

the like pretence, at several of which meetings language of a seditious and inflammatory nature has been addressed to the persons there assembled, calculated and intended to excite discontent and disaffection in the minds of her Majesty's subjects, and to bring into hatred and contempt the government and constitution of the country, as by law established." I deny it.

Instead of bringing the constitution into contempt, we were endeavoring to revive the constitution. Instead of exciting disaffection among the people towards the throne, we always spoke favourably and in the highest terms of respect of her Majesty the Queen; and we spoke of the constitution only with a view to its revival, as it was when I was born, and as it will be before I go to my grave. (Cheers.) I shall say nothing of the word "hatred," as it belongs to the hard passions; and as for bringing the government into contempt, it would have been quite superfluous in us to attempt to do that, as the government have already proved how well able they were themselves to do so. (Cheers and laughter.) Never has a government been so decried even by its own party. Every newspaper in the kingdom, no matter what its politics, have talked and continue to talk of them in a contemptuous tone, and it is therefore, a little too bad to think that Ireland should now be accused of bringing into contempt a government that is acknowledged by the press of the country to be the most contemptible that ever ruled, or that is again ever likely to rule, over the destinies of the empire. We may well make them a present of all that trash. There was a friend of mine in Cork who had a very strong way of expressing himself, and whenever he could not find a word sufficiently strong to convey his meaning, he coined one, and this kind of balderdash he called "sudgeography." (Laughter.) Now this proclamation is perfectly sudgeography. It goes on to say:—"And whereas at some of the said meetings such seditious and inflammatory language has been used by persons who have signified their intention of being present at, and taking part in, the said meeting so announced to be held at or near Clontarf." There is a phrase for you in a viceregal proclamation. "There have been meetings heretofore at which seditious language has been used, and some of the persons alleged to have used it have signified their intention of being at Clontarf;" but have they signified their intention of using such language? The proclamation does not even give us that bare pretence. I ask, then, did ever such drivelling folly emanate from a government as that phrase? These persons have signified their intention of being at Clontarf! Oh, miracle of wisdom and sagacity! Oh, sudgeography personified! (Loud and continued laughter.) But to proceed with this precious document—"And whereas the said intended meeting is calculated to excite reasonable and well-grounded apprehension that the motives and objects of the persons to be assembled thereat are not the fair legal exercise of constitution-

al privileges, but to bring into hatred and contempt the government and constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, and to accomplish alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm by intimidation and the demonstration of physical force." I deny the absurd allegation. I deny it was calculated to excite any such apprehensions. As to "the constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established," it enables us to repeal an act of parliament, or else it does not exist at all. They ought, therefore, really to have somebody to take them by the ear and write common sense on it. It goes on:—"Now, we, the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of her Majesty's Privy Council, being satisfied that the said intended meeting so proposed to be held at or near Clontarf as aforesaid, can only tend to serve the ends of seditious and seditious persons, and to the violation of the public peace." Before I read further, let me observe that there is not one single assertion of any evidence existing to prove even one of these charges. It is not alleged that any body swore or deposed to any such things. There is not a particle of evidence to support what is here put forward. It is the mere *ipse dixit* of the individuals from whom it has sprung; and yet a nation and a people are to be insulted and deprived of their rights because these drivellers chose to put together this almost unintelligible nonsense, which is as calumnious as it is false and absurd. (Hear, hear.) But it is not that alone. Do they allege that any violation of the peace has taken place at any one of the meetings they have referred to? Do they say one word upon the subject?—Do they presume—do they dare to assert it? No; they admit that the law was not violated or the peace broken by any body except "we, the Lord Lieutenant"—by any body but the great "we." (Laughter.) What, then, does this great "we" ordain? "We do hereby strictly caution and forewarn all persons whatsoever, that they do abstain from attendance at the said meeting; and we do hereby give notice that if, in defiance of this our proclamation, the said meeting shall take place, all persons attending the same shall be proceeded against (whatever proceeded against means) according to law: And we do hereby order and enjoin all magistrates and officers entrusted with the preservation of the public peace, and others whom it may concern, to be aiding and assisting in the execution of the law in preventing the said meeting, and in the effectual dispersion and suppression of the same, and in the detection and prosecution of those who, after this notice, shall offend in the respect aforesaid." I venture to assert that such a proclamation has never yet been used in England, or even in Ireland. Why, every corporal in the army is entrusted with the preservation of the peace; but for fear that should not be enough—lest every Orangeman might not be included, they add "and others whom it may concern." Never was anything so equal it! It is not the language of the law, but of a ferocious authority. (Hear.) Whoever advised it; and as a lawyer, I declare that I would be ashamed of my profession if I did not proclaim it to be the grossest violation of the law I have

ever read. (Loud cheers.) It is also ridiculous. It first calls on all those magistrates, officers, and others, whom it may concern, to prevent the Clontarf meeting, and then to suppress it. (Loud laughter.) There are a set of heroes for you. Prevent that meeting—don't allow it to take place—be sure you suppress it. (Renewed laughter.) "Given at the Council Chamber, in Dublin, this 7th day of October, 1843," and signed E. B. Sugden, C. Donoughmore, the man who turned out his foster brother because he attended a Repeal meeting—(hisses)—Eliot, F. Blackburne, a judge, who ought to be minding his judicial business. While Attorney General it would have been fair enough in him to have thus appeared before the country, but to have left the judicial business of the Rolls Court in a matter of party in a case of criminal law, was to say the least of it, unbecoming. The next name was that of E. Blackney—recollect that he is commander of the Forces. (Hear, hear.) I think a tale hangs by that. (Hear, hear.)—Recollect, too that all the "officers" were directed to act under this proclamation. All the "officers" seeing Sir E. Blackney's name appended to this document would very soon understand what the "word officers" meant.—(Hear, hear.) Then comes F. Shaw. (Groans.) I don't require any great exertion of superior virtue for him, but I think it would have been decent of the man who might have been obliged to try persons under the proclamation not to have made himself a party to it. (Hear, hear.) That is all I submit respecting him. He may not understand it, but I think the people of England will. Next comes, as a matter of course, the name of T. B. C. D. E. F. Smith. (Loud laughter.)—Such is the proclamation that was issued on Saturday evening, when it could not possibly be explained to the people by the friends of the people, devoid of the slightest allegation of the evidence of crime, even on suspicion of heresy. And oh! if 200,000 men had come into town unarmed—for we do not allow them to carry even sticks at these meetings—and in some narrow, or even in some wide passage, and pressing on the military, caused some riot or accident, however slight, who can calculate the amount of bloodshed that would have followed? If they had issued the proclamation on Wednesday or Thursday, or even on Friday, so as to give us one day to go round to those places, from which persons were likely to assemble, there would not have been the slightest danger of a riot, bloodshed or massacre. That they did not do—and of their motives for not doing it, let others judge, and not we.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROCLAMATIONS

I shall now go to the proclamation for Wales. (Hear, hear.) It thus commences—"Whereas in certain districts of South Wales, more especially in the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, tumultuous assemblages of the people, disguised and armed with guns and other offensive weapons, have taken place by night, and outrages of the most violent description, have been committed upon the lives and properties of divers of our subjects." Recollect,

that as regards Ireland there has not been the least pretence even of any outrage. (Hear, hear, hear, and loud cheers.) "And whereas, in contempt of the restraints of law and order, these tumultuous assemblies have pulled down toll-gates, and have violently entered and destroyed toll-houses; and whereas, they have also attacked the mansions of individuals, extorting from them sums of money by threats or by violence, and have destroyed by fire the hay, corn, and other property of divers of our subjects." Have we had any tumultuous assemblies in defiance of law and order? Have we pulled down toll-gates? Just contrast us and the Welsh! Observe the difference between our conduct and theirs! Have we committed any outrages on life or property? Have we, in contempt of order and the law, committed any outrage? No, we have pulled down—no, we have destroyed no toll-gates—we have pulled down no toll-houses! We have not destroyed the hay, corn, or other property of any one. (Hear and cheers.) But let us go on a little further. Have we attacked the mansions of any individuals? What sums of money have we extracted by threats or by violence? Could any of these things be said of us?

There was a catalogue of crimes denounced against the Welsh—full measures of the greatest crimes that men could possibly commit! And how are these men treated? The Welsh proclamation goes on, "We have thought fit, and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our royal proclamation, hereby strictly commanding," whom?—mark this—"all justices of the peace, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and all other civil." Mark that—"Civil officers whatsoever, that they do use their utmost endeavors to repress all tumults, riots, outrages, and breaches of the peace." Let us mark the difference between the Welsh and the Irish proclamation. (Hear, hear.) In the former, all justices of the peace, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and civil officers are ordered to carry it into effect. What was the order in Ireland? To whom were the behests of the Irish proclamation addressed?—To "all magistrates and officers entrusted with the preservation of the public peace, and others whom it may concern." Not a word in the Irish proclamation of civil officers. No! all officers, both civil and military, are included in the general term, and over and above those "others whom it may concern." Why this is intended for and addressed to Treham Gregg and his auditory. (Cheers.)

Orangemen and officers, civil and military, all whom it may concern, are called in to aid and assist the execution of the law in Ireland. But mark how carefully they are of the Welsh; civil officers alone are called on to execute the law of them. Was there ever a contrast so great and so striking? The persons mentioned in the Welsh proclamation do not require it to give them power. The Welsh magistrates and civil officers do not require it; they have the power already. But here, in this Irish proclamation, authority was given to all, both civil and mili-