

ary officers. (Cheers.) Both were issued by the same government and, I ask, was there ever anything so insulting as their conduct? (Cheers.)

A PROCLAMATION NOT LAW.

It may be asked does a proclamation possess the force of law? Does it make the law? I stand here and say that proclamation cannot make the law. (Cheers.) There were, to be sure, two Algerine acts, one passed by the Tories, the other by the Whigs, which endowed the royal proclamation with the force and authority of law, but of these acts not one trace now remains—they have expired, and are no longer in existence. In former days, Henry IV. got his parliament to pass an act which gave to his proclamation authority similar to that of a legal enactment; but that was weak and a criminal compliance to despotism. It was the law of a tyrant; and men who now attempted to give similar authority to the proclamation of any sovereign, were guilty of an act of tyranny, and endeavoured to subject their country to despotism. (Cheers.) What is, then, the authority of a proclamation? It is of use to warn the people against the commission of any breach of law; to set before them the meaning of the law; to warn them of the penalties incurred by breaking it; but it does not make the law—it does not make a crime; and if it does not plainly and clearly set forth the objects I have stated, it is utterly useless. (Cheers.) I stand here to proclaim my solemn conviction, that the men framed this proclamation ought to be impeached for the abominable and wicked latitude they have allowed in the terms of it. (Loud cheers.) Here are two proclamations, and here is a contrast between that for Wales, where it is necessary, and that for Ireland, where it is not necessary. (Hear, hear.)

WHAT IS TO BE DONE NEXT.

Well, but what are we to do? (Cheers.) We shall see—I have heard it said that they will next proclaim down the Repeal Association. If they do, I will be the very first man to go into the room on the day after they have made their proclamation. (Loud cheers.) Will they venture to proclaim down our dinner to-day? (Cheers.) If they do, it will make me relish my cut of mutton with a redoubled appetite. (Tremendous cheering.)

THE PROCLAMATION ILLEGAL—THE FUTURE COURSE OF REPEAL.

I here maintain the utter illegality of that proclamation. What is its object? Is it intended—do they mean by it to deprive the great Irish nation of their rights, to take away the law which delivered them, to deprive them of all legitimate means of obtaining those rights of which they have been plundered by the grossest crimes which ever soiled the annals of history, to act in a similar way as before, when they plundered, filched, and robbed us of our liberty? (Loud cheers.) My course is manifest. That proclamation has done nothing to alter my course of conduct, except in so far as my attendance at the meeting yesterday was concerned. It certainly did prevent me

attending that, but there all its influence was at an end. (Cheers.) I did intend before the parliament sat to have had a simultaneous meeting of every parish throughout Ireland, on the same day, to petition them, and those petitions were to be signed regularly by all the resident Repealers, commencing with the clergymen. (Hear.) I cannot now name a day for this great simultaneous assembling of the Irish nation, for I wish the excitement and indignation raised by this foolish and mad proclamation in the breasts of the people to be assuaged, before I venture to do so. (Hear and cheers.) Still I give notice of my plan, and on a certain day yet to be appointed every parish in Ireland shall meet to seek the restoration of their native legislature.

THE SIMULTANEOUS MEETING.

Before the next sitting of parliament it will be necessary to hold two of these simultaneous parochial meetings of universal Ireland. (Cheers.) The first for the due exposition of their grievances, and the drawing up of petitions to the imperial parliament: the second, to have these petitions adopted and signed, man by man. These meetings will take place after Mass, and the necessary business will be transacted in the little yards or enclosures attached to every chapel. (Cheers.) I want to know how they will prevent our meeting to petition simultaneously throughout Ireland, although they may prevent our meeting in multitudes? (Loud cheers.) To arrange this was one of my reasons for giving up monster meetings; but I have still something more to work out.

THE ARBITRATION COURTS.

I shall also carry into operation the plan of our Arbitration Courts. In this I believe the proclamation will give us no small help, and soon all over Ireland there would be gentlemen dispensing justice to all who sought it.

A NEW PLAN.

I have also another plan which I intend to submit to the association. It has been devised by gentlemen of the highest financial capacities, themselves large capitalists. It is to prevent the interest payable out of the Irish estates from being henceforth drawn out of the country. Many of these estates are now overloaded with mortgages, the interest of which is handed over to persons residing in England. The object is to buy up the debts due on the Irish estates and have the whole of the interest kept at home. (Hear, hear.) The plan is nearly perfected, it is most promising, and can with ease be carried into effect by a company of gentlemen taking shares of £100 each, and from the number who have signified their willingness to aid in carrying it out, there is no doubt but that it can be satisfactorily accomplished. (Hear, hear.) This company would be embodied for the purpose of taking up the debts due in England, and to Englishmen out of Irish estates. (Cheers.) Thus the interest of the debts or mortgages would be paid and spent in Ireland instead of in England. (Cheers.)

THE PROCLAMATION AGAIN.

I am neither abashed nor struck down by the blow levelled at me by the proclamation. Cheers. No; on the contrary, I call upon the people of Ireland—I tell them they have the opportunity of making their nation free—of making their country a nation—if they but obey me, follow my advice, commit no outrage on the law, abstain from riot and violence of any kind, and pay respect to any appearance of the law—to the command of the constituted authorities. If you are attacked against the law and the constitution—if your rights are, contrary to the constitution, interfered with—if such a thing can be imagined, I tell you there is no man more ready in such a case to say to you “defend yourselves.” (Tremendous cheers.) I am convinced that cannot be the case; but at the same time I warn the people to abstain from outrage and violence; for we could not join the people if they commit any crime, or had the folly to give such opportunity to their enemies. (Hear.) This is the line of demarcation. Abstain from outrage, but be prepared for your rights. Obey the law, and I promise you security and liberty.— (Hear.) Violate the law in any respect and you will have the dragoons and artillery possessing an advantage over you, because you place yourselves in the wrong and them in the right. (Hear, hear.)—Let my advice circulate throughout the land and be obeyed, and we will have the loved land of our birth a nation once again. Cheers. In the meantime I will proceed with my plans. I will bring forward the financial plan I have alluded to, and I will take the necessary steps for carrying out my plan for the formation of the Irish House of Commons, which I trust I will be enabled to lay before Parliament the very first week of the next We will have petitions from every part of Ireland to the Queen and to the parliament. (Cries of hear, hear.) Europe and the world shall know our grievances and our virtues. They shall know our determination—our fixed and full resolution—never to be guilty of a crime—never to commit an offence—never to stain our cause by the shedding one drop of human blood—and never to violate a single ordinance of God.

ADVICE.

People of Ireland! be not then hasty—be not then impatient—proceed as you have hitherto done—coolly, and quietly, and cautiously. Endeavour to bring to your side every thing that is good and virtuous, and allow no man to stand amongst you who violates the law of God, or who commits an offence against the laws of man. Stand together patiently but firmly. Love one another—and encourage all to entertain an ardent love of liberty, and, above all, maintain a perfect determination never to give up your efforts until your great object is attained.

GOOD CONDUCT OF THE PEOPLE AND OF THE SOLDIERY.

I have to express my delight at the conduct of the people yesterday; they were good humoured and attentive to our instructions. I have also to express

my admiration at the exemplary conduct of the soldiery. (Hear) Nothing could be more proper than their behaviour; but nothing could be more cruel than to keep the poor fellows standing together all day for nothing. And then there was the pride and pomp of the Lord Lieutenant going to review the army. (Hear and laughter) They assail us with the charge of desecrating the sabbath: but I wonder what the Lord Lieutenant was doing on Sunday mounted on his poney, prancing down the road? (Hear) I speak well of the people and the soldiery, and my swelling heart beats high for the consummation of the liberty of Ireland.— (Loud cheers) Yes; it is impossible to resist us if we do not give our enemies a hold over us by the commission of crime, or of pausing in our career. Sir Robert Peel and his ministry said, “Let them go on and they will weary themselves—let them take their own course and their excitement will end—their ardour will cool. We went on, in our course to the end of our great meeting, and then lest we should weary out, here comes the proclamation, to give us new vigour. (Hear, hear.) If we have liberty and constitutional law, we should now, one and all, exert ourselves with redoubled ardour, but within the limits of the law and the constitution, until we have Ireland a nation again. [Loud cheers.] They would not have dared to issue such a proclamation in England. They did not issue such a proclamation in Wales. They would not have issued such a proclamation in Scotland. In fact, if I wanted one more proof of the necessity of the Repeal I have it in this proclamation, for it is an insult offered to Ireland that would not have been attempted towards any other part of the empire. [Hear, hear.] But what need I tire you? You know if you violate the law you injure the great cause in which we are engaged. We have the support of honest, brave, generous, temperate, and moral millions, and by keeping within the law success is inevitable, and the green land of our birth shall be a nation again. Her plains shall be filled with fertility and fruitfulness for the benefit, not of the stranger, but of the native and the inhabitant—her green fields shall be the abodes of contentedness and health—her lofty hills shall send forth those mighty streams that emanate from them, not to expend their power in waste, but to turn machinery, capable of affording manufactures and employment to the population of the country—her harbors and estuaries shall be the emporiums of commerce and of wealth, and her population shall be all comfortable, independent and happy. HURRAH THEN FOR OLD IRELAND AND THE REPEAL.—[Tremendous cheering, which continued without intermission for nearly quarter of an hour, in the midst of which the hon. and learned gentleman sat down.]

The Liberator then said he had to announce the amount of the Rent for the week which was ELEVEN HUNDRED AND FIVE POUNDS THREE SHILLINGS AND ONE PENNY. [Loud and continued cheering.]