

only two parties in the state. The one powerful and dominant, backed as it was by England—the other strong in its physical force and restlessness, but enduring a prolonged martyrdom, which was considered only by religion, and soothed only by the efforts of those who determined to continue to struggle until they should weary out the oppressor, and obtain tardy justice for the people.

Understand well, in the first instance, the nature of the legal government of Ireland before the Relief Bill. Remember it was in its nature and essence a partizan government. This was a thing Lord Leveson Gower—poor man—could not understand. You have intelled enough to comprehend it, and I am much mistaken but you have honesty enough to turn this discovery to beneficent purposes for Ireland.

Now, when you have once distinctly comprehended that the government was rendered by the law a partizan and partial, ask yourself this question—Of what value is it to the people of Ireland that the law should be changed, if the system of governing remain unchanged? The answer to that question is—certainly none, so far as the government is concerned.

When you have arrived thus far, and seen for yourself that the legal change requires a similar change in the position, and indeed in the "materiel" of the Government, ask yourself this second question—Whether that change can take place while the Government is carried on by the old machinery—by all the same suspicious and nefarious agents—as the Gregories, who attribute "good intentions" to the violators of every charity, and indeed of every human and divine law—send by that magistracy, whose principal recommendation was, that they were active partisans? This question you must answer in the negative. You cannot but perceive that men and measures ought to have changed with the law; and that until they do change, the Government neutralizes the effects of the Relief Bill, and counteracts what the Legislature ought to have intended.

Having obtained this view of the real question between the Government and the people of Ireland, you will perhaps cease to wonder that the administration of the Duke of Wellington, under which Emancipation was achieved, is at the present moment the most unpopular that perhaps ever was known in Ireland. The hatred of the administration is deep-rooted, energetic, and almost universal. You might have been at a loss to account for that hatred, but cannot doubt its existence. The elections in all the Catholic, or as we should now call them, in all the Irish Counties, have given abundant proofs of this feeling; and although there is, alas! little of patriotism in the Orange, or as we should now call them, the anti-Irish Counties, yet even there the unpopularity of the great Duke is almost equally apparent.

To account to you still more for the determination of all Ireland to terminate the administration of the Duke of Wellington, I will proceed in this, and perhaps, another letter, to detail to you a list of our national grievances. I will draw up his political indictment, and call on the tribunal of public opinion in England to decide that we are justified in pronouncing him utterly unfit to hold the reins of the British government. The popular indictment against his Grace I will divide into what we legalists call its separate counts, and grace them with sketches of their proofs in numerical order. It is indeed time that the force of public indignation should reach the legislature and the throne, and drive from office a man who has had more of good fortune, with less of superior talent, than any other living statesman. Let me however proceed to arrange in order some—and only some—of the causes of his unpopularity.

First—The Duke is exceedingly odious to the Orange party. They consider, and they consider justly, that he betrayed them. He was their fellow partizan, their champion. He turned out an administration, the chief of which was favourable to Emancipation. He came in on the No-Popery interest—he suddenly turned round, and carried Emancipation. The genuine Orangemen hate him.

Secondly—And this is a deep charge and a real blot, in condemning which both parties agree. The Wellington Administration, in the year 1828, encouraged the formation of a new species of Orange lodges—they encouraged Brunswick Clubs—they got the Protestant gentry, with a few honourable exceptions, to array themselves against the people by whom they were surrounded. The Brunswickers earned the hatred of those to whose rights they were opposed; and when they had fully earned the detestation of the Catholics, then the Wellington administration deserted them. I do not think there is in history an instance of such treachery as this. It consisted of, in the first place, bringing the great majority of the Irish Protestants into a position of the most active and determined hostility to the people; and in the next place deserting them in that position, exposing them to derision and contempt, and going over at once to the people. I really think that both Catholics and Protestants are justified in their dislike to that administration, which promoted, for nothing, and as it were in cruel sport, so much useless and unnecessary rancour and animosity as was engendered by the Brunswick clubs. Who can justify the Wellington administration on this charge—who can palliate the enormity of this crime, committed against all the people of Ireland?

Thirdly—Having thus arrayed the Irish Protestants against emancipation, the next and immediately succeeding step of the Wellington administration was to concede that very emancipation—but to concede it in a manner the least conciliatory and most insulting.

Fourthly—This emancipation was accompanied by an injustice, as well as an insult, uselessly and wantonly offered to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland. They derive nothing from the state—the state, therefore, could not, with justice, take any thing from them. Yet the titles which they had enjoyed during the rigour of the most savage period of the penal laws, were proscribed by the emancipating Cabinet, and they were proscribed in the most silly as well as the most offensive manner. It was no part of the new law to proscribe the Catholic hierarchy, or even the Catholic Clergy, from addressing our bishops by their ancient titles. The right of all others to use those titles remained untouched. It was the Bishops alone who were rendered liable to ignominious prosecution and punishment, if they use, even in their official acts, those titles, without which those official acts would lose their form and efficacy. In short, no set of men ever deserved less of contumely than the Catholic Prelates of Ireland.

They deserved, and they obtained, the respect and veneration of all classes, and yet they were selected by the Wellington Cabinet as fit objects of contumely and insult. How little does that unkindness of human nature who made this selection.

Fifthly—Not content with insulting our Bishops, Wellington has, I will say audaciously, attempted to extinguish the Monastic Orders in Ireland. They had not been guilty, or even accused, of any crime, or even of any offence. Their lives, on the contrary, were devoted to the spiritual comfort and instruction, and above all, to the education of the poor. Why, then, were they to be suppressed? What harm does it do to any body, that a man should, by vow, devote himself to a life of poverty, should, by vow, devote himself to a life of poverty, spiritual obedience, and chastity? No law is made against those who devote themselves to drunkenness, gambling, and debauchery, or other immorality. It is the glory of the Wellington administration to have allowed the latter to remain uncontrolled by their laws, but to pour the plial of legal vengeance on the practice of evangelical virtues. Was there ever before such legislation as this? There is one comfort—this law was as absurd as it was wicked. It is what the illustrious Bentham calls an unexecutable law. It cannot be carried into effect. This, however, is not the fault of the intention, or design of its authors; it is only the result of their incapacity. I will never cease to exclaim against this law, until it shall be blotted out of the Statute Book. I repeat, how little does that man know of human nature who made this law!

Sixthly—Not content with accompanying emancipation with these two injuries and insults to the Catholic Prelates and to the Monastic orders, the next feature of the emancipation, and it is an atrocious one, is the destruction of the elective franchise of the most numerous class of voters; the deprivation of more than 400,000 persons of a vested right. Polignac did not attempt anything like this; but on that topic I reserve myself for another part of this letter. At present I only state that the Wellington administration haughtily, and as it were in contempt, took away from more than 400,000 persons a right which was vested in them by law, and what is called a constitutional principle.

The two insults on the Catholic Clergy were inflicted upon Catholics alone, but they were not of any use whatsoever to the Protestants. The annihilation of the 40s. franchise was equally as injurious to Protestants as to Catholics; and yet the Protestants who were thus deprived of their rights, had not given any, even the smallest cause, for being thus plundered of their franchise. The Polignac administration really was innocence itself when compared to that of the Duke of Wellington, as I will presently demonstrate.

Seventhly—There is one additional trait belonging to the emancipation bill, which I am unwilling to mention, but which ought not to be omitted, because it shows in what a mean and little spirit the administration acted. It relates to myself. The Relief Bill was framed to include every body but one. It was in that respect a party act of legislation against an individual. Those who can expect any thing great or noble from a man who could descend so low, know as little of human nature as he who endeavoured to conciliate Ireland by insulting the Catholics and injuring the Protestants.

Eighthly—The Wellington administration maintain and support the most odious acts of their predecessors in office. Nothing is to be done for Ireland. The Subletting Act was taken up last session by the government with a promise to amend it. That promise was performed by bringing forward, after many efforts, a Bill which would, if it had passed, have aggravated the very worst clauses in that most mistaken, and, in its consequences, most inhuman statute. The ignorance of the law officers of the crown might have contributed to this worse than blunder, of amending an Act by making it worse; but still much of blame must be attributed to those who employ such law officers.

Ninthly—Notwithstanding that a cloud of petitions were presented against the Vestry Bill, and that it is in its nature one of the most palpable acts of injustice which one set of religionists ever inflicted on another—yet this administration rejected by overwhelming majorities two efforts which I made to repeal or amend its provisions. They have thus adopted and protected those two most odious laws. I believe there is nothing which could make them more unpopular in Ireland than this—that the present administration protect and support the Subletting Act and the Vestry Act. All the evils at present indicted by those acts are therefore justly attributed to the Wellington administration.

Tenthly—the Relief Bill was accompanied by another bill more unfavourable to public liberty than any of the schemes of Polignac could have been if crowned with complete success. It was that Act which has been so often called the worst that ever passed in the House of Commons, whereby all popular assemblies in Ireland are for the present placed under the control of the Lord Lieutenant. The right of petition is a mockery when accompanied by such a law. Public liberty exists only by sufferance, and not of right, when it is accompanied by the existence of such a law. Calumniated Polignac, you never dreamed of so barefaced a violation of all freedom of discussion as this suppression bill of the Duke of Wellington.

Eleventhly—Ireland has a right to complain of the Duke upon every point. Religion insulted—party betrayed—despotic will substituted for legal proceeding—and, to crown all, an impoverished and ruined people menaced with increased taxation, which they escaped only by the opportune death of the late King.

Twelfthly—Near twenty-seven millions of annual taxes had been since the war taken off the people of England; less than one million only had been abolished in Ireland. Well—the English were to have been exonerated of three millions more; the Irish were to have near half a million more of taxes added to their burthen. Thus England is relieved to the extent of thirty millions; Ireland was to have near half a million added annually to her burthen, and escaped during the last Session by mere accident. Are you surprised that the Irish should dislike the Duke of Wellington?

Thirteenthly—The Duke's Chancellor of the Exchequer and his party asserted that Ireland was in a state of prosperity, and was able to bear an increase of taxation. This assertion was directly the reverse of the fact. Now, the administration either knew that their assertion was false, or they did not. If they knew it to be false, and yet persisted as they did in their assertion, they are

really too contemptible to be borne with. If they were ignorant of the falsehood of this their assertion, they are still more despicable for their ignorance. Yet the Wellington administration is caught upon either the one or the other horn of the dilemma; either contemptible falsehood or despicable ignorance—utter ignorance of the state of Ireland.

Fourteenthly—In the scheme of taxation for Ireland, there was mixed something of malignant hatred to this country. According to this plan the Irish distillers of whiskey were to have been sacrificed to the West India rum producers. Goullourn has, it seems, a small estate in a West India Island, and there does not appear to be any other reason why this preference was to have been given. At least this was as good as any other reason for preferring any other part of the King's dominions to Ireland.

Fifteenthly—But this indignity towards Ireland was in nothing so clearly demonstrated as in the design to crush the Irish Press. The new tax on newspapers could not possibly have been intended for the purpose of increased revenue—that was quite impossible—because, under the present tax the revenue is rapidly declining. Not being intended for revenue, what was it intended for? Why to extinguish the Press of Ireland.

Sixteenthly—This must be exposed in another shape. It was a master stroke of Polignac's policy. Indeed Polignac was a mere tool to Wellington. Polignac, by attempting to crush the press in France, with the strong arm of power, gave that press the glory of martyrdom, or the more salutary honour of contending that noble resistance which terminated his authority. Wellington, on the contrary, acted towards the press with the paltry dexterity of chicanery. He sought to destroy it by the slow hand of a fiscal law—make it perish by degrees, without public sympathy or possible resistance.

Seventeenthly—I now assert, without the hazard of contradiction, that Wellington has done and attempted more against Ireland than Polignac attempted against France. Let us consider this assertion deliberately and its truth will appear with full force. The crimes of Polignac were these: First—He attempted to deprive about twenty thousand Frenchmen of the elective franchise—that is, about one-fourth of the electors of France. Second—Polignac had attempted to crush the press in France, great crimes certainly—but let us do him justice. He was free from those additional attempts—he did not first invite and then betray any party in France. He did not insult the French Protestants or audaciously interfere with their religious institutions. He did not, above all, attempt to introduce a law of pure despotism to extinguish the expression of public opinion. Let us now see what Wellington has done, or attempted. First—Wellington incited the Brunswickers in Ireland, and afterwards betrayed them. Second—Wellington insulted the Catholic Bishops, and audaciously interfered with the religious institutions of the Catholics. Third—Wellington swept off at one fell swoop, the elective franchise of upwards of four hundred thousand Irishmen—that is, of not one-fourth, as in France, but of full four-fifths of all the voters in Ireland. Fourth—Wellington attempted to crush the press in Ireland, and that attempt is, so far as we know, only postponed, not abandoned. Fifth—Wellington passed a law of pure and unadorned despotism, by which he is enabled to extinguish any editorial expression of public opinion in Ireland. Am I not right, therefore, in giving Wellington a preference in political delinquency to the much and justly abused Polignac. It is true that the Irish, having other remedies, have properly abstained from violent resistance, and Wellington is, therefore, unstained with blood. But the merit is not his—and the political offences for which I do this, and will often again call on the Irish people to impeach him before Parliament, are only the greater, because they have been perpetrated or attempted against an unresisting and patient people.

Eighteenthly—Some partisans of the Wellington administration assert that there was no concert between him and Polignac—I do not believe it. There was certainly a marvellous coincidence in the persecution of the freedom of the press. Whilst the Duke of Wellington was destroying the Morning Journal, and presenting the Standard newspaper in England, and also arranging the total annihilation of the press in Ireland—the most unworthy King of the Netherlands was taking precisely similar steps in his dominions and at the very same time Polignac was organizing the death-blow of the French Press. Am I expected to believe that this coincidence was purely accidental, or that the three great public delinquents, by mere chance directed their efforts simultaneously against one and the same bulwark of human freedom? I confess I would rather believe that there was a concert—there was concert—and where there was concert there was concert—and there was unanimity of exertion, there must have been combination of intention. But I say it will soon be put beyond any doubt that this opinion of mine is not more conjecture.

Nineteenthly—I hasten to close—but I cannot omit charging the Wellington administration with continuing in Ireland all the baneful effects of the penal laws, after those laws have been themselves abolished. The government is carried on by the same Orange machinery, and by almost all the same Orange instruments—thus, as far as they can, perpetuating the Relief Bill, and contradicting in practice the principle which the legislature has consecrated, of equal justice to all.

Twentiethly—This leads me to another ground of violent suspicion, under which the Wellington administration has fallen. It is this—From various facts that have occurred, it is generally apprehended that the design of the Wellington party is to crowd the judicial bench with partisans, not with lawyers. It is supposed that countenance is given to adventurers who are known to be ignorant, and believed to be unprincipled, and a great terror is excited lest the office of Judge should become the reward of political services not of high legal endowments. Almost all our judges are old—and many of them are decayed. There never was a period at which so much injury may be done to the public by profligate, or even by an injudicious selection of judges.

Twenty-firstly—Another, and a direct accusation which the people of Ireland make against Wellington, is his conduct on the Galway franchise bill. It is not possible to apply sufficiently strong terms of reprobation to that conduct—but I will content myself by merely stating it. The people of Galway being Catholics, lost their privileges under the penal laws; the franchise of their guilds, trades, &c. fell into disuse and perished. To keep up the succession, an act was passed, giving to all Protestants who should come to reside in Galway,

the franchise which the Catholics thus lost. The relief bill, which took nothing from the Protestants any where, left the Protestants of Galway in the continued possession of those rights. Thus all Ireland was emancipated except Galway. Every where the Catholics and Protestants were upon an equality except in that town. There were two ways of making them equal; either to take away the franchise of the Protestants, or to restore the Catholics to the same privileges. The first course was inconsistent with good feeling or common justice. But it would be valuable to James Daly who has usurped the nomination of the member for that town, and whose creature almost all the present corporation are. James Daly calls himself a Protestant, and yet he would destroy the privileges of Protestants for his own private advantage. He was the constant pliant tool of every administration; and he, of course, always gave his ready vote to the Wellington administration. Mr. S. Rice, to his honour be it related, brought in a bill, and had the talent and dexterity—for it required both—to pass it through the House of Commons, to restore to the inhabitants of Galway their franchises, leaving the Protestants in the full possession of theirs. The Duke of Wellington calls himself a Protestant—but he prefers standing by his poor partizan Daly, and striking down the rights of the Galway Protestants. Accordingly there was no dissenting master in the House of Lords. The Duke led the van. He insisted the equality should be produced by destroying the rights of Protestants. His course was in that House able to effect his purpose. He reversed the principle of the relief bill. He took from the Protestants and gave nothing to the Catholics. He sacrificed both to the interests of James Daly, and thus demonstrated that it was not principle but terror which made him yield the relief bill. Had it been equally prudent to resist the claims of all the Catholics of Ireland as it was safe to continue an injustice to the Catholics of Galway, we should all still be slaves, and the Duke would still be encouraging and embodying Brunswickers, with a view to our perpetual exclusion.

This Galway Bill completely attacked the Duke; it showed the utter want of public principle which belongs to his character. Had he been (which I take for granted he is not) as desirous of private morals as he is of public principle, he would be the worst man in the world to be either the example or the ruler of a nation pretending to either liberty, morality, or religion.

The people of the County of Galway have, however, aroused the public on the partizan of the Duke, Mr. James Daly; and in the County in Ireland in which, as I conceived, there was the least of public sentiment—the nation of the Duke, directed by all the church and most of the aristocracy, and having, it is said, induced the aristocracy to assist him, has been ignominiously kicked out of that representation which was a kind of heirloom in his family. I say you, Mr. Henry Hardinge, not to allow this to be a threat any way on you.

Twenty-secondly—The next head of accusation scarcely deserves the name; but I cannot altogether omit it, because it is another proof of how very little, and I may add mean, are the minds of those who compose the Wellington party. The present King began his reign by behaving graciously and liberally in England towards the Catholics. He at once nominated the Duke of Norfolk to be a Privy Councillor, and no less than three Catholic ladies of rank were appointed to the household of the Queen. This was generous as well as wise. It showed that our excellent King entered into the spirit of the Relief Bill, and was willing to give it its due effect. But what was the first act of the new reign in Ireland—the act, of course, of the Ministry? Why, it was one that even I may safely call an act of unparalleled meanness. The new reign was to be marked by the first symptom of the Irish Government appearing in the Relief Bill. Five Catholics were selected for silk gowns. I was omitted. I was omitted. I taunted the Ministry to do this; but poorly as I thought of them, I really did not think so lowly of them as this. Are you to suppose that I feel irritated or displeased? You would indeed wrong me. For myself, I would have scorned any favour from them, if it would be called by any body a favour. I am sure the omission has served me with the public. My only cause of regret ought to be, that the Ministry have made the first act of our gracious Sovereign in Ireland, not what he would wish it to be, an act of high-minded generosity, but one of paltry revenge and low animosity.

Twenty-thirdly—There is one more proof of the paltry conduct of this administration, which I cannot omit. Mr. G. R. Dawson came to Ireland, and found a Judge become a candidate for a seat in Parliament. He immediately denounced Mr. Shaw for his conduct and denounced him in the name and as the mouthpiece of the Government, on the just grounds that he accepted a salary for devoting the entire of his time to his judicial duties, and that he could not without a crime give any part of it to political purposes. Well, mark, Sir Henry's denunciation being pronounced by the government, what was the next step of that very government? Why it was just this—They found out that there was in all Ireland one man who was an avowed candidate for two places, and that man they immediately selected and made him a Judge. I suppose if there had been any body candidate for three places they would have contrived that he should be both Chief Justice and Member of Parliament!!! Was there, however, any such triumph ever given to a human being as this appointment gave to Mr. Shaw? But what manner of administration must that be whose acts directly contradict their words, and who condemn a line of conduct in the most harsh terms immediately to imitate it.

Twenty-fourthly—I come now to the last charge against the Wellington administration. It is one which I trust I shall yet live to see put into the shape of an impeachment. If the time shall come (and I venture to prophesy it is fast approaching) when ministerial responsibility will be more than a name—I pledge myself to him to turn into the shape of an impeachment the following charge: A Society was formed in Dublin of the "friends of Ireland of all religious persuasions." Its principal and leading object was the burying and obliterating for ever all past feuds and religious dissensions. There could not be a more legal, constitutional, just, and meritorious object. The purpose of this society was good, wise, and charitable. Its conduct was peaceable, decorous, orderly, and strictly conformable to the letter and spirit of the law. It deserved the confidence and support of every honest man. Well, under these circumstances the despotic act which I have al-

ready dissected, was carried into effect, and without one decent pretext or excuse. A proclamation issued; Hugh, Duke of Northumberland—which I trust he will one day appear at a bar of public justice—declared it his good will and pleasure that "the friends of Ireland" should meet no more, and they have since been prevented from meeting.

There is law for it, I know; but it is a despotic law, and was here most despotically used. Mr. Sir Henry, not a single Brunswick Club was touched by this law; not one Orange Lodge was abolished, though from them issue the shedders of human blood. No; every society, every meeting, was spared, except that which was to bury in oblivion past feuds, and to obliterate religious dissensions!!!

Be it so, for the present; we shall, I think, in better days. In the mean time, I ask the readers of the Wellington administration what Polignac at all to be compared to this? He did not procure any ordinance so despotic; he did not issue any proclamation so arbitrary. But, believe me, Sir Henry, the constitution will revive, and those who treat the people with all this waste of uncontrolled power, will discover that the democratic principle is not dead, but only sleeping, to awake to a day of justice, tempered with mercy, but divested of partiality or aristocratic proclivities.

The determination of the Irish people to attain by peaceable and constitutional means rational liberty has been strongly evinced by the late elections. Their detestation of the Wellington administration has been equally apparent. If he had one single friend in the world—which is a matter of doubt—let him advise the Duke to resign, and to descend from the elevation which he himself admitted it would be madness in his station. Let him, if he be not really insane, yield the reins of government to better and wiser men. He has neither heart, nor heart, private worth or public principle, to enable him to hold that situation on which chance has placed him, and common sense alone ought to have led him to abdicate for ever. The people of Ireland, for one unanimous, demand his resignation, let him yield to a people beginning too powerfully their legal and peaceable determination to be satisfied.

One word more to yourself, Sir Henry, and do I close. I began by prophesying your undoing as a govern Ireland, and I gave the reasons on which that prophesy was founded, and behold what was writing this letter. So, Sir Henry Hardinge, you prophesy is fulfilled. So, Sir Henry Hardinge, you have instituted an inquiry into the proceedings at St. John's in the County of Galway. That is your right.

But you have selected Mr. Maxwell Blacker in the inquiry. Let me tell you in sober truth, that if you had about you one single disinterested person you would never select Mr. Blacker. Let me add, he is just the last person you should have selected. I do not disparage the ability of Mr. Blacker, I will also assume that he possesses ordinary morality and between man and man, sufficient integrity. I do object to him because he is universally allowed to be a party man. Did any one tell you, as you ought, that Mr. Blacker was almost the only man of any rank at the bar who was generally believed by all to be a swayed Orangeman. I do not so fully believe so ill of him. But the almost universal conviction that he was so sworn, ought to preclude him from being the inquirer on this occasion. But there is one more: Were you told this fact which I have had from unobscured authority, that Mr. Blacker actually at the bar, in a public Court, asserted the perfect legality of Orange lodges, oaths, symbols, processions, and all. I certainly is the only man at the bar who has done so. Could you not find a substitute for him on this inquiry—or it is not yet too late, perhaps—two or three Barristers to assist him? But you ought to have done this; you ought to have inquired and ascertained who were party men, as believed to be so. These, for such an inquiry, ought to avoid. You should have sought for "inquirers" amongst the eminent men of the Irish Bar who have never been accused of being partisans. You could have taken Mr. Holmes, Mr. Perrin, or Mr. O'Connell, or Mr. Keating, or any of that class—men in whose reports the public of all parties would have implicitly confidence. By employing Mr. B. the misfortune is this—his diligence and integrity is ever so great, the still find it his duty to report against Catholics, there will still be dissatisfaction. Every report will be attributed, however false, to party motives; and the misfortune of his being employed when he has been employed.

I now close this lengthened epistle. May it give you and others that the people of Ireland are not to be left with or deluded; that they are not to be united for the present period of a month; that party spirit should be checked by men in power; and that the day is come when substantial justice should be done to all the people of this long oppressed and distracted land. I have the honour to be, Your obedient servant, DANIEL O'CONNELL.

MR. LAWLESS. The following letter has been received by Mr. Lawless from Mr. Henry Grattan: MY DEAR SIR—I am afraid it will not be in my power to attend the meeting I spoke to you about when I was in Dublin. I do not think I shall be able to return in time. I know my feelings as to you; they were—they were, I think they are, well, unchanged. I don't forget you, and the O'Connell Don called on our late master at Trillick. You remember his sentiments and feelings as to you then, and I am sure had he lived, they would be the same now. Yours sincerely, HENRY GRATTAN. To John Lawless, Esq., Leeson Street, Dublin.

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THE WATERFORD CHRONICLE.



TO SIR HENRY HARDINGE, KNIGHT OF SEVERAL MILITARY ORDERS, AND CIVIL SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

Dear Sir—You are totally unfit for the Government of Ireland—you are unfit for it even by the looseness of your intentions. A man of less fair intentions would be more suited to the position with whom you have to deal. He could understand them—you will simply confide in them. Judging from your self, you will conceive them incapable of means, or credit—you were never more mistaken in all your life. You are unfit to govern Ireland, because you are a military man, bred up with the strict notions of military discipline. Accustomed to obeying without reason—Stagnant military men are seldom suited to civil employments in any country purporting to be free. Ireland, I say, is steadily emerging from the baneful influence of the worst species of party Government, that which was composed of religious intolerance, the last country in the world to which a military man should be sent to govern a country. You do not, you cannot know anything of the way to manage such a country. You are certainly vastly superior to your predecessor. A Viceroy is pleasant after a Viceroy—and amongst the most rapid of the world was Lord Lytton. His intentions might have been as honest as yours, if such a man as his Lordship can be said to have any intentions beyond the gratification of aristocratic pride and personal pleasure. His intentions may be admitted to have been honest, but he was a man who would naturally, and I think, must incessantly be surrounded by sycophants and other unprincipled adventurers, who could easily obtain control over his actions while he thought himself free. He had not energy of mind sufficient to think for himself. Of course, others would decide for him, and then made him believe that the decision was his own.

Just think for one moment what manner of man that must be, who declared in the House of Commons, that he could form a direct opinion on that most prominent nuisance, the "Kildare Place Society," and thence draw this most sagacious conclusion, that, therefore, they ought to get an amount of £25,000 of the public money; I pass from him, I trust, for ever—I come directly to you. I really believe that your intentions are fair and honest; that you intend to administer the affairs of Ireland with a just and impartial hand. I am also convinced that you have energy of mind and character enough to get through greater difficulties than Ireland presents, even at the present moment. I also know that you possess considerable talents.

With all these advantages—honest intention—energy of character—and considerable talent—what is my opinion of your administration? I will give it to you by way of prophecy—and I venture to prophesy that you will give no kind of satisfaction to any party—that you will bring on yourself the hatred and perhaps the contempt of all—and that you will not survive, until too late, that you have oppressed and impoverished a kind and generous people, whom you would wish to protect and cherish.

The explanation of this apparently contradictory anticipation is easy and manifest. It consists in this—you are essentially ignorant of the real state of Ireland—what you know of it is not knowledge, but mere delusion. You are surrounded by men whose vital interests depend on their keeping the truth from you—or rather in so distorting the truth that it ceases to be the same thing. Gregory and his minions surround you at every side, and that spirit which has inflicted much evil on Ireland for so many centuries, hants the Castle at noon day with as much influence as it did before its spell was dissolved amongst the rational and just of all persuasions, not immediately attached to the Government.

I should hope that some benefit may be derived from your Government, if I could prevail on you to believe that all you hear from the "old servants of the government" is falsehood. Could you but bring your mind once to believe that what you hear from them is "a lie," you would thereupon seek other sources of truth—you would collect facts from other sources—and you would shake off a control which is the more dangerous because you do not perceive the power it has over you.

The first fact you should distinctly understand is, this—that until the passing of the relief bill, the Irish Government was necessarily a partisan Government. It was not—it scarcely condescended to pretend to be an impartial Government. Its object was to govern by, or rather for, a party. The party was everything—the people nothing. The Orange faction was, in the eyes of the Ministry, the nation. The people were looked on as only liable to be made subservient to the interests of that faction. Thus the Government was in its nature partial. The Corporations were, and almost all of them still are, partial. It would be more safe to estimate, than it would be to state, how partial the administration of justice was. The great mass of the appointment to the magistracy sprang from the same source of partiality—in short, it was a partisan Government.

I implore of you to take this fact with you in all your contemplations of Irish affairs. It is a key to let you into the knowledge of the real state of Ireland. Mark! The Government, in all its branches, was made by the law partial and partisan. The law went through all its ramifications, and created in all, whether civil, military, fiscal, or judicial, a tone, a temper, tinged with partiality and partisan feelings. Reflect on this truth—Look through it at all the affairs of Ireland, and you will thus see them through the proper medium.

The relief bill, therefore, found Ireland in this situation—not with two parties in it—Protestants, of the Orange class, on one side, and Catholics on the other—with a Government acting as umpire between those two parties, and holding or endeavoring to hold, an even balance between them. Now—that was not the state of Ireland at all—nor like it—there was no third power—there was no umpire—no scale of justice weighed the relative merits of the parties—no impartial hand was placed over them. Such, I repeat, was not the state of Ireland—it was quite different. There were not two parties and a Government. There were, indeed, two parties, but the Government was the principal constituent part of one of them. The Government was portion of the Orange party—and the almost universal people were the other party. These, and these alone, were the

RUSSIA. For several days a report has been spread that an order of the Russian Ambassador enjoins all the subjects of the Emperor Nicholas now in France to return to Russia. We find the following in a French journal—"We believe we can state for certain that the Ambassador of Russia has desired all Russians and Poles to prepare to quit France. Females are not included in the orders received from Petersburg and Warsaw. It is said that the Emperor Nicholas fears that the contagion of ideas of liberty may spread to his subjects. This measure has nothing besides which implies any intention on the part of the Russian Cabinet to refuse the recognition of our Government. What difference soever may exist between the institutions of the two countries, France and Russia have so many common interests with respect to commerce and the general politics of Europe, that their Governments must go on with a mutual good understanding if they be wisely counselled. Russia has not so much to praise the Bourbons for, particularly Charles X., that she can feel disposed to epouse their quarrel."

St. Petersburg, Aug. 24.—When the events in France were known here it created much astonishment. This morning couriers were sent to London, Vienna, and Berlin. It is thought Count Nesselrode will immediately leave Germany, and Prince Lieven return to his post in London. Count Matschevitz is expected here in the course of September.

GERMANY. VIENNA, AUG. 25.—Cabinet messengers continue to be sent to St. Petersburg, Berlin, and London. Movements of troops in the interior of Austria continue. It is reported that the cordon on the frontiers of Bosnia is to be much increased. We learn from Trieste that considerable purchases of grain had been made in the Adriatic ports. They were said to be on account of our Italian Government.

SPAIN. MADRID, AUG. 26.—The Government, perfectly instructed in all that passes on the side of the Pyrenees relative to the Spanish exiles who had united on the side of France, has taken measures for preventing their making an irruption upon that point of territory; in consequence of this, orders had been transmitted to the Captain-General of Catalonia to march troops towards Iaca, upon the Aragon frontier, and to the Captain-General of Guipuzcoa, to send troops in the same direction; also to the local militia of Biscay, and to the volunteer loyalists of the towns on that command. General Mina met on Tuesday in Paris, with 18 emigrant Spaniards, and it appears that they intend to proceed very shortly to the frontiers of Spain. The country seems ripe for a revolution. About 1,200 men are now assembled on the frontiers, and are animated with the greatest desire to enter their native country. They are headed by El Pastor Chupacabarra, Aid-de-Camp to General Mina, and Torrejos. A great number of them already wear the Constitutional colours. They say that they are only to wait for Mina, who is their Lafayette.

PRUSSIA. Prussia is on the eve of acknowledging the French Government. News from Berlin announces that that it will very soon follow the example of England.

PORTUGAL. Dispatches, dated Aug. 21, have been received at the Foreign Office, from Mr. Mackenzie, our Consul at Lisbon. The Galatea arrived in the Tagus on the evening of the previous Monday, and on the following day the Portuguese Government acceded to all the demands made by the British Consul with respect to the vessels illegally captured by Don Miguel's squadron. We understand that the restoration of the British vessels was to be accompanied by full compensation to all the parties who had suffered by this unwarrantable act of the Portuguese Government. The Galatea was to remain at Lisbon until all the conditions had been fulfilled.—Courier.

BELGIUM. (From the Correspondent of the Morning Herald.) COLOGNE, SEPT. 1.—On my arrival here this morning, I found the town in commotion, in consequence of the intelligence which had been received of disturbances at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the maintenance of a slight tumult at Cologne. All the troops of the line, which were encamped in anticipation of the grand reviews which were to take place on the 5th, 6th, and 7th, had been ordered to both these towns, and the express was received at eleven last night, the cavalry were ready to set off and put into motion at three this morning, and part of the regiments of the line were embarked on a steam boat for Cologne. The remainder follow to-morrow, and there now remain in the camp only the militia, which will be inspected on the appointed days. The grand review has, therefore, lost all its attraction, and it is not expected that there will be any other exhibition of that nature this year.

The letters from Cologne state, there were some threatening placards posted on the walls, but the citizens undertook to preserve order, and there was, in consequence, no public disturbance; but the accounts from Aix-la-Chapelle are most alarming; and it appears that a mob destroyed the house and the factory of Mr. Cockerill, and of others, and that they were proceeding to break open the gaol, when the better order of towns-people became anxious for their own safety, and they instantly took to arms, and a sharp engagement took place between them and the insurgents, and several of the latter were killed. By this prompt decision the tumult was suppressed, the peace of the town restored, and the citizens undertake to guard it, until they are relieved by the troops of the line which set out from here this morning. There is a vital distinction between these disturbances and those which have taken place at Liege and Brussels. In the latter there is ground for a political commotion; but at Aix-la-Chapelle they are content to a certain degree under the Prussian rule, and the riots can be only viewed as the attempt of a mob to plunder the property of their fellow citizens. The bulk of the population there and at Cologne, are in a state of extreme poverty; at the latter place, which contains 90,000 souls, there were 20,000 on the pauper list last winter, supported by alms. You must therefore distinguish between their riots and the revolutionary struggle at Brussels, and be under no apprehension that a rebellion is about to take place in this part of the Prussian dominions. The

Government are very properly taking all due precautions, and they are strengthening the frontier towns with troops, to guard against all evil communication with the Pays Bas.

BRUSSELS, SEPT. 3, 6 P. M.—Considerable alarm was excited in this City this morning from the continued and not altogether pacific discussions between the Prince of Orange and the Council, elected to arrange the difficulties between the present Government and the citizens, and it was considered by no means improbable that a trial of strength might take place between the military and the Garde Bourgeoise. About twelve o'clock, however, an agreement was entered into that the Prince of Orange should proceed forthwith to the Hague, to lay the demands of the citizens before his father; and it is reported that these demands are of great importance, and made in a very peremptory style. The Prince accordingly left Brussels about two o'clock, and an hour afterwards the whole of the military, horse and foot, also marched out, leaving us without a single soldier. The Commanders of the Garde Bourgeoise and many of the first rank of inhabitants have signed a document jointly with the Prince of Orange, assuring the safety of the town, that there shall be no change of dynasty during the absence of the Prince, and calling on the inhabitants to calm their fears, and wait with confidence the answer of the King to the demands of his subjects. This is the condition we are in at this moment; but from the state of the surrounding country and the neighbouring towns, all in open rebellion, and looking to Brussels as the grand pilot to guide them through the shoals and quicksands of revolution, and a large army nearly at the wall, it is impossible to foretell the events of the next twenty-four hours. The report of the deputation was no way satisfactory. The people are determined not to wait till the 13th of September, when the King proposed to summon the States General, and insist on an immediate answer by the Prince of Orange, to whom they have given three days.

SEPARATION OF BELGIUM AND HOLLAND. (From the Messenger des Chambres.) RECEIVED LAST NIGHT. BRUSSELS, SEPT. 4.—Yesterday the Commission appointed by the Prince and by the Duke of Ursel unanimously voted the separation of Holland and Belgium, and communicated their opinion to the Prince of Orange. The Deputies to the States General now at Brussels were summoned to the palace to give their opinion. They declared that they would not go to the Hague, and in their opinion the separation of the two parts of the kingdom was indispensable. The staff of the Burgher Guard and Deputies from all the sections were summoned to the palace. The deputation of the city of Liege also went thither. There an affecting scene took place. The Prince asked the assembly what were their wishes? All the assembly unanimously demanded the separation of Belgium and Holland. M. Moyard, in the name of the Burgher Guard, demanded that the troops should be immediately withdrawn.

The Prince—But then do you promise to remain faithful to the dynasty? The Assembly—with enthusiasm—We swear it. The Prince—If the French entered Belgium, would you join them? The Assembly—No, no. The Prince—Will you march with me for our defence? The Assembly—Yes, yes, we will. The Prince—Will you say with me, "Vive le Roi?" The Assembly—Not till our wishes are attended to—but "Vive le Prince! Vive la liberte! Vive la Belgique!"

The Prince burst into tears. The persons embraced each other in the midst of the general enthusiasm, and the old Generals could not suppress their emotion. The Prince understood how pure and generous the Belgic revolution is. From that moment the separation of Belgium and Holland was resolved upon, and this separation alone is equivalent to the redress of all our grievances. The Prince of Orange set out at two o'clock for the Hague, escorted by a detachment of the mounted Burgher Guard. Immediately afterwards the troops, which had been for ten days shut up in the Palace, left Brussels. We are now masters, and the only protectors of our beautiful city.—Courier des Pays Bas.

The Messenger des Chambres, dated the 7th, contains the following:—LEIPZIG, AUG. 26.—We have just received here positive information from the first bankers of Vienna, Berlin, and Petersburg, that none of the three great continental Powers will meddle in the affairs of France, with the formal assurance that they will very shortly recognize King Louis Philip. The distance of St. Petersburg is the only cause of this delay, the three great powers being resolved to act in concert on this great occasion. The Emperor of Austria, to prevent all ill-founded conjectures, has ordered the annual levy of recruits in his dominions to be deferred, and the great reviews usual at this season are countermanded. The same precaution is taken by the Prussian Government.

THE CONTINENTAL REVOLUTIONS—EXTRAORDINARY AND UNEXPECTED MOVEMENTS OF THE BRITISH TROOPS. (From the Freeman's Journal.) Although the London papers received yesterday and this day are silent on the subject, we are informed that alarming disturbances have taken place in Manchester. On Tuesday evening piquets of the 4th (King's Own) Foot—then in Richmond Barracks—went through the city crossing carts, &c. for the purpose of conveying the baggage of that regiment with all possible despatch on board steam-vessels in the river. The regiment sailed early this morning for Liverpool, on route to Manchester, whether they have been suddenly and unexpectedly ordered.

The 69th Regiment, it is said, would have got the same route, but that they remain under orders for the West Indies—whether they proceed about the middle or end of the present month. The 9th Foot, from Balaclava, have arrived in this garrison. They will replace the 4th. The 92d Highlanders, from Birr (head quarters) are, it is rumoured, to relieve the 60th.

Three o'Clock. The entire of the 4th Regiment have just now embarked at the Custom-house. Speaking with one of the officers, we were informed of the destination of the troops; they are not bound for Manchester permanently; the Netherlands is the real route. Before the lapse of

many days, there will be 10,000 British bayonets in Belgium. Are we to have a repetition of the scenes of the past times? Are we to have a Continental war against the liberties of the people? If so—will England and Ireland pay the taxes? or grant subsidies? or man the lines? These are questions which the British nation ought to seriously consider.

IRISH JUSTICE.

MUFF INVESTIGATION. The following are communicated to us by a correspondent, as topics of conversation at present in Kingscourt. We publish them, because, if our informant be not himself mistaken, or has not been deceived, we think they should be known to the Government—or, if the fact be otherwise, we feel that the parties whose names are mentioned, should have an opportunity of knowing what is alleged regarding them, and correcting it. We should state that our informant is known to us, and that he authorises us to mention his name to any person who may require it.

1. Mr. Blacker, when the investigation on the part of the Catholics was in progress, allowed notes to be indiscriminately taken, but when the investigation on the part of the Orangemen commenced, he confined the privilege of note-taking to the magistrates.

2. When the inquiry on the part of the Catholics terminated, it was expected that informations would be immediately taken against the accused Orangemen. This was not done; but as soon as the inquiry on the part of the Orangemen was at an end, informations against the Catholics were taken, and warrants issued for their apprehension.

3. A magistrate of the name of Pollock was heard to say on the bench, that he would cause an application to be made for the liberation of the woman accused of having given the last fatal blow to one of the deceased Catholics.

4. This magistrate, in the course of the investigation, asserted that "every Protestant was considered by the Papists an Orangeman, because he did not go to mass."

5. It was asserted on oath, that on the day after the fair of Muff, Mr. Raymond, chief of the police in Baillieborough, ordered all the Orangemen under arms, and said he would supply them with ammunition. Major D'Arcy declared on the bench, that "such things were not connected with the present investigation."

6. On Friday, the accused Orangemen were not in custody. At the moment our informant wrote his letter, he saw one of them in conversation with a policeman.—Morning Register.

THE MILITARY ATTACKED AT OXFORD, AND SIXTY PRISONERS RESCUED.

Oxford, Monday Evening, Ten o'Clock. For some days past very serious disturbances have taken place at the seven Otmoor towns in this county, in consequence of the injury the farmers and others have sustained by the inclosure of an immense tract of commonable land. A great part of the population of the several towns assembled at different points, destroyed the fences, levelled the banks and mounds, and filled up the ditches, and it is reported that a son of Sir A. Cole, in resisting the rioters, has been severely wounded. On Saturday last, an express arrived in this city for the staff of the Oxfordshire Militia, who soon after set off for Beckley with a plentiful supply of ball cartridges. At nine o'clock the same evening, Lord Churchill's troop of Yeomanry Cavalry marched to Islip. Nothing farther transpired here respecting the riot till this evening, about half-past six, when about sixty of the rioters were brought to this city from Islip in waggons, guarded by infantry and a troop of horse. On passing through St. Giles's, (where an immense number of persons had assembled to enjoy the festivities of a fair, similar to that of St. Bartholomew), the military were attacked in every direction; brick-bats, stones, and bludgeons, were hurled at them without mercy. The soldiers were determined to secure their prisoners, and the mob were equally determined to release them. The military had rather the advantage till they turned down Beaumont-street, which, from St. Giles's, is the nearest way to the county gaol; here the yeomanry were forced one by one from their posts; and what afforded the mob no little amusement, the officer commanding the troop was the first to ride off. Much praise is due to a sergeant named Bartly, (who is said to have formerly belonged to the 10th Dragoons), for the courage and humanity with which he did his duty; for sometime he sustained the brunt of the attack alone, nor did the mob succeed in rescuing the prisoners until he was completely disabled.

As soon as the prisoners were released, the mob followed the military to the Bath road, where some of the yeomanry galloped off in the direction of Botley, while others were obliged to take shelter in the castle. Several of the soldiers are seriously injured. The people here, and at most towns in this neighbourhood, believe the Otmoor people to be cruelly injured, and are much exasperated against their oppressors. It is the general opinion that had the soldiers fired not one of them would have escaped with life. The city is now as perfectly calm as if nothing had happened.

AFFAIR OF HONOUR.

In our publication of Saturday last there appeared a paragraph headed "Affair of Honour," but as we were not then in possession of the circumstances as they occurred, we give the following statement which we believe to be correct.—A meeting of a hostile nature was appointed to take place on Thursday morning, 2nd inst. at Ballybreannan, between William Nunn and Michael Phillips, Esqrs. The former accompanied by George Dance, Esq. and the latter by Captain Taylor; but Captain Hamilton of the Police receiving private information, proceeded to the ground and arrested Mr. Dance—in consequence of which, Captain Taylor sent to Mr. Dance requesting he would appoint some other person on the part of Mr. Nunn. Accordingly Captain Murphy was nominated, who called on Captain Taylor and made arrangements for another meeting on Thursday evening at Barge Hill, when a written apology was given by Mr. Nunn, and the matter terminated peaceably.—Waterford Herald.

FAIR OF TAGHMON, COUNTY WEXFORD.

This fair was held on Wednesday last, and was not better attended than any of the preceding ones which have been held there for some months past. Neither horses or store pigs were in demand, even at low prices. Good milch cows sold from 25 to 25 10s. each. Dry cows 25 to 25 10s. Fat Pigs were in demand at 31s. to 35s. per cwt.

BRIGHTON, SEPT. 9.—I am happy to state that the King continues in perfect health, and frequently expresses his gratification at the reception which he has met with here. His Majesty, who is daily becoming more popular, generally makes several visits in the course of the day, and this morning he honoured Lady Nelson, who is residing at the Sea House Hotel. The King stayed with her ladyship for three quarters of an hour, conversing with the most perfect affability. Mr. S. Arnold, the proprietor, was in attendance on his Majesty while he stayed at the hotel, and I understand that his Majesty afterwards visited Mrs. Holloway, the mother of Lady Otago, at her residence in Regency-square.

There is a report that the King and Queen will be at Portsmouth on Friday; and his late Majesty's elegant yacht, the Royal George, which is in the harbour, has undergone additional decorations upon the occasion. The Royal Artillery Company underwent a military inspection yesterday, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, the Colonel of the corps. As the weather was so unfavourable, the corps mustered in the Armoury-room, where the review took place. The Royal Duke addressed them in very appropriate terms, and then presented to the Officers on duty the new Charter of the Company, granted by his present Majesty, and it was enrolled among the archives of the corps. His Royal Highness afterwards presided at an elegant dinner, in the Mess-room, at which a number of officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and many of the men, were present.

It is stated that their Majesties have kindly consented to patronize the Philharmonic Society. On Sunday, divine service was performed at the Palace at Brighton, in the presence of the King, the Duke of Cambridge, the Princesses, and the Royal suite. It was expected that the King's Chapel would then have been ready, in order to have allowed of the Service being performed in it, but it was not possible to complete the preparations.—The Chapel will, however, certainly be ready for his Majesty's reception by next Sunday. A great many distinguished persons left cards of inquiry at the Pavilion during the week.

His Grace the Duke of Wellington, we understand, leaves town on Saturday (this day) for Manchester, to be present at the festival which is to be given to him on the occasion by the Corporation of that extensive mercantile town. The number of tickets already disposed of is near 800.

An instance of provincial candour enlivened the ceremony of presenting to his Majesty on Thursday last at Paris. The head of one of the deputations from one of our small towns had just terminated his address to the King of the French, when his Majesty, with that affability which so much distinguishes him, said, "I hope, Monsieur le Maire, that you will do us the pleasure of dining with us to-morrow?" "Ah! mon Dieu, Sire," answered the Mayor, "you see me in despair, as I am to leave to-morrow, and my place is taken." "Well then! if so, it shall be for to-day," replied the King, smiling. "If, perchance, you have no other invitation elsewhere."—Le Facet de Londres.

On the 17th of August the Prince Royal of Sweden arrived at Stockholm from Russia. It is said that the Swedish Court was about to set out for Norway.

BARONESS DE FEUCHERES—This lady, to whom the Duke of Bourbon has bequeathed so much property, is an Englishwoman, named Dawes, with whom the Duke became acquainted in London, and who followed him on his return to France.—This lady has since married, but still resides with the Prince, who (says the Messenger des Chambres) so generously recompensed the attachment she had evinced towards him.

THE POLIGNAC FAMILY.—The Polignac family is originally Venetian; the name is Polignone, which means large capon. This name, being somewhat rustic, was but rarely used. They bought the Polignac estate, near Puy-en-Velay, and took that name. They were not known in France before the time of Catherine de Medicis.

When Sir Thomas Bevor and young Cobbett, his "Secretary of Legation," went to hear the debates in the French Chamber of Deputies, they were seated in the Lodge of the Corps Diplomatique? What will Arthur say to that?

We regret to state that his Grace the Duke of Buckingham has been seriously indisposed with a fit of the gout, at his seat at Stowe. His Grace is now somewhat better.—Observer. (Why does not her Grace, his Duchess, put him under the treatment of Mr. St. John Long? Surely she might give this additional proof of her confidence in the Quack.)

M. CUTLER.—Cobbett asserts that the work of M. Cutler, which first branched the opinions and intentions of the late French Ministry, and was made the subject of invidious eulogium in the Quarterly Review, was written in English, and subsequently translated into French!

Lord Anglesey's yacht, the Pearl, has recently won a match at Cooch.

The Duke and Duchess of Northumberland left Dublin on Tuesday, for the seat of Lord Mayo, to attend the races at the Curragh of Kildare.

The Marquis and Marchioness of Clanricarde and suite have arrived at Portunna Castle.

We regret to hear that Lord Hartland, whilst driving lately, met with an accident in consequence of the falling of one of his horses. It gives us pleasure, however, to add, that he is approaching to a state of convalescence.

The Marquis and Marchioness of Sligo have been for some days past at Westport House, where they are entertaining a large party of fashionable.

DEPARTURES FROM LONDON.—The Duke of Leinster, for Carton, near Dublin; the Hon. A. Craven, for Ireland; Lord Acheson, for Suffolk; J. Wilson, for Dublin.

It has been officially notified to our naval commanders that they are to recognize the tri-coloured flag as the national flag of France. Young, the actor, was in Paris during "the three days."

Mr. St. John Long, alias O'D'Iscol, which a correspondent assures us is his real name, was formerly a mason working on Mr. Nash's property in the Isle of Wight.—Sunday Times.

Table with 5 columns: Bank Stock, I. S. p. & Co., Co. do. Red., Co. do. Black, Do. do. 4, G. Canal L., Do. do. 6, R. Can. St., Mining Co., Gov. Deb.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We desire those impudent scribblers, who are annoying us with unpaid penny post letters, and particularly that incendiary the "Freeholder," whose handwriting we recognise in one of those productions, to attend more to their own affairs, and less to those of the Chronicle.

MARTIN DOYLE, of Boley, was too late for this post. Mr. DOMINICK ROXANEY's letter in reply to Mr. WYSE, was not delivered at the office until 10 o'clock last night; it shall appear in our next.

The Waterford Chronicle.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1830.

French Papers to Tuesday, September 7, and London Journals to Wednesday, September 8, inclusive, have been received, extracts from which will be found elsewhere.

THE CONNEKION WITH ENGLAND—REPEAL OF THE UNION.

It is certainly the duty of a public journalist to select for the information and satisfaction of his readers such portions of foreign and domestic intelligence as may be calculated to instruct and entertain; but his very first obligation is to look at home, and to try to set "his own house in order."

The revolutions which are now making a fortunate progress in various parts of Europe, cannot but be very interesting to a people who have so much to amend in their own institutions as we have, and it is solely for this reason that the Irish newspapers are justified in devoting so much of their space to the details of foreign transactions.

We ought not, however, in our anxiety for the improvement of foreign states, let the present occasion slip without reminding the Government of England that this country, after so long an incorporation with Great Britain is neither prosperous, happy, or contented.

Comparing the condition of Ireland with that of the other countries of Europe, we should say, that we are behind nearly all in science, in manufacturing and mercantile wealth, and in commercial enterprise. To what cause can it be owing that, while every country in Europe is progressing towards social happiness and public freedom, Ireland is alone stationary?

We are not, however, in our anxiety for the improvement of foreign states, let the present occasion slip without reminding the Government of England that this country, after so long an incorporation with Great Britain is neither prosperous, happy, or contented.

are determined to consider the Act of Union as one made by a party who had no power to enact such a law, will that government not feel it a matter of justice, as well as of prudence, to yield at once to the known wishes of that people, by revoking the Act of Union.

Nothing is further from our intention than to encourage any procedure which might lead to a political separation of those countries, but we tell this wholesome truth to the Dictator, and we tell it to him in time, that if the Government of England does not consent to repeal the Act of Union, and to render justice in many other particulars, the people of Ireland are determined not to sleep much longer over the wrongs of their country.

ENGLISH TROOPS ORDERED TO BELGIUM.

We know not from what authority the Freeman's Journal has obtained the information, that ten thousand British soldiers are to be immediately embarked for the Netherlands; but, if the Dictator has presumed to assist the Sovereign Prince in a crusade against his own people, and this without the sanction of Parliament, we fancy he is about taking most effectual measures to verify his own prophecy, and that he is at length "run mad."

However, if he perseveres, he may chance to end his career in something more strait than a "strait waistcoat."

ATTACK ON THE JEWS IN HAMBURG.

The Globe of Wednesday evening gives the copy of a letter from Hamburg, by which it appears, that on Tuesday night last, the people of Hamburg signalled themselves by a general attack on the Jews in that City, who would have been all destroyed but for the interference of some of the respectable inhabitants, assisted by a body of police and cavalry.

COUNTY OF WATERFORD ELECTION.

To the Editor of the Waterford and Weekly Waterford Chronicle.

Glenanna Cottage, Sept. 7, 1830. Sir—In answer to Mr. WYSE's letter, in your paper of this day, I beg to remark that first "repeal with indignation" the idea of description, and then "repeal with indignation" the idea of description, and then "repeal with indignation" the idea of description.

Now, I tell Mr. WYSE that it is strange and rather awkward, that his brother should be the person to come personally to stand for the County in August, although he would not support me in February, because, as Mr. WYSE informs me, he was my brother!

As to Mr. Galvey's visit to Lord George Bessborough's Committee-room, he can answer for that himself; all I can say is, that I solemnly pledge myself that this letter of Mr. WYSE is the first intimation I had of it, and if it is intended to insinuate that I communicated Mr. Galvey's making any such communication, that insinuation is without even the shadow of reality on my part.

I have no fancy for newspaper controversy, but I will allow no man to traduce me. When attacked, I will defend myself—when called upon, I must give my reasons. However, I do not think myself further called on to answer any attacks on this particular subject, and as I can employ my time either more profitably or more profitably than in writing newspaper letters, I will pass any further remarks on my conduct at the late election with perfect contempt.

COUNTY WATERFORD ELECTION.

To the Editor of the Waterford and Weekly Waterford Chronicle.

Mr. Editor—I am once more compelled, indeed much against my inclination, to solicit your indulgence, and that of the public. The misstatements contained in the letter of Mr. FRANCIS WYSE, have no other alternative.

Mr. WYSE again asserts that, in the evening of the 2nd of August, his brother would have been second on the poll. Now, Mr. Editor, I think the public would feel much obliged if Mr. WYSE would condescend to give them some proof—some argument—in support of an assertion which no other individual in the community but himself could venture to make.

Now, Mr. Editor, I shall expect a candid and impartial answer to each of these interrogatories, and hope thereby to put an end to the silly and vulgar declamation of Mr. FRANCIS WYSE.

I remain, Sir, your's, &c. VERAX.

To the Editor of the Waterford and Weekly Waterford Chronicle.

Sir—I beg to leave respectfully, through the medium of your independent Journal, to make a few observations, and while I do so I earnestly solicit that you will be so good as to send me a copy of the paper, in which your kind and interesting letter, and the various letters addressed to you under the signatures of "A FREEHOLDER," "VERAX," "A SENSIBLE," "H. WINSTON BARROW," and "FRANCIS WYSE," are published.

Now, Mr. Editor, I hope you will be so good as to inform your readers by the publication of the letter, that the only "agitator" who can be found among the four pious and venerated persons, whose names are so egregiously engraven upon the hearts of the people, that there does not live in his parish a man who remembers the time when the gallows or the transport ship deprived him of the society of his brethren.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE. From the Messenger des Chambres de Monsieur le CHAMBRE DE DEPUTES.

After some matters of form had been concluded, M. Daurant, deputed by the Committee of Petitions, said that a great number of the free inhabitants of colour of Pointe-a-Pitre, (Guadalupe) complained that sundry enactments, colonial ordinances, and ministerial letters, had deprived them of the benefit of legality in spite of the law which assured to them the ordinances of Louis XVI. and Louis XV.

The Committee proposed that these numerous claims should be forwarded to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, and placed in the bureau des renseignements.

General Lafayette, the late Governor of the English island of Dominick, claimed payment of a debt resulting from advances made by him to the French authorities of Guadalupe in 1791.

General Lafayette—I support the proposal made to you by the Committee. I shall profit by this occasion to make some brief observations on an important subject relating to French commerce.

PARIS, SEPT. 5.—Paris, and indeed the whole of France, are now in a state of greater agitation than they have been since the first days of the revolution of 1830.

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bers, and to those persons who may have had an appointment, from nine till ten, and the General-in-Chief will receive them from nine till eleven.

From the Messenger des Chambres.

A private letter from Rochefort, dated August 29, says—Although a month has elapsed since the national deliberation, scarcely a sign of it is perceptible here.

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For an order the subject to return a French for certain all France.

received that the of ideas This may intend to refuse.

What difficulties have so to commerce their gov understand a particular to espouse.

VIENNA. (From the Messenger des Chambres.)

Madrid, (From the Messenger des Chambres.)

Dispatches, at the Foreign Consul at Lisbon.

From the Courier.

From the Courier.

From the Courier.