

EXTRACTS FROM Mr. O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS

To the people of Ireland, setting forth the object to be accomplished by a Repeal of the Union.

"The first would necessarily include the making of all laws that should be of force within the entire precincts of Ireland, by the Sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons of Ireland, and the total exclusion of any other Legislature from any interposition in affairs strictly and purely Irish. The second would necessarily include the final decision of all questions in litigation by Irish tribunals seated in Ireland, to the total exclusion of any species of appeal to British tribunals.

"It must be avowed that the simple restoration of our former Parliament would not suit the spirit of popular reform which has mixed itself up with British institutions since the passing of the Union Statute. There must, therefore, be a new distribution of the number of members, and an alteration in the districts returning members to the Irish House of Commons."

"We are thoroughly convinced that there is not the smallest possible danger of any Catholic ascendancy; not the least. But before we submit the reasons that ought to convince every intelligent Protestant of the total absence of any danger of a new ascendancy, we desire to be fully and distinctly understood upon one point; it is this:—

"There exists in the hands of the church of the minority of the Irish people the possession of the entire ecclesiastical state revenues of the entire Irish nation. We candidly and explicitly avow that this state of things could not continue to exist after the Repeal of the Union. Nay, we go further, and declare it to be our decided and long informed opinion, that one of the great advantages to be derived from the Repeal of the Union would be the reversion from the state of every church in Ireland—Catholic, Episcopal, Protestant, and Presbyterian.

"We are openly of an opinion, and it is an opinion from which we cannot depart, that there must be a new appropriation of the ecclesiastical state revenues; that such appropriation should consist in having entire respect of every vested interest; so that no person now in possession of any ecclesiastical benefice should be affected in his emoluments by the intended new appropriation. In other words, all vested interests should be fully respected. But, as each benefice fell in, the ecclesiastical state revenues should gradually, and at length entirely, be appropriated to purposes of public charity and general education, but should not be appropriated in whole or in the smallest part, to any other church whatsoever.

"Having thus candidly and distinctly stated the fixed opinion of the Repealers with respect to ecclesiastical state revenues, we come to canvass the apprehension said to be entertained by some that the repeal would lead to the establishment of a Catholic ascendancy.

"We anxiously desire that those who entertain such an apprehension should candidly and attentively canvass the reasons that appear to us to demonstrate its extreme futility. Let us reflect upon these things.

"1. The ecclesiastical temporalities being disposed of, there remains no earthly purpose for which the Catholics should seek an ascendancy. For what should they desire an ascendancy, which could not be accompanied by any one shilling of ecclesiastical revenue?"

"2. Religious ascendancies and persecutions are, thank God, passed away from the temper and manners of present times. Christians have ceased now to persecute in every clime and country. In no Catholic country has a single Protestant been persecuted for more than a century. The period of religious persecution has gone by, never to return.

"3. The Catholics of Ireland can make this glorious boast, that they are able to prove, from the evidence of Protestant historians, this ennobling fact—namely, that they have been three times restored to the supreme power since the Reformation; and, restored to power from having been themselves the victims of cruel persecution, and yet they never retaliated by one single instance of persecution. Glory be to God!

"4. Let those who make the objection recollect that a large number of the Irish House of Commons, perhaps a majority, will be Protestants; and that in the Irish House of Lords the majority of Protestants will, at the very outset, be nearly 20 to 1. The Sovereign must also be a Protestant. How, then, is it possi-

ble to dream of any act for the persecution of Protestants passing such a House of Lords? or that it should receive the Royal sanction?"

"5. Let it be recollected, even if any attempt were made by any faction in Ireland to injure any class of Protestants, the latter would be forthwith backed and protected by the people of England, the overwhelming majority of whom are Protestants.

"In short, any thing so futile and foolish, so absurd and idiotic, as the apprehension of any religious persecution following the repeal of the union, never yet lodged itself in the head of a human being.

"The second objection made against the repeal comes from the landlord class, who are alarmed at the doctrines relative to the fixity of tenure.

"This is a matter deserving the fulest consideration. It is a subject that should be legislated on with the utmost caution. We are deeply anxious to have the assistance upon this matter of several land owners; and one of our most pressing motives for desiring the concurrence in our efforts of all classes is to have the benefit of the intelligence of all in order to get rid of the difficulties attached to a subject of such portentous magnitude.

"The great object is to combine, as far as possible, the rights of the landlords with the duties which they owe to the occupying tenantry. It is a subject upon which an experiment of vast magnitude was made in Prussia, and made successfully.

"On the other hand, nothing could have a worse effect on the prosperity of the Irish nation than to check the natural inclination men have to possess wealth in its most agreeable form—that landed property.

"On the other hand it is utterly impossible, with reference to the security of persons and property in Ireland, that the relations between landlord and tenant should continue in their present form. The newspapers of the day tell us that no less than about 170 families have been turned adrift by a single nobleman—Lord Lorton—from his estates in three parishes. This state of the law cannot continue.

"It is also very observable, that what are called the rights of landlords principally consist in masses of statute law, being statutes passed by the landlord class for their own benefit.

"It is proposed by the Repealers to enact a law that should repeal much of the existing statute law in favor of landlords, but in such a manner as would give the landlords full and perfect remedies for recovering a rent adequate to the real value of the land, after allowing for the tenants' rightful and natural share of the growing produce. It is proposed to render a lease necessary for all dealing between landlord and tenant, and to give the tenant a lien on the land for all valuable and lasting improvements.

EXCLUSION OF IRISHMEN FROM OFFICE

The *Dublin Evening Mail*, the organ of the Orange party, in showing the preference which is given to natives of the other parts of the kingdom, over those of Ireland, in the services of the government, adduce the following formidable list in corroboration of its statement:—

"The Archbishop of Dublin is an Englishman. The chief administrator of the Irish poor-law is an Englishman. The paymaster of Irish civil services is a Scotchman. The chief commissioner of Irish public works is an Englishman. The 'teller' of the Irish exchequer is an Englishman. The chief officer of the Irish consular is a Scotchman. The chief officer of the Irish post-office is an Englishman. The collector of excise is a Scotchman. The head of the revenue policy is an Englishman. The second in command is a Scotchman. The persons employed in the collection of the customs &c. are English and Scotch—in the proportion of thirty-five to one.

"But the *Times* may perhaps observe—True, but all this is only the elucidation of

our plan for unbarring the gates of preferment unsparingly, impartially, and honestly.' Scotchmen and Englishmen are placed in office in Ireland, and Irishmen in return, in Scotland and England, in order to draw closer the bonds of union between the three nations' Again let us see how facts actually stand. There are—

"Cabinet ministers—Englishmen, 10; Scotchmen, 3; Irishmen, 0. Lords of the treasury—Englishmen, 4; Scotchman, 1; Irishman, 1. Secretaries of the treasury—Englishman, 1; Scotchman, 1. Clerks of the treasury—Englishmen or Scotchmen, 112; Mr. Fitzgerald (quere an Irishman) 1. Members of the lord steward's and lord chamberlain's department of the royal household—English and Scotchmen, 225; Irishmen 4. British ministers to foreign courts—English and Scotchmen, 131; Irishmen 4. Poor-law commissioners—Englishmen, 3; Irishmen, 0.

"We presume these facts show that the natives of the three kingdoms are all placed upon an equal footing: the chances of access to preferments to an English or Scotchman in Ireland, being, in the few instances that have occurred to us while writing, as 6 to 0: while the probability of an Irishman obtaining place in England appears, from an analogous calculation, to be in the proportion of 491 to 10, or as 1 to 50"

The following very remarkable article appeared in a recent number of the *National*, Paris journal:

"It were vain to disguise the fact—the declaration of Peel was received with marked applause by the House of Commons. The general feeling of parliament is decidedly favourable to the policy of the cabinet, and there is this remarkable feature in the whole affair, that the strongest incentives and provocations to the adoption of oppressive measures towards Ireland have emanated from the benches of the Commons, and will no doubt have their full effect in stimulating the ardor of the ministry. The old bigotry of the Tories is strengthened and supported by the religious intolerance of the Whig Protestants, and all parties unite in calling for the total subjugation of Ireland. It is not difficult to foresee what will result from this discussion in Parliament. The ministry, certain of the assent and sympathy of both houses, will make a merciless charge upon the Irish rebels.

If Ireland, so often decimated, could engage in the battle with any chance of success, we would almost be inclined to congratulate ourselves on the violence of England. O'Connell has long cherished the hope of being able to obtain, by peaceable means, the redress of his country's wrongs, but there can now be no longer any doubt that the English soldiers will by their sabres destroy for ever the idea of offering a legal and peaceable resistance to oppression. In this state of things, the part to be played by the great Agitator may become of enormous importance. It will soon be seen whether he is worthy of his position, and whether he has any inclination to shun the struggle, after having brought the Irish people to the field of battle by his ardent and eloquent declamations.

For our part we cannot believe that he will.

"No one can foresee what may be the consequences of this dreadful war of conquest which England has declared. But let it not be forgotten that the blood of martyrs begets avengers, and Great Britain may one day bitterly lament her having added to her manifold difficulties and embarrassments, the burthen of an impious struggle undertaken in the promotion of the most iniquitous of causes. Our sympathies shall not be wanting to our brethren in Ireland in the day of trial which the future has in store for them. Let them not censure the French people if we have nothing to offer them but our powerless wishes."

FEDERAL UNION WITH IRELAND.—A declaration in favor of a federal union between Great Britain & Ireland is in course of signature, and the names of several Whig barristers are already attached to the document. It is said that not less than thirty members of the bar have signed.

ORANGE AND ANTI-REPEAL OUTRAGE.

We have just learned that accounts have reached town from Dungannon stating that a body of Orangemen, to the number of 10 000, entered that town Tuesday morning, accompanied by fifes and drums, and bearing a large purple flag, on which was inscribed the words "no Repeal." They drew up in the Market square, where they expected to be joined by another body; but it appears this second party were interrupted at Carland, when a *meele* took place between them and the Catholic intruders. The party in Market square immediately proceeded to the assistance of their brethren. A serious collision, then, as we learn, ensued. The two parties, then returned in conjunction to Dungannon after having wrecked upwards of thirty houses in Carland, besides carrying off guns and other arms from the persons they attacked.—*Evening Freeman*.

The following is from a letter published in the *Mail of Wednesday*, and dated "London Tuesday":—"The rumors to day, in the different political clubs were more numerous than usual, and all of a conciliatory tendency. The result of the councils held lately by the ministers is said to be this—that a series of motions will be submitted to the House of Commons, which, it is anticipated, will extort further concessions from the government in favor of the so-called Liberal party in Ireland. Some say that Sir Robert Peel is prepared to sacrifice what remains of the established church, in the hope of propitiating Mr. O'Connell and the priests. Others, that a federal union is to be conceded; and the rumor to-day at Brook's and the Reform Club is, that the Queen will be advised to hold a Parliament occasionally in Collegegreen. Be these rumors true or false, it is now agreed on all hands that the Conservative party in Ireland has nothing to hope from the government!!!"

In the House of Lords June 12 Lord Campbell gave notice of motion for copies of the entire correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the dismissed or resigned magistrates.

In the House of Commons June 12, Mr. Blowitt gave notice that on the next stage of the Arms Bill, he would move for