

them, which to withdraw would be injurious to the whole empire. The purposes for which the colonies were chiefly if not wholly useful to the mother country were to afford an outlet for emigration and a market for her manufactures. During the last twenty years the cost of emigration had been 20,000,000*l.*, and taking periods of five years during that time it would be found that emigration had gone steadily on increasing every year. In 1832, it was 60,000; in 1837, 66,000; in 1842, 86,000, and in 1847, 121,000. These facts would show that the habit of emigration was steadily advancing; and his conclusion was that free trade and emigration ought to be the sole objects held in view in reference to the colonies in concurrence with maintaining the sovereignty of Great Britain over them. If henceforth, instead of expending 4,000,000*l.* on the military, naval, and civil establishments of the colonies, 2,000,000*l.* were to be annually applied to the purposes of emigration, the result would soon be most beneficial.

The colonies were competing for labour; and could England not bridge over the ocean by her emigration ships so as to supply those wants? If that could be accomplished, one of the most difficult social problems of the day would be at once solved. The difficulty was to find funds! but, as he said, why not expend 2,000,000*l.* a year in this way, instead of 4,000,000*l.* now so idly and wastefully spent? The system upon which emigration must be based ought to be that practised by the Greeks in founding their colonies, and by those wise and self-denying men who founded the states of New England on the shores of America. All classes must go together. The capitalist, the professional man, the artisan, the farmer, the mechanic, the labourer, all with their wives, their families, and implements, so as to constitute a complete colony in themselves.

From Papers by the last English Mail.

IRELAND.

(From the European Times.)

The intelligence from Dublin represents Mr. Smith O'Brien's position in a more favourable light than might naturally be expected, when the serious nature of the offence with which he stands charged is taken into consideration. He occupies the most comfortable apartments in the prison; they are situate over the chapel, and directly opposite to the governor's rooms. He is permitted to take air and exercise without restriction in the yards, and to receive visits from the members of his family. His spirits are good, and he does not appear depressed. The privilege of visiting Mr. O'Brien is confined to his family and connexions. An application was made by Sir Colman O'Loughlin to see him, and he received a letter in reply from Mr. Reddington, the under secretary, refusing to grant the permission sought for.

The Freeman's Journal of the 9th inst. contains the following:—We have received the following important communication from a correspondent in whom we have perfect faith:—

Thurles, Tuesday, 7 o'clock, p. m.

I have just learned, through a source on which I can implicitly rely, that a communication has been made to the Irish Government, through the mediation of an influential Catholic clergyman, from the parties who, next after William Smith O'Brien, were considered the most important against whom warrants have been issued. The communication, I understand, is to the effect that these gentlemen undertake to surrender themselves to the Government upon receiving the assurance that none of the proceedings instituted against any of the state prisoners shall extend to the taking of life. It appears that this communication was induced on the parties hearing of the arrest of Smith O'Brien on Saturday evening.

It is stated that one of the chief witnesses for the crown, at the trials of Mr. Smith O'Brien and the other parties implicated in the insurrection and conspiracy, will be Mr. P. J. Barry, who had been secretary of the first Young Ireland Association, and who remained all along a prominent member of the Confederacy.

Mr. Doheny is said to have escaped, by way of Dublin, in the disguise of a reaper. This is very questionable, for more than one reason. Several members prominent in the Cork clubs have sailed to America. The authorities did not interfere.

Accounts have been received from respectable parties in Carrick-on-Suir, intimating that two rev. gentlemen of that neighbourhood, one whose name has been much spoken of in connection with a recent affair there, have felt themselves compromised, and fled. Warrants, it is said, have been issued for the arrest of both. I mention this, because of the authority of the party communicating, but I am inclined to deem it doubtful.

The following letter from a member of the press, who has visited Tipperary, gives a rather important detail of the feeling which prevails in the south of Ireland:—

After having traversed the greater part of both ridings of the county of Tipperary, I halt at this little village, situated at the foot of the Galtee Mountains, and on the borders of the county Limerick, to give you a brief abstract of the result of my observations. Rebellion I found not.

I have said that I could not find rebellion; that is true. I did not see an army of insurgents, or anything that gave indication of the actual existence of civil war; nevertheless a rebellion does exist. If the whole of the south of Ireland is not at this moment plunged into all

the horrors of a civil, or rather servile war, the reason is to be attributed, not to the disinclination of the people to rise up in arms, but solely to the want of a proper opportunity, and of bold, able, and trusted leaders. This is no hasty impression or idle guess-work; it is a deliberate conviction founded on the most satisfactory evidence. Every mile I travelled—every person I conversed with—every fact bearing on the subject which has come under my observation—all have served to impress indelibly on my mind the truth of the statement I have made. Let no man lay the flattering unction to his soul that the spirit of disaffection has been crushed. True it is that the wise and salutary precautions of the Government have saved the country from convulsion for the present; but the winter is fast approaching—the season for a *biouac* will have passed—the troops must be drawn into winter quarters, and then the hour for mischief will have arrived. I have heard it stated—and the statement does not seem improbable—that the leaders intend to remain passive till the winter sets in—that they are quite satisfied, for the present, with harrassing the soldiery and frightening the Government, but that they are steadily biding their time. Much, however, will depend upon circumstances. In the course of my wanderings I have met with a great many country gentlemen, and all of them agree in thinking that the rebellion is not extinguished, that it still smoulders, and they look with considerable apprehension to the coming winter. Certainly it is unreasonable to calculate that all the wild theories which have been propounded by the Anarchists and Jacobins—the visions of wealth, happiness and independence which have been held out to the misguided people—it is unreasonable to suppose that these congenial theories have taken no root, or that the people, after such golden dreams, will sink back, without a struggle of some kind, into their former position.

The absentees are fast returning to the country, and there are at present a great number of resident gentry in the county of Tipperary. I trust their presence may serve to check the existing spirit of insubordination.

In all quarters I have heard that there has been no surrender of arms worth speaking of under the proclamation. The constabulary are busily engaged in searching for them, and to-day I met a large force in the neighbourhood of the town of Tipperary engaged in that business, but with little success. The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy in the present crisis has been most praiseworthy, and I have heard it commended by their bitter political opponents. On last Sunday Dr. Howley, the parish priest of the town I have just mentioned, delivered a most impressive discourse to his flock on the criminality of the club system, and I have authority for stating that it produced the very best results. The police in this county are extremely vigilant; patrols scour the country every night, and all persons found out at unseasonable hours are searched.

LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Mr. William Smith O'Brien, M. P. for the county of Limerick.

Mr. Charles Gavin Duffy, editor of the Nation.

Mr. John Martin, proprietor of the Felon.

Mr. Joseph Brennan, sub-editor of the Felon.

Mr. John Lawless, secretary of the Sandymount Club, Dublin.

Mr. Francis Hanley, North Earl street, Dublin.

Mr. — Nolan, supposed to be an American sympathiser, arrested at Thurles.

Mr. — Fitzpatrick, Thurles.

Dr. Ryan, surgeon, Carrick-on-Suir.

Mr. O'Ryan, Cashel.

Mr. Thomas Witty, farmer or landowner, Wexford county.

Mr. Francis Strange, solicitor, Waterford, president of the Felon Club there.

Mr. — Supple, glover, Waterford.

Mr. Patrick McAuliffe, clothier, Waterford.

Mr. Fogarty, assistant surgeon, Waterford.

Mr. Thomas William Condon, white smith, secretary to the Wolfe Tone Club, Waterford.

Mr. Taaffe, barrister, Dublin.

Twenty-one countrymen from the neighbourhood of Ballingarry, in the county of Tipperary, charged with having assisted Smith O'Brien in the attack on the police.

Mr. William Marron, editor of the Drogheda Argus.

Mr. J. S. Barry, editor of the Cork Southern Reporter.

Mr. Ralph Varien, Cork.

Mr. Isaac Varien, Cork.

Ten drapers' assistants, from Messrs. Pims's establishment, Dublin.

Mr. S. J. Meany, of the Irish Felon.

Dr. West, surgeon, Dublin.

Dr. McCarron, of America.

Mr. Bergin, ship broker, of New York.

Mr. Butler, editor of the Galway Vindicator.

Mr. — Costigan, of Castlebar.

Mr. Denny Lane, merchant, Cork.

PARTIES AGAINST WHOM WARRANTS ARE ISSUED.

Mr. Francis Morgan, solicitor to the Corporation of Dublin.

Mr. Thomas Francis Meagher, gentleman, Dublin.

Mr. Michael Doheny, barrister, Tipperary.

Mr. Richard O'Gorman, jun., barrister.

The following remarks respecting the failure of the projected insurrection in Ireland will be read with interest. The writer has visited the scene of action, and

has had an opportunity of forming correct ideas on the subject.

When O'Connell, in February, 1843, rising in the Dublin City Assembly House, opened that campaign for the renewal of Repeal agitation, of which the present hour is perhaps the end, but I speak doubtfully, with a speech commencing,

"Where is that slave so lowly,
Who, could he burst
His chains at first,
Would pine beneath them slowly?"

and immediately added 'I am not that slave,' he touched a cord that vibrated through every Irish heart. The Protestants remembered the glories of '82—the Catholic burned to be free from that power that through ages proscribed him and his religion.

The landlords, however, who have little now that is Irish but their estates, were adverse; and the Protestant, though he writhed as he read the insults of the English press (for he, too, is an Irishman!) only sighed for national freedom, for whenever he turned the subject in his thoughts it became to him impossible—the stoled priest, the friar, the confessional, and the Jesuit in full activity (things he abominates) rose before his view as the consequence of Repeal.

Davis, Mitchel, O'Gorman, and others, to whom O'Brien joined himself, seeing that this coldness of the North must ever continue as long as the ecclesiastical organisation of O'Connell's movement remained, determined to make it national and democratic. They established a press that appealed to the historic and poetic memory of the people, and soon came to an open rupture with O'Connell in the Association on the education question. The debate arose on the Colleges Bill, which they supported against the wishes of O'Connell and the priests. Soon afterwards O'Connell framed his 'Peace resolutions,' for the express purpose of turning them out of the Association, and at once called his party—known since the secession of Davis, Mitchel, and Co., as 'the Old Ireland party'—'the Moral Force party;' and nicknamed the Young Ireland men 'the War party,' 'the Physical Force party.' But this was not the true distinction, for it will be remembered that it was the 'moral force party' that invariably in the Association, and in the well-known attack on O'Brien and his friends at Limerick, used sticks and stones.

The real distinction was, that one party wished to organise the agitation with an ecclesiastical front as O'Connell had ever done—the young Irelanders, in order to make it lay and democratic. By means of their press they soon revolutionised the towns (for it was a complete internal revolution in agitation,) and the overpowering majority became in each town Young Ireland men. But the country was not so accessible, as the peasantry are out of reach of newspapers, and so the country remained 'Old Ireland' and 'moral force,'—in other words, under the control of the priests.

When, therefore, Lord Clarendon concentrated the police and military in the towns, and then suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, he had the leaders of this concocted rebellion checkmated. The towns could not rise on account of the large military force concentrated there, nor protect the leaders from the unlimited powers of arrest granted to the Lord-Lieutenancy. And when they were thus forced out of the towns into the country, they jumped, as it were, into a trap, for no clubs were organised, nor was there any force (the priests being opposed, and everywhere resenting the attempt made by the Young Irelanders to depose them from leadership) ready to follow their standard.

So signal a failure of a long-cherished scheme of rebellion has scarce ever been known or heard of; but, to the observant, it is less inexplicable than it appears to the multitude. One important cause of failure was the loss of Mitchel, the man of genius, and neglect of his advice. When he was taken, the leadership of the intellect of the party fell to Charles Gavin Duffy, editor of the *Nation* newspaper, who set about organising clubs in the country, a scheme which Lord Clarendon did not permit him to carry out, as Mitchel forewarned him.

Mitchel's advice was, 'Get arms! No organising of paper armies, under the name of clubs, which will quail and vanish like flocks of sheep at the first sound of a bark, at the first demonstration of British power; and so spread panic, terror. Let each man arm, and resolve to do what in him lies. It is this individual resolve that is wanting—in other words, 'the spirit.' When this has come into many breasts (and the handling of arms will bring it) then without organising, without any orders from Dublin when to rise, or on what opportunity to move, opportunity will present itself as plain as from heaven, and the brave will seize it and turn it into success.' Such was his parting advice, contained in his letter to his club, dated from Newgate prison the day of his conviction.

Whether this plan had elements of success or not, he at least saw the vices of the other.

IRELAND.—A writer in Douglas Jerrold's Magazine says, that Ireland has cost England 150,000,000*l.* since the Union; that being the net excess of the expenditure for the Irish Government over the receipts of Irish Revenue. But this money, it must be understood, has not been spent for the benefit of the Irish people, but for the English people governing Ireland. The English labouring people have been robbed so much to support a portion of the English aristocracy, and put them in a position to rob Ireland. Ireland is actually made to