





AGENTS

FOR THIS PAPER IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS,
Beaufort, Mr. A. P. Meiring,
Cian-William, Mr. A. J. du Toit,
Caledon, Mr. A. P. Keyter,
Colesberg, Mr. James Walker,
George, Mr. D. Cothran,
Graaff-Reinet, Mr. B. Fincham,
Malmesbury, Mr. J. A. Frellich,
Paarl, Mr. J. D. Haupt,
Somerset, Mr. C. Moller,
Stellenbosch, Mr. P. Korsten,
Swellendam, Mr. John Barry,
Tulbagh, Mr. H. F. de Lange Vos,
Tygerberg, Mr. E. D. van,
Uitenhage, Mr. J. Brohm,
Worcester, Mr. J. Meiring.

THE

ZUID-AFRIKAAN.

CAPE TOWN, JANUARY 16, 1844.

WHAT is going on about the roadmaking? A very natural question, after all the recent discussion and agitation, but by those who are more particularly and directly concerned in the matter.

The subject which has been so angrily discussed was one of pounds, shillings and pence,—"who was to pay for it?"—This having been decided, we submitted at the time our opinion to withdraw all further agitation of it. The good, however, effected by the discussion of the question, cannot fail to draw public attention.

Last year the all engrossing subject, was the making of a Hard Road through the Cape Flats, and when, owing to the strenuous objections raised to the plan, that measure was withdrawn, it was to make room for one of a more extended nature, not confining it to the Cape Flats, but including all the Roads throughout the Colony. And if the renewed objection against even that last measure, had no other effect, but that of obtaining from the public Revenue a larger amount in aid for that purpose, than was originally contemplated, no one will deny, that the discussions and objections in that respect have worked out good.

Although we have heard nothing which had the effect of altering our opinion against the principle of assessment of landed property, for that purpose, yet it behoves us now, to assist in obtaining the great improvement, which is sought to be carried out.

A commencement with the Road through the Flats, is necessarily the first, and we were glad to hear, that at Harde Kraaie, in the neighbourhood of Tyger Valley, a gang is already busily engaged in cutting the Road, preparatory to its making, while in the neighbourhood of Salt River two other gangs are equally actively employed.

It is proposed, as we are informed, to lay a bridge or more commonly a "kippe drift"—a bank of round and other stones—over the Salt River, equal to that constructed a couple of years ago over the Palmiet River, for which purpose a gang is employed in cutting stones in a quarry adjoining that river. If this information be correct, we venture to say, that it will be an improvement of great utility, and prevent many accidents, which in the winter seasons frequently occurred at that place.

It is to be regretted that the Central Board does not, by some minute or other, inform the public of their moves, as we feel convinced that such a measure would give great satisfaction to the public.

Our attention has again been called to "Du Toit's Kloof" and "Witsen and Schurffbergen," the first connecting Worcester with the Paarl, and the latter opening an access from Bokkeveld to Tulbagh.

We think our friends in those parts will agree, that everything cannot at once and simultaneously be attended to. The main Road through the Flats, leading from all parts to Cape Town, the chief market, necessarily requires to be first finished. After this the principal openings will, we doubt not, be attended to, and the two above places excite particular attention. The offer of additional extra aid contemplated by the inhabitants in those parts to be given for that purpose, will necessarily weigh, we hope, with the Central Board, as marking in a striking manner not only their willingness to contribute beyond the proposed rate to be levied by virtue of the Ordinance, but also the urgent necessity for opening those passes.

We speak of these matters in the absence of any information, not knowing how and where the road-making is proceeding, beyond what we have above alluded to.

CANTEEN LICENCES.

In allusion to our observation on the refusal to grant Licences at Swellendam, our Correspondent writes us, under date the 8th of January:—"The persons to whom Licences have been refused here have made representations on that head to Government last month. Mr. MANUEL, the first applicant to Government, is the only one who has received a reply, informing him, that instructions have been sent to the Resident Magistrate to grant him a Licence. This morning Mr. MANUEL again applied for a Licence, producing the reply of Government, but the Magistrate has again refused a Licence.

Mr. A. JACOBUS STEYN, another person to whom a Licence was also refused, has had the following correspondence with the Resident Magistrate:—

Swellendam, Jan. 8, 1844.
Sir,—I take the liberty of requesting you to be good enough to inform me, what you have yet received any instructions from Government, as to granting or refusing me a licence for the retail of wines and spirits in Swellendam—as if not, I intend forwarding another application to Government on the subject, by this day's Post.
I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) J. J. STEYN.
To L. Dickson, Esq. Resident Magistrate.

Swellendam, Jan. 8, 1844.
Sir,—In reply to your note of this morning requesting to know from me if I have received any instructions as to granting or refusing you a licence for the retail of wine and spirits in Swellendam from the Government;
I have to inform you, that I have received a communication on the subject, and it is my intention by this next Post to address His Excellency the Governor further on this matter.
I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) LOTHIAN DICKSON,
Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate.
Mr. J. J. Steyn, &c. &c.

Not being acquainted with the reasons of the re-

usal, we are unable to say any thing on that head. It may not, however, be bad to copy the following from the last Frontier Times, dated 4th January last.

It will be seen by a report of certain proceedings given in another part of our paper, under the head of "Magistrate's Court," that a reduction has this year been made in the number of licences in Graham's Town; and that the sale of spirits to be drunk on the premises is to be discontinued. Hotels or Inns, too, are no longer to be used as canteens by spirit drinkers.

It is doubtful whether this alteration will effect the object sought,—that is, the abatement of drunkenness amongst some of the lower classes of the English, but especially of the colored population. We believe that the Resident Magistrate himself, to whose laudable anxiety to make some effort at to suppress the crime of drunkenness, the new regulations are owing, entertains little or no hope of their efficacy; but the experiment was well worthy of a trial.

Smuggling will undoubtedly increase greatly,—to put down which we think the law is not sufficiently stringent. A conviction for selling spirits without a licence involves a penalty of £50, or in default of payment, imprisonment for not more than two months. What spirit smuggler is there for whom such a punishment has any terrors? We shall watch with much interest the operation of the new system, and we shall be glad to find that contrary to our expectation—the result is favorable to the cause of temperance amongst the colored classes.

Address of the Vestry of Pieter Maritz Burg to the Rev. A. FAURE, B.D.

Pieter Maritz Burg, 24 October 1843.
Reverend Sir,—We, the Undergoing, Elders and Deacons of the Dutch Reformed Congregation at this place, cannot refrain, at this our annual sitting, to bid you a hearty welcome, in writing, and to signify our satisfaction of the interest you evince towards us, as countrymen and members of that Church, over part of which you are placed as overseer and pastor. We desire also to express our hearty thanks for your visit to us in this distant region, to preach the Gospel of Christ, and to assist and encourage our esteemed and worthy minister in that work. We pray our Lord the Head of the Church, that the seed which has already been so abundantly sown here by you, and may yet be sown, may produce fruit a hundred fold; that your stay here may be attended with blessed results, and that you may return, with your beloved partner, to your congregation with renewed strength, bearing with you the conviction that you have also been useful to other communities among your countrymen in the work of your Lord and ours.

Assured that, on your arrival at home, you will, if necessary, continue to be in the concerns of the Church in this land, we take the liberty to say, that in such cases we will not hesitate to address ourselves to you.

We have the honor to be, with the highest esteem,
Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient Servants,
J. E. Steenkamp, H. P. N. Pretorius,
S. A. Cilliers, J. H. Bruwer,
E. F. Potgieter, J. H. R. Lemmer,
F. J. de Jager, G. J. Naude,
G. R. van Rooyen, J. S. Boshof.

Original Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF "DE ZUID AFRIKAAN."

MR. EDITOR,—Every sensible man must agree with you in the remarks you make in your leading article of the 5th instant, regarding the present system of granting licences for the sale of wines, &c. by retail. The existing law on that head stands much in want of amendment. Government conceived, that by investing the Magistrates with an uncontrolled authority, the number of canteens would be diminished—and drunkenness in a great measure suppressed. Some Magistrates, in their anxiety to meet the wishes of the Executive, and in order to curry favor at head quarters, refused to grant any licences. These worthy gentlemen thought they had devised a plan, infinitely superior to the one followed up by the Executive. The Rev. Agents, as you are pleased to term them, to reclaim the people from their disorderly habits, by eloquent appeals to their understanding, on the miseries which await the confirmed drunkard, both in this world and that which is to come. The Magistrates hoped to rival the old father, by the simple expedient of putting the object of temptation beyond the reach of the great body of the laboring classes. They shut up all canteens. Did drunkenness cease? Far from it. Five or six joined together—generally on a Saturday evening—bought a fat man, and set to work on one drinking, till it was finished. Had there been a canteen, they might, very probably, have imbibed a sufficient quantity of deleterious liquor to send them reeling to bed on Saturday night. On Sunday morning they would have been sober.

Under the improved plan, no happily discovered by the Solons of the Magistracy, the drinking or thirty part of the community, continued to drink for days, at a very cheap rate. In places where only one or two canteens were granted, the proprietors generally united their interests and drove a monopoly. The Magistrates who had resolved to starve them into temperance forced the laboring classes to hit upon a scheme of operation, by which each individual got 18 bottles of wine for the price he had formerly been giving for four. He was accustomed to give 6d. for a bottle at the canteen. His proportion of the price of the half sum was 18 6d. Six subscribers at 1s. 6d. each, furnished the purchase money of a half-sum of the same drinkable stuff, as was sold in the canteen.

Others of the country Magistrates, seeing the complete failure of the stringent plan of their brethren of the total prohibition principle, granted a licence to some one individual for the retail of intoxicating liquors, and permitted him to charge any price he pleased for his articles; and the more extravagant it was, the more dearly did they cherish the hopes, that little would be consumed and that drunkenness would disappear. The poor Hottentot paid as much for his bottle of acid wine, to revive his body after the fatigue of the day, as the shibbel Magistrate or posty Clergyman, for his bottle of Cava Madeira, to refresh them after the labor of their respective offices. The former went to the canteen and was stigmatized as a drunkard; the latter lolled after dinner in their easy chairs, sipped their six or six glasses and were lauded for their strenuous exertions in the cause of temperance. The one canteen system proved no less a failure than the no canteen system. Large parties assembled at the one canteen; those who came predetermined to take but one glass, and friends followed, until the Rabbits were passed and the friends did not separate so long as they had coin in their pockets. In order to prevent such large assemblages at the one canteen a second was licensed, and where this was done, the Magistrates' books will prove, that fewer cases of drunkenness were brought before him. Still, from an understanding between the licensed dealers, the high prices of wines and spirits were continued, and the man to whom long indulgence had made wine a necessary of life, was obliged to pay most exorbitantly, in order to satisfy his appetite for the delicious juice of the grape.

My opinion, Mr. Editor, respecting the means of suppressing drunkenness, is a singular one; but long observation has convinced me of its justice. I would recommend, that licences should be invariably granted to all respectable persons desirous of obtaining them; and that they should instantly be deprived of such licences, whenever it could be proved, that any person had got drunk in their canteens. There is no danger of too many licences being taken out. No one will be foolish enough to engage in that line of business unless he sees a fair prospect of being able to make a living by it. The price of wines and liquors will be brought to their proper standard, and everything which is cheap in price will satisfy him and he will lay up the remainder of his money for the use of his family, and if, on the other hand, a person must give nearly the amount of his day's wages for a bottle of wine, he becomes indifferent about the trifles that remain and throws that away also.

And again, if a person has to walk a long distance to the canteen, and if the glass will not stretch his thirst on that day, and foreseeing that he cannot again return on that day, he swallows a couple, or perhaps more to anticipate the thirst which is to come. When the canteen is at a moderate distance from his house or place of work, he feels no inclination to proceed to excessive indulgence, as he knows it to be in his power to return and take an additional drop, whenever the fancy strikes him.

Believe me, Mr. Editor, no regulation limiting the number of licensed houses will be attended with the beneficial effects of preventing drunkenness. A drunkard will get drunk if one

canteen is allowed, and if twenty are licensed, he can do no more. If you would raise the character of the same order, initiate Peter Matthew, let the Clergymen and Missionaries throughout the Colony raise their voices in denunciation against the detestable vice, and if they are really earnest in the work, their efforts will be followed by happier results than can be hoped for from any restrictions which the Government or the Magistrate can impose.

MR. O'CONNELL'S INDIVIDUAL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"The nation have fallen, but still art thou young. Thy star is still shining, whilst others have set; And though slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung, The full sun of freedom shall soon be found in thy eye."
Beloved fellow countrymen,—We are engaged in the most noble experiment that ever was made by man or nation—the endeavoring to obtain the restoration of political franchises and rights, of which we have been unjustly deprived, and the abolishing of that restoration by means purely and entirely peaceable and legal.

"This is my great experiment. I have desired, and I am endeavoring to prove to the world, that the moral combination of the people is the most potent means of procuring the amelioration of the institutions of any country. The achievement of Catholic emancipation was one such proof. The abrogation of the Legislative Union by the repeal of the statute, 43 George III., c. 38, will be the second. We, fellow countrymen, have worked out the first part of our experiment completely. We have held some 900 meetings to demonstrate the intensity and universality of the desire of the Irish people for the restoration of their domestic Parliament. So many human beings were congregated together for peaceful purposes, never assembled before at such meetings. There was a difference of £10,000, £20,000, £30,000, £40,000, or £50,000, or £100,000; but there is no doubt at all that such immense multitudes never assembled before, and that at least one of them considerably exceeded 500,000 human souls.

"This fact is certain—that some 20 meetings of the largest unarmed multitudes that ever assembled were congregated together in Ireland during the past summer. These meetings did not end in any disturbance—that at no one of these meetings did any act, however slight, of force, violence, assault, or breach of the peace occur.

"I dwell upon this, all generous believers in the amelioration of the human race, wherever you be, throughout the world. Console yourselves with the conviction that men can meet in countless myriads without the slightest violation of peace, of order, of decorum, or civility. There is no additional characteristic of our multitudes—no more than that of the people to whom we are united in Irish meetings—that so disposed were the people to avoid all acts of force, even for individual accommodation, that not so much as a single personal injury occurred, even accidentally, at any of those meetings.

"The experiment was thus complete in both its parts—Firstly, in showing the unanimous, universal will of the Irish people in favour of the repeal of the 40th George III., c. 38, called the 'Union Statute.' Secondly, in the proof we gave of the perfect order, decorum, and thoroughly peaceable conduct of the Irish people.

"Nor was this experiment spoiled by the uncalculated proclamation directed against the Clontarf meeting. On the contrary, the ready submission to a proclamation which we deemed, and still deem, illegal—the perfect obedience of the people to the advice of their guides and leaders—the promptitude with which they abandoned all idea of holding that meeting the very moment those guides and leaders told them they ought to abandon it—the perfect control over every exciting passion and irritating provocation which the Irish have since displayed, and are displaying, have all the given political proofs to the fullest demonstration, that the lessons of peace inculcated by their leaders have been fully understood and adopted into the popular sentiment, and have become the fixed and unalterable rule of their political conduct.

"Yes! the proclamation has demonstrated that the Irish people are well acquainted with the strict propriety of peaceable demonstration, not only to be destroyed, but to be incapable of, being provoked into any, even the slightest, force, violence, or breach of the peace.

"Yes! the proclamation has come to place beyond all doubt the cheerful alacrity with which the Irish are determined to adhere to their glorious sentiments, that permanently useful political changes can be best achieved by the peaceful and temperate means of persuasion; and that no political change can be worth the price of any one crime, and, above all, of one single drop of human blood.

"Should I be asked what, then, is it I require of the Irish people? They have honoured me with a confidence more unlimited than ever bestowed before by a nation on a single individual. My duty is to advise them with something of the force of that influence which almost resembles a command.

"My advice is twofold—I advise perseverance in two different, but essentially connected topics:—
'First, foremost, and, above all, Advice perseverance in peace and order,—perseverance in avoiding any species of riot or violence whatsoever—no matter what the provocation may be; no matter what the irritation may be; no matter what the vexation—will, pique, order, total absence of all violence, and all every event, peace, order, and absence of violence, and all especially any—be the result of the pending prosecution—peace, order, and no violence.

"Indeed, this advice is a superfluous precaution. In every event, I reiterate—peace, order, and no violence.
"The second topic upon which I require perseverance is the continued exertion in all legal and constitutional sources left open to procure the repeal of the union statute. That repeal must be abandoned. On the contrary, every effort that is making place must be made to procure the repeal of a local Parliament, sanctioned by Her Majesty, and by the golden and generous link of the crown of our revered Sovereign, Queen Victoria.

"Persevere in peace, order, loyalty, and allegiance. Persevere in constitutional exertion for obtaining the repeal of the obnoxious statute.
'Prosecutions ever yet extinguished a great public cause. Prosecutions only ever extinguish a great public cause. There were several prosecutions in order to extinguish the struggle for emancipation. Yet emancipation was triumphantly carried. There were unnumbered prosecutions to extinguish the cause of Parliamentary reform; yet a large instalment of Parliamentary reform was nevertheless triumphantly obtained. The present prosecutions may be intended to extinguish the cause of the Irish Legislature in other words; for the repeal of the statute of the 40th George III., c. 38.
'People of Ireland! be patient—be persevering. Follow out the experiment in which we are now engaged, to obtain our political objects by peaceable means. It is a noble experiment—that of endeavoring to obtain the restoration of political franchises and rights by the use of means strictly and exclusively peaceable and legal.

"I rely upon me, in this noble experiment—this glorious struggle. Be not abashed—be not (ah! be not) I say it) be not dismayed. Peace, order, tranquillity—these are our arms. With these we are certain of success.

"Persevere, and your country will be a nation again indissolubly connected with Great Britain, but legislating for herself. Persevere, firmly and peaceably, and the repeal is certain.

"I am, and always will be your ever faithful servant,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.
MR. O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPEAL ASSOCIATION.
Mr. O'Connell came forward and moved the adoption of the following address to the people of Ireland:—
"TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.
"Constitution-hall, Oct. 31.
'Fellow-countrymen.—The members of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland respectfully solicit your attention to some considerations which we deem of the utmost importance to us as a country.

"We do not believe that there is any one in Ireland who does not see the mischief arising from the centralization of all power in London. It is obvious to common sense that the business of Ireland cannot be as well done in London as in Dublin; and it is equally certain that it could not be any where else done by Englishmen or by Irishmen. If the business of Ireland were transacted in Ireland, it would be more efficiently transacted by Irishmen. All the Offices in the law in Ireland, from the High Chancellor to the lowest Magistrate, would be filled by Irishmen. All the offices in the Irish Customs would be filled by Irishmen; in short, if the Parliament were Irish all the Government patronage would belong to the Irish. You fully know how differently matters are conducted at present, and how few comparatively of the Irish are appointed to the business of Ireland. If we are to have our own Government, would the offices we have already alluded to be filled, or would even the very police and the waterguards be commanded by English and Scotch, instead of Irish officers?

"In short, the very names of those who hold offices in Ireland attest the political inferiority and degradation of the Irish people—how completely does the Englishman or Scotchman break out in every name!

"It is indeed, quite unnecessary to point out the evils to Ireland of being deprived of local legislation—the ruin agricultural, commercial, fiscal, manufacturing—the giant evil of increasing absenteeism.

"In plain truth, there is not a single one individual in Ireland who does not admit that if an Irish Parliament were now in existence it would be impossible to carry the union; nor if there one human being in Ireland, with intellect beyond that of a brute, who does not admit the intense desirability of the repeal of the union. It could be achieved without creating at least one of two evils. The evils are either—
'1st, A separation from England and a dismemberment of the empire; or
'2d, A Catholic ascendancy in religion.

"Many reasonable persons who will not take the trouble to examine and reflect are strongly impressed with the apprehension of these evils, and are in a state of indecision.

"It is upon the subject of these fears that we address our fellow-countrymen at present, entreating only one thing, that—that they will deliberately examine the facts and arguments we bring forward—reject them after deliberation if they think fit; but in the name of our common country, of its peace and prosperity, we conjure them to deliberate upon them calmly and attentively.

"As to the first—the danger of separation—we admit that a separation from Great Britain would be a great calamity—one which we would not willingly see occur; but we repeat, and which, if it took place, both countries would have reason to deplore; but it is a calamity of the occurrence of which there does not appear to us to be the least danger that it should arise from the repeal of the union. There would be no motive on the part of the Irish to separate from England if they had their own local Parliament. With such a Parliament the connexion with England would be an unmixed good unattended with anything of evil. We repeat, why under such circumstances should the Irish desire separation any more than Canada does at the present moment? or than they—the Irish nation—did themselves when they had their own Parliament? On the contrary, the Irish Parliament protected and preserved Ireland for the British Crown at the great crises of the American war and the successful revolt of the American colonies.

"Those who apprehend danger of separation from the repeal should reflect whether there is not greater danger of separation from refusing to the Irish the management of their own affairs?

"Compare Canada as she was some six or seven years ago with the state she is in at present. At the former period England trampled upon her legislative rights and deprived her, in effect, of self-legislation. The consequence was, that an immense number of the Canadians became most anxious to separate from Great Britain, and actually broke out into a rebellion for that purpose. England has, since that period, done justice to Canada, and not only restored, but augmented her power of self-legislation.

"The consequence is, that there is no part of the British dependencies where the loyalty of the people is more secure than in Canada; and those very people who would have died to achieve separation from England if few years ago would now be the first to reject it with prompt indignation.

"These things should be deliberately considered; and those who wish us well should be desirous to see the connection with Great Britain, and in particular our dependency on the British Crown, must, if they consider the matter rightly, be convinced, and ought to avoid their conviction, that compensation and justice to Ireland would necessarily be the only adequate means of obtaining the connexion of the countries and the dependency of Ireland upon the British Crown.

"The other topic of apprehension, namely, a Catholic religious ascendancy, is, if possible, more easily demonstrated to be a fallacy. In the first place, the very principle of the repeal of the union would be to procure equality of rights and education, the ecclesiastical state revenues at each of the present tested interests should terminate. The value of a state church ascendancy is to get at the state revenues, and as those revenues would, as they fell in, go to the state for ascertained purposes of education and charity, there would be nothing to make the Catholic hierarchy desire an ascendancy for their religion over any other. The money being disposed of the ingredients of ascendancy would be blotted out for ever.

"In the second place Catholic ascendancy would be utterly impossible, for this reason,—the Irish Legislature would be two parts out of the three essentially Protestant. It is true that a majority of the House of Commons might be Catholic, but there necessarily would be a very great number of Protestants in that house. The exorbitant prices of Ireland, having Catholic majorities, have returned almost all the Catholic Protestants who sought to be elected. Besides, the Protestant portion of Ireland would return Protestants. On the whole, therefore, no measure injurious to Protestants could possibly pass the House of Commons unless the Catholics—in that house were false, basely and shamelessly false, to the principles they have ever avowed; and even then no such measure could pass that house without a vital resistance from all the Protestant members and from all the Catholic members who were liberal and conscientious. In short, we are deeply convinced that any Catholic ascendancy measure would be, of necessity, rejected by a majority of the Irish House of Commons.

"But supposing (which is very unlikely) that such a measure passed the House of Commons, how could it pass through the Irish House of Lords? That house would be composed of 20 Protestants to every one Catholic. How, then, could any anti-Protestant measure pass such a house? It is most glaringly absurd to think that it could.

"No such measure could pass into a law without the assent of the Crown. The monarch must be a Protestant. That is the constitution. There would thus necessarily be two out of the three estates of Parliament essentially Protestant. We do firmly say, that it is absurd to the extreme of drivelling and childishness to apprehend any Catholic ascendancy in the Irish Parliament—in truth, it is literally impossible.

"It is really wasting time and weakening the effect of demonstrative propositions to say on words about the subject, yet the case of genuine liberty is so strong that we cannot help alluding to some circumstances which corroborate as they illustrate the strength of our argument.

"1. The practice of passing persecuting laws on the score of religion has gone by in all countries. We do not know one Catholic country on the face of the earth in which such laws now exist, nor do we believe there is any such.

"As to Catholic ascendancy, if any ascendancy were really to be desired, it would be an evil, and not by the Catholics. The Protestants would have potentially, and almost exclusively, authority in two branches of the Legislature. If any attempt were made derogatory to Protestants; they would be backed by all that is liberal and enlightened in Ireland. They would be backed by the simultaneous support of England and Scotland.

"It is therefore perfectly clear that no reasonable man can possibly apprehend a tendency to separation from a repeal of the union, and nothing can be so intensely absurd and ridiculous as any apprehension of Catholic ascendancy from that measure.

"A very, then, fellow countrymen, with life, children, and the people of your country require your aid. The people are in poverty, distress, and destitution, yet she has the elements of material prosperity. That prosperity can alone be developed by a Parliament consisting of the Monarch of Great Britain and of Ireland, as Irish House of Lords, and as Irish House of Commons, fairly and freely chosen.

"Rally, then, people of Ireland, for the peaceful repeal of the union.

"Signed by order,
DANIEL O'CONNELL,
Chairman of the Committee.

Having concluded the reading of this document the hon. Gentleman also moved that the committee be directed again to warn the Irish people against any breach of the peace. The object of the address, and reiterated the idea of a Catholic ascendancy. As to repeal, if they sent in bills of indictment 300 instead of 300 feet long, nothing would prevent it but the misconduct of the Repealers. It would be sent to every citizen of every denomination in Ireland. He enquired Smith O'Brien, and said that if he owned him (Mr. O'Connell), still Ireland could never be under a leader as long as the bad Smith O'Brien. (Cheers.) It was impossible to think that Ireland should remain a pitiful paltry province as long as such a man were born of her. (Cheers.)—Times, Nov. 8.

FRANCE.

The history of France during the last twelve months—that is, since the passing of the Regency Bill—will long deserve to be remembered, not for the events which it has to record, but for the total absence of those incidents which, under various forms, but, till now, with incessant activity, have assailed the throne of Louis Philippe and shaken the confidence of Europe. It is long before a country which has been so violently agitated by the protracted excitement of a revolutionary crisis, can learn that the existence of a great nation is not for ever rushing towards a catastrophe, like the hurried plot of a melodrama. The unforeseen changes, and the short-lived combinations of such times, are only the symptoms of disorder and imperfection; and the first conditions of the dignity of a Government are the permanence and the tranquillity of its administration.

For the first time, then, in the course of his eventful reign of thirteen years, the King of the French has reached that state of peace, both within and without, to which his efforts have incessantly been directed. As long as every act of a Government is to be carried by some extraordinary effort—the life of the Sovereign himself being as much exposed as if he were on a field of battle—the duration of every Cabinet being limited to that short space of time which is required to transform a cabal of needy adherents into a faction of discontented opponents—and every function of government being exercised in subjection to the necessities of the day—the State itself is only half constituted, and it has not yet attained that strength and power which enable it not only to possess the present, but to command the future. In the last year, however, these lingering symptoms of anarchy and uncertainty have disappeared. The hideous attempts on the King's life have ceased; no disturbances have occurred over the whole face of the land; in the Chambers the tone of debate has been moderate, and the same calm which has annihilated the conspiracies of the Republican party has checked the virulence of the Parliamentary Opposition; the families of the ancient nobility of France, which long stood aloof from all contact with the Court of the Citizen King, have gradually and silently allowed their younger branches to slide into the ranks of the army, and to re-appear in public life; the Church has recovered a degree of influence and controversial activity which shows that the time not only of persecution but of indifference is past; and in the meanwhile the prosperity of the country, the improvement of its arts and manufactures, and the embellishment of its cities, have advanced with a rapidity unknown even to the best ages of the French monarchy. Much of all this has been effected by means which a superficial observer might overlook, and which the party who rave of military glory and revolutionary triumphs refuse to acknowledge; but the results afford a positive and unanswerable reply to those whose patriotism consists in accusing the Government of doing nothing, and of betraying the interests of France.

No one can doubt, that as the King of the French has borne the largest share of the cares and responsibility of the government founded by the revolution of 1830, so the chief honour of its success is due to himself. Without the active operation of an able ruler, and the ascendancy of the supreme rank in a country where all other rank has been abolished, no Minister could successfully have combated the difficulties of the times, and commanded the fluctuations of parties. But until the formation of the present Cabinet, and indeed until the present Cabinet, had surmounted the difficulties bequeathed to it by the extravagance of its predecessors, no Government had displayed that incontestable superiority, or acquired that stability, without which political agitation may be resisted, but cannot be subdued. It was reserved, therefore, for M. Guizot and his colleagues to share in the results of the policy they have so ably served and defended, and to attain not only success but to repose.

We shall be told, whenever the arena of debate is re-opened, that this state of things indicates a degree of political apathy fatal to the character and greatness of France, as if the moment she ceased to be dreading for her clamour and violence she must be despised for her silence and tranquillity. But to those who know anything of the temper of foreign nations and the relations of foreign Governments (a species of knowledge not very common amongst Frenchmen of any degree), nothing is more obvious than that the maintenance of tranquillity at home, and of great reserve in the conduct of all negotiations abroad, is the most effectual, or rather the only, means by which that foreign ascendancy of which the French are so ambitious can be acquired. No dispassionate statesman in any part of Europe would hesitate to affirm that

"1. Freedom of conscience.

"2. Freedom of education.

"3. Freedom of the press.

"And we are perfectly ready that in the repeal of the union it should be provided, that the Irish Parliament should not have jurisdiction or authority to pass any law limiting or restricting the civil rights of any Christian, or class of Christians, whatever.

"A similar restriction is imposed on the Congress of the United States in democratic America.

"A similar restriction exists in free and Catholic Bel-

