

So, Sir, my country, I love thee from pride,
But I love thee the more for thy sorrow,
And may'st the bitter, salt tear I have shed,
As I've cheerfully thought on thy sorrow.

"Hereditary bondage, know ye not,
Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

TO THE IRISH PEOPLE.

Mr. COUNTRYMEN—
Through thirteen years may be a comparatively short period in the history of nations, yet it constitutes a large amount in the life of an individual; and yet, during that whole period, though I have been exiled from my country, yet I have never lost a single opportunity of returning good for evil, by instructing the English people in the real history of the Irish people, and by proving to them that those weaknesses, for which they despised my countrymen, were virtues rather than vices.

After such a period of exile, it is now my pride to be placed in a situation to give to my country any little benefit she may derive from an ardent desire and a firm resolve to serve her; and, in truth, she stands in no small need of the smallest amount of service, a fact of which I was convinced by the treachery of some of her representatives during the discussion of the Irish Coercion Bill; and to the consideration of which I shall not confine this, my address, looking upon that measure and the conduct of some of the Irish representatives as a mere drop in the ocean when compared with the larger difficulties which yet stand in the way of Irish freedom.

No man who suffers under the provisions of that tyrannical, bloody, and unconstitutional bill will endure greater mental torture than I should under its discussion. I shall not canvass the votes of many Irish members, from whom a different course was expected, when I have not words to express my horror of the language used by those Irish members who spoke upon the bill.

In Conciliation Hall, and in the press, there has been loud denunciation and just denunciation of Mr. Morgan John O'Connell, but there has been scarcely a complaint lodged against Mr. Morgan John O'Connell, who not only supported the bill in its entirety, but was my most strenuous opponent and the government's staunchest friend, when I proposed to preserve the right of traverse to the hastily kidnapped slave.

You, my countrymen, must understand the meaning of this 18th clause, which I designated as the "Sting of the Bill." At present, in all cases of misdemeanour, the prisoner has a right to put off his trial till the next gaol delivery, if not in custody fourteen days before the sitting of the Court. This is no more than a just and salutary provision of the ordinary law, because the law of England, presuming every man to be innocent until a jury has found him guilty, has assigned the period of fourteen days to allow him to prepare his defence, instruct his attorney, and expose his case to his counsel. The 18th clause in the Coercion Act takes away this protection from the Irish slave, who may now be hunted down by a pack of infuriated police blood-hounds, whose employment depends upon their ferocity, and without a moment's time being allowed to him to prepare his case and engage counsel for his defence, he may be dragged into court, arraigned upon the instant, tried, condemned, and sentenced, his sweat, fear, and excitement being urged as evidence of his guilt instead of testimony of his honour—Honour which impelled him to fly from a brigand police force rather than join in the pursuit of his neighbour.

Upon this clause I argued—
Firstly—Its unconstitutionality.

Secondly—The absolute necessity of allowing an Irish prisoner time to scrape up amongst his pauper friends the means of securing some defence.

And

Thirdly—The injustice of trying a man in the midst of unnatural excitement.

I showed that in ordinary cases this indulgence was stretched by the judge, who almost invariably postponed trials, upon affidavit that the excitement arising from the charge rendered a fair trial even doubtful.

To this Sir George Grey replied that the discretion would still remain with the judge. I answered, that having established the will of a despot Lord-Lieutenant as the Irish constitution, I was not prepared to delegate the legal right of the peasant to the discretion of a judge selected by that Lord-Lieutenant to try him; and, in my conscience, I believe that the constitution would have been spared this further wound if it had not been for the insistence of Mr. M. J. O'Connell of the propriety of preserving this clause whole and entire, urging the absolute necessity of instantaneous trial, and the speediest conviction, if found guilty; that is, not only supporting the terrible vengeance of the clause, but adding to it the further heart-breaking penalty of dragging the unfortunate victim to speedy punishment after the mockery of a trial.

This secured the clause for the minister. And again, when I proposed to saddle the magistracy of the district with some responsibility, Mr. Morgan J. O'Connell said, "No; it is an unconstitutional measure; the magistracy is a constitutional body; and the government must not subject them to the responsibility of carrying out an unconstitutional measure."

Well, after such an avowal from such a name and such a quarter, was it not natural that the opponents of the bill should become paralysed, and their opposition weakened; and if ministers, in their bold daring, required any apology for this unconstitutional measure, they have only to quote Grattan, Browne, and O'Connell, as authorities for its necessity and mildness.

The Irish members pledged to the Repeal of the Union, and who, if their constituents had supposed them friendly to coercion would have been pledged to oppose it—if those parties had stood together, unimpaired by the frown of faction, the CLARENDON STATUTE would never have passed the House of Commons; and so decided was the opposition that a few gave it to, that the Lords feared to adopt the smallest amendment, because thereby another discussion might have been raised upon the bill.

I contended at the time, and I repeat it now, that the speech of Maurice O'Connell on the second reading of the Coercion Bill, was as complete an exposure of its injustice, and the ministers' tyranny, as could be made upon the subject. He took the case of Rebecca in Wales; he analysed it from beginning to end; showing that women were shot—that policemen were shot—that magistrates were shot—that houses were demolished—that men were denied—that threatening notices were delivered—that verdicts to implicate the insurgents—that, notwithstanding, the assassins were parleyed with by the government itself—that a commission was sent to inquire into the grievances complained of—that those grievances were redressed, and that the judge who was selected to preside at the special commission won the people to obedience by the mildest administration of the ordinary law, making six months the maximum punishment for the highest offences, while many were afterwards set at liberty altogether.

Now, I ask, if it would be possible to have established a more triumphant case to show the triumph of the ordinary law, with this exception, indeed, that Wales is not Ireland, and that tyranny practised upon the Welsh people might have infected their English brethren, upon whom the government dare not impose a Coercion Bill.

I now leave this branch of my subject, and shall call your attention briefly to what the state of Ireland has been since she was in a condition to assert her rights in a British Legislature.

—Till the period of 1829, the Catholic people

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had not been represented in Parliament since the reign of the adulterer, Henry VIII., nearly three centuries, and the support of a dominant church, professing a religion hostile to the whole of the Catholic people of Ireland had, during that period, been the great bone of contention; and I, as a Protestant, adoring the Catholic people for their unwavering devotion to their own form of worship, had a right to presume that the real practical meaning of Emancipation was the destruction of Protestant ascendancy, root and branch, not the destruction of Protestants or Protestantism—as I have ever held the right of peculiar worship to be the indefeasible right of every man—but the destruction of that power which imposed a tax upon the professors of one faith, for the support of the preachers of another faith.

In my opinion, Catholic Emancipation meant the infusion of Catholic representatives into the Commons' House of Parliament, whose first and primary duty it would be to insist upon religious perfect equality for all, and to demand the complete and entire abolition of religious ascendancy; and to this end, nearly four hundred thousand Catholic freeholders were satisfied to relinquish all social claims for the achievement of their darling object.

In three years what was called Reform, followed Emancipation, and the anticipated result of that measure, as far as Ireland was concerned, was, that legislation would devolve more extensively upon the Catholic people of that country.

When Reform was accomplished, the great question of Repeal was placed before the Irish people as what should be their great and only object; and now, I pray you, my countrymen, to bear in mind the difference between the tactics observed towards Emancipation and Repeal.

It was thought necessary to have a discussion each session upon the question of Emancipation, in order that its growing strength in Parliament should have its due effect upon the public mind.

While contending for this measure of justice, men who were out of the pale of the constitution were compelled, as leaders, to bear an honest front; because it was their interest to achieve power, and they were worth nothing to the enemy until they had secured that power; therefore, it was their interest to have a sessional discussion. Upon the other hand, as far as the question of national liberty is concerned, Emancipation was as nothing compared to the value of a domestic Legislature; and yet was that question allowed to remain a dead letter, as far as Parliament was concerned, for thirteen whole years, from 1834 to 1847—the Irish people being whimsically and childishly satisfied with the Repeal pledges from members who were never to be tested, and who were otherwise left free to aid Whig administrations in their most tyrannical assaults upon national freedom.

The English people were courted as indispensable auxiliaries in the cause of Emancipation, by men looking for power—while in the cause of Repeal, the same aid was repudiated by men possessing profitable power.

My countrymen, as the day for hearing stern truths has arrived, you must open your ears to their bitterness. You must hear, and you must believe, the damning fact, that you have been the authors of your own every suffering and grievance; you relied upon your own strength, and not only repudiated the assistance of others, but received the defamation of your English friends and auxiliaries with shouts of savage exultation, for no other reason than because they were Saxons and Protestants—and always forgetting, or rather never thinking, because never told, that the Saxon and Protestant people of England were equally oppressed as yourselves, and equally anxious as you to see justice done to your order, to your country, and to your religion.

However, I lay it down as an irrefutable fact, that the young blood of Ireland returned forty-two Repeal members in 1833, and that the polluted blood of Ireland returned but twenty-five Repeal members in 1847. I make no account of any man who was absent, except Mr. Anstey, who, I know, was indisposed, because it was the paramount duty of each and every one to be present, all other business being laid aside. Of this maxim, I furnished a strong example myself, because, on the very night of the debate, I was suffering under a painful illness, which would have confined ninety-nine in every hundred to their beds, but my duty to my country sustained me.

I have now shown you how the question of Repeal has been trifled with for thirteen whole years; while Ireland, during that period, was ready to sacrifice its best blood for its accomplishment; and for those thirteen years Repeal has been made, and no man can deny it, the stepping-stone to place, patronage, title, and emolument—in a word, the brave Irish nation has been sold to the oppressor for pelf. Not a single agitation, calculated to serve declining Whiggery, that has not been resorted to as a substitute for Repeal, and as a means of securing patronage for that "base, bloody, and brutal" faction; and, although a Repeal from the day I had thought to the present moment, and although I would beg my bread for the remainder of my life rather than vote against that measure, the late proceedings of your pledged representatives in Parliament have convinced me of its perfect utility, unless accompanied by Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Equal Representation, No Property Qualification, and the Payment of Members. And although many of your present leaders tell you triumphantly that they do not understand what Chartism means, I tell you, and I would meet them, one and all, upon the question, that I would rather see Chartism carried than Repeal, which would be followed by a House of Lords sitting in College-green—while, upon the other hand, from a Chartist representation must follow, not only a Repeal of the Union, but every measure of justice that industry can or ought to demand.

Perhaps I could not select a better period than the present, when so many of your representatives have sold you, for the consideration of the first point of the Charter—

ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS;

and let me, in the outset, ask you whether, if those who voted for Coercion, and against Repeal, were to come before their constituents at the end of the present Session, instead of at the end of seven long years, would they not have acted under the wholesome influence of that public opinion, before which they should so speedily appear, instead of setting it at defiance for seven years, and relying upon some timely clap-net to recommend them once more to your credulity?

Now observe, and observe well, that those who deserted Ireland on the question of Coercion, will have the deepest interest in preserving the Whigs in power for seven years, lest their dismissal from office should have the effect of subjecting them to the criticism and reproach of their constituents. Thus I explain to you the value of the first point of Chartism; and I will now go further, and tell you that so little faith have I in public men, and so convinced am I of the indispensable necessity of short reckonings, that I would expect, and liberty would receive, much, very much, greater advantage from seven Parliaments

elect annually by the present constituent body, than by a Parliament elected for seven years by Universal Suffrage and the Ballot.

In the one case, there is a wholesome dread in returning to a constituency at the close of the Session, to receive their smiles and renewed confidence as a reward for virtue, or their frowns and dismissal as a punishment for vice; while, upon the other hand, the representative steeped in six years' villainy, which remains upon the Statute Book, would seek atonement by a death-bed repentance, and would come before a credulous and confiding people upon his paltry acts of atonement, which but too frequently obliterate the errors of the past.

I have shown you, my countrymen, that from the day your leaders achieved power through you, down to this very present hour, those leaders have qualified for prostitution out of your confidence, and I now tell you, as I have a thousand times told the English people, that a nation never will be free until the leaders are placed under that popular vigilant control which never will pardon the first act of political delinquency—because the mistaken lenity of public opinion towards a public man, is precisely like the mistaken indulgence of a parent to a child. The first act of forgiveness emboldens the delinquent with the hope of again receiving forgiveness, until at length he becomes so steeped in depravity, that in his sins the people see their own error, and fear exposure lest it should bespeak their own folly.

This has been one of your besetting sins, while ignorance of the motives of the English people has left you in a state of forlorn hopelessness. Even that portion of your Press, which chaunts its notes of liberty in the dulcett strains of music, has withheld from you all knowledge of English feeling for Ireland, and while it has cried out for help, it has failed to tell you when and how the English people have proffered the required aid.

It has not told you that, while you were dull and apathetic, three millions and a half of the English people petitioned for a Repeal of the Union. It has not told you that, when you were passive, scores of thousands of the English people petitioned against the Coercion Bill.

It has not published the innumerable resolutions, passed at large public meetings in all parts of England, in favour of Irish liberty; but it has, in the most contemptible, treacherous, and despicable manner, garbled our speeches, and misrepresented our motives; and why?—because it, like your leaders, lived upon your credulity, feeding you with moonshine; while, unlike the English people and the English leaders, neither the Irish press nor the Irish leaders have directed the Irish mind to any single practical social result, which would be likely to follow any political change that they have propounded. Hence, we find you, as the 'Royal Loyal Irish Repealers,' now throwing up your cap for your lovely young Queen; again, for the undefined thing called justice to Ireland; then, for another trial for the base, bloody, and brutal Whigs; then for Federalism, and anon for eleven incomprehensible measures of relief, of which Ireland has heard but the sound—

"Alas! poor country,
Almost afraid to know itself!"

Courage has been banished from your mind, and passive obedience and non-resistance has been made the freeman's catechism.

How dare you ask for liberty, when you die in millions rather than take it? Liberty is always within the reach of a people who are prepared to work out their own salvation, and liberty is an attribute which the Creator, in his wisdom, withholds from those who cannot worship the goddess, or who, worshipping her and knowing her value, dare not assert her prerogative.

Where, now, after your half century's agitation, is your substitute for the system you wish to destroy? You look for Repeal, and only for Repeal, while the English people, after fifteen years of Reform, which was to them what Repeal would be to you, without a House of Commons chosen by yourselves, bitter fruit, are now compelled to define the social system, the benefit of which the improved political system should bring home to every man's door.

My countrymen, you must now prepare your ears to hear the greatest truth ever propounded. You must prepare to hear that character of the English people which no historian has ever yet been able to assign to any people in this habitable globe.

The English people, deceived by Reform, after giving that measure a fair trial, established a great political agitation, which promised to bring justice home to every man's door; and so steadfast were they in their aim and end, that thousands preferred the dungeon to the abandonment of their principles. But even that was not all; if their virtues ended here, they should be extolled as virtues only, but I am going to prove their wisdom, as well as their virtues, thus—when they were poor—when they were hungry, yea famished, naked, and outlived, the most wealthy, the most influential, tyrannical, and vindictive portion of society—their own masters—their own magistrates—their own employers and jurors—tempted them in their poverty with the bait of "HIGH WAGES, CHEAP BREAD, AND PLENTY TO DO." What a fascinating motto for the rich oppressor to offer to the poor oppressed; and yet, mark, my countrymen, such was the valour, such the union, such the honour and devotedness of our Chartist Confederation, that the starving spurred the proffered bribe, the delusive offer, for six long years, and never abated that opposition, until its longer continuance might have entailed greater suffering upon their Irish brethren; and this is the people that you have been taught to despise.

Now, this greatest of all facts cannot be too deeply impressed upon your memory; that, while the excited mind of Ireland was, for thirteen years, running after different shades of moonshine, the working classes of England resisted the delusive cry of "HIGH WAGES, CHEAP BREAD, AND PLENTY TO DO."

Now, why was this? Because the English agitation was conducted by leaders belonging to the suffering class, and because the power of public opinion was sufficiently strong, virtuous, and resolute to keep those leaders in the straight course; whereas every man who spoke in your packed assemblies should first qualify by the payment of speech money, and should then measure his words by the standard of expediency; and from which did he depart but by a syllable, he was howled down as a dangerous traitor.

When you begin to reflect upon your own past madness, your astonishment at Coercion will vanish, and your only wonder will be that a nation of such willing slaves is even pitted in their misery.

When you reflect that such men as John Lawless, Sharman Crawford, O'Gorman Mahon, Patrick O'Higgins, Feargus O'Connor, and thousands of others, who were too proud to join in delusion, and too sincere to commit a fraud upon Ireland, have been held up as traitors to their country; when you think of

the names of O'Connor, Fitzgerald, and Emmet, being made by words of scorn to the living; when you think of the great national question being burked for thirteen whole years, and only resuscitated now and then within that time when the distributors of patronage stood in need of an Irish difficulty to frighten their Tory opponents from power; when you think of those pledged Repealers voting, one and all, for the continued imprisonment of the English Chartists, and one and all being the never failing resource of the "base, brutal, and bloody Whigs" when a blow was to be aimed at liberty; when you think of "Who is the Traitor?" "A Good Jury Law," "Justice to Ireland," "Our lovely young Queen," "Give the Whigs another fair trial," "Ireland for the Irish," "One year of unbroken tranquillity," "Federalism," "Tenant Right," "Municipal Reform," and "Eleven Healing Measures" being successively and successfully used to direct your attention from the one great national question, I say that it is not to Daniel O'Connell, but to the Press of Ireland, that the present state of that country is to be attributed.

As long as the press received the lion's share of patronage, the press performed the lion's share of prostitution, and the press swelled the lips of the man into the thunder of the nation; but when a portion of it lost that patronage by which its adherence was secured, then its thunder was hurled at O'Connell, in the hope of covering its own shame. Merciful Providence! must not the heart of the most cold-blooded sinner at the bare notion of one million brave, hardy, virtuous, and industrious peasants being sacrificed in one year to famine, not caused by Almighty God, not increased by the machinations of the Government—but procured through the instrumentality of a delusive hope, and total reliance upon one talismanic event, which was to feed, house, clothe, warm, and comfort the Irish people.

If a million of Poland's sons died from starvation the Whigs would preach Christ's gospel as a terror to the Autocrat, and would tell him—

"That they who died by the sword are better than they who perish of hunger, for their bodies pine away stricken through for want of the fruits of the field."

Those are the words of God, not my words; and as I love God's laws better than the laws of man, I would rather see Ireland decimated in battle by the sword than cut off by famine, in the midst of abundance, created by her own hands.

And think of even one Protestant or Orangeman, much more one Catholic Irishman, being found so degenerate as to stand up in the Senate House of the foreigner, after a million of his countrymen had perished from hunger, and consent to place the lives of the remainder, and the destinies of the country, in the hands of an upstart Saxon diplomatist. And think of one and all vying in paying their tribute of respect to this Autocrat, who now embodies within his own narrow mind the Irish Constitution—SAVE THE MARK!

Now think you, my countrymen, that the name of Irishman will gain credit in the future history of our country, when her tale of sorrow and of her sons' degeneracy is told?

What did America gain by her petitions to the English Crown? What did she not gain by her resolution to do for herself what she might have begged Britain to do for her in vain, so long as she relied upon humble prayer and petition?

If I did not see hope for Ireland in renewed exertion I should blush to belong to such a nation of slaves, but I have still reliance upon a people who for seven centuries have maintained their hostility of oppression, and who for three centuries have clung with fondness to their persecuted faith.

Yes, the elements of regeneration are in the people, and they but require to be properly directed to secure that freedom which would make Ireland the happiest nation on the earth; and as I know of no man living who can advance a greater right to counsel the Irish nation than myself, I will now prescribe for the patient, at a time when her disease has puzzled the faculty.

This then is my prescription:—
Firstly.—Elect a Convention of forty-nine Delegates, to meet in London, and there to discuss the grievances of Ireland, and propound the simple remedies, making Repeal of the Union the great means to the end.

Secondly.—At every election put the following pledge to every Candidate whom you propose to support, and let him sign it and let it be witnessed, as I shall describe.

"I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely swear before God, that, if elected as a Representative to Parliament, I will accept the Chiltern Hundreds, and restore the trust committed to my charge, whenever required to do so by the Committee of Observation, whose names are hereto attached, herewith my signature."

Now the names hereto attached should be the names of six laymen, being non-electors, and the six Roman Catholic Clergymen whose parishes furnished the largest number of voters; and those twelve should elect an elector as chairman. If I am asked why I appoint six Roman Catholic Clergymen? my answer is—

Firstly.—Because they are, as a body, the best patriots in Ireland.

Secondly.—Because they would more rigidly insist upon compliance with the terms of the contract, and

Thirdly.—They are more subject to popular vigilant control than any other class.

I submit this test in order to secure the dismissal of the traitor the moment that a majority of the committee shall demand it; while there could not be a better guarantee for the seat of the representative, as long as he acted honestly, as in such case the Observation Committee dare not demand the resignation of his trust.

Now, my countrymen, when you reflect upon the fact that Parliament invariably selects the commencement of a session for the enactment of coercive measures, and that the same Parliament as invariably resists coercion and talks of remedial measures as dissolution approaches, you will see the value of this ingredient in my prescription.

I would, then, demand the following pledges from every candidate asking popular support:—

"I do solemnly swear and declare that I will not accept myself, or solicit for another, place, pension, emolument, or patronage, from any Government that rules the destinies of Ireland in a foreign land."

"That I will not court the favour of any man in power, nor will I dine at the table with any minister or ministerial official, until my country is freed from the foreign yoke."

"That I will take my seat in the English House of Commons upon the first day of the Session, all other business being laid aside, and that I will there fight the battles of my country without reference to party interests or political factions."

"That I will support every measure which promises the slightest advantage to Ireland; while, upon all questions upon which the fate of an administration depends, if benefit to Ireland should not be involved, I will give my vote against the existing Government, from a

firm conviction that a united band of fifty, or even forty, UNITED IRISHMEN, acting upon the obstructive principle, would hold the balance of power in the Senate House."

Now I proclaim to you, my countrymen, and to the world, once again, that I would expect more from seven parliaments elected by the present constituency within seven years, than I would expect from a seven years' parliament elected by Universal Suffrage, and for the reasons I have before assigned.

Now shall I be told that any portion of my machinery is complicated, or that any one of my terms is even rigid?

Shall I be told that it is a hardship to demand of the trustee a restoration of that trust which he has failed to execute according to the terms on which it was granted?

Shall I be told that a place-hunter and beggar of patronage is a fit and proper representative of a nation whose liberties are now handed over to the keeping of one man? Or,

Shall I be told that it is a hardship to deny the Irish representative a seat at the luxurious table of the temper, while a whole nation is in hourly dread of famine?

If any shall be bold enough to advance such an argument, I can only say for myself, that I would rather, much rather, live upon an equality with a nation of comfortable peasants than live in splendour, sumptuousness, and affluence, gleaned from the parings of their poor board.

Irishmen, there is nothing in what I propose that can be distasteful to the honest representative, and Ireland needs none other.

In thirteen years you have seen your Repeal ranks dwindle down from forty-two to twenty-five; while twelve years' of out-door agonising has taken place, and one year of MONSTER excitement, when vows for Ireland and Repeal were offered up which must have made the God of Justice smile. And within that period, if you would discover the deficiency, you will find it made up of placemen and pensioners, sopped off by the Government that has given YOU Coercion in return for your representatives' prostitution.

Mark now what I am about to enforce; it is this—that so long as Repeal was the simple guarantee of fitness, the pledged Repealer remained untested during three whole parliaments. The parliament that sat from 1835 to 1837; the parliament that sat from 1837 to 1841; and the parliament that sat from 1841 to 1847. And those pledged Repealers held themselves free to act upon all other questions, the Irish people making the question of Repeal the one that absorbed all others.

Upon the other hand, by the adoption of annual parliaments, you hold your representatives in proper check upon all great questions. Indeed, I have been taken to task by both parties for testing the fledglings so early, both by old Irelanders and young Irelanders. Mr. McGee, of the Young Ireland party, says—"I do not blame the mover of the Committee of Inquiry into the Union—though he might have shown more consideration for Ireland than to drag our undisciplined levies into the field on a fortnight's notice." I shall answer this remark by asking a simple question. If the Irish levies were undisciplined after thirteen years' drilling and training, how many centuries would it require to prepare them for action?

Of a truth, I never heard more absurd rubbish than has been written upon the expediency of my motion. Why, my countrymen, the very scamping of the rats proves the absolute necessity of testing them at the earliest possible period, in order that the Irish people may know their friends from their enemies. If I had not tested them thus early, those who voted for Coercion would have deluded the Irish Repealers with the delusion that the insurgents, who alone were to be put down by the Coercion Bill, were the greatest enemies of Ireland and Repeal; that they voted for Coercion because they were sincere Repealers; and that they acted upon the maxim that—"The man who commits a crime is Ireland's greatest enemy."

I tell you more, that, as long as I have a seat in Parliament, I will take the first opportunity in each session of having a discussion upon Repeal, and will resist every infraction of the constitution until there shall be equal security for the life and property of the poor man, as for the life and property of the rich man; as I never will recognise any distinction in these respects, between the monarch on the throne and the poorest subject in the land.

In conclusion, my Countrymen, you must cease to revile your English brethren, who are your best, your bravest, and most consistent friends. You must adopt the Land Plan in Ireland, and believe me, that one thousand virtuous, moral, industrious, and peace-loving Tipperary men, located in their own castles, each standing in the centre of the husbandman's labour field, would create an agitation in Ireland, which no foreign invader could suppress until industry was set free, and every bloody statute was erased from England's bloody code; when crime would be branded as sin, when its causes were removed, and when every honest labourer would cheerfully join in the pursuit of the criminal, without being compelled by Act of Parliament, because each would then have an interest in the preservation of peace.

In the name of God, then, my Countrymen, discard your every dissension, fling your every cause of difference to the wind; and if the terms "Old Ireland" and "Young Ireland" threaten to perpetuate that strife which desolates the land, let all call themselves "Irish Repealers," and under that defined and distinct appellation, let all contend for fatherland, vowing to sacrifice life itself rather than abandon the pursuit of liberty.

Willing to take every one of the above pledges as the test of my fitness to represent even an English constituency, and holding fast by the immutable principle, that the cause of justice is the cause of God, and that Ireland is my country though the world is my republic,

I remain, fellow countrymen,
Your sincere, devoted, and
unpurchasable friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.—At the Chartist meeting at 39, Butcher-row, Deptford, on December 26th, Mr. Floyd in the chair, Mr. Hayes opened the adjourned discussion, and made some very appropriate remarks to the probable results of the enactment of the People's Charter, and the abolition of Class Legislation. Messrs. Gibson, Moran, and other gentlemen, spoke in the same strain. Mr. Hayes did not see that the Charter would be of such vital importance. He (Mr. Hayes) did not stand between man and his freedom; he considered that it was his natural right, but he could not see that the Charter would set the Thames on fire, or alter the social condition of the people. He thought we ought to reform ourselves and neighbours, and so commence a social reform. He should like to go for one thing at a time. The first important step was Sanitary Reform. After a few remarks from the chairman, the discussion closed.

CAMBERWELL AND WALWORTH.—The members of the National Chartist Association and National Land Company residing in this district, are informed that the meetings will be in future held every Monday evening at eight o'clock, at the True Temperance Coffee-house, No. 10, East-street, Walworth. The members of the Land Company are informed that all levies and local expenses must be paid on or before the 10th instant. John Simpson, sub-secretary.

THE WARRINGTON DISTRICT MEETING will be held at Butterworth's Buildings, Bedford, on Sunday, January 2nd, at half-past twelve o'clock.

THE METROPOLITAN DELEGATE COMMITTEE TO THE CHARTISTS OF LONDON.

FRIENDS.—Having been appointed by you to take steps to disseminate among the people a knowledge of the true principles of political justice, and to adopt every available means for accelerating the progress of the Chartist movement, we feel it our duty on this occasion thus briefly to address you.

Since the memorable year 1839, there never was a more favourable moment than the present for a recommencement of the struggle for liberty. In whatever direction we turn our eyes, the direful results of blundering Whig and Tory legislation are discovered; whatever class of the community we scan, or interest we examine, we find proof multiplied upon proof, of the utter incompetency of those who have usurped authority over us. The rottenness and iniquity of the present system are demonstrated by the appalling fact that, in a land abounding with the triumphs of science, the adornments of art, and the riches of nature, misery almost indescribable is made the destiny of the greatest and worthiest portion of its people. If you turn your eyes to Ireland, you are almost petrified at the torrid mass of misery and slavery that cover its surface. This unfortunate island has been for centuries the footstool of despots, the sport of factions, and the prey of robbers. It is at the present moment the focus of every misfortune—the victim of every wrong, and in the depth of its sorrow it is mocked by Whig quackery and imbecility. The renovation of its social state is imperiously demanded by justice, and the first measure introduced to realise this object, by our sages, is a Coercion Bill. Such is the Whig mode of awarding justice to Ireland.

So long, Friends, as the present iniquitous system endures, (and it only endures by the people's tolerance) these direful and damning consequences will blast the destinies of those subject to its baleful operations. To put an end to this system should be an object dear to the heart of every honest man—to struggle for its annihilation is a service the most valuable he can render to his country. Now is the time to raise the solemn voice of the nation, and let its soul-animating cry be—annihilation to Whiggery and Toryism—Justice, political and social, to man—This Charter and no surrender. We trust that every Chartist will henceforth be found at his local meetings, communing with his brothers, and placing his shoulder to the wheel of progression, for these are times not for apathy or inaction, but in the forcible language of the immortal politician; "They are times to try men's souls." You may rest assured of our untiring devotion to that cause, to promote which this body was called into existence.

Friends, we have now briefly to bring before your notice a project which, if carried out, will not fail to give strength and stability to Metropolitan agitation. We have always been unfortunately destitute of a central place of meeting—this desideratum should be immediately supplied. We are unanimous in the opinion, that were the Democrats of London in possession of a commodious central Hall to be used for lectures, public meetings, &c., that incalculable benefit would accrue therefrom to the cause. We do not deem small local meetings periodically held, neither would we advise their discontinuance; but our conviction is, that they are not calculated to affect the public mind to that extent which would ensure success for the labours of the people's friends.

We propose to obtain a Hall worthy the cause to which it is to be devoted; a Hall in which our principles shall be promulgated in all their sublimity and purity, and vindicated from the calumnies and misrepresentations of the prostitute Whig and Tory press. We cherish hopes of seeing every Chartist in London a shareholder in the proposed Hall; for the necessity and value of such an acquisition must be admitted upon all hands. Let no man say that it cannot be done, we affirm that it can—and more than this, for we are determined to do it.

We call upon you to emulate the conduct of the people of Oldham; they, to their honour, have erected a noble structure capable of holding 4000 persons. The Chartists of Leeds have a Hall in the greatest thoroughfare of that town, which will hold between two and three thousand persons; while the sterling men of Manchester have bought ground, and on it built a beautiful edifice which will hold 2000 persons.

Up, then, men of London, you know something now of the power of union and the concentration of means: every party in the metropolis have their Halls but you; remain no longer in the back ground but to the work with vigour, and rely upon it, that the day is not far off when you will have the pleasure of consecrating a splendid public edifice to the holy cause of Democracy.

PROSPECTUS OF A PLAN FOR RAISING A METROPOLITAN DEMOCRATIC HALL.

Capital £5000.
In 10,000 Shares of Ten Shillings each.
Treasurer—F. O'CONNOR, Esq., M.P.
Sub-Treasurer—Mr. P. M'GATH.
Auditors, J. M. R. RIDER.

Bankers.—The National Land and Labour Bank.

