such complaints, and save the expense of calling a physician, or if a physician is sent for from a distance, this medicine will assure the safety of the child till the physician arrives.

LET, THEREFORE, NO FAMILY be without this medicine always at hand in their houses. How would they feel to lose a dear child by neglecting it?

ADULTS will find this cordial as useful to them as children; and its being free from all injurious drugs, &c. will be sure to please as well as benefit. In all sickness at stomach and bowel complaints do not fail to employ carefully this cordial.

WILL YOU, WE ASK, risk your lives and those of your children by neglecting to keep this in your house, when it only costs TWENTY FIVE CENTS? We are sure all humane heads of families must supply themselves with this cordial without delay.

This medicine can be had at Bickle's Medical Hall; also at the Drug-gist shops of C. H. Webster and J. Wiener's Hamilton.

Stationery.

THE Subscribers are now receiving by the late arrivals of Montreal, a new supply of **Plain and Fancy STATIONERY**, including Account Books of every description—full and half bound.

UPHOLSTERY AND CABINET MAKING:

Oils, Colours, Painting, Glazing & Gilding.

THE Subscribers, thankful for all past favours, desire to inform their Friends and the Public, that Messrs. HAMILTON & WILSON have recently retired from the firm—and that having considerably enlarged their old premises, and acquired greater facilities for carrying on their business, they are now prepared to manufacture any article, or execute any order in their line; and as they have assumed the entire responsibility of the business, they intend to put every kind of work at the lowest prices for Cash, or short approved Credit—hoping by strict attention to every department of their Business, to merit a continuance of the kind support they have heretofore received.

Feather Beds, Hair and Wool Mattresses, Gilt and plain Window Cornices, &c. made to order, to any design, and at short notice.

A good assortment of Looking Glasses of various descriptions and sizes kept constantly on hand, Wholesale and Retail.

MARSHALL SANDERS,
JOSEPH ROBINSON.

King street, Hamilton,
 May, 1843.

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BEEF!

BLACKWELL & MILLER,
BUTCHERS.

RETURN thanks for the public patronage they have received since they commenced their business in Hamilton; and they beg leave to announce that they can, (as they have always been able to do,) accommodate customers with any quantity of the best Beef, Mutton, Veal, &c.; that can be offered for sale in the Town. Having taken the premium for fat Beef at the last cattle show, they take leave to speak of this fact as a guarantee that their meat shall be all prize meat, and afforded at a lower price than meat in general is sold at.

N.B. Please call and examine, and judge for yourselves, at the stall of
BLACKWELL & MILLER.
 Hamilton, February 20, 1844.

CAUTION.—Whereas **PATRICK KINNING**, an indentured Apprentice to the Coopering business, has lately ran away from my employment. This is therefore to give notice, that I will prosecute with the utmost rigour of the law, any person who will harbour him; or One Penny reward for information that will enable me to discover his whereabouts.

THOMAS McMANUS.

Dundas, January 30, 1844.

REMOVAL.

JNO. P. LARKIN,

Importer of **BRITISH, FRENCH, & AMERICAN STAPLE AND FANCY GOODS.**

HAS REMOVED to his NEW STORE, in Mr. J. Erwin's Brick Building, corner of King and John Streets, being a few doors west of Mr Devereux's Royal Exchange, in which he is opening a splendid assortment of **NEW and CHEAP GOODS.** The highest price in Cash paid for Wheat Hamilton, 2nd January, 1844. 6m. ez. s

JAMES CAHILL,

BARRISTER AND ATTORNEY AT LAW,
 Corner of King and Hughson Streets,
 Over Mr. Dayfoot's Brick Store
 HAMILTON.

T. BRANIGAN

Is now paying
 The Highest Price in CASH for
WHEAT & TIMOTHY SEED,
 At his General Grocery and Liquor Store
 King Street.
 Hamilton, Sept. 13, 1843.

THE CATHOLIC.

Devoted to the simple explanation and maintenance of the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. And containing subjects of a Religious—Moral—Philosophical—and HISTORICAL character; together with Passing Events, and the News of the Day.

PUBLISHED on WEDNESDAY MORNING, in time for the Eastern and Western Mails, at the Catholic Office, No. 21, John Street, Hamilton, G. D. [Canada.]

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 HALF-YEARLY PAID IN ADVANCE.

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Persons neglecting to pay one month after subscribing, will be charged with the Postage at the rate of Four Shillings a year.

All letters and remittances must be forwarded, free of postage, to the Editor, the Very Rev. Wm. P. McDonald, Hamilton.

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Six lines and under, 2s 6d first insertion, and 7 1/2 each subsequent insertion.—Ten lines and under 3s 4d first insertion, and 10d each subsequent insertion.—Over Ten Lines, 4d. per line first insertion, and 1d. per line each subsequent insertion.

Advertisements, without written directions, inserted till forbid, and charged accordingly.

Advertisements, to ensure their insertion must be sent in the evening previous to publication.

A liberal discount made to Merchants and others who advertise for three months and upwards.

All transitory Advertisements from strangers or irregular customers, must be paid for when handed in for insertion.

Produce received in payment at the Market price.

AGENTS.

- Rev Mr. Connelly, Dundas
- Rev Mr. Ferguson, Brantford
- Rev. Mr. Ghney, Quebec
- Rev. J. P. O'Dwyer, London
- Mr Harding O'Brien do
- Rev Mr Vervais do
- Mr Kevel, P. M. Amherstburg
- do do
- Rev Mich. MacDonald, [Maidstone,] Sandwich
- Very Rev August McDonell Chatham
- A. Chisholm Esq. Thorold
- Rev Ed. Gordon, Niagara
- Rev W. Patk. McDonagh, St Catharines
- Messrs P. Hogan & Chas Calhoun, St Thomas
- do do Streetsville
- Rev Mr. Snyder, Wilmot, near Waterloo
- Rev Mr. O'Reilly, Gore of Toronto
- Rev Mr Hay do
- Messrs. Dr. Bradley & E. McSherry, do
- Rev Mr. Quinlan, New Market
- Rev M. V. Charcat & Proulx, Penetanguishene
- Mr. Samuel Baxter, Barre
- Rev. F. Fitzpatrick, Lindsay
- Rev. Mr. Dolan, Cobourg
- Rev Mr. Butler, Peterborough
- A. McPhaul, Esq., Wellington
- Rev Mr. Lallor, Picton
- Rev Mr. Brennan, Belleville
- Rev T. Smith, Richmond
- Right Reverend Bishop Goulin, Kingston
- Right Reverend Bishop Phelan, do
- Rev Patrick Dollard, do
- Rev Mr. Bourke, Tiendevaga
- Rev Mr. O'Rielly, Brockville
- Rev J. Clarke, Prescott
- H. McGillis, Esq., Williamstown
- D. O'Connor, Esq., J. P., Bytown
- Rev. J. H. McDonagh, Perth
- Rev. George Hay, [St. Andrew's] Glengarry
- Rev John Macdonald, [St. Raphael,] do
- Rev John Macdonald, [Alexandria,] do
- Mr. James Doyle, Aylmer
- Mr Martin McDonell, Recollect Church, Montreal
- Rev P. McMahon, Quebec
- Right Reverend Bishop Fraser, Nova Scotia
- Right Reverend Bishop Fleming, Newfoundland
- Right Reverend Bishop Purcell, Cincinnati, Ohio
- Right Reverend Bishop Fenwick, Boston
- Right Reverend Bishop Kenrick, Philadelphia

LETTER-PRESS PRINTING OF EVERY DESCRIPTION NEATLY EXECUTED.

SAMUEL McCURDY,
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 JOHN STREET, HAMILTON.