

The Waterford Chronicle.

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TRIAL OF THE FRENCH EX-MINISTERS.

COURT OF PEERS.

FIFTH DAY—SUNDAY, DEC. 19.

As this important trial was to be conducted without any adjournment, the Court pursued its business through the Sabbath-day. At ten o'clock the President and Peers took their seats, and the prisoners were introduced.

DEFENCE OF COUNT PEYRONNET.

The Count read his own defence in the most impressive manner. He commenced by an affecting appeal to the justice and generosity of his judges to hear him with patience, and make a proper consideration for the circumstances of his eventful and unfortunate life. In allusion to the kind remembrance yesterday, by M. de Martignac, of his early friendship, he expressed his warmest gratitude; political differences, it was true, had long separated them, but his fellow-citizen, now in the hour of his adversity, showed like a man of honour that he still remained his friend.—(Here M. de Martignac wept.) With reference to his own principles, his life was before the world; to Napoleon he had never yielded his principles, and was fortunate enough in his own province on one occasion to have saved thirteen soldiers who had been tried by a council of war, and at other times to have saved different political offenders. At the restoration he never courted the Bourbons, but had remained tranquilly pursuing his professional business in the south. His first entrance into public life was as deputy for Bordeaux, an honour unsought by him, but kindly conferred upon him by his fellow citizens. As a magistrate, he believed it would be said in his department, even by his political enemies, that he had ever implicitly regarded the principles of justice and the rights of humanity. In political life he knew he had made enemies; but he could say like the British Minister, Sunderland, that he had filled high office without ever having done any thing for himself. His bitterest opponents could not impute selfish motives to his acts throughout the whole of his administration, or that he had ever compromised his principles. He then proceeded to enumerate the various public measures which had been passed in his time, and the moderation which he himself had always shown during the agitation of projects that had led to great excitement among others; for instance, the law upon sacrilege, and other acts of that mixed religious and political character. It was well known in the South of France, that upon many occasions he had by his own efforts saved a number of persons who, were it not for that interference, would have lost both liberty and life. In reflecting upon these events he could name at least 250 persons who were thus relieved; so that if his lot were to be ransomed from the enemy, the task of redemption would not be difficult for his ransom had been already paid. As to his private fortune, the best proof he could give that had never been increased while in power, was that when he had fallen from political station, there was only 400 francs difference between his income and what he had derived by inheritance in the year 1822. He then most solemnly denied that he had ever despatched a telegraphic order to execute the prisoners from Martignac; in point of fact, the jurisdiction of the tribunal which tried them was not in any part of its proceedings, under his control, and this was easy of proof. With reference to the ordinances, and the coup d'etat, all he could say was, that he had used all his efforts to reconcile conflicting passions, and if he had not succeeded, it was his misfortune rather than his fault. The secrets of the Council he could not disclose, even to save himself from being the victim of misrepresentation and misapprehension, and he solemnly declared that nothing was further from his intention than to invade the rights of the people, and the imputation against him of having conspired against their liberties was utterly destitute of foundation. He was grateful for the attention with which they had heard his disclaimer of charges so grave: his public life was closed—his fortune ruined; to friends or to foes he could now only offer his tears.—(here he wept with great emotion)

—and these he freely poured for those who sought his sympathy the condition of a fallen man, whom circumstances, over which he had no control, had prostrated.

This defence of Count Peyronnet was unmarked by any striking feature: it was an appeal to the humanity of his Judges, and a demand upon them merely to confide in his own assertions of the purity of his intentions.

M. Heunequin rose at twelve o'clock, as Counsel for Count Peyronnet, to speak further in his defence. He commenced by stating, that it was to Count Peyronnet the public were mainly indebted for those acts of the late administration which had regulated the improvement of the public edifices, and afforded general convenience to the nation. He then entered into a long legal argument to explain what was the real import of the articles of the Charter of 1814, which had, he said, a striking analogy in their modifications to the popular branches of the British Constitution, but could not from the nature of the mixed opinions and institutions of France, after so many revolutions, be acted upon with the same steadiness and precision. Against the accusation that Count Peyronnet meant to upset the institutions of his country, he had to oppose the acts of his whole life, which had been devoted to their perfection and preservation. He then went over pretty nearly the same ground as M. Martignac did yesterday, in showing from the example of England, that extreme rigour did not follow from changes of dynasties or governments, but that on such occasions political enemies were always generous, and did not tarnish their triumphs by the spilling of each other's blood when the heat of the battle was over. So it was in England in the year 1688, and so it ought to be in France in 1830. As to the conduct of Count Peyronnet in the Council of Charles X., he could lift up the curtain which veiled it, his fellow countrymen would see that it was marked by moderation and liberal feeling, and that no man felt more anxiety than he had done during the three memorable days to obtain a cessation of hostilities, a revocation of the ordinances, and his own removal from the Ministry.

M. Sauzet, Counsel for M. Chantelauze, followed. At half-past four o'clock the sitting was adjourned till next day (Monday).

SIXTH DAY—MONDAY, DEC. 20.

DEFENCE OF M. DE CHANTELAUZE. M. Sauzet this day resumed the defence of M. de Chantelauze. The prisoners were conducted to the bar at half-past ten o'clock. Prince Polignac appeared weak and dejected. Count Peyronnet was reading a newspaper with apparent attention. M. Sauzet began his discourse by discussing the legality of a coup d'etat under the old charter, provided the Government felt the King under the necessity of making one for the maintenance of his throne. He denied with a good deal of force that the ordinances had caused the revolution of July—three days had indeed accomplished it; but fifteen years had been employed in preparing it.—The links between the throne and the people had been gradually but irreparably broken, and the unhappy ex-Minister whom he defended was innocent of the catastrophe, although he had become one of its victims. The Learned Counsel employed much eloquence to show, that a Government established as the restoration had been, by force of foreign arms, had various difficulties to contend with, from which those thrones were free which had grown up from their foundations among the feelings and wants of the people; and that such a Government was of necessity driven to measures for its preservation often not in strict accordance with legal usage. He enumerated several of the acts of the Legislature previous to the revolution, which had implicated the Throne and the Government long before the ordinances. Among them was the law of indemnity for the ancient possessors of property before the revolution, which, though just in itself, having been misinterpreted by the people, was the source of great mischief. Let them speak to a peasant of liberty, and he would understand them; but speak to him of theories of government—tell him that foreigners had replaced the throne of his ancient king, and he will feel his national independence compromised, and dash the spade from his arm to seize the weapon with which he had before rushed against the invaders of his country. It was in the midst of these melancholy collisions of public feeling between the monarchy and the nation, that the late unfortunate Ministers of Charles X. took office, and were committed for the salvation of the throne, to take measures which, under different circumstances, would never have been thought of. But he called upon the Chamber of Peers to bear in mind, that they had themselves been parties to many of the measures which had brought the throne of the late dynasty into its danger, and that the subjects of the late monarchy had been long comprised before the formation of the Ministry of the 8th of August. He then adverted to what he deemed the many attacks which the late monarchy had sustained, before it had turned round to defend its rights. The Press had teemed with assaults of this nature, until the King at length found that this extreme liberty of the Press was incompatible with the existence of his throne.—They should always remember, that the value of the liberty of the Press was a great problem of modern times—that it was unknown in ancient governments, and was very likely to be a topic on which various opinions would be formed in the cabinets of Princes. The journals had raged against all the principles which the monarchy had held dear, and it was natural for the King to look upon it with a jealous eye, as bent upon the annihilation of the power of the Bourbon race. It had been said by the Commissioners for the accusation, that the people had upset the late throne with reluctance, but this was against the whole evidence of their acts; they were bent upon its overthrow, and the only hope of the Crown was to endeavour to save itself by strong measures, or unresistingly receive its prostrate fate. The old and the new principles were brought into fatal collision by a long series of unfortunate measures, for which the unfortunate Ministers on trial were not responsible, and the train of which it was too late to avert when they received the helm of Government. He then proceeded thus:—I have proved the sincerity of the Ministers, but more especially of M. de Chantelauze. Ah! may I then hope to see him restored to liberty, and to that noble corps of which he was one of the brightest gems? You know it, gentlemen, the bar itself has come forward to demand that the prisoners may be looked upon as prisoners of war and not as criminals.— Besides, is it not evident that the law would be unjust in inflicting any punishment on their devoted heads? Had the throne remained inviolable, had taken vengeance on the advisers of the Crown.— But no, such has not been the case. The mountains of Scotland sound the unhappy remains of three generations of kings; and the broken sceptre of Charles X. sufficiently shows that he has expiated the errors of his administration. And, besides, where will you stop if once you launch out into the career of proscription? When once the executioner begins his dreadful functions for political wrongs, who can tell when he may return his sabre to the scabbard? Here the orator examined at full length the question of ministerial responsibility, and continued to show that the accused could not be continued without the most signal injustice. The demerit without to attack the throne, and abjuring all idea of vengeance, thought it better to ensure its future happiness by the overthrow of the monarchy than by shedding the blood of the Ministers.

The days of vengeance are gone by—the day of justice dawns upon us. Justice for the man who has confided his defence to my weakness, and justice for you, gentlemen, clemency, and clemency is the most noble offering you can make to France. Let nobody pretend that recent misfortunes demand vengeance; no, the taunts of the victims of liberty demand no other sacrifice than tears and regret; and, perhaps, on the great national festival, when we shall all surround their tombs, four families will, perhaps, timidly present their homage and the offering of their heartfelt gratitude for the preservation of their parents. Ah! then, then indeed you will really feel your grandeur, when you will have given the nobles the rare example of a whole nation sacrificing its dissensions

to the peace of the country. Peers of France, you will shine at the head of this great festival, because it will be the fruit of your labours.

Notwithstanding the injunctions of the President, the audience gave the most evident marks of approbation to the young defender. On the audience being suspended, several Peers shook hands with him, and M. Dapin went up to embrace him.

DEFENCE OF M. GUERON DE RANVILLE. M. Cremerieux, defender of M. Gueron de Ranville, then began as follows:—Gentlemen, I must first of all claim your indulgence—for, after listening to the eloquent defence which you have just heard, more than ever I feel how much I want it. The trophies of Miltiades prevented me from sleeping last night; but, at the same time, I entered the most flattering hopes for the success of my cause, as the acquittal of M. de Chantelauze appeared to me a guarantee for my client.

The defender entered into a relation of the events which have taken place since the restoration, and endeavoured to show the incompatibility of the different principles which animated the dynasty and the people. From thence the defender took occasion to relate the different circumstances of the life of M. Gueron, and proved that he always showed himself sincerely attached to the constitution, both by his works and his conduct as a magistrate.— Like those who spoke before him, M. Cremerieux examined the actions of M. de Ranville whilst he was minister, maintaining that he constantly opposed any system of government hostile to the opinions of the country. The orator added, M. Gueron de Ranville yielded to the urgency of the moment, to the solicitations of the government, when he signed the ordinances; and that, in a moment of imprudence, inspired by an appearance of devotedness to his royal master, can never be looked upon as a crime of high treason. Besides, M. Gueron had merely signed, and not advised the adoption of the ordinances, a circumstance which ought to be taken into serious consideration. Besides, the Court before which the cause is to be decided is not complete—is not the same as when the crime (supposing it to be a crime) was committed; and this alone is sufficient to prevent any legal judgment. M. Cremerieux terminated by bringing on the scene of a stranger visiting the ruins of Paris, when that noble city will be no more, and his guide showing him the remains of the Pantheon, and of the House of Peers, and telling him that, after a noble struggle for liberty, the greatest nation of the earth pardoned its oppressors, thinking that no blood ought to be shed on the shrine of freedom.

The emotion of the defender was so profound, that he fell into a swoon, and was carried out of the room.

This incident made a deep impression on the whole assembly in such an awful moment. M. Berenger, one of the commissioners of the Chamber of Deputies, replied to the defence. His principal argument consisted in maintaining that the ex-Ministers were really responsible, the King's irresponsibility having been preserved—a truth which all France could prove, and Charles X. himself; but the people had been moderate towards the Monarch—it was because they knew that the Ministers were answerable for the crimes of the Monarch.

The Court adjourned till next day.

SEVENTH DAY—TUESDAY, DEC. 21. The Court re-commenced at half-past ten. The external appearance of M. de Polignac bore the impression of great mental sufferings; the public attributed it to the cries which he probably heard last night from the mob in the streets. M. Modier de Montjau, one of the commissioners of the Chamber of Deputies, opened the debate by replying to the defenders, in support of the accusation. He maintained that, by the most imprudent zeal for the accused the defenders had drawn into a downright panegyric of the late administration. But ought it not to be remembered, that if fallen Majesty and Misfortunes were surrounded with a kind of sanctity, the honour and the rights of a great nation were no less sacred, and perhaps called still louder for the vindication of those rights, when violated by the immense acts of perjury? Acknowledging the ascendancy of the genius who had defended the accused, the honourable deputy was of opinion, that France ought not to be calumniated, in order to justify those who had fallen victims to their imprudent pretensions; and, therefore, he thought it his duty to justify his country, and prove that if the nation had expelled the Bourbons, it was because they always showed themselves the inveterate enemies of liberty. Yet, notwithstanding their rights, the people had respected the person of the prince; they had not taken vengeance upon his perjury; but then justice required that his criminal advisers should become answerable for the blood which they had spilt. As the defender had attacked all the efforts of the people, to support their rights under the restoration, the orator endeavoured to show that, far from being criminal, their acts were authorised by the laws, and that it was an advantage which the late government could not boast of. Their circulars, their measures, all proved that they made use of the whole extent of their power to exert an illegitimate influence over the elections. M. Modier de Montjau justified the Comte-Directeur, and maintained that it had rendered the greatest services to the country by opposing the intrigues of the administration. In replying to ministerial responsibility, we have already proved, continued M. Modier, we meant no attack against Charles X. for our sovereign, we meant no wish to avert a similar misfortune from the heads of our future monarchs. If the late King had perished at St. Cloud, or at Rambouillet, would not the ministers have been responsible for his life, and therefore are they not responsible for his present exile? They have caused the blood of their fellow-citizens to be shed. Peers of France, you must decide if their responsibility ceased with the evils they gave rise to. The ordinances of July were signed by the ministers, and on that signature alone they may be condemned. For it is of no importance to know that the ordinances were the result of a previous knowledge of the elections, or that they were the consequence of the principles

which created the ministry of the 8th of August. The commissioner, in his reply, made use of the same arguments as in the act of accusation, especially doing his utmost to demonstrate the evidence of a conspiracy against the institutions of the country, which remained secret until the last moment—a circumstance which alone was sufficient to prove that the ex-ministers had readily entered into that conspiracy. M. Modier added, that when the ordinances were published, the ministers had really not deliberated in council on the declaration of siege, and had signed that ordinance without the slightest mark of hesitation or regret. It was therefore useless to maintain that the council had not assembled, and all the ministers were equally culpable, as having had an equal share in the deliberations. After making a few observations relative to the events of the late revolution, and the cruelty of those who caused it, the orator terminated as follows:—A man, no less distinguished by the generosity of his heart than by the most eminent talent, has addressed you in words, imploring your clemency; were those noble events the expressions of the feelings of our glorious revolution, or were they merely the result of delusion? Noble peers, you will decide. It is not merely your position which places you above all other magistrature; it is also by your wisdom and by your political experience that you are called upon to decide whether you will fulfil the wishes expressed by another chamber. Thus, gentlemen, whatever may be your sentence, we shall remain convinced and respectful, and we shall with pleasure offer you the homage of that confidence which is for us a sufficient guarantee that you will know how to observe your rights and duties.

M. Martignac, defender of M. de Polignac, then rose to reply to the accused. After informing the Court that he would not trespass long on their attention, he related the accusation relative to an illegitimate influence exerted by the ministers over the elections. The orator read the article of the charter concerning the above transgression, and which only speaks of a violent and surreptitious kind of influence. Now it was evident that the ministers had never thought of any illegal influence, and the depositions of the witnesses, as well as the letters of the ex-ministers, could leave no doubt as to their innocence on that point.—The second point to which the accusers have referred, added M. de Polignac, is the resistance opposed by M. de Polignac to the ordinance of M. de Semonville; but M. de Polignac was on the point of setting out for St. Cloud when the latter arrived at the Tuileries, but he arrived with M. de Semonville, though he left Paris after him, and in one instant he settled every difficulty, but he had already given in his resignation. Why should the accusers insist on this point? Why should they speak of a delay of six hours, without which, it is said, that perhaps we should not now have another sentence to pronounce, as well as that of the ministers. Ah, gentlemen! this is, indeed, too much! too painful! The real responsibility is already a burden sufficiently weighty, without adding to it another moral responsibility; I entreat you not to add this new misfortune to those which are already accumulated on one devoted head; for, indeed, such a blow would be fatal; nature could not support it.

The orator then exposed with great energy, that the authors of the ordinance could never have intended to excite a civil war in the country. They certainly have been deceived in their views relative to the good of the country, but never, no never can it be supposed that Charles X. and his advisers had formed a scheme to bring down destruction on the nation, whom they still love, and ever loved, sincerely. And who would ever maintain that a man can be condemned for a crime he never intended to commit? Would the Court of Peers of France pronounce such an unjust sentence? No, never. The orator entered into a long explanation of the 14th article of the charter, and of ministerial responsibility, maintaining above all, that the crown, as well as the King, was inviolable, according to the true principles of a representative government, and the crown having once fallen from the head of the King, his ministers are no more responsible; the people refused the ex-ministers for victims—they aimed at more illustrious hecatombs to sacrifice on the altar of liberty. Three generations of kings could alone satisfy their vengeance, and this sacrifice, once accomplished, would be just, would it be able, to spill the blood of inferior victims? M. de Martignac terminated his speech in the following terms:—Noble Peers, there is something at the bottom of your hearts which tell you that the present trial is not just—that it cannot be; for there are no laws to justify the sentence, and this is acknowledged by the accusers themselves. Now, I have fulfilled my task, and I hope to have done it like a friend, and also like a man of honour.— You're is now to begin, and it is a noble—a great duty you will accomplish—it is worthy of your high wisdom—and certainly no external influence will have any power over your decision. Let those who pretend that you will be biased by any kind of apprehension—let them count the Peers of England on the trial of Strafford—let them also count the Peers who are in this assembly, and they must remain convinced that their criminal attempts would prove abortive.

The other defenders made a few observations of minor importance; and the Court then retired into another room, to appoint the hour of their deliberation.

The audience adjourned at half-past one when the prisoners were removed, and the Court cleared for the peers to deliberate upon their sentence.— Every thing of the trial was this day evidently hurried, so as to get rid of this melancholy source of so much public excitement with urgent despatch.

On the conclusion of the final address of M. Cremerieux, the last of the advocates of the accused, the President inquired if the prisoners had any thing to add. On which the accused bowed in silence.

The President—Have the Commissioners of the Chamber of Deputies any thing to add? M. Berenger (slowly and impressively)—The cause has been heard. Our mission is accomplished—your's is about to commence. You have be-

fore you the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and the book of the law. The nation awaits your decision; it hopes it will obtain sound and severe justice. (Sensation.)

The President—The pleadings are ended.—(Slight movement.) The Court is about to withdraw to the council-chamber, to decide upon the mode and moment of deliberation. I request the Court and auditory not to leave their places previous to the departure of the accused.

The prisoners then withdrew, and were reconducted to their prison. In going out M. de Polignac bowed to the right and left, and particularly recognised M. Billot; the others made a slight inclination of the head; and all eyes followed them to the door of that hall into which they are never again to enter.

After a lapse of a few minutes, the President said, in the midst of a profound silence, "The sitting is finished." It was then nearly two o'clock.

SENTENCE ON THE EX-MINISTERS. Precisely at ten o'clock the public sitting of the Court of Peers was resumed. The President and Peers occupied their usual seats. The Commissioners of the Chamber of Deputies were also in the places allotted to them. The accused were absent, but their counsel were all in court. But very few persons were in their tribunals. The President, in a voice of deep emotion, pronounced the following sentence:—

"The Court of Peers, after deliberation in pursuance of the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies, having heard the Commissioners of that Chamber for the accusation, and the accused in their defence;—

"Considering that by the ordinances of the 25th of July, the constitutional charter of 1814, the electoral laws, and those securing the liberty of the press, were manifestly violated, and that the royal power thereby usurped the functions of the Legislature;—

"Considering that although the individual will of Charles X. may have influenced the determination of the accused, that circumstance cannot relieve them from their legal responsibility;—

"Considering that it appears from the proceedings, that Auguste Jules Armand Marie, Prince de Polignac, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of War *ad interim*, and President of the Council of Ministers; Pierre Dennis, Comte de Peyronnet, as Minister of the Interior; Jean Claude Balthazar Victor Chantelauze, as Garde des Sceaux and Minister of Justice; and Martial Comte Anibal Perpetue Magloire, Comte de Gueron Ranville, as Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs; all responsible in the terms of the 13th article of the charter of 1814, countersigned the ordinances of the 25th of July, the illegality of which they themselves acknowledge; that they took every means to enforce the execution of them; and that they advised the King to declare the city in a state of siege, in order to subdue by arms the legitimate resistance of the citizens;—

"Considering that these acts constitute the crime of treason, provided against by the 56th article of the charter of 1814;—

"Declares le Prince de Polignac, le Comte de Peyronnet, Victor Chantelauze, and le Comte de Gueron Ranville, guilty of the crime of treason;—

"Considering that no law has determined the punishment of treason, and that the Court is, therefore, under the necessity of supplying the deficiency;—

"According to the 7th article of the Penal Code, which classes transportation (1) among the punishments stigmatising with infamy (*peines afflictives et infamantes*);—

"According to the 17th article of the same code, which declares transportation to be for life;—

"According to the 18th article, which declares that transportation involves civil death, and the 25th article of the Code Civil, which regulates the consequences of civil death;—

"Considering that there is not any place, out of the continental dominions of France, to which criminals sentenced to transportation can be taken and detained;—

"Condemns le Prince de Polignac to be imprisoned for life in the continental dominions of the kingdom; declares him deprived of his titles, rank, and orders; declares him civilly dead; all the other consequences of transportation remaining in force, as regulated by the articles before mentioned.

"Considering the facts of the case as appearing from the proceedings;—

"Condemns le Comte de Peyronnet, Victor de Chantelauze, and le Comte de Gueron Ranville, to imprisonment for life; directs them to be placed in a state of interdiction, conformably to the 28th and 29th articles of the Penal Code, declares them equally deprived of their titles, rank, and orders.

"Condemns all the accused individually, and collectively, to pay the expenses of the proceedings.

"Orders the present sentence to be communicated by message to the Chamber of Deputies.

"Orders, that it shall be printed and posted up in Paris and every other commune of the kingdom, and transmitted to the Garde des Sceaux Minister of Justice, for the purpose of being carried into execution.

The foregoing is the sentence on the ex-Ministers, which was read to them at the Castle of Vincennes, at 11 o'clock on Tuesday night.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE. (From the Times.)

PARIS, WEDNESDAY EVENING.—You will perceive by the journals of this day, that the process against the ex-ministers has terminated by the infliction of a severe but secondary sentence—loss of civil rights, and perpetual imprisonment, instead of the extreme penalty of death. The sentence was not promulgated to the Parisian public last night. On the contrary, among the crowds assembled at a late hour around the Luxembourg, it was generally stated at nine and ten o'clock, that Polignac and Peyronnet were doomed to capital punishment, and the others to a heavy sentence of fine and imprisonment.

The prisoners were removed at half-past four o'clock from their prison in the Petit Luxembourg to the Castle of Vincennes, under circumstances somewhat extraordinary, and which are only imperfectly stated in the papers of this day.

General Lafayette had repeatedly during the

trial of the French ex-ministers.

for the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and the book of the law. The nation awaits your decision; it hopes it will obtain sound and severe justice. (Sensation.)

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suppose, think they have a right to lead us. As I have entered on this subject, I must observe it was said I expressed a wish that Lord Anglesey should be insulted: I unequivocally deny it. (Hear.) It would be base, it would be flagitious to do so. (Cheers.) No man respects him more than I do; but I would consider myself a party to that outrageous appointment in which he has been instrumental, if I joined in any public demonstration to him. I do not want to dictate on the subject; every man may act as he thinks fit, but this I say for myself, that as I would consider myself base were I to join in an insult to him, so I would consider myself equally base if I were the slave to join in congratulating him. (Cheers.) I turn back to the subject of reform. I am no advocate for half-measures. (Hear.) The man that can pay what he owes and refuses to pay more than three half-pence in the pound is in my mind a swindler. I do not call the present administration swindlers; but this I say, that I do not give them credit for any disposition to concede to the people those measures which the people require. If the people wish to see the question of reform progress, they must take it up eagerly themselves and not leave it in the hands of the ministry. The ministry will be compelled to attend to the voice of the people; for however indispensed from principle to attend to the wishes of the people, they are rather too nervous to be unmoved by the loud and determined expression of the public wish. (Cheers.) They remind me of a family of very delicate nerves who could never hear the crying of a pig when about to be killed, not that they had any unwillingness that the pig should be killed, but that their nerves could not bear to be shocked by its cries. They would like the griskins and the bacon, but they would not relish the slaughter, not from any feeling for the animal, but for themselves. (Hear.) I will call on all men to join me in demanding parliamentary reform. I am an advocate for universal suffrage—nothing less will satisfy me. I do not conceive why one class of the people have not as good a right to vote as another. Are we not all born in the same state of helplessness? Do we not sink into the same grave, and moulder into the same mass of rottenness? If there were some native distinction—something imprinted on the infant, to mark him for one class of society, I would consent to the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy; but if virtue be any claim, I have always found rich men more dishonest—they are more easily corrupted than the poor man—they are more accessible to flattery—they are more influenced by money; and those whom money cannot affect, are easily ejected by a feather or a title. I think that wealth does not impart additional virtue or additional honesty. I have seen the honest forty-shilling freholder returning to his little home, after giving a vote which he had reason to expect would be the ruin of his family; there awaited him a family and wife—her eyes, perhaps, streaming with tears at the wretchedness which his virtues had entailed upon them; and yet the honest woman—God bless her for it!—blessed the act and thought her virtuous wretchedness preferable to dishonest prosperity. (Cheers.) It is a principle of the British constitution that no man can be taxed without his own consent; and as it would be impossible to collect the opinions of the whole people individually, they are supposed to be present by their representatives. Now, there is not a poor man who is not taxed in some degree, either directly, or indirectly; and there is no man, however poor, that does not some time or other get a glass of whiskey or a drink of beer, for which he is taxed. There is no man, however poor, whose wife does not some time or other procure a cup of tea, for which duty is paid; so that there is no man, however poor, that does not in some shape or other contribute his share to the taxes. (Hear.) I am, therefore, on principle, an advocate for universal suffrage which would give the poor man a vote as well as the rich man. (Cheers.) I would be satisfied to take part payment of the entire debt—we will take ten shillings in the pound, but with a note here to call next year for the balance. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I want to be satisfied which shorten the duration of Parliament to two or three years, and give the vote by ballot. (Cheers.) I call on all the people to join me in demanding the vote by ballot. The question of vote by ballot is this, that it will alter the present system of undue influence, and enable every man that wishes to do so to give an independent vote. What is the system now? If a freeholder be a tenant, he is sought to be influenced by the terrors of his landlord's vengeance. If he be in business, or wealthy, some other means will be resorted to; but if he had the vote by ballot, a man might put his slip of paper into the ballot-box, and give an independent vote without caring for any one. (Cheers.) They say that voting in this way exhibits want of courage, and that it is un-English. Is it un-English for a man to say to another, "I am the fittest person to represent you, and if you do not vote for me, I shall take means to make you feel the consequence?" The North has begun the battle; they differed with us before, when we were waging the battle for the liberties of Ireland; and it reminds me of a story I once heard of:—In a battle at sea, two of the powder-monkeys in Lord Nelson's ship quarrelled about buckets, and to it they went and commenced a boxing match, whilst the battle was waging between Spain, France, and England. (Laughter.) Thus it was with the North—they quarrelled about buckets—they disputed with us in a bye-battle, whilst the oppressors of the country were plundering it. The North has begun to stir itself. The meeting at Arraugh was an excellent meeting, but the meeting at Belfast was a transcendent meeting. (Cheers.) Who has not read the speech of my excellent friend, the Rev. Mr. Montgomery? (Hear.) No man can differ more on religious points with that gentleman than I do. I will have to answer for my belief as he will have no answer for his, but as a friend to Ireland I value and regard him. (Gentle cheering.) Oh, I could not help sighing when he poured forth his soul upon the glorious memory of the Irish volunteers. Oh! we shall yet give Mr. Montgomery another bright and glorious era of '92. (Loud cheers.) Yes—we should cheer the meeting at Belfast, we should spread the very through every part of the country. The North is awaking. My honest friend George Ennis is there exerting himself for us, stimulating the sluggish and apathetic. One of the most powerful papers in that part of the country proposed to that question. In the last number of that paper I am sorry to see an article substituted for argument. That paper from the North will receive powerful assistance. There has been a beginning in the South in the cause of reform: the city of Waterford, with the

Mayor at its head, has declared its sentiments. (Hear.) I have received a letter from one of my constituents in Waterford, informing me that there is a resolution to convene a County meeting for Parliamentary reform, and that it contains the names of fifteen magistrates. (Cheers.) If ever a man has reason to be proud of his constituents I have reason to be proud of mine. (Cheers.) There is a subject that attracts the public attention, and that is the amount paid to persons by the Government. It appears by the late return that two millions per annum are given away in salaries of £1000 and upwards. In England the pension list is more than half a million. I want to know why Lord Gifford and a dozen Generals should have been quartered upon the country. The Irish undertakers had the thing in their own hands, but they killed the goose for the sake of the golden egg. The arch-miserant of that unwholesome traffic since made expiation; he immolated the independence of his country, he bartered the rights of millions for a base bribe. (Hear.)

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GRATITUDE
to the magnanimous ANGLESEY, who...
EMANCIPATION.
Receiver him as grateful people...
Daniel O'Connell, M.P., has been received...
Every man worthy of his patriotism...
I have been received in a manner which no patriot...
deserve. (Cries of no, no.) The people have...
done more to gratify me than my patriotism...
deserved from them. (No, no.) His triumph...
is complete! no my triumph will not be complete...
until I see a Parliament house in College-green.
(Loud cheers.) Will we forget to pay a tribute...
of gratitude to the magnanimous Anglesey, who...
more than any man living (except O'Connell) con-
tributed to our emancipation. This puts me in...
mind of a man who wore a hay belt about him...
when he had been assailed by a bull, which, ac-
tually, put his horns under the belt and drove...
him over a wall; but when a person who came up...
to him said, that he should thank Providence for...
saving his life, he exclaimed, "Thank Providence! No...
I think the hay belt I had about me." (Laughter...
and cheers.) The gratitude I have always shown...
said (Mr. O'Connell) was by saying,
"I have a hard man know you not."
Why I will be free to myself must strike the blow...
I am grateful to the Marquis of Anglesey for the...
cooperation he gave in effecting Catholic emanci-
pation, but I am not grateful to Earl Grey for the...
speech, which is attributed to him, or for his...
having appointed Mr. Doherty Chief Justice of the...
Common Pleas. "The Liberator cannot forget his...
departure when he was in tears, &c. One of the...
People." I tell this, "One of the People" I did...
not come within two miles of him, and my...
tear should be as big as a wave at Dunlany if it...
could be seen by him. (Laughter.) I call on this...
"One of the People" who sent forth the de-
claration, to come forward and avow his object; say...
money now for "One of the People." (Laughter.)
I conclude by moving that the meeting will take...
notice of this handbill. (Loud applause.)

Mr. M. COSTELLO rose for the purpose of...
condemning the motion. His own opinion was, that...
the Marquis of Anglesey should have no public...
reception. He could not forget the reception Mr...
O'Connell had last Saturday, and the organizing...
the trades had displayed. The trades of Dublin...
had let him (Mr. Costello) into their confidence...
and he could state positively that the Marquis of...
Anglesey would have a reception such as the King...
never got, if Doherty had not been along with...
him as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. But...
he (Mr. Costello) recommended the trades to...
abandonment of the public reception they had...
contemplated, and he never felt such a pang of...
grief in his life as when he did so. The Marquis...
of Anglesey was coming here to execute the orders...
of the Cabinet, and we said (Mr. Costello) would...
be the most object of slaves if we took any notice...
of a man who is coming here to crush the orders...
of public opinion, and execute the orders of the...
Cabinet. Mr. Costello then said, if the Marquis...
of Anglesey got a public reception, he (Mr. Costello)...
would bring out every tradesman in Dublin, from...
the cellar to the garret, to see him, with black...
banners, having inscribed on them "Repeat of the...
Union, and no Doherty" at the streets of Dublin...
on that day, would present such a spectacle as they...
never before presented. He would conclude by saying...
that in consequence of the late hour at which Mr...
O'Connell arrived on Saturday, he (Mr. C.) did not...
present the trades to him; but they were all in...
meet at Philipshorough on Monday next, when they...
would be better prepared than they were on the...
last occasion, and they would proceed from Car-
rory-road to Mountjoy-square, and from thence to...
the principal streets to Mr. O'Connell's house at...
Merrion-square, where he (Mr. C.) would read the...
address to Mr. O'Connell, who will appear at the...
balcony. (Cheers.) He was near forgetting some...
circumstances, which he would now allude to. He...
would assert that his friend and namesake, Mr...
Costello, had a right to speak as he thought fit...
of a man who would never take a seat in Parlia-
ment, but for Mr. O'Connell. (Hear, hear.) Men...
had a right to speak of public men in their...
public character. Mr. Leader did not stand up...
to defend Mr. O'Connell from the attacks of a...
partially crazy, who knew that his hands were...
down. After a few other observations, Mr. Costello...
sat down amidst general cheering.

The CHAIRMAN next observed on the letter...
of the Marquis of Anglesey in reply to his (Mr. Costello)...
letter when he forwarded the Grand Jurors...
petition to his Lordship.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that before the question...
was put from the chair respecting the resolution...
he would say one word. If the Ministry had...
proceeded in the declaration put forth in the...
Marquis's letter, he (Mr. O'Connell) would have...
said a word against his getting a public reception...
but they did not. Earl Grey said they would...
interfere with public meetings in Ireland and...
then down. The Marquis of Anglesey was...
coming here to execute the orders of Earl Grey. He...
(Mr. O'Connell) felt as if he were in Ireland. He...
intentions might be good, but he would not...
trouble for what was to happen in future. (Cheers.)

Mr. DILLON stated that at every meeting...
was held in the Queen's County, and there were...
many of them held, since Sir Henry Percival's...
resolution on Parliamentary reform, there were...
resolutions passed not to support any candidate for...
the future who would not vote for a repeal of the...
Union. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put from the chair...
to be formed, and one voice was heard in the crowd...
to give it its negative.

Mr. O'CONNELL—I suppose that's what a...
people. (Laughter.) Does he want a...
(Reverend laughter.)

Mr. DILLON was called to the chair, and...
thanked the meeting given to Mr. Markery...
the time he presided. Also the marked thanks...
the meeting to Mr. Kerland, for his conduct...
the chair.

The meeting then separated, with three...
for the ladies who attended the meeting, and...
cheers for O'Connell, and three cheers for a...
of the Union.

Printed and Published for the Proprietor at the...
on the Quay.

