## Freeman's Iournal

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QUEBEC, TUESDAY, 29TH DECEMBER, 1846.

POETRY.

WE'LL SING ANOTHER CHRIST-

We'll sing another Christmas song, for who shall ever tire.
To hear the olden ballad theme around the Christ-

We'll sing another Christmas song, and pass the wassail cup,

For fountains that refresh the heart should never be dried up. Ne'er tell us that each Yule-tide brings more silve

to our hair :

gathers there.

grow old ; Then shake Old Christmas by the hand—in kind-

For he's king of right good company, and we should

Why should we let pale Discontent fling canker on Unjust regrets lurk round the soul like

And though the flood of Plenty's tide upon our may pour, How oft the lip will murmur still the horse-leech

ery for " more ! We sigh for wealth-we pant for place-and getting what we crave,

We often flid it only coils fresh chains about the Year after year may gently help to turn the dark

locks white, But Time ne'er fades a flower so soon as cold worldly blight; Then shake Old Christmas by the hand-in kind-

For he's king of right good company, and we should

Be glad-be glad-stir up the blaze, and let our necesse that is grateful as the lilies of the field; spirit yield

of Good will to all"-'tis sweet and rich, and helps to keep away
The wrinkled pest of frowning brows—and mildew shades of grey.

Be glad-be glad-and though we have some cv press in our wreath, Forget not there are rosebuds too, that ever

beneath. And though long years may line the check, and wither up the heart

Then shake Old Christmas by the hand-in kind-

ness let him dwell, For he's king of right good company, and we should · ELIZA COOK.

CONCILIATION HALL.

MONDAY, 30th November. Mr. O'CONNELL, as Chairman, presented

the following REPORT :-

"The spirit of dissension has become too marked—too violent - too determinate—to leave any rational hope of speedy concilia-

The Repeal Association cannot with sa'e y to the liberties, or even to the lives of its members, make any, even the slightest would be an irresistible instrument in the hands of an Attorney-General. It would enable any Chief-Justice-even a man less one-sided than Chief Justice Penefather, to dictate a conviction even to an honest jury.

It would give the fullest latitude to the parindecent, but then more

colourable, of a packed jury.

"In short any the slightest admission of the physical-force principle would convert the Repeal Association into an illegal assembly. It would justify, if not, require, the Government to suppress it, no discreet or prudent man could take any part in the proedings of the Association

"It is impossible, therefore, that any con-ession could be made on this point by the

"It raises a question of life or deathand we who are most firmly desirous of pre-serving that Association alive and energetic, until it shall procure the restoration of the

amolation.

4 So much for the Repeal Association, or ganized as it is to carry by the exclusive emnal means, that measure, without which Ireland must continue in misery-the Re

peal of the Union. "On the other hand, there now stands forward, as the prominent head of a party such as it is, a body to be called, or, at leas to be known by the denomination of 'THE LITERARY PHALANX' - men who, will various degrees of talent, choose to write in Fitzgerald declared that he wrote—that is with a pistol in one hand, and a sword in cother; giving rather a ludicrous imaged Literary Association, with three hand

"The 'PHALANX' has now organis it elf, or is about to do so, and it cannot be expected from its members that they will totally abandon the use of the sword. They are too much in the wrong not to obtrude that sword upon our peaceable proceedings. They know that all we want is the total and ditional disclaimer of the use of the swird as an instrument for procuring con-stitutional rights and improvements, whilst we arow the right to use that sword in the defence against attacks of an illegal and un-

constitutional nature by domestic oppressors, or foreign invaders."

"The worst symptom about the members of the 'PHALANX' is, that they wilfully and doggedly seek to confound that use of the sword which is totally alignal and treather sword which is totally alignal and treather sword which is totally alignal. so able—namely, its employment to compel the amelioration of alteration of, or in, constitutional institutions-with its use, which

is in itself legal-namely, pure self defence

gainst any illegal and unconstitutional attack.

"If one were not awa:e of the unhappy disposition of partisans to misrepresent the whom they deem adversaries, it would be almost increable that the 'PHALANX' should endeavour to confound the principle of pure self-defence from illegal attack, which we

self-defence from illegal attack, which we real Repealers avow and maintain, with the principle of seeking for or attaining constitutional amelioration by means of any kind of physical force as highly illegal, and most mischievous, and productive of the most unmitigated calamities.

"To place beyond a doubt in the mind of every rational and thinking man, the clear distinction between seeking for legal rights by the sword and the principle of self-defence, I here repeat the closing part of the report, adopted by the Repeal Association on the 13th July, 1846. That report contains in its concluding passages these tains in its concluding passages these

" Having detailed the rei'eration of the principle of action adopted by the Repeal Association, being in itself the very basis of that Association—namely, the principle that the amelioration of political institutions ought not to be sought for by any other means than those which are perfectly peaceable, legal and constitutional.

" That to promote political amelioration peaceable means alone should be used, to the exclusion of all others save those that are

exclusion of all others sine those that are perceable, legal, and constitutional.

"It has been said very unwisely that this principle prohibits the necessary defence against unjust aggression on the part of a domestic Government or a foreign enemy. It does no such thing—it leaves the right of salf defence perfectly free to the use of any force sufficient to resist and defeat unjust aggression. just aggression.
"He who desires distinctly to understand

the controversy between the Repeal Asso-ciation and the 'PHALANK,' may profitably read—even a second time—the part of the report of 13th July, 1846, which I have just set forth, and which I desire should be printed in italic. He who deliberately reads these passages will see as distinctly the right of self-defence against unjust aggression as seried by us, as we do distinctly assert the excursive see of peaconble and legal means for obtaining constitutional rights and ameiorations.

"Having thus indicated the right of selfdefence, I shall give the concluding part of that r port to show how perfectly safe, as well as how powerful, are the means by which we intend to achieve the nationality

of our country. "The report of the 13th July continues

and concludes thus : " We emphatically announce our cor viction that all political ameliorations, and he first and highest of all—the Repeal of the Union - ought to be sought for, and can be sought for successfully, only by peaceable, legal, and constitutional means, to the utter exclusion of any other—in short, that the Repeal of the Union can and ought to be obtained by the same peaceable means by which Catholic Emancipation was achieved, and by the same exclusively peaceable tem of action by which the Anti-Corn Law League so g'oriously triumphed over every resistance and obtained the repeal of the Corn Laws-by such means alone we can, we ought, and, with the blessing of Almighty Providence, we will obtain the Repeal of the

"I have been thus this minute, in order that every Repealer, and every inhabitant of the land, may, if he pleases, distinctly un-derstand the basis of the controversy which has arisen between the Repealers and the

" It has been suggested that the Associa tion ought to change some of its expressions and terms; but those who require such alterations do not tell us what terms or ex pressions ought to be substituted. For my part, I should be ready to alter the expres-sion or terms of the report of the 13th July, 1846, if I could find any other phraseology that would more emphatically mark the meaning, and more distinctly Jescribe the pasis of the Association.

" How little is it undarstood that the As ociation could not subsist for one week if i were to relax and let in the possible use of the sword !—how little is it known the inensity of application — of study, and of ught, which it required in order to frame the Catholic Association and to protect it

from legal peril ? "It may appear, and perhaps not unjustly that there is something of vanity in my making such declaration. For I was the artificer of that Association—its prophet and its

"It would require the tediousness of his oric detail to give even a faint idea of the ness by which I was noset—the secessions by which the path before me was broken up —the active vituperation poured upon me, not only by the Orange press, but by the papers purporting to be in the popular inter-

"Yet we triumphed over all -The ho minded men who stood around me, and by whom I stood, worked on with me in great disgust, but in no despair or even despon

"We triumphed, at last, and the peop have a national church, both liberated and unshaken. Blessed be Gop!

"Until the Catholic Association was framed, the Catholic proceedings were de-sultory and irregular—we quarrelled almost ns often as we met-there was no continued demand for Emancipation-we petitioned occasionally-we debated from time to time -we had at one periol a Catholic Board, then a Catholic Committee again. These

ganised and evanescent, having no perman ent effect. Our aggregate meetings made from time to time considerable impression by the accurate description and consequent possure of the grievances of the Catholics, and of the oppressions of the Protestant as-

cendancy party.
"But the people soon became habituate. to excited hopes and repeated disappoint-ments—and the Catholic aristocracy—the landed gentry, and many of the principal merchants--almost all our expectant lawyers—many, very many of the middle clas-ses-— also succeded and left a few of us solitary struggling in our Weakness, and in the midst of ascendancy - pride-power and

with us. The hideous crimes that had been committed in the name of liberty, by the monsters who desolated France, the well known hatred of religion by the European Liberals, and by some of that class nearer home, filled our clergy with alarm, and made them shrink from any compact with men who had the then odious word Liberty' inscribed on their banner.

"Thus deserted by most of what should constitut. Catholic strength, thus vituperated and abused by many nominal and some real Catholics, unsustained by the countennance of our venerated elergy—visperated, calumniated, and despised by our Presentant adversaries, there were still a few of the termined to struggle to the last, animated by conviction of our rights and by a disgra at enduring wrong; some few of us, with a spirit of civil and religious liberty unfading and warm waged war-some few of us continued the strife, even after the downfall of Napoleon, and the apparent destruction of popular rights all over the continent. We continued the strife when others despai ed, and we made perpetual claim for the e-tablishment for the Catholics of the benefit of the principle of freedom of conscience.

"It was under such unfavourable c reumstances that the plan of the Catholic Association first flashed upon my mind, and strange to say, my conception of giving strength and efficacy to the Catholic cause was by creating a parochia lfund, in the nature of what was afterwards the Catholic Rent. I had accordingly, three rural pandes in the county of Kerry collect d, and straceeded so well that I paid in the sum of £79 to the funds of the Catholic Board. I thought that I should have been met with applause, and approbation, and praise, and that I should be called upon to develope my

plan, and bring it into execution. "It was no such thing-on the contrary, I was most bitterly assailed by the Orange press, aided, as usual in unhappy Irelan!, by the so-called Liberal portion of the press To such an extent was the calumny carried, that I was actually accused by the Libera and Orange press of high treason-that is, forcibly levying money on the King's subjects without the consent of parliament.

"The secession accordingly increased.
I was deserted by almost every body, and was left so powerless that I was under the necessity of postponing the execution of my plan for no less a period than eleven years, mmencing in the year 1812.

"I, however, never ceased to struggle, and availed myself of every opportunity of bringing forward Catholic grievances. supported the practical annual petition, and of pressing upon parliament the impolicy and wickedness of continuing Catholic de-

"At length, after twelve years, amidst the perseverance of a few and the arathy of many, a brighter day began to appear-the seceders began to see the fully of their conduct; the pleasure of continuing to abuse and villify their Catholic fellow-countrymen was embittered by the continuance of their own exclusion from civil rights. At length many of the seceders showed a disposition in us. I saw that the time was come to make the attempt of organising a permanent Catholic body to attend perpetually to Catholic affairs-to influence, by peaceful and legal means, public sentiment—to con-ciliate our friends, and expose to shame and ridicule the opponents of Emancipation. "My plan of the Association is composed

of three parts: "The first, consisting in the formation of a deliberative body, to be constituted of the educated classes, able and willing to devote time and money to forward ng Catholic in-

"The second part of my plan consisted in forming a permanent fund, by collecting, in each locality in Ireland, money sufficient to defray the expenses incident to the Catholic

"The third, was the embodying into the Association the entire Catholic people of Association the circuming, on payment of a small sum, 'associates' of the deliberative bady. This was the entire of my plan. was great difficulty in avoiding lega

"We were under the necessity of disclaiming every species of delegated or re-presentative capacity. If we had not done so, the Association would have been indicted under the Convention Act. But the great danger and great difficulties was, to carry out our plan of embodying the asso-riates. It is true that without having the people at our back, we should be very inefficient, indeed. On the other hand, the

embodying the people, unless restrained

w thin the mest can ious and penceful limits, might render us liable to a charge of endeavoring to carry our purpo es by force— in short, a charge of high treason.

"It would have been a false charge; but one of the Saurin's juries might have been

easily induced to find a verdict of conviction for treason without any evidence of fore or of any intention to use force.

" It was my solemn and sacred duty, on the one band, to put the great machine of the Catholic Association into motion; and on the other hand, to preserve the mombers of the Association from prosecution and le-

"We find at that time to net under the eye of one of the most ill beral and bigotted Attorney Generals that ever existed - Saunost rancinous and bitterest enemy.

"I felt the necessity of being cautious in the extreme; and the better to exercise

that caution, I brought my p'an forward, not as an entire scheme, but by instalments. "I first began with the deliberate body, the Association itself; but, in its creation, I guarded it carefully from every legal objec-

guarden it carefully from every legal objec-tion. The only qualification to become a member was the payment of one guinea. There was to be no test, no sign, no pass-word or token—nothing, in short, that could in anywise bring the Association within the

Illegal Societies' Act.

"There was, also, as I have already stated, a total disclaimer on any delegated or representative capacity, or any assumption of any such capacity

" I thus guarded it against prosecution un-

der the Convention A.t.

"Its basis was then declared to be to obtain Emancipation by the Exercise of legal means and no other, specifying, as such le-gal means, argument, information as to matters of fact, discussion, publication and pe-titions to perliament, and finally parliamentary legislation, thus framed and guarded tion commenced its operations in May, 183, and for some time worked well and willingly, but the usual torpor and apathy began prevail.

By arrules we were to meet but once

yr rules we were to meet but once a week to meet out once one o'clock qualifie! thus—that if there were not ten umbers present at half-past three, there was be made an adjournment to that day week.

"It is a curious exonce of the little sup-port I obtained from of s at that period, that having prepared an e-porate rep rt for the establishment of the Catolic rent, no less than these weeks clapsed fore I could get tes members (to use a per l'could phrase) to orni a house,

"Avoiding more in note details, took the legal prevaution that the collection Catholic rent should be, as the Repeal h s, perfectly voluntary.

The third i stalment of my plan cor isted of the admis ion of associates. was he great difficulty. The I gal dangers were great, and could be met and obvioused Tois only by the perfectly legal, peaceable, and constitutional basis of the Associated body. The slightest intermingling of allusion to physical force would have rendered the Asociaion illegal-would have caused our instalt dispersion, and would have postpon-

d Enanc pation for perhaps half a century. " lortunately there was not among us any nan insane enough to suggest fighting or to tal of using the sword. The pacific naany lle suggestion of physical force; no attem was made, because none could be mad to indict the Asso iation on the alegeoground of any idegality. We proceedpaceably and with perfect unan mity to exted our influence through the far greater part fihe country. The peaceable nature clost loctrine and conduct was undisputed ad adisputable, and the care with which ket always within the protection of the law was infinitely more formidable to our al petical, about new flinted muskets, and tiles and swords, and all the idle balder-th of that description.

se In a short period—that is, in less than years—we triumphantly succeeded; re was not one single allegation of crime nst the members of the Association, myexpepted, and these allegations were fu and easily exploded. No member suf-edit life, limb, liberty, or property, not

be week of the law was comm sucreeded-we completely and triumphtly succeeded. My peaceful policy victory ly exhibited itself—good men of all uses aided us, and Providence gracioty smiled favorably upon our peaceful

Why not allow us to work out the Repeak periment by the san e peaceful means that worked out Emancipation? How can y man now justify himself in, now in the eventh hour, objecting to a policy which in its nature is, perfectly harmless, and se from guilt or punishment, and which as already been eminently successful? Why adopt the crude scheme and blusteng violence of men who, as yet at least, ave achieved no victory, and cannot point any conquest? Why above all thingsvill they affect to be patriots, and at the same time virulently assail the only body of sen organised in an operation for

chievng Irish nationality? "Why do they advocate a d flerent poli-cy, fron ours, without showing in what respect or policy is defective?
why do they dispute our police Above all, why they dispute our policy—and at the ame time, laud that policy most highly.

"If indeed, the secession were soug be justified by any truly or falsely alleged detect, or criminality in my peaceful policy that secession would be intelligible; but in the name of common sense, what is to be raid of the men who, admitting the perfect society and suitableness of my plans of operation, yet accede from us in carrying them out, and reward me for my fifty year's services with all manaer of abuse and m dig-

"What an unhappy country do we belong to. What an ill-fated nation is ours.
Strift, and contention, and dissension are disseminated through the land. The public mind is embittered—the public s rength is weakened and exhausted in the effort to subvert my pel'cy, and all this by men who themselves submit n ost abundantly the dom and efficacy of that very policy. it nost abundantly the wis

dom and efficacy of that very policy.

"The seceders exhibit the strangest anomaly. They extol to the skies the principles of the Repeal A sociation, and yet they assail with all manner of violence men whose only crime is maintaining those principles intact and inviolate.

Let no man say that I exaggerate or mistake. I prove the text I exaggerate

mistake. I prove the truth of my a sertion not only from the subordinate, but from the very leader of the secession himself, whose very words respecting my policy I shall

Mr. W. Smith O'Brien, in his letter dated Cahire Moyle, October 29, 1846, has the following emphatic words:—speaking of himself and the other secoders, here are his words :- " We desire to achieve a Repeal of the Union by peaceful means, belie that such means are more dasirable and

more efficacious than any other.

"Could I possibly wish for more? This emphatic testimony, borne by, now, alas, an antagonist, is all I could desire, and more than I could have expected. See what it is. It is a proclamation by the eminent gentleman who is the leader of the Phalanx oudly declaring in a letter written in a very hostile spirit that my peaceful policy is the most desirable and most efficious.'

"I cannot avoid conjuing him in the name of old Ireland, to return to that policy which he himself admits is the most desirable and most efficacious. Let him fling away, like dew drops from the lion's mane, every plan and scheme of policy and warlike decpan and scheme of pol cy and warlike der-laration inconsistent in any way with my peaceful policy which he himself has stamped with the seal of his highest approbation, for he could not go higher than declaring it most desirable - most efficacious.

and what testimony do I find borne there to my plan of operations my moral force pea-ceable plan! I find this testimony— that such moral force doctrine is absolutely ESSENTIAL TO THE BUCGESSPUL ISSUE OF OUR POLITICAL ECONOMY. They go fur-More and ting add THAT THIS MORAL FORCE DOCTRINE WAS WISELY INCULCATED AT ALL TIMES BY ME, whom they are pleased

lo call the great leader of our country.

See now the position in which I standbetween the Cork men on the one hand, and the leader of the Phalanx, Mr Smith cien, on the other. I have my moral force to times proclaimed to be wise at ull times "actually "ESSENTIAL for succes: -- "most Detrable and most efficacious."— It is with he bittere t mel incholy that I enjoy the triump over those who have lately indulged the selves in calumny and vituperation against ne.

" My very autogonists make me thes admissions --- firs, that my peaceful policy is essentially necessary to success; in other words, that without it we cannot succe d. Secondly- That this peaceable policy has at all times been wisely inculcated by me. Who can expect to induce me to insulcate any other? I would rather abandon all hope for my loved country that inculcate

any other than peace.
"Thirdly—That my peaceful policy is the most desirable of all. What common sense can there be in any man's deviating from the most desirable policy?

"Fourthly—That my peaceable policy is the most efficacious for success, essential and efficacious for success !—always wise, and always desirable! Wise, Desirable, ESSENTIAL, EFFICACIOUS.

"And am I to quit a policy thus lauded, thus sanctioned, even by those who deman a change?

" I ask this question, referring to anothe and a higher consideration—am I to change this policy, this lauded policy, to quit the paths of safety and prudence, and to involve myself and all the members of the Repeal Association in legal crime and punishment? admixture of the avoice principle (rom the slightest shrinking (rom the admixture of the avover principle or principle ical force—the slightest shrinking from the exclusive use of the peaceable principle would convert the Repeal As-ociation, from being a legal and meritorions body, into ar unlawful assembly, verging on, if not engulphed in, a traitorous, or, at least, a sedition

"There are men who say that the law i unjust and oppressive, and that much ought to be risked to defeat its provisions. I total to be risked to defeat its provisions.

ly reject every assertion of that kind. I
will never consent to violate the law upon a
minimum. Besides change of escaping punishment. Besides, I abjure, in ever thing, the physical force policy in seeking for the rep al of any law.

"It has been said and repeated, and will be said and repeated, notwithstanding refu-tation, that the Repeal Association ought to have allowed the principle of the use o ave improperly precluded discussion by to tally preventing any such debate. who say so should a ready know, or, if they do not know it, they should be informed that any assembly which allowed the discussion of the principle of any crime, with a view to have it adopted, would be an unlawful assembly, which any magistrate would have a right to disperse, and any judge to punish. WHOLE NUMBER, 288.]

" No assembly can allow the principle of

"No assembly can allow the principle of sanctioning burglary, robbery, or a scien of any kind, or even a breach of the peace, to be discussed for adoption, without becoming at once an unlawful assembly.

"How much more lawful, then, would it have been if we had allowed to be discussed for adoption the principle of physical force in obtaining or attempting to obtain, the repeal of on act of parliament. It would be, to say the least of it, sedition; and if accomto say the least of it, sedition; and if accompanied or followed by any overtact, it would be no less than treason.

"I have thus been minute to te liousness

in repeatedly demonstrating the utter impos-sibil ty of our making any concession to conciliate the members of the physical force phalanx. We cannot do it without dissol-

phalanx. We cannot do it without dissolving the Association, or putting it in the power of our enemies to dissolve it.

"In trath, I cannot consider the men sincere is their love of Repeal who persevere in refusing to abide by the peaceful principles on which the Association was formed, and seck either to destroy that Association, by weakening its store the first beautiful on by weakening its store the first beautiful or by weakening its store the first by social on, by weakening its strength, or by delivering it bound hand and foot to the en-emies of Repeal in Ireland.

"This, then, is our raply to the Cork re-solutions, and to all others who seek from us an alteration, however slight, in the fundamental rules of the association. We are for peaceful, leg-1, and constitutional means of action for procuring the Repeal. We disclaim and abhor all other means, and we will not co-operate with any persons but those who concur with us in the principle of peace and legality.

"Instead of asking us to change our

peaceable principles, would it not be more wise in the resolutionists and remonstrants to call upon the physical force phalanx to abandon their warlike propensities, and to seek with us, in the paths of peace, law, and harmony the restoration of Irish nationality.

" Let as no, my countrymen, despondlet us not relax our efforts for Repeal, by reason of the security of the

"I, for one have nailed my colours to the mast—the colours of old Ireland. If I have but a shorter time of life allotted to the struggle, it only becomes a sacred duty to redouble my efforts in the sacred cause of fatherland.

" I have often experienced treachery and "I have often experienced treachery and calumny, secession and folly, and obstacles of every kind, yet I have succeeded. There is vitality still in the cause of Old Ireland. The appalling distress and misery that affright the land, are adduced as evidence of our weakness, whereas they are only proofs of the absolute necessity of our contanting our containing during the protestion. organized plan of obtaining the restoration of our national parliament.

" Let me conclude by again referring to the state of the controversy between us & the seceders. The question between us and them is one of principle on our part. It is a principle without which the Association must cease to exist—the principle of seeking for the Repeal by peaceable and legal means alone. Founded on this principle—adhering to this principle—refusing to allow it to be broken in upon, diminished, or even tarnished by the seceders, we devote ourselves to the cause of the Irish people. We will tever relax -- we will nev will never postpone the assertion of our right to an Irish legislature. We will never rease our efforts, till we re-establish the nationality of Ireland, and make her what she ought to be.

Great, glorious, and free, First flower of the earth, and first gem " DANIEL O'CONNELL,

" Chairman of Committee."

FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD,-A handbill has been issued, offering a reward of \$500 for the arrest of Charles P. Dwyer, formerly of this city, and who kept a clothing store on the corner of State and Platt Streets, some three or four years since.— The handbill states that in the spring of 1814, Dwyer purchased a large amount of dry goods in Boston, making at the time of purchasing certain false representations of is arguerty and a ying as security for the goods purchased became due, he absconded from Rochester, and has remained concealed from that time to the present, leaving his creditors to get their pay from the securities that he had placed in their bands, which upon examination proved to be entirely worthless and fraudulent. It seems that he purchased the goods in Boston with the avowed intention of bringing them to this city, avowed intention of bringing them to this city, but instead of doing so, he immediately shipped them to New York, sold them at auction below first cost, and pocketed the proceeds. His Boston friends heard of the operation and immediately came on to arreshim, but he cluded their grasp by taking passage in a packet ship to some distant port, whence he made his way to Canada, and it is supposed has been concealed near Toronto during the last six months. It is said he has in his possession, of had a short time since, four hundred \$50 notes of the Bank of British North America, payable in Montreal.— He sometimes passes by the name of Charles D. Phillips, and sometimes by that of Dora . Information concerning him may be communicated to Clark Gamble, Toronto, Capt. Wiley, chief of Montreal Police, George T. Danforth, Rochester, cr to John Wilson Boston .- (Rechester Rep.