

EUROPE.

ENGLAND.

[From Bell's Messenger.]

VOTE BY BALLOT AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

The question of Reform is now agitated from one part of the country to the other, and petitions are daily coming up to Parliament, urging Ministers to fulfil their pledges upon this subject. The peaceful counties of Wales have been excited, and places which have never been roused on any other occasion, are roused upon this.

What the particular plan of the Government may be we do not pretend to know; but it is more than possible that it will be progressive, and will not, in the beginning, strike at the root of the evil.

It is generally believed that all towns containing more than ten thousand inhabitants, and which do not send members to Parliament, will be empowered to choose representatives in future. There are about thirty of these towns in England and Scotland, principally in the manufacturing districts; and as it is not intended to increase the number of members in the House of Commons, it is understood that part of the plan will be, either totally, or partially, to disfranchise some of the more corrupt and rotten boroughs.

There are about sixty boroughs, returning one hundred and twenty members to Parliament, containing in the aggregate sixty, a population less than either Birmingham or Manchester contains at the present day. Suppose half these boroughs to be disfranchised, or one member taken from each, this would give sixty members to be appropriated to the thirty great manufacturing and commercial towns which have hitherto been unrepresented.

But we will lay aside this question for a moment. The principle of Reform seems almost universally admitted, except by those who make a direct profit out of the abused state of our representation.

The first consideration now is, in opening the elective franchise more generally, by what means we can shut out corruption and undue influence. The main remedy suggested is the election by ballot, which we propose now to bring under discussion.

It appears very forcibly to us, that the introduction of the ballot, will have very little of the effect which is anticipated.

The main object of adopting the ballot, as urged by its advocates, is, to be the prevention of bribery—an effect which it is expected to produce, by enabling the person who has received a bribe still to vote according to his inclination, inasmuch as his vote would be necessarily concealed under the secrecy of the ballot. But it appears to us that nothing is more easy than for a dexterous candidate to take an adequate security against being the victim of such a trick. The example of other countries, where the ballot has been introduced, sufficiently shows that it is no guard against personal corruption.

Suppose, for example, the candidate should say to the voter—here are five guineas for you in money down to give me your vote, and I will give you ten guineas more if I am returned. It is perfectly plain that under this contrivance every voter would have an interest to secure the return of the man who bribed him. And it is plain that under this interest, whether voting by ballot or openly, he would give his vote for such candidate. This is so self-evident, that we do not see how it admits of any answer. The system of ballot would, in this respect, only alter the shape of the evil. Instead of a direct and present price, it would lead only to a promise and contingent remuneration. As regards bribery, therefore, we do not see that the substitution of the ballot, instead of the present mode of voting, would have any useful effect.

In one respect, indeed, the system of voting by ballot will operate very powerfully. It will contract the influence of the nobility and gentry, of peers, of landlords, and other persons of great local and general influence. It will certainly have the effect of emancipating the dependents of such persons, and of enabling them to vote according to their own free judgment and inclination. But it still must remain a question, and a very serious question, whether, in the generality of cases, such free judgment and popular inclination are best calculated to return a suitable body of representatives to legislate for a country like Great Britain. The plain question appears to us to be, whether a Parliament should be returned by people of property, character, and respectability, and by people of a station and condition in life, which gives them an interest in the permanency of laws and in the maintenance of institutions; or whether such a Parliament should be returned by persons—the majority of whom possess no property, no respectability, and little known character, and who belong to a station and condition of life, under which, having nothing to lose by a change, but almost everything to expect in the lottery of civil confusion, it becomes almost their interest to return unquiet and turbulent spirits—adventurers who would throw the state into danger, in order to derive some contingent profit from fluctuation and commotion.

Let us be allowed to put this plain question: Suppose even the Minister of a parish were to be chosen by the votes of all the inhabitants of a parish, and suppose such parish to contain many large and reputable householders, having ten, twelve, fourteen or twenty servants, children, or dependents, all of which members had each their vote. Now let us ask, Where would be the objection in common sense, that the servants and children of each household should be influenced and directed in their vote by the master of the family? Would it not be much more probable that they would make a better choice under this direction, than if left to their own judgments and inclinations? To this test let us bring the principle of the ballot so loudly contended for, and let us see what would be the effect of the ballot in such a case as this. Would it not be to give the coachman, the footman, the postilion, and the stable help, not merely the same power and weight as their masters, but a power and weight which, from the preponderance of numbers, would actually secure the object of their choice. That is to say, the parish would have a Minister not chosen by the heads of families—not chosen by those who have the knowledge and education which qualifies them to judge of the talents of others, but a Minister returned by all the servants and low people, the ignorant and unenlightened, the indiscriminate multitude of a township.

The effect of the ballot system is nothing more nor less, even where it comes into full operation than to leave the great majority of the people to their own unbiassed judgment; that is to say, in plain words, and their own undirected understandings, and capricious will.

The great majority of mankind in every nation is the populace; that large body of men, who, from the necessity of their nature, never can be educated, and who, from

the condition in which they are born, and in which the very system of Providence confines them, are necessarily in that relation to the rich and powerful, as to regard their greater possessions with a longing and envious eye. But let it be asked, is the undirected judgment of such a class to be safely trusted? Is it, we ask in common candour, as good a counsellor, and as safe a guide, as if brought under the influence and advice of landlords, of magistrates, of clergymen, of resident gentlemen, of respectable tradesmen, farmers, educated neighbours and of persons whose leisure, habits, and interests, have necessarily taught them the great lessons of prudence and morality. The poor, as a class, are not indeed to be undervalued, but we are not so to confound all distinctions as to raise them into the high places of the earth.

It is impossible that any European government, where property is established under the guard of settled laws and institutions, can support itself under a system of universal suffrage, or under any thing that approaches to it, and voting by ballot is the very next stage to universal suffrage. Its effect will be to array the innumerable populace against the small comparative few who are possessed of property, and, in monarchical governments, of rank, stations, and honors. It is tantamount to holding out to one body its splendid spoil, and bidding the other body to stand upon its defence. If carried into execution under any monarchical government, it must lead to a revolution. The collision between numbers and property cannot but occur, and property, all rights, and all civil institutions, must be hazarded by the shock.

It is the nature of all power that, wherever it resides, it constantly aims at, and must at last succeed in grasping, not merely those posts, emoluments, and distinctions, which hold men out conspicuously as objects of envy, but also the public property of the State, and the private possessions of individuals enjoyed in large masses and accumulations. Civil institutions, laws, and justice itself, are but feeble barriers against emancipated numbers, invested with political power—Such numbers must necessarily press forward with such a momentum and impetus as to leave all the institutions of the country, in a moment of danger, without any defence. Confer a right of suffrage on an indiscriminate multitude, and by necessary consequences you give them political power. But unless political power be kept in due balance and equipoise by the possession of property, and the pledges which such possessions hold forth to preserve the public peace and to respect the rights of others, in the members composing the majority which exercises it, the inevitable result must be universal spoliation. Property is just as necessary to power as ballast to a ship at sea; and if we make it a matter of indifference in legislation, we at once disturb the two cardinal hinges of society,—the incentive of acquiring, and the security of possessing.

Of the fatal consequences of universal suffrage and the vote by ballot, an eloquent historian (Gibbon) thus speaks in his Roman History:—"The tribunes, says he, 'established a more specious and popular maxim—that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws which he is bound to obey. Instead of the centuries, they convened the tribes; and the patricians, after an impotent struggle, submitted to the decrees of an assembly in which their votes were confounded with those of the meanest plebeians. Let us long as the tribes successively passed over narrow bridges, and gave their voices aloud, the conduct of each citizen was exposed to the eyes and ears of his friends and countrymen. The insolvent debtor consulted the wishes of his creditor; the client would have shrunk to oppose the views of his patron: the general was followed by his veterans; and the aspect of the grave magistrate was a living lesson to the multitude. A new method of secret ballot abolished the influence of fear and shame, of honor and interest, and the abuse of freedom accelerated the progress of anarchy and despotism. The Romans had aspired to be equal; they were levelled by the equality of servitude.'"

Such, we are convinced, would be the fate of the English constitution, if universal suffrage and ballot were once introduced into it. Much as we love Reform, and think it almost the one thing needful in the present state of our representation, our maxim would be, "Let the franchise always flow out of property, and let the votes be given in that open, manly, and candid manner, which is most consistent with the English character."

TRIAL OF CARLILE.

Old Bailey, Monday, January 10.

Richard Carlile was indicted for having written and published two seditious libels—one tending to bring the Crown into disrepute, and the other, which was addressed to the insurgent agricultural labourers, tending to produce insurrection among the labouring and agricultural population. Mr. Adolphus and Mr. Wightman appeared for the Crown. The prisoner, who had no counsel, defended himself. Mr. Adolphus, on the part of the prosecution, read some extracts from the libels, and put to the jury to say, from the extracts, whether they had during their lives ever listened to a more wicked, malicious, or dangerous publication. This man had told the distressed and suffering labourers, that if the government did not immediately redress their grievances, and alleviate their condition, they would be justified in resisting all laws, even unto the death, and, if it were necessary, to take life for life; never, he would contend, did such sentiments issue from the press, and the crime was fearfully aggravated by the peculiar circumstances of the country at the moment at which it was published. The evident meaning and intent of these libels was to bear down the government of the country by the numbers who were seduced and goaded to acts of violence by this man. His advice to them to resist all authority was in fact synonymous to his recommending open rebellion. The libels were read in evidence, and the defendant then proceeded to address the court, contending that the character of the writing charged as libellous was not calculated to produce any pernicious effects. He denied that he had ever contemplated the destruction of property by fire, or the breaking of machinery; but although he would not wish to see machinery destroyed, he would not have the working population starve. He then went on to defend his own libels by endeavouring to prove that other publications were equally as libellous. The defendant concluded his address, which occupied five hours and a half in the delivery, and which was delivered in a dull, monotonous tone, by calling upon the jury not to attend to the comments of the judge who would sum up the case, nor to the counsel who would be heard in reply, but judge themselves both of the law and fact, and return a verdict of acquittal, to which he felt himself entitled. Mr. Adolphus rose to reply to the observations of the defendant. The defendant had endeavoured to show that no case had been made out against him, because the insubordination of the peasantry had existed prior to the date of the alleged libels. In answer to that part of the defence, the jury would find, by reference to the indictment, that the charge against the defendant was for heightening and augmenting the lawless spirit which unfortunately prevailed in the country. About one o'clock the jury agreed to a verdict, acquitting the defendant on the first count in the indictment, but finding him guilty on the second and third counts, which charged the defendant with addressing inflammatory language to the labouring classes, telling them that the more tame they were, the more they would be oppressed, and that it was only by a display of their physical as well as their moral strength that their cruel tyrants would offer them terms of pacification, and calling upon them to persevere in their just demands, and that any attempt to stifle those demands ought to be resisted even to death. The Recorder immediately ordered the prisoner into custody. The defendant took leave of his friends, and was conducted into the body of the goal. The Rev. Robert Taylor, alias the Devil's Chaplain, Gale Jones, and others of a similar stamp, remained with him during the whole of the trial, and the galleries of the court contained many of his unwashed disciples. On Tuesday, Mr. Carlile was brought up to receive the judgment of the court. The Clerk of the Arraigns—Richard Carlile, you have been convicted of a misdemeanor; what have you to say why the court should not give you judgment according to law? The defendant said, that he was informed the verdict had not been properly presented to the court, therefore the court could not proceed. The Recorder said, the only questions upon which the defendant could address the court were, whether, the indictment was properly conceived on the face of it, and, if it were properly set forth, whether the charge upon the face of the indictment was an offence known to the law? The defendant said he would apply to another court in error, and would now proceed in mitigation of punishment. He said that the publication did not go into the agricultural districts, but the manufacturing.

Not more than 400 copies were sold altogether of the publication in question. With respect to the verdict, it was a reluctant one, and given after the jury had been twice called into court. He believed that the jury had given their verdict in despair at being locked up all night without fire and food; and he complained of the barbarism of the law which had starved juries into unity. This was one of the ancient institutions of the country, he knew. After the defendant, who had been frequently stopped by the Court when pressing matter which was not proper, had concluded his address, Mr. Wightman, the Counsel for the Crown who was present, declined urging anything in aggravation of punishment. The Recorder then proceeded to pass sentence to the following effect—Richard Carlile, you have, by a jury of your country, been found guilty of a most wicked, a most seditious, a most malicious, and a dangerous libel, having a direct tendency to create an insurrection, and ultimately a rebellion in the country. You have said, in mitigation of punishment, that never, at any time, did the number sold amount to 1000. To the public you have done much mischief—for can any man doubt the tendency of the publication? It is the duty of the Court, therefore, to visit this high crime and misdemeanor—the most dangerous one can well conceive—with a proper degree of punishment. It has been said by you that there was no example of an indictment into a court of Justice—not for more than a hundred years. The answer to that observation is, that so horrid a publication, calling upon bad minds to engage in such transactions, has never yet been the subject of inquiry before a Court of Justice. It is for the present age to witness such a want of religion, a want of honour, a want of duty, a disregard to the law, which is evinced in the publication in question. The sentence of the Court upon you is, that you pay to the King a fine of £200; that you be imprisoned in the County of this city for the term of two years, and, at the expiration of that time, you enter into security for your good behaviour for ten years, yourself in the sum of £500 and two sureties in the sum of £250 each; and that you be further imprisoned till that sum be paid, and those securities are found. The defendant, at the close of the sentence, folded up his papers, and after shaking hands with Mr. Taylor, and some of his friends, was conveyed out of Court in custody of the goalers.

SCOTLAND.

THE DUNDONNELL CAUSE.—The important case, which has created unusual interest and excitement in Scotland, was tried last week in the Jury Court, Edinburgh, and occupied five days. The question was, whether certain deeds of settlement, purported to be executed by Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq. late of Dundonnell, by which he disinherited his brother and his own family, and left his estate to a stranger, were legal. The proceedings were instituted by Mr. Mackenzie next of kin, and resisted by a woman who claimed to be his wife. It appeared from the plaintiff's witnesses, that Kenneth Mackenzie, from his birth, was of very weak intellect. He was incapable, from natural weakness, of learning even the rudiments of education. He was addicted to the strongest eccentricities of conduct. He would wander alone; he would associate with fools and idiots, and he early displayed the attachment which never forsook him, and in which he indulged to a most inconceivable extent, for cocks, hens, and all kinds of poultry. In early life, his father, finding him unable to devote his mind to commercial pursuits, obtained him a commission in the Ross-shire militia. Cream was his favourite beverage; and his chief amusement, in fact, his companions were his cocks and hens. He also took great delight in ghost stories and tales of witchcraft. On parade he had his sergeant to pick him left or right, to enable him to go through his evolutions. He was afraid to go home alone in the dark, and when he dined out with some friends, a chairman was got to carry him home. In the beginning of 1818, he became a Captain in the Inverness militia. He had the honor of being present at a review before the allied sovereigns, but from pure inability to make his appearance with the rest of the regiment, he was put behind a hedge until the ceremony was over. In 1818, he took a residence, called Seabank, and his cocks and hens, to the number of about 2000, were there also. He had a hospital for sick hens. He described them by their peculiar names and designations, and he allowed them to come upon his person and feed from his body. On one occasion he was seen on the top of a ladder at the hen-house, calling the hens by their names. On another occasion he appeared greatly concerned for his fowls, and said, "what shall I do, for the half of my poultry is sick in the hospital?" One day when a tailor went to measure him for a suit of clothes, he found him lying in the mud, with the hens feeding off his person. This tailor wished Kenneth to change his clothes, as they were covered with hen dung, but he would not, and

he was obliged to measure him the best way he could. He said he had it from undoubted authority, that the witches played sad tricks; that they could prevent issue by marriage, and that, to counteract it, he had been told he should put a shilling or sixpence into the heel of his shoe, pour water on it, and then drink it. He believed that there was great power in charms; cheese made of cat's milk, he conceived, would resist the power of bullets; drinking water off a shilling in the bottom of a cog, or cup, he thought would destroy a spell. One of his greatest manœuvres, while in the Army, was one day, when the drummer was taken to the guard-house for being tipsy, he carried the drummer's shoes. At Fort George he became acquainted with the family of the Roys, and married one of the daughters. The settlement which he made at the time was of a most extraordinary character; £900 a year was the outside of his estate, £500 of which he settled upon Miss Roys, and he bound himself not to dispose of any part of his property without Miss Roys's consent. Ultimately the whole of his estate was to go into the possession of his intended spouse. Idiot as Kenneth was, he was jealous of a man named Campbell, his servant, but his wife refused to dismiss him from the house. Shortly before his death, he executed the deeds in question, which, it was stated, it was impossible he could understand, transferring the property to his wife, except an annuity of £20, which he settled upon Campbell, who was the object of his hatred. The jury, after two hours and a half of deliberation, returned a verdict for the pursuer, thus declaring that the deeds were the deeds of a man not in the capacity to transact business.

IRELAND.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Merrion-square, Jan. 14.

"Fellow countrymen,—one word more on the fourth proclamation—one word more of caution. The object of these proclamations is to gag the Irish people. We are not deemed worthy of liberty of speech, and you will find, I am told, sage political hypocrites, and still more base and time-serving Catholics, to applaud the Algerine measures which would silence the voice of Ireland. It is said that one of the principal managers of the Provincial Bank in this country has, in conjunction with a slavish Catholic of the Bank of Ireland, stipulated to support the despotic proclamations, and to applaud to the very echo the despotic acts of unlimited power. Perhaps I am unnecessarily alarmed, but I can scarce believe that the underlings of Government would put these money-dealers into motion, unless there was a determination to assail the last refuge of freedom in Ireland—the liberty of the Press. It must be some very important measure of this description that would bring forth the powerful engines of our two paper Banks. The soldiery and the police may answer to crush other political nuisances, but when the liberty of the Press is assailed it is necessary to bring forth the great moneyed interests; the men whose opinion would be likely to influence Special Juries. There is an appearance of this description in the Chamber of Commerce; and any man who possesses sagacity may safely conjecture the motives of the movement. There is also a phrase in the last proclamation—I mean the fourth, because I do not know whether or not it be the last—which seems to countenance the suspicion that when despotic power may have silenced the human voice it will proceed to silence the Press; that is to attempt to silence the Press. Mark the well, my countrymen; I some time since advised every body to exchange his notes for gold. I am convinced that it is essentially necessary for the permanent good of Ireland that the present anomalous state of the currency should be corrected, and that England should not have the advantage over Ireland of a gold circulation, whilst Ireland had only paper. There is turbulence and disaffection in England to an extent that may produce an insurrectionary movement in that country. In that case bank paper would become worthless; England would have the advantage of possessing gold, whilst the hands of the Irish would be left quite empty. I have, however, heretofore done my duty. I have last year suggested to the people of Ireland to call for gold; it is quite true that I did not follow up that suggestion by repeating my advice. The truth is I have been deterred by a fear of lessening the resources of private individuals in trade, and I cannot, without an overpowering motive, consent to risk any private or individual inconvenience, even for the greatest public advantage. Let the people of Ireland, therefore, pause for the present. Let them watch the motives of the vile underlings of despotic authority. Let them wait patiently, until they see whether the Press is to be assailed. Until then I am neutral. But if the Press be assailed—if the prosecution extends to the last hope of freedom, the Press—that instant I will use all the energies of my mind, and whatever influence I possess, to lessen the power of the paper-makers, and produce a general gold currency. I do hope that, if my fears are realised and that the Press shall be assailed, there will not be in one week after a single bank note in circulation. I cannot conclude even this letter without cautioning the people against secret societies—against illegal tumult, or outrages. The repeal of the Union cannot long be delayed by their enemies—but it may be fatally retarded by the misconduct of the people themselves. I am truly, fellow countrymen, your devoted servant."

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

(From the Dublin Morning Post of Saturday.)

Military Guards on the Paper Mills.

The Government has issued orders for a military guard to be supplied from the Royal Hospital for the protection of each of the paper-mills in the vicinity of Dublin in which the new machinery has been introduced. The guards are to be permanently stationed at each mill.

(From the Limerick Evening Post.)

The Following Letter has been received by Mr. Terence Kennedy, of John Street, from our City Representative, acknowledging the receipt of a petition from the Cord-wainers of Limerick, in favour of a repeal of the Union.

LONDON, Jan. 10, 1831.

Sir,—I have this moment received your petition, and the letter which accompanied it. The former I shall take an early opportunity of presenting, explaining your opinions to the House. It is with regret that I differ at any value those constituents highly—and it is because I respect their independence, and their claim an equal freedom for myself. If I could believe that the repeal of the Union would advance the interests of Ireland, no one should measure. But I conscientiously believe that such a repeal would ruin all the prospects of our country. I do not believe it would bring back

absentees—I do not believe it would add to our capital. If I am asked to compare the proceedings of Parliament before and after the Union, I can do so easily and conclusively. Before the Union your trade was fettered—our agriculture was depressed—and we were excluded from the British market. Since the Union, a freedom of intercourse has opened to our industry the whole of England. The Irish Parliament by the vote of egestment, threw the burden of tithes almost exclusively, on the poor man. The Imperial Parliament, by the Composition Act, has removed many of the abuses and inequalities of the system. The Irish Parliament passed the detestable penal code. The Imperial Parliament has established perfect liberty of conscience.—I am, Sir, your very obedient humble servant.

T SPRING RICE.

The putting Mr. O'Connell under prosecution for sedition, has produced considerable impression, and will, probably, either hasten on a crisis or prevent it. Whether Government possess sufficient means of convicting him, or his legal cunning may have left him some tortuous path for eluding the laws, are we apprehend, matters of much less consequence than the determination which Ministers have shown to proceed with vigour against all insipient attempts at rebellion. Nothing is more certain than that the matter is brought to an issue on the question, not whether the Union shall be repealed, but whether the plot which is maturing under that pretence—a pretence, however, so thin as to veil nothing of the real intention from the public eye, shall be accomplished. At the same time, since this design is carried on under a legal object, to promote petitions for a separate Parliament, the case is surrounded with greater difficulty, as the Government is obliged to frame its measures very much on the principle of interpreting overt acts by concealed intentions—a dangerous principle, we allow, in ordinary cases, and one which ought to be well watched. On the other hand, it would make both Government and the nation to appear equally blameable and ridiculous, were it to suffer rebellion to organize and arm itself, and to grow up into a state of complete preparation to strike the first blow, under the cover of meetings and associations to promote a legal end, when the very language and character of these proceedings make it manifest to all, that they intend something far beyond the ostensible object. Mr. O'Connell says no, in one breath, and yes in another; he denies directly, and then affirms by a periphrasis which his followers well understand. If he were a man of honor, the case would be different, but who depends upon either, and the paltry quibbling of the lawyer, and the glossy speeches which he makes to wheedle the Protestants, are too well understood to make his professions of any account. The whole character of the proceedings is that of rebellion without the usual honesty of it, and though the circumstances of the case place Government in a situation of delicacy, because they must seem to trench upon several sacred public rights in order to secure the public safety, yet those circumstances are so well appreciated by the public, that its acts will receive a liberal interpretation.

This country demands from its most vigorous application of its powers to suppress the seditious movements in Ireland, for assuredly it is not prepared to assent to the dismemberment of the empire; and Ireland demands it also—for we have yet to learn that the demagogues and the mob at their heels are Ireland.—The Protestants and the loyal and peaceable part of the Catholics, the proprietors of the soil, merchants and trades people are at least Ireland as well as they, and they demand protection from the spoliation of their property, from the despotism of mobs, and from a persecuting popish ascendancy.

We are glad to find that there are exceptions among the Catholic priests, and that all do not, at least openly, encourage the agitation.—The body of them, however give their influence to it, and they are now stimulated by high influence. Their conduct might, at first sight, appear rather explicable. To the wild democracy and republicanism taught by the demagogues, they are in theory, doubtless, opposed—the French revolution, so fatal to poverty, they must abhor—and yet they incite the populace who chaunt its praises in songs, and march under tri-colored flags—but the truth is, that the hope of ascendancy to their Church, by the separation of the countries is a temptation they cannot resist, and they trust to their influence to quell the stormy elements which they now excite against England, and to mould the Government to their own views, when once they have got it into their hands.—In this they might, probably, be disappointed—but they will not be suffered to try the experiment. That Ireland is distressed is certain, so is England—both require attention, and even bold measures for their relief. But radicalism, and revolution are the only enemies of necessary ameliorations, and if the country is pushed by reckless demagogues into extremes, it will rather rally round what might be amended, than put itself in the hands of popular violence.

Those whose irksome office it has been to watch the course of the revolutionary proceedings in Ireland, will not be induced by the glaring absurdity or iniquity of any project ascribed to Mr. O'Connell to doubt that he designs to execute it. The last Paper informs us that the Learned Gentleman has actually commenced his double warfare against the existence of Bank notes and against the Excise revenue.—There are two ways of attacking the revenue—one by smuggling, the other by non-consumption of articles subject to taxation.—But it is little recked of by the parties to either system that the public revenue is not the only or the principal sufferer from their schemes. The fair trader, who pays the duty and buys the goods to support his family by the profit on the sale of them, is ruined as much by the malicious non-consumption, as by their turbaned and contraband introduction against the rights of the Crown. Nor is the impolicy of such a plot less childish and contemptible, than its malignity is odious. Does Mr. O'Connell fancy that he will gain partisans amongst the middle orders of the people of Ireland, by helping to ruin the shopkeepers, and tradesmen, the great mass of the most respectable inhabitants throughout the several towns? Then the banks are to be thrown into embarrassment by a general demand for gold. Here is another pretty striking proof of the fatherly tenderness of this patriarch of commotion towards the half-employed poor of Ireland. The effect of a run upon the banks must be, nay, it has been already, a resolute to guard against contingencies, by a contraction of their discounts. There is thus an instantaneous diminution of the capital expended on the employment of the labouring poor, and a consequent increase of that idleness and wretchedness, the alleged extent of which has been the main argument with the demagogues leaders for an overthrow of the act of Union. But their is yet a third record of the genius and virtue of these revolutionists not unworthy of notice. It was asked by Mr. O'Connell, at a meeting of St. Audon's parish, "Why they (the separatists) should buy or