

The Waterford Chronicle.

THE VOLUNTARY SLAVE THAT MAKES THE OPPRESSOR.

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MOST IMPORTANT FROM FRANCE.

ABOLITION OF THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS—DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER.

The following is the report of the French Ministry, with the ordinances of CHARLES X., which we promised in Saturday's *Chronicle*—

"SIRE—Your Ministers would be little worthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honors them, if they longer delayed to place before your eyes a view of our internal situation, and to point out to your high wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

"At no time for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and afflictive aspect. Notwithstanding an actual prosperity, of which our annals afford no example, signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom.

"The successive causes which have occurred to weaken the springs of the monarchical Government tend now to impair and to change the nature of it. Stripped of its moral force, authority, lost in the capital and the provinces, no longer contends, but at a disadvantage, with the factions. Pernicious and subversive doctrines, loudly professed, are spread and propagated among all classes of the population. Alarms, too generally credited, agitate people's minds, and trouble society. On all sides the present is called upon for pledges of security for the future.

"An active, ardent, indefatigable malevolence, labours to ruin all the foundations of order, and to snatch from France the happiness it enjoys under the sceptre of its Kings. Skillful in turning to advantage all discontents, and to excite all hatreds, it foment among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and endeavours to sow every where the seeds of trouble and civil war; and already, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions, hitherto confined to the summits of society, begin to penetrate the depths of it, and to stir up the popular classes. It is proved also that these masses would never move without danger, even to those who endeavour to rouse them from repose.

"A multitude of facts collected in the course of the electoral operations confirm these data, and would offer us the too certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your Majesty to avert the misfortune.

"Every where, also, if we observe with attention, there exists a necessity of order, of strength, and of duration; and the agitations which appear to be the most contrary to it are in reality only the expression and the testimony of it.

"It must be acknowledged these agitations, which cannot be increased without great dangers, are almost exclusively produced and excited by the liberty of the press. A law on the elections no less fruitful of disorders, has doubtless concurred in maintaining them, but it would be denying what is evident, to refuse seeing in the journals the principal focus of a corruption, the progress of which is every day more sensible, and the first source of the calamities which threaten the kingdom.

"Experience, Sire, speaks more loudly than theories. Men who are doubtless enlightened, and whose good faith is not suspected, led away by the ill-understood example of a neighboring people, may have believed that the advantages of the periodical press would balance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so; the proof is decisive, and the question is now judged in the public mind.

"At all times, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is in its nature to be, only an instrument of disorder and sedition.

"What numerous and irrefragable proofs may be brought in support of this truth! It is by the violent and incessant action of the press that the sudden and too frequent variations of our internal policy are to be explained. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of Government to be established in France, nor any constant attention to be devoted to introduce into all the branches of the Administration the ameliorations of which they are susceptible. All the Industries, since 1814, though formed under divers inducements, and subject to opposite directions, have been exposed to the same attacks and to the same licence of the passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party, nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

"This comparison alone, so fertile in reflections, would suffice to assign to the press its true, its inevitable character. It endeavours, by constant, persevering, daily-repeated efforts, to relax all the bonds of obedience and subordination, to weaken all the springs of public authority, to degrade and debase it in the opinion of the people, to create against it every where an embarrassment and resistance.

"It never ceases not in substituting its own false opinion of mind a prudent liberty of examination, but to reduce to a problem the most positive truths; not to excite upon political questions frank and useful controversy, but to place them in a false light, and to solve them by solutions.

"The press has thus excited confusion in the very rights of mind—has shaken the most firm convictions, and produced, in the midst of society, a confusion of principles which leads itself to the very fatal attempts. It is by anarchy it declares that it presses the way for anarchy in the State. It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition—that of publicity. What is strange, but what may be said with truth, is, that there is no publicity in France, taking this word in its just and strict sense. In this state of things, facts, when they are not entirely hidden, do not come to the knowledge of several millions of people, except in a partial and distorted manner, in the most odious manner. A thick cloud raised by the Journals conceals the truth, and in some manner intercepts the light between the Government and the people. The Kings, your predecessors, Sire, always loved to communicate with their subjects; this is a function which the press has not thought fit that your Majesty should enjoy.

"A licentiousness which has passed all bounds has, in fact, not respected, even on the most solemn occasions, either the express will of the King or the words pronounced from the Throne. Some have been misunderstood and misrepresented; others have been the subject of perfidious commentaries, or of bitter derision. It is thus that the last act of the Royal power—the proclamation—was discredited by the public even before it was known by the electors.

"This is not all. The press tends to no less than to subjugate the Sovereignty, and to invade the powers of the State. The pretended organ of public opinion, it aspires to direct the debates of the two Chambers; it is incontestable that it brings into them the weight of an influence no less fatal than decisive. This domination has assumed, especially within these two or three years, in the Chamber of Deputies, a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. We have seen in this interval of time the journals pursue with their insults and their outrages the members whose votes appeared to them uncertain or suspected. Too often, Sire, the freedom of debate in that Chamber has sunk under the reiterated blows of the press.

"The conduct of the opposition journals in the most recent circumstances cannot be characterized in terms less severe. After having themselves called forth an address derogatory to the prerogatives of the Throne, they have not feared to re-establish as a principle the election of the 221 Deputies whose work it is; and yet your Majesty repulsed the address as offensive; you had publicly planned the refusal of concurrence which was expressed in it; you had announced your immutable resolution to defend the rights of your Crown, which were so openly compromised. The periodical journals have paid no regard to this; on the contrary, they have taken it upon them to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your Majesty will decide whether this presumptuous attack shall remain longer unpunished.

"But of all the excesses of the press, the most serious perhaps remains to be pointed out. From the very beginning of that expedition, the glory of which throws so pure and so durable a splendor on the noble crown of France, the press has criticised with unheard-of violence the measures, the means, the preparations, the chances of success. Insensible to the national honour, it was not its fault if our flag did not remain degraded by the insults of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity, it has not been its fault if Europe has not remained subject to a cruel slavery and a shameful tribute.

"This was not enough. By a treachery which our laws might have reached, the press has eagerly published all the secrets of the armament—brought to the knowledge of foreigners the state of our forces; the number of our troops, and that of our ships; they pointed out the stations, the means to be employed to surmount the variability of the winds and to approach the coast. Every thing, even the place of landing was divulged, as if to give the enemy more certain means of defence; and a thing unheard-of among civilized people, the press has not hesitated, by false alarms on the dangers to be incurred, to cause discouragement in the army, and pointing to its hatred the commander of the enterprise, it has, as it were, excited the soldiers to raise against him the standard of revolt or to desert their colours. This is what the organs of a party which pretends to be national have dared to do.

"What it dares to do every day in the interior of the kingdom tends to no less than to disperse the elements of public peace, to dissolve the bands of society, and evidently to make the ground tremble under our feet. Let us not fear to disclose the whole extent of our evils, in order the better to appreciate the whole extent of our resources. A system of defamation, organised on a great scale, and directed with unequalled perseverance, reaches either near at hand or at a distance, the most humble of the agents of the Government. None of your subjects, Sire, is secure from an insult, if he receive from his Sovereign the least mark of confidence or satisfaction. A vast net thrown over France envelops all the public functionaries. Placed in a constant state of accusation, they seem to be in a manner cut from civil society; only those are spared whose fidelity gives way; the others are marked by the faction by the sequel, without doubt, sacrificed to popular vengeance.

"The periodical press has not displayed less ardour in pursuing with its poisoned darts religion and its priests. Its object is, and always will be, to root out of the heart of the people even the last germ of religious sentiments. Sire, do not doubt that it will succeed in this, by attacking the foundations of the press, by poisoning the sources of public morals, and by covering the Ministers of the altars with derision and contempt.

"No strength, it must be confessed, is able to resist a dissolving power so active—as the press, at all times when it has been freed from its fetters, has made an irruption and invasion in the State. Ours cannot but be singularly struck with the similitude of its effects during the last fifteen years, notwithstanding circumstances, and notwithstanding the changes of the men who have figured on the political stage. Its destiny, in a word, is to recommence the revolution, the principles of which it loudly proclaims. Placed and replaced at various intervals under the yoke of the censorship, it has always resumed its liberty only to recommence its interrupted work. In order to continue it with the more success, it has found an active auxiliary in the departmental press, which, engaging in combat local jealousies and hatreds, striking terror into the minds of timid men, assailing authority by endless intrigues, has exercised a decisive influence on the elections.

"These last effects, Sire, are transitory; but effects more durable are observed in the manner and in the character of the nation. An ardent, lying, and passionate spirit of contention, the schools of scandal and licentiousness have produced in it important changes, and profound alterations; it gives a false direction to people's minds, it fills them with prejudices—diverts them from serious studies—retards them in the progress of the sciences and the arts—excites among us a fermentation, which is constantly increased—maintains, even in the bosom of our families, fatal dissen-

sions—and might, by degrees, throw us back into barbarism.

"Against so many evils, engendered by the periodical press, law and justice are equally obliged to confess their want of power. It would be superfluous to inquire into the causes which have weakened the power of repression, and have insensibly made it an ineffectual weapon in the hands of the authorities. It is sufficient to appeal to experience, and to show the present state of things.

"Judicial forms do not easily lend themselves to an effectual repression. This truth has long since struck reflecting minds; it has lately become still more evident. To satisfy the wants which caused its institution, the repression ought to be prompt and strong; it has been slow, weak, and almost null. When it interferes, the mischief is almost done, and the punishment, far from repairing it, only adds the scandal of the discussion.

"The judicial prosecution is wearied out, but the seditions press is never weary. The one stops because there is too much to prosecute; the other multiplies its strength by multiplying its transgressions. In these divers circumstances the prosecutions have had their appearance of activity or of relaxation. But what does the press care for zeal or lukewarmness in the public prosecutor? It seeks, in multiplying its successes, the certainty of their impunity.

"The insufficiency, or even the inutility of the institutions established in the laws now in force, is demonstrated by facts. It is equally proved by facts that the public safety is endangered by the licentiousness of the press. It is time, it is more than time, to arrest its ravages.

"Give ear, Sire, to the prolonged cry of indignation and of terror which rises from all points of your kingdom. All peaceable men, all upright, the friends of order, stretch to your Majesty their supplicant hands. All implore you to preserve them from the return of the calamities by which their fathers or themselves have been so severely afflicted. These alarms are too real not to be listened to—these wishes are too legitimate not to be regarded.

"There is but one means to satisfy them; it is to return to the Charter (*rentrer dans la Charte*). If the terms of the 8th article are ambiguous, its spirit is manifest. It is certain that the Charter has not given the liberty of the journals and of periodical writings. The right of publishing one's personal opinions certainly does not imply the right of publishing the opinions of others. The one is the use of a faculty which the law might leave free or subject to restrictions; the other is a commercial speculation, which, like others, and more than others, supposes the superintendance of the public authority.

"The intentions of the Charter on this subject are accurately explained in the law of the 21st of October, 1814, which is in some measure the appendix to it; this is the less doubtful, as this law was presented to the Chambers on the 5th of July—that is to say, one month after the promulgation of the Charter. In 1819, at the time when a contrary system prevailed in the Chambers, it was openly proclaimed there that the periodical press was not governed by the enactments of the 8th article. This truth is besides attested by the very laws which have imposed upon the Journals the condition of giving securities.

"Now, Sire, nothing remains but to inquire how this return to the charter, and to the law of the 21st of October, 1814, is to be effected. The gravity of the present juncture has solved this question.

"We must not deceive ourselves—we are no longer in the ordinary condition of a representative government. The principles on which it has been established could not remain entire amidst the political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated even into our laws, tends to put itself in the place of legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of the elections by means of the journals, and the assistance of numerous affidations. It has paralysed, as far as has depended on it, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the Crown—that of dissolving the elective Chamber. By this very thing the constitution of the state is shaken. Your Majesty alone retains the power to replace and consolidate it upon its foundations.

"The right, as well as the duty of assuring its maintenance, is the inseparable attribute of the sovereignty. No government on earth would remain standing if it had not the right to provide for its own security. This power exists before the laws, because it is in the nature of things. These, Sire, are maxims which have in their favour the sanction of time, and the assent of all the publicists of Europe.

"But these maxims have another sanction still more positive—that of the Charter itself. The 14th article has invested your Majesty with a sufficient power, not undoubtedly to change our institutions, but to consolidate them and render them more stable.

"Circumstances of imperious necessity do not permit the exercise of this supreme power to be any longer deferred. The moment is come to have recourse to measures which are in the spirit of the charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, the resources of which have been exhausted in vain.

"These measures, Sire, your Ministers, who are to secure the success of them, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are that justice will remain the strongest.

"We are, with the most profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's most humble and most faithful subjects.

(Signed)
Prince de POLIGNAC,
CHATELAIN,
Baron D'HAMASSEZ,
Comte de PEYRONNET,
MONTBEL,
Comte de GUERNON RANVILLE,
Baron CAPELLLE.

ORDINANCES OF THE KING.

CHARLES X.
To all to whom these presents shall come, health.
On the report of our Council of Ministers, we have ordained and ordain as follows:—
Art. 1.—The liberty of the periodical press is suspended.

"The regulations of the articles, 1st, 2d, and 3d of the first section of the law of the 21st of October, 1814, are suspended in force, in consequence of which no journal, or periodical or semi-periodical writing, established, or about to be established, without distinction of the matters therein treated, shall be printed in Paris or in the Departments, except by virtue of an authority first obtained from us respectively by the authors and the printer. This authority shall be renewed every three months. It may also be renewed.

"The authority shall be provisionally granted, and provisionally withdrawn by the prefects from journals and periodical or semi-periodical works, published, or about to be published in the Departments.

"Journals and writings published in contravention of article 2, shall be immediately seized. The presses and types used in the printing of them shall be placed in a public depot under seals, or removed until for use.

"No writing but of twenty printed pages shall appear except with the authority of the Minister, Secretary of State for the Interior at Paris, and of the Prefect in the Departments. Every writing of more than twenty printed pages, which shall not constitute one single work, shall also enjoy the published authority only.

"Writings published without authority, shall be seized, and the presses and types used in printing of them shall be placed in a public depot, and removed until for use.

"Members relating to legal process and memoirs of scientific and literary societies must be previously authorized, if they treat in whole or in part of political matters, in which case the measures prescribed by Article 5 shall be applicable.

"Every regulation contrary to the present shall be without effect.

"The execution of the present Ordinance shall take place in Paris, the 25th day of July, of the year of Grace 1830, and of that which is prescribed by the Ordinance of the 18th of January, 1817.

"Our Secretaries of State are charged with the execution of this Ordinance.
Given at Chateau St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, of the year of Grace 1830, and of that of our reign.
(Signed) CHARLES X.
(Countersigned) Prince de POLIGNAC, President,
CHATELAIN, Keeper of the Seals,
Baron D'HAMASSEZ, Minister of Marine,
MONTBEL, Minister of Finance,
Comte de GUERNON RANVILLE, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs,
Baron CAPELLLE, Secretary of State for Public Works.

CHARLES X.
To all to whom these presents shall come, &c.
Having considered Art. 50 of the Constitutional Charter—being informed of the manoeuvres which have been practised in various parts of our kingdom, to deceive and mislead the electors during the late operations of the electoral college—having heard our Council—we have ordained and ordain as follows:—

"Art. 1.—The Chamber of Deputies of Departments is dissolved.

"Our Minister Secretary of State of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.
Given at St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, of the year of Grace, 1830, and the sixth of our reign.
(Signed) CHARLES X.
(Countersigned) Comte de PEYRONNET,
Peer of France, Secretary of State for the Interior.

CHARLES X.
To all those who shall see these presents, health.

"Having resolved to prevent the return of the manoeuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence on the late operations of the Electoral Colleges—wishing in consequence to reform, according to the principles of the Constitutional Charter, the rules of election, of which experience has shown the inconvenience, we have recognized the necessity of using the right which belongs to us, to provide by act emanating from ourselves, for the safety of the State, and for the suppression of every enterprise injurious to the dignity of our Crown. For these reasons, having heard our Council, we have ordained and ordain—

"Art. 1.—Conformably to the Articles 15, 26, and 30, of the Constitutional Charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall consist only of Deputies of Departments.

"The electoral law, and the rule of eligibility shall consist exclusively of the vote for which the elector and the candidate shall be inscribed individually, as holders of real or personal property in the full of the land tax or of personal taxes.

"Each Department shall have the number of Deputies allotted to it by the 35th Article of the Constitutional Charter.

"The Deputies shall be elected, and the Chamber renewed, in the form and for the time fixed by the 37th Article of the Constitutional Charter.

"The Electoral Colleges shall be divided into Colleges of Arrondissement, and Colleges of Departments, except the case of Electoral Colleges of Departments to which only one deputy is allotted.

"The Electoral Colleges of Arrondissement shall consist of all the Electors whose political domicile is established in the Arrondissement. The Electoral Colleges of Departments shall consist of a fourth part of the highest taxed of the Electors of Departments.

"The present limits of the Electoral Colleges of Arrondissement are retained.

"Every Electoral College of Arrondissement shall elect a number of candidates equal to the number of Deputies.

"The College of Arrondissement shall be divided into as many sections as candidates. Each section shall be in proportion to the number of sections, and to the total number of electors, having regard as much as possible to the convenience of place and the 25th article.

"The sections of the Electoral College of Arrondissement may assemble in different places.

"Every section of the Electoral College of Arrondissement shall choose a Candidate and proceed separately.

"The Presidents of the sections of the Electoral College of Arrondissement shall be nominated by the Prefects from among the electors of the Arrondissement.

"The College of Department shall choose the Deputies; half the Deputies of Departments shall be chosen from a general list of Candidates proposed by the Colleges of Arrondissement; nevertheless, if the number of the Deputies of the Department is uneven, the division shall be made without impairment of the right reserved by the College of Department.

"In cases where, by the effect of omission, of void or double nominations, the list of Candidates proposed by the Colleges of Arrondissement shall be incomplete, if the list is reduced below half the number required, the College of Department shall choose another Deputy not in the list; if the list is reduced below a fourth, the College of Department may elect beyond the whole of the Deputies of Departments.

"The Prefects, Sub-Prefects, and the General Officers commanding Military Divisions and Departments, are not to be elected in the Departments where they exercise their functions.

"The list of electors shall be settled by the Prefect in the Council of Prefecture. It shall be posted up in the public places of the Colleges, and shall be subject to the claims of the electors, who shall have not been authorized by the Prefect, shall be decided by the Chamber of Deputies; at the same time that it shall decide upon the validity of the operations of the Colleges.

"In the Electoral Colleges of Department, the two highest taxed of the electors who pay the most taxes shall exercise the duty of scrutators.

"The same disposition shall be observed in the sections of the College of Arrondissement, composed, at most, of only fifty electors. In the other College sections the functions of scrutators shall be executed by the oldest and the richest of the electors. The Secretary

shall be nominated in the College of the Section of Colleges by the President and Scrutators.

"No person shall be admitted into the College, or Section of College, if he is not inscribed in the list of electors who compose part of it. This list will be delivered to the President and will remain posted up in the place of the sitting of the College, during the period of its proceedings.

"All discussion and deliberation whatever are forbidden in the bosom of the Electoral College.

"The police of the College belongs to the President. No armed force without his order can be placed near the Hall of the Sittings. The military commandant shall be bound to obey his requisitions.

"The nominations shall be made in the Colleges and Sections of Colleges, by the absolute majority of the votes given. Nevertheless, if the nominations are not determined by two rounds of scrutiny, the bureau shall determine the list of persons who shall have obtained the greatest number of suffrages at the second round. It shall contain a number of names double that of the number of suffrages which remain to be made. At the third round, no suffrages can be given except to the persons inscribed on the list, and the nominations shall be made by a relative majority.

"The electors shall vote by ballots, each ballot shall contain as many names as there are nominations to be made.

"The electors shall write their vote on the ballot, or insert it to be written by the scrutators.

"The mode, the application, and the manner of each elector shall deposit his ballot, shall be prescribed by the Secretary on a list destined to establish the number of the voters.

"Every scrutiny shall remain open for six hours, and shall be closed during the sitting.

"The results shall be drawn on a separate sheet at each sitting. This process shall be signed by all the members of the bureau.

"Conformably to article 46 of the Constitutional Charter, no amendment can be made on any law in the Chamber, unless it has been proposed and sanctioned by an Act unless it has been discussed in the previous sitting.

"All regulations contrary to the present ordinance shall remain without effect.

"Our Ministers, Secretaries of State, and charged with the execution of the present Ordinance.
Given at St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, of the year of Grace 1830, and 6th of our reign.
(Signed) CHARLES X.
(Countersigned by all the Ministers.)

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE—BATTLE IN THE CITY OF PARIS—THE REGULAR TROOPS DECLARE FOR THE PEOPLE—THE TREACHEROUS AND SANGUINARY KING HAS FLED FROM PARIS.

(From the *Globe* of Friday.)

In the present state of things in France, we can hardly expect our regular communications to be continued, and we are reduced to the necessity of collecting rumours purporting to come from the Coast.

In private accounts received this morning, it is asserted that Ministers have given instructions to the Directeur-General des Postes in Paris to have all letters either going to or coming from the Departments opened and read previous to their being sent to the proper parties; and should they contain any thing of a political nature regarding the late Ordinance, to be detained. Party feeling in the Departments is now at its highest pitch, and every thing is feared. No authentic information can be expected from France at present, except through the medium of the Ambassadors' bags, as papers and letters are now stopped by the authority of the police, and all the *city-fetes* are inspected before they are forwarded. The state of Paris is dreadful, and the English and other foreigners are leaving as quick as they possibly can, as the most fatal events are daily expected. The shops are closed, and the once gayest capital of Europe presents now the most mournful appearance.

The rumours from the coast are, that the National Guards have declared against the Bourbons—that the King has left the capital—and that the hotel of the Prince de Polignac has been razed to the ground.

Private accounts from Paris say that all bargains in the funds at Paris within a fortnight have been made void and null, owing to some of the speculators having been acquainted with the last severe measures of the Government before hand.

By accounts just received by express from Paris (late in the evening of Wednesday), we have been assured, since the above was written, that three Regiments of the Line have joined the people, and the National Guard have been called out. The King has gone to Fontainebleau, and the Prince de Polignac is no where to be found.

Events in France are proceeding in their natural course. One act of violence has been followed by another. Paris is described in one of the hurried letters as being in a complete state of insurrection; this, however, is certain, that the Royal Guards, aided by artillery, have been firing on the people in the street of St. Denis. The popular rage is sympathized in by the great mass of the people of property in the capital and most opulent provinces; the violence will not stop till the usurping government is overthrown, or succeeds in breaking down all resistance by an overpowering force.

The Deputies who are in Paris have resolved that they still consider themselves the true Deputies of France; they have called on the National Guard to re-organize itself, and to watch over the safety of the city of Paris. If this invitation be acted upon, the consequences may be easily foreseen. What materials there are for this re-organization we do not know, they have generally retained this once important force have generally retained their arms. It is observed in some of the letters from Paris, that some bodies of it have appeared in various parts of the city.

Meanwhile there will not be wanting instances of that civil courage of which the judicial order in France has repeatedly given such bright examples to Europe. The printers of some of the papers have been terrified by the police, and refused to print their papers, alleging the commands of the ordinance. The President de Belleville has already declared, on the application of the editors and managers of the *Journal du Commerce*, that the ordinance of the King concerning the press has not been promulgated according to law, and enjoined the printer to proceed with the printing of the paper according to his contract. There may thus be the spectacle of the Judges enforcing their

100. WATERFORD, 24th July, 1850.

Dear Sir—I read in, and take from the Dublin Standard of a few days back the following:—

“The New Sirs Gwynne.—The following gentlemen were on Tuesday sworn to the King's Council in the Court of Chancery:—Messrs. O'Connell, Sheil, Marley, Litton, Cusack, Ball, Bellow, Richards, T. Smith, West, and Cusack. Messrs. Cliffe and Farrell were also to have been sworn, but were absent at Sessions. Of the above number Sirs are Catholics.”

Now, if this be true (and there is no reason to believe that it is not), there you are! There you are, a signal proof of the correctness of all my predictions with regard to your fate. But this is not a time for reproaches or upbraidings, amongst us, one another; it is a time for re-union pulling together against this band of insolent oligarchs, who have used, and are using, their endeavours to degrade and destroy you, to tread you down far ever, and you have thus far succeeded only because they saw you abandoned, and not only abandoned but assaulted, by that which was able to give you strength in England. If you had had this arm with you, the reports would not have dared to smother your voice; and the base Catholic Aristocracy would not have dared to have turned their backs on you, and thereby give the hint to others to put you down, not having the courage to attempt it themselves.

But how were you to have sincere reformers with you, when they saw you administering to the support of Burdett; when they saw you amongst the dining parasites of a man who had basely deserted them in 1817; who had first urged them to stir, and who had then left them to be sacrificed without uttering a word in their defence; a man whom you know, and we all know, to have been the originator of the scheme for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders—a man whom Lawless has openly charged with having said that he owed his election for Westminster to the rich and not to the poor—a man who stuck his knees in the ribald jester's back, and pledged himself to support him, even the next minute after the jester had solemnly declared that he would oppose reform to the hour of his life! How were you to have sincere reformers on your side, while you lent yourself to the support of this man and his despicable underling? And yet, without these on your side, you were nothing. Great as are your talents, and industry, and zeal—all, without the reformers at your back, could not hold you up against a combination that every one saw would be made against you. You have complained of the apathy of the people of England as to the cause of reform; that is to say, you complain of their not having come forward to support you; but, what right had you to expect them to do it, when they saw you the dining parasite of him who is the never-to-be-forgotten traitor to their cause?

At the meeting the other day, at the Freemasons Tavern, Monk in the chair, this Burdett said that he had always been for universal suffrage and vote by ballot. In 1817, the very ground on which he attempted to justify his abandonment of the reformers, was, that the deputies then in London, demanded universal suffrage and voting by ballot. This is well known to us all; the proof is in hundreds of hands; we know his falseness, we know him to be the enemy of reform; we know that when he joins the ranks, it is to betray the army; we see him, at this very moment, praising that very ministry whom to turn out you call upon the Irish people; and we, the sincere reformers, and I, as one of them, say, that if you will continue to cling to this our great enemy, you shall be nothing in this country. We are not in a state of apathy; we are full of desire and hope; but we are resolved not again to be the dupes of this man, and not to give countenance to his base parasites. Up to Friday, the 9th of July, you were the tool of false Burdett; for, on that day, you told a meeting of reformers, that he would have been present had he not been confined to his bed with illness; and in 41 hours from that time, he was entering about on a gay horse in the park, and to Holland-House. Are you then to be duped again? If you be, then unfortunate for yourself will be your return to England; you will sink lower and lower, until you become perfectly powerless; and at last, when a reform shall take place, you will be shut out by your insignificance. But if you be for a truly noble revenge; namely, rescuing the whole Kingdom from the cruel clutches of the boroughmongers, then you will rise; then you will have all good and true men at your back, and you will see your hangings and insolent and base enemies at your feet. The insults heaped on you have, certainly, seldom been surpassed, and to the series, the passing over in the appointment of King's Council seems to form a very appropriate close! What! there you are, acknowledged by every body to be not only the most able advocate at the Irish bar, and, perhaps, at any bar, but also the soundest and profoundest lawyer; and you, with a standing of thirty years, perhaps, or more, at that bar, are passed over, are kept behind that bar, are passed over, are placed behind that bar, while a troop of gabblers, of hardly any standing, and six of them Catholics, are placed before that bar to take precedence of you! And thus you, whose talents and sacrifices and talents, more than all other causes put together, produced the emancipation, are the only man who is not to derive any advantage from it; nay, you are to suffer for it; for, to suffer is to be shut out while other Catholics are admitted.

But it is not against Waterloo that your resentment ought to exist. His dislike of you is natural enough. You forced him and the rest to grant the emancipation; and you had to expostulate their vindictive hostility, which hostility they have shown in the usual manner. You have, in all sorts of ways, attacked them; and it was not to be expected that they would bestow on you honours in return. Nor can you, with much reason, complain of the enmity of the Protestant aristocracy, who are wound up with the fat hierarchy, and from whom you wrung that measure which tells every man that that expensive hierarchy never was necessary, and that its wealth ought to be restored to its former uses. Against these parties, therefore, you have really little ground of complaint on your own private account. But against the Catholic aristocracy where shall we find words to express the resentment that you ought to feel, or the extent of the vengeance that you ought to take? What! Unable to do any thing towards obtaining their own rights; feeble, shiftless creatures; unqualified for speaking or writing; possessing no means of helping themselves; creeping quietly about like outcast Jews, and there fathers before them, having no resource but that of apostasy; and when, all at once, taken by your powerful hand, and seated with crowns on their heads and robes on their bodies, turn their backs upon you, and pay thereby their court to those from whom,

by twenty years of labours and of sacrifices, you had wrested those crowns and robes! “What could they do?” Some one will ask—“It was not they who gave the silk gowns.”—What, I answer, could they not have done; and what can they not do now? Have not they strength enough at their disposal? Could they not have said, “If you thus punish and insult our protector, our deliverer from degradation, our restorer to honour and dignity and power, we will place all our united power and influence in his hands; you shall not oppress him; you shall not punish him; and degrade him for the justice which he obtained for us; he shall not be abused for having raised us up.” Could they not have placed your family, when in London, in the same houses and same carriages with their own; if that virtuous family would have condescended so to be pleased? Could they not, in a hundred ways, which common gratitude would have pointed out, have given you countenance and support, instead of twitting encouraging attacks to be made upon you? Their turning their backs on you was the signal for the assault; and then came tumbling on you, pell-mell, the Broughams, the Lord Johns, and the Lord Charlises, who, when in London, and while both sides joined, expressly or tacitly, to put you down and expose you to contempt. But, in proof of their monstrous ingratitude what do we want more than these two facts—1. That you cannot now get a seat at all without great expense, and that you are not certain of it with expense; and 2. That they have plenty of seats, and do not offer you one; what do we want more than these two facts to establish against them this most foul of all moral charges? Not are the Catholics who have got the silk gowns to be overlooked. What! put on these gowns, in order to take precedence of the man, whose labours and sacrifices enabled them to wear them! Low and ungrateful wretches! They should have taken the gowns, torn them to pieces, and flung the rags in the faces of those who tendered them.

However, you have the means of ample vengeance in your hands; but, to take this vengeance, you must again be in Parliament. The times are favourable, and every day will render them more favourable. Look at the signs of the times—Lord Milton and Marshall resigning Yorkshire, when no opposition offered; Wortley refusing to accept Yorkshire; Bramstone resigning Essex with no opposition; Monk the same for Reading; resigning all about the country, and that, too, on the part of men of great landed estates, and on the most trifling pretences. It really is the old story of the rats and the falling house. But, again, only think of Hume for Middlesex, and supported by loan-mongers and borough-mongers! This is the thing to look at.—Then, today, we are told, that Brougham is to be offered for the county of York! Why, this is revolution of itself. Sir William Bowley resigning, they say, for Suffolk; Palmer for Surrey, Curteis for Sussex, and two members for Nottingham. There really seems nothing wanting but the resigning of Old Daddy Coke! We shall have a set unknown to the country, that nobody will care any thing about personally; the cry will be for retirement, and this, to my efficient extent, cannot take place without bringing down the whole system.

That will be the man who will go farthest, and it will soon be seen that Hume and Brougham will not go far. They, if they agree, will only attack the ravelins and other outworks, and these only by slow approaches; it is for you, or somebody else, to come, knock aside their fascines and gabions, push on at once, with forty pounders, against the body of the place, make a practicable breach, and demand a surrender at discretion. Hume thinks that he can save the system by what he calls economy; and this, if he act on that opinion, is the rock on which he will split. The loan-mongers and borough-mongers think that his popularity will be a shield for them; but they do not see that in order to preserve his popularity, he must go on demolishing the system. If you read with attention the account of the proceedings at the Freemasons Tavern, and particularly if you look at the declaration of Monk, and others, who wished to come to some conclusion short of universal suffrage, you will clearly see the state that the affair is in.

But the great object of all for you to keep your eye on is, that which is going on in France. In my opinion that is the thing which is frightening so many men from their seats in Parliament! If the French people triumph, it is impossible that this system can stand for two years. We come back exactly to the state of 1792; England calling for reform; and the French setting the example; with this difference, that we have contracted a debt, and demand weight, and poor rates, demanding taxes to the amount of forty millions a year, to prevent the effect of that example; and do the French what they will, we have not now the means of firing a pound of powder in anger! Strange turn of events!

This system—I mean the borough, and the bribing, and the taxing, and the military system, cannot stand. It is to be desired that no change should be made in the form of the Government; the Government is the best that the world ever saw, if cleared of its abuses; but these are become so monstrous that, if they be not removed, the whole fabric will be demolished. I have always been anxious that these abuses should be removed, and that the fabric should remain; and I never have known personally any one man who has taken a conspicuous part in the cause of reform, who has not expressed a desire to avoid a destruction of that fabric. But if it became a question whether England be to become an independent country, and whether that fabric shall be torn to pieces; if this should, as I trust in God it will not, become the alternative, where is the man to say, that he would be for the utter debasement of his country and the starvation and exile of its people?

To save us from being compelled to make our choice between these two, a reform, and quick one, is absolutely necessary. The best disposed ministers that ever existed could do nothing to save or relieve the country without a reform; and, observe, even this reform may come too late to prevent changes, which are, as yet, in the contemplation of comparatively very few men. The longer the reform is put off, the greater will be the changes; arguments against those who refuse reform will daily become more and more numerous and weighty; men will feel deeper and deeper into the source of the power of those orders which stand between them and freedom and happiness; things that never yet entered into the minds of the people, to these minds will become familiar; as the

weight of their sufferings increases, their resentments will increase when concession to them comes, and come it must, it will be snatched as a booty and not received as a boon—and the ultimate consequences which can fall to anticipate, and who can anticipate without anxiety and dread?

How many times, good God, and how earnestly have I thought the mystery to give way in time; and from the whole body, collectively and individually, with little exception, who have I not received in the way of injury! Yet I never have been, and am not now, animated with any desire to destroy them; but of this I am certain, that if they mean to prevent changes, unnecessary for me to describe, they have no time to lose. However, they must follow their own course; but we must also follow ours. We must steadily pursue the object of reform; and if we be compelled to resort to exposures such as will, in the end, produce greater changes than would now satisfy the people, the fault will not be ours. It is as Major Cartwright used to say, “For us to do our duty and leave the rest to God.”

To partake in the discharge of this great duty no man is more able than yourself. Come then, punish your stupid, ungrateful, and insolent foes, by services rendered to your country. This is a sort of revenge worthy of the great talents you possess. Take it, and you will always have whatever support can be given by me. The I have heard of you before; had I read in history of ingratitude and insolence, such as those by which your labours and sacrifices have been repaid, indignation would have thrown the book from my hands. Your cause is the cause of talent and energy and gratitude; and this day is, I am sure, not far distant, when your base abandonment will, if you pursue the proper course, be found on the sound of the name of O'Connell, and when, being at a loss for a shield, which will protect you from the climax of selfish ingratitude, will take that of the Catholic aristocracy of England and Ireland. I am your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.
LORD GEORGE BERKEFORD.
The sole object of a certain class of persons in society, seems to be superiority—and to obtain it, no matter by what means, they display a recklessness of the world's consequence, a species of staidness in its endurance—a perseverance—the constant exercise of which, we would suppose, could only result from, or be practised by, great and philosophic minds; if there were not so many instances to the contrary on record. Of such a class of persons was the eccentric Beau Brummell. Great Whately, Postlethwaite, Hays, &c., and I greatly mistake if the gentleman whose name heads this article, has not a longing after similar celebrity. We are led to this conclusion by partly witnessing his very popular reception on a canvass here yesterday (Tuesday)—he is at an easy pace thro' the Main-street, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. HERBERT, and surrounded by a multitude of people, whose shouts and stunning exclamations of “*Mod-Deo!*” rent the air, into which they hang their hats, and which on return to the merry owners, rebounded of his Lordship's back in quick succession!—Though such a reception is not new to Lord GEORGE BERKEFORD, it must, nevertheless, be gratifying to his taste for popularity, as otherwise he would shun Elections and public exhibitions, having had ample experience of the public feeling in his regard; but circumstances, it must be admitted, conspire to lend to his name the notoriety he seems to covet. In the Gazette which came to hand yesterday we read of his promotion, to what, gentle reader?

Chief Butler of the Palace?—No.
You give it up?
“The rank of Lieutenant-General in the Army!”
Hear this appointment ye heroes of Salamanca, Albuera, and Waterloo! Ye who have had the good fortune to retain the use of one eye or one arm, raise them not in astonishment that *mod-Deo!* should be so distinguished in this envious world! It is true ye may have been by some chance passed over, though ye have shed your blood in defence of your King and country. But can ye boast of performing one glorious achievement in *his Majesty's* household? In a word, can ye boast of being such warriors as Lord George Berkeley and Sir Hudson Lowe?—*Tipperary Free Press.*

Private letters from Paris, dated Sunday, have reached us. From one of them we have the following account of the Election returns up to Friday last:

Colleges of the 21st June 18th votes 158
Colleges of the 21st July 24 votes 122
Colleges of the 12th July 24 votes 65
Colleges of the 19th July 14th votes 17
Total 362
Of this total the Opposition had 200
The avowed Ministers had 141
The borough Party 11
There were only twenty-eight returns to make, and of that number two-thirds would, it was expected, be for the opposition; so that the majority against Ministers is now about 140. This majority is so large to have hopes of reducing it to a sufficient extent to answer the purposes of the present Ministers; if, as the Paris papers on the 13th say, they are resolved to persevere in the course which led to the dissolution of the Chamber, we believe, however, still to be the belief that concessions will be made, and danger be thus avoided.

There are in Algiers from 15,000 to 20,000 Jews. Under the Turkish Government it appears that the Jews were not suffered to ride on horse-back in the city. It is stated that a Jew, who was coming in from the country on his mule, halted at one of the gates of Algiers for the purpose of dismounting before he entered the city. In the mean time he ventured to ask a French sentinel for permission to remain on the mule. “What the devil would prevent you?” was the reply of the sentinel. The Jews have claimed with this new liberty, and cry out, “*Vivent les Français!*”
Accounts from Constantinople have been received to the 7th instant. It is reported that the misunderstanding between the Sultan and the Pacha of Egypt has assumed a serious appearance; it is rumored that the Pacha's life has been attempted.

LOUTH ELECTION.
MEETING AT CASTLEBELLINGHAM.

The following letters were read at the public meeting held at Castlebellingham—
London, July 10, 1850.
MY DEAR SIR—I received both your letters with much satisfaction and sincere thanks. You should not be angry with me for not answering your first letter, for two reasons—the first, because I am so perpetually pressed upon, having to remain in the House twelve or fourteen hours each day—and, secondly, because of the then existing differences between me and Sheil, who, I think, behaved very ill to me. I did not like even to be supposed to retaliate upon him; and I could not even write to you without expressing my decided approbation of your political principles, which, though of itself of little importance to you—I mean my approbation—would be exaggerated into an act of hostility by Sheil, and perhaps described as insolent, because void of personal feelings. Accept this my apology.
I am very much gratified with your second letter. It is not a little flattering to my vanity. I should, of course, be proud of the carriage you offer to make to your bed; but I would be truly proud to present Louth—but please, Alexander Dawson must be secure. I would not meddle with any thing that could possibly affect him. There should be no little jealousies as to his writing or not—his business is his own. What may in or out of the House, is more honest—Dawson for ever! Dawson being secure, I would only see with gratitude the representation of Louth as the highest honour that I could possibly receive; if a majority of the electors consent to elect me, I will not be less proud of the honour than if I were to receive three or four places which would give me no personal benefit. I would prefer Louth of course to any city or town; yet there is the difficulty—how to use a valid illustration, I may meet the case of the county gentlemen who sit between the stools.

You know my principles—I am a decided, unreserved reformer of the most extensive radical school as such I will sit in Parliament, or not at all. Make a list of the electors. But do not only suggest this—a resolution to return Dawson and me, drawn up and signed by as many voters as possible. The offer of the resolution to sign would be, when unsuccessful, a test that I had nothing to rely on from the voters. Those who sign could be told up, and then we could divide whether I could go to address the County. I write hastily—but something of this kind ought to be done, that we should not be acting on conjecture, belief, or mere hope. The Kitchens are most valuable men, but I believe committed to Sheil. Bellow is a most respectable country gentleman, but belongs naturally to the oligarchy, Church & Co. a reformer.
Are you aware that I will be in Dublin on Tuesday next? Will you kindly give me a few lines, directed to my house there, to meet me on my arrival on Tuesday morning. I write this day to Nicholas Mackay to meet me personally there.
I have myself to the full, perhaps farther than I have any right to do, of your kindness. But recollect that in my personal principles I have a trench. Do not put public any thing coming from me prematurely, or until we see our way. There are, I repeat, persons soliciting me to stand for several places, and I must not throw away my time on one of them. A debate at Louth would be a waste of time. And I think it would be useful to have me in another British Parliament.
Bardon this long epistle. Act as your disinterested principles of public utility suggest. And I am quite satisfied, whatever be the result.
Your obliged and faithful,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

William Kieran has written a letter to Dawson, as I hear, abusing me.
Do not include Dawson's name with mine to his injury. There is not. I only mention him in conjunction with me as a man quite certain of success. In short, my offering myself, should it occur, must not affect Dawson in any way. I see clearly that the partisans of Sheil and Bellow will be upon them run a great risk of the losing the County into Orange hands. Let us not be instrumental in doing so.
To Anthony Marston, Esq.
Ashburnham, 11th July, 1850.
11 o'clock at night.

MY DEAR SIR—I feel Navan without pleading myself. I have secured no vote to the Ministerial Candidate at all events.
If Sheil and Bellow allowed me, I would stand for Louth. But as things are, I fear the result will be the putting in of the Orange candidate.
I send you a curious document—one exceedingly peculiar to me—but what is worse, I believe quite untrue. If indeed they had Sheil's return insured, what need they care for any body else. I do not think I deserve this insidious treatment. I have not canvassed any one of the subscribers. I never went further than saying, as I now say, that if the voters deemed me worthy to be the colleague of Dawson, I would promptly and gratefully accept that high station. But I asked for no votes. I did not solicit one of those very unwell persons. I am not a poucher or a trespasser, to be formally warned of the presence of Mr. O'Connell. I am like a legitimate settler, when he came to serve me with the fat of the concession, either of the server, or of Mr. Wm. Kieran. I repeat, I do not think I had done anything, in or out of Parliament, to merit my being treated with this indignity. In the entire course of my life nothing has so incensed me as has been referred to me.
I candidly acknowledge, that this scheme of insulating me, would increase my size of standing for Louth, if I were not much afraid that the discussions between the friends of freedom, will throw the County back into the hands of some selfish oligarch. Whatever you do, you must not sit the common enemy. Either Bellow or Sheil would make an excellent member, if he would avow radical principles. Sheil will make a figure in Parliament.
Yours very sincerely,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The following is the document alluded to in the above letter—
To Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M.P., Dublin.
Louth Club Room, July 10, 1850.
SIR—It having been intimated to me by a certain individual, who has been in communication with you for the purpose of inducing you to offer yourself for the representation of the County of Louth—and, lest you might be dissuaded as to the real state of public feeling here, as well as an account of the rights and interests of the County, for your invaluable services in the cause of Ireland—we, the undersigned freeholders, feel it a duty, which we owe not only to you but to ourselves, to state to you, clearly and to insure his return, have already pledged themselves to support Mr. Sheil; and that no consideration, save the actual resignation of that gentleman, could induce them to alter their determination, or release them from the pledges of support they have already given him. Under these circumstances, we have no doubt, you will duly consider the consequences which might probably result from an appeal by you to the County, at this late period.
We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your grateful and assured friends,
Michael Curran, Patrick Curran, James Curran,
Michael Curran, James Curran, Richard Curran,
Henry Curran, James Curran, J. Curran,
Thomas Curran, John Curran, P. Curran,
John Curran, John Curran, James Curran,
James Curran, Patrick Curran, William Curran,
James Curran, William Curran, James Curran,
Michael Curran, Richard Curran, James Curran,
Thomas Curran, James Curran, Thomas Curran,
R. Curran, Michael Curran, Thomas Curran,
J. Curran, James Curran, Peter Curran.

RESTITUTION.
To the Editor of the Tipperary Free Press.
SIR—I think it right to publish, that my valuable watch, of which I was lately robbed by a band of armed men, was restored to me through the hands of the Roman Catholic Clergyman of the adjoining parish.
I have the honor to be your obedient servant,
WILLIAM LEE.
Meickle Gleby, July 25, 1850.

MR. O'CONNELL AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.
From the Northern Whig.

Frequently as have been recounted the disinterested and patriotic actions of our indefatigable and high-gifted countryman, Daniel O'Connell, yet, if we mistake not, we have a circumstance to mention respecting him, which will add even to the grand fame that he already so pre-eminently enjoys, and hold him up before Ireland in a new character, availing new feelings of gratitude and admiration. The fact is easily told; and a simple statement will best answer the anticipations which it may have here excited.

All our readers and most of the Irish people are aware, that a criminal information for libel, has been preferred, by the Marquis of Hertford, against the proprietor of the Northern Whig, and that the case is expected to be tried next week, at the Assizes. The grounds of the prosecution we need not now recapitulate. They are pretty generally known, and it is not, at present, our intention to offer any vindication of our conduct. The Marquis of Hertford, conceiving himself aggrieved by our remarks, had recourse to law, and proceeded against us for libel, by indictment. The information not having been sworn at such a distance of time before the former assizes, as to leave it in the power of the Council for the prosecution to bring forward the trial without the concurrence of the defendant, it was found advisable to take advantage of the delay thus afforded; and an application for a postponement of the trial, was accordingly made, and agreed to. The object of the delay was to afford time for making such arrangements as a case of so much importance in itself, and of such possible consequences in its issue, evidently required. This was the more necessary, as the priority of the Marquis of Hertford's law agent in retaining counsel, had left us no means of obtaining such assistance as might otherwise have been procured. It remained for us, under these circumstances, to endeavour to obtain the special advocacy of some lawyer of standing and distinction. The character of Mr. O'Connell, not more on account of his reputation as a member of the Irish bar, than as an advocate of the rights and privileges of Irishmen, immediately pointed him out as a man suited, in such an emergency, to vindicate the safety of the Press of the kingdom, and to endeavour in this peculiar case, to furnish an example which might be of immense importance in weakening the force of that combination of assaults which seemed to be making on freedom of public discussion, both in Great Britain and in this country. For this purpose, the proprietor of the Whig took an opportunity of waiting on Mr. O'Connell, to see whether he could, consistently with his other numerous professional and national engagements, consent to be specially retained to conduct the defence in the libel case to which we have referred. His reply was as brief as it was generous. He said he was aware of the nature of the case, and he was determined that nothing which he could then anticipate should prevent him from giving us the benefit of his services. “But,” continued he, “one stipulation I must insist on; I know how much we are indebted to the independent press of the country—I know the stand that you invariably made in advocating the privileges of Ireland—and I feel that it is, therefore, my duty to stand by you in your difficulty; you shall have any assistance that I can give, but it must be on the condition, that I shall receive no recompense whatever.”

We know there is a tendency in human nature to magnify circumstances which immediately affect ourselves; and we, consequently, feel afraid to speak of this act of generous sympathy, in such terms as we should do, were we only regarding it at a distance. We are afraid lest we might not discriminate with sufficient delicacy, between those sentiments of grateful acknowledgment which we feel powerfully awakened, on account of the individual obligations under which we are personally placed, and those more general sentiments of admiration and esteem, which must pervade every bosom that is interested in the cause of independence, in contemplating this new proof of the unceasing watchfulness of this truly great man over the interests of his countrymen. But we shall merge our own individual feelings in those which this act must awaken in the public mind. Whilst we are proud to acknowledge our private obligations, we feel it to be more our duty to place the matter on its proper footing; and instead of limiting it to the individual case, apply it to the general cause of the liberty of the independent Press of Ireland. Considered in this light (and our contemporaries must so regard it) Mr. O'Connell's free and unbiassed defence of the privileges of public discussion, in the character of the Northern Whig, cannot fail to give him a claim, not alone upon the admiration of his country, but more deeply than before upon the affections of Irishmen. Had it been a case where public acknowledgment was to be sought—had it been the contest of political parties, in which agitation could have found a proper field for its exercise, the voice of calumny, or even the conclusions of sober judgment might have found something to detract from the merits of the action; but it is an exercise of the disinterested patriotism of that distinguished benefactor of Ireland and mankind, the sober brightness of which so calumny, however insidious, and no hostility, however violent, can possibly diminish. His other actions may go down, in the page of history, to astonish and instruct posterity, when this will be little known, or altogether forgotten; but it must serve, in the mean time, as a text of his sincerity in the cause of independence, and lead us to trace home to the heart, many of his services, which were too frequently ascribed to the less worthy source of excited passions.

Respecting ourselves, and our present position, we wish, just now, to say a little. For the result we have no way apprehensive. We have hopes—we have confidence that justice will be administered; and if it be we feel strong in the cause of right.—If we are defeated, we know the mighty host which we have to rely on in the persons of an upright and just public, and we know where the reaction will fall. For ourselves, then, we feel all the security which must ever accompany a consciousness of rectitude. And if there be anything, besides our cause, by which we feel ourselves strengthened and animated in a case which the state of the law renders one of a precarious and discouraging description, it is that we shall have the advocacy of a man who will defend us, not as a matter of professional duty, but who undertakes the task with the conscious feeling that he is contending for the right. We shall have the defence, not alone of the head, but also of the heart—we shall have the advocacy, not of legal ingenuity, but of a mind