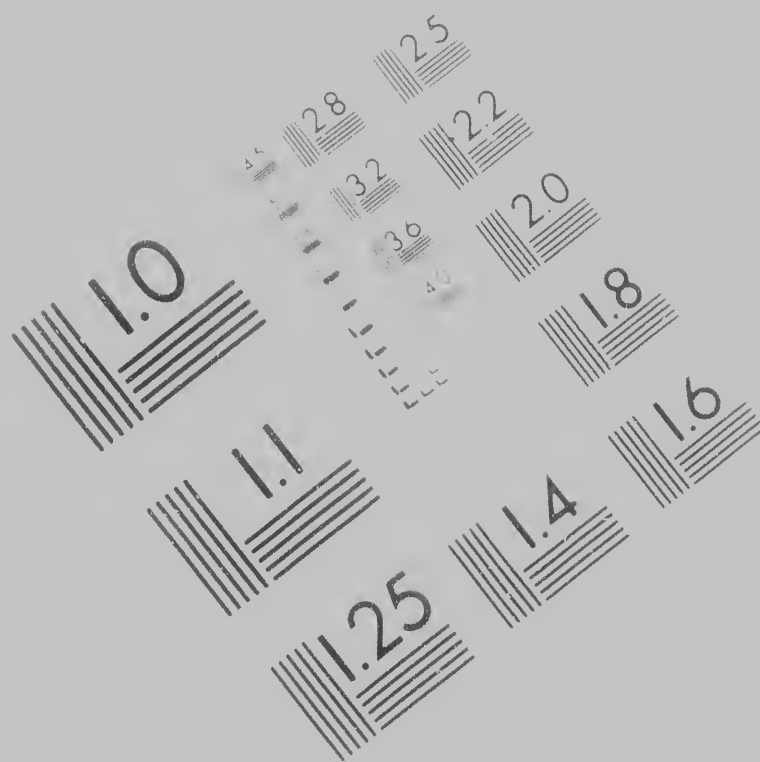
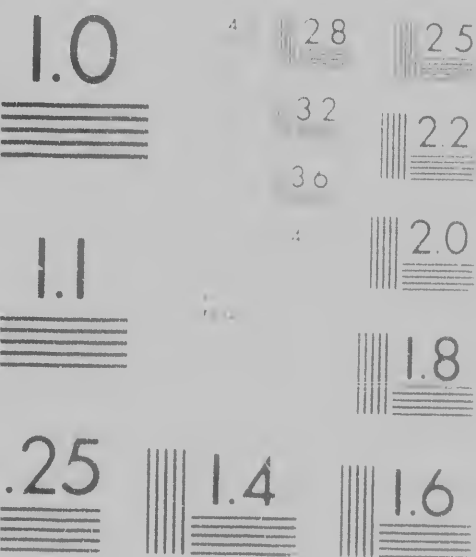
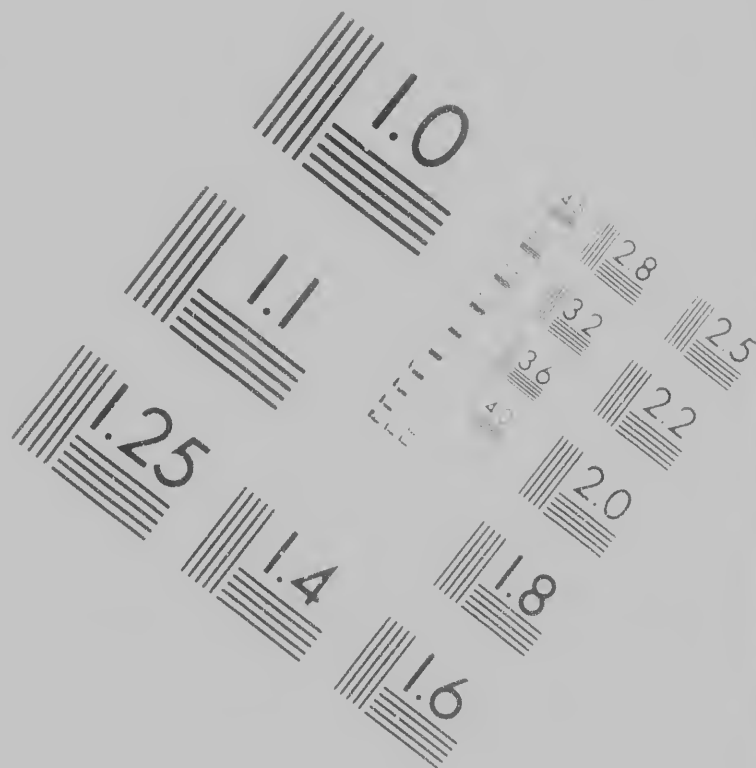




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ADDRESS

OF THE COUNCIL OF THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD

The Council of the Fenian Brotherhood held their semi-annual sessions as the Constitution provides, in the first week of February, and spent five days in deliberation, in regard to the present state and future prospects of Ireland. The condition of the organization was proved to be most satisfactory, and a large and rapid increase of its constituents is in progress. Financially, the Brotherhood is in an excellent position, and is continually growing stronger. The work to which it devotes its energies is actively being carried on, and with the most encouraging success. And the Council feel the fullest confidence in the attainment of the object of Fenianism at a day not very distant, as also in the soundness and expediency of the policy which it is pursuing to that end.

The Council, therefore, prepared this address to the members of the Brotherhood and Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, and all Ireland's friends and sympathizers throughout the world, and directed that it be issued by the Executive in their name, on the following anniversary of St. Patrick. And, as it was felt that the time had now come when the position and fixed principles of the Brotherhood should be publicly defined and proclaimed, the Council passed the following resolutions, in regard thereto, that they might be included in this address to which all members of the Fenian Brotherhood are required to conform in speech and conduct.

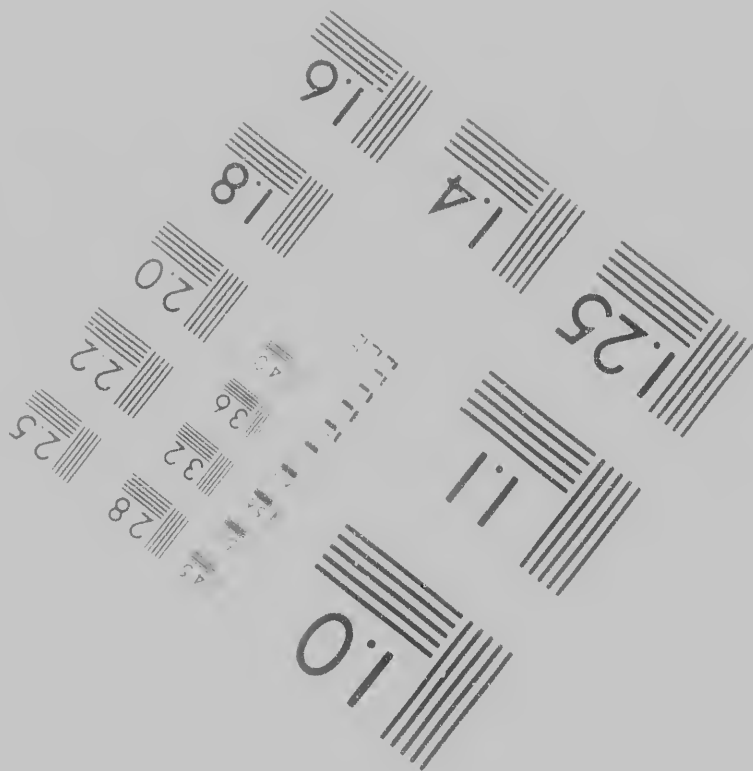
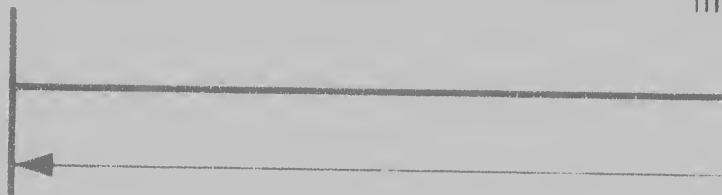
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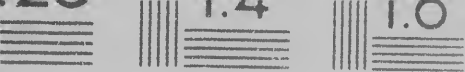
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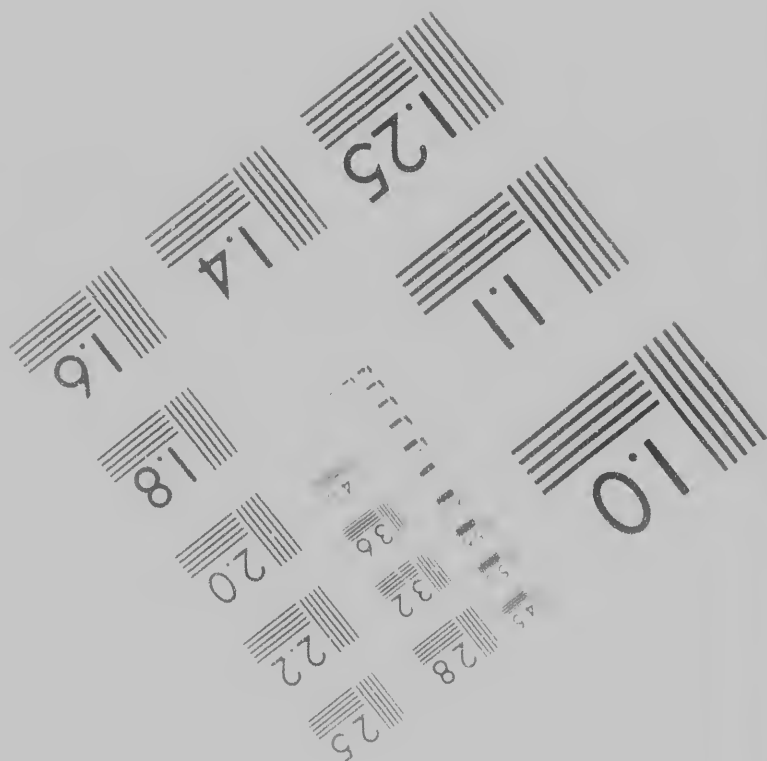
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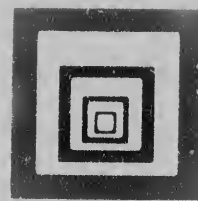


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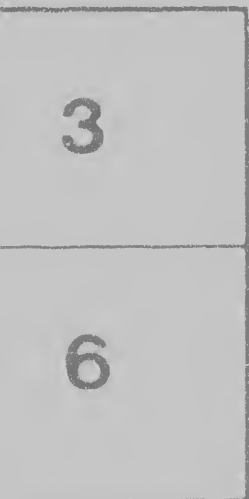
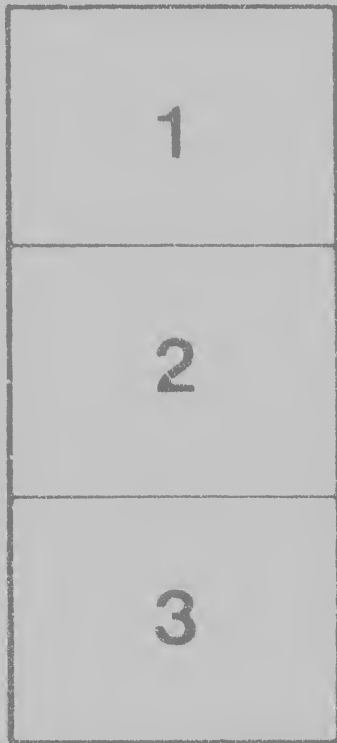
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ally resolutions, in regard thereto, that they might be included in this address which all members of the Fenian Brotherhood are required to conform to in speech and conduct.

Resolution First. That no organization other than the body legally incorporated shall be recognized or addressed in any way as "The Fenian Brotherhood."

Resolution Second. That the policy of the Fenian Brotherhood, in regard to support of the U. R. B. and their operations, can never be changed; nor can the Fenian Brotherhood or any of its members ever join any organization or make an attack on Canada, or on any other territory on this side of the Atlantic, except the consent of the Government of the United States.

Resolution Third. That the Fenian Brotherhood, as now incorporated and organized, shall never be dissolved, nor suffered to be dissolved or weakened, nor shall the objects of Fenianism mentioned in the 2d section, 1st article of the Constitution adopted August, 1869, shall have been fully attained.

Resolution Fourth. That the policy of the Fenian Brotherhood toward organizations of Irishmen, claiming to be patriotic, will be one of toleration and abstention from interference with their movements.

The persistent enemies of Ireland have attempted to interfere with the organization, by misrepresenting the character and objects of the patriotic organizations which are devoted to her national salvation. The Council of the Fenian Brotherhood solemnly, and in the face of all mankind, rebut the slanders of its antagonists, and declare

Fifthly. That the organization which they represent is not a secret society. At the first national Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood, held in 1863, in the resolution presenting its principles to the world, said: "The Fenian Brotherhood is not a secret society, inasmuch as no pledge of secrecy, expressed or implied, is demanded of the candidates for membership thereof, neither is it an oath-bound society,

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whatever is required, in order to entitle a man to all the privileges of the association." This resolution has been adopted in spirit or word by every Congress of the Brotherhood held since, and a Circular (No. 6) reiterating this principle was issued by the present Chief Executive.

Secondly.—That the aims of Fenianism are not subversive of religion or civil society, but the reverse: the Fenian Brotherhood being a legally incorporated body, under the laws of the State of New York and of the United States, and its open avowal of fraternity binding the members thereof to do their "utmost to promote feelings of love, harmony and mutual forbearance among Irishmen and all lovers of liberty." Mr. Gladstone has admitted that the development of Fenianism compelled the disestablishment act; and Mr. Bright has declared that the reform act was necessary to make the passage of disestablishment feasible. And it is yet to be shown that the aims of Fenianism resulting in the reform and disestablishment acts are subversive of religion or civil society.

Thirdly.—That Fenians do not organize against legitimate authority, but to overthrow and spread the blessings of a just political system, and to ameliorate the condition of people who suffer not from legitimate authority but from illegitimate coercion. Mr. Bright has truly said of this so-called "legitimate authority;"—"If anybody were to attempt to set up in England what England has set up in Ireland, and would be in a condition of perpetual anarchy and constant revolt."

These statements as to the status, character and purpose of Fenianism can be verified by anybody who will take the trouble to investigate the true nature of the Brotherhood.

The House of Commons has shown that it has no respect for its own statutes when an Irishman is concerned. The rejection of O'Donovan Rossa has not deprived him nor deprived him of his right, but has disgraced those who voted for it. Wilkes said:—"If once the Ministry shall be permitted to say whom the electors shall not choose, the next step will be to tell them whom they shall choose." This has come to pass. The Premier has dictated the election of O'Donovan Rossa's opponent.

When the question was put to the vote there were three hundred against freedom of election in Tipperary, and only eight in defence of it. Will the people of Ireland take this oft-repeated lesson to heart? In the London Parliament there is always against them a majority of forty to one. The readiness with which that Parliament passes the severest measures of repression for Ireland is another proof of its want of respect for Irish opinion. Passports, domiciliary visits, arbitrary arrests, and the reign of the military and police are the only means by which Ireland is governed, but—held in restraint. The resort to the state of siege is a confession of inability to govern Ireland. For, as Cavour remarked, any one can rule a state of siege.

The Tenure Bill of the British Government is now before the Commons. It has the

ges that the tenants have some rights as well as duties. If it passes, it will have good effect of putting an end to those landlords' felonies which the courts of justice have sanctioned, and to protect the perpetration of which an army of stabulary has been maintained. And even if it do not quite put an end to the lord and tenant war, it will tend to mitigate it, while it will transfer the scene of the conflict from the roadside to the courts of law.

The two great evils of Irish tenure are insecurity and confiscation of improvements made by outgoing tenants. The remedies for these are security of tenure and compensation. The measure now passing through the Parliament does indeed afford utter security and some compensation to Irish tenants; but it falls very far short of what is necessary to raise them from the condition of serfs. Insecurity of tenure has two chief sources—the landletter's caprice and the absence of any limit to an increase of the tenants' rent. The Fenian remedy for these is, "Fixity of Tenure and Regulation of Rents." But no reasonable man could expect a Parliament of landlords to concede as much as this.

Therefore, this bill, which was to be "a death-blow to Fenianism," will not embrace Fenianism in the least. For the sake of the Irish farmers we wish the bill had been more liberal. Instead of fearing a good Land Bill we hoped for it; and the better the measure the better would it suit our views. For the settlement of Church and Land questions will give greater prominence to Ireland's autonomy, which is the only great question that Fenians have ever attempted to solve. The first is the question of a sect; the second, that of a class; the third, that of the whole people. Until they get this last they can expect no justice and have no voice.

In order to induce the parliamentary landlords to pass this, the first measure of redemption for tenants in two hundred years, the ministerial newspapers declare that the landlords will gain immensely by it, nothing is taken from them, their incomes are increased, their rents are rendered more secure, and their social status is tenderly protected." But these praises should not prejudice the tenants against the bill, or lead them to their own interest which it will undoubtedly serve. It may have the effect of making Irishmen of the landlords, and thus of establishing better relations between them and the cultivators of the soil.

Whatever may be the shortcomings of these English measures for Irish grievances in our eyes, we must not overlook their advantages to the cause; by the educating of the public mind to the intensity of oppression which has called forth and necessitated it under other circumstances might be deemed acts of wholesale anelioration. Ireland has not wanted for advocates of power and passionate eloquence. Her name and national sorrow are synonymous in every corner of the earth; but the contemptuous sneer of the Press and Parliament of Great Britain claiming to be standards of humanity and civilization, vitiated public consideration into doubt of her patriots asagogues— and largely reduced the vital sympathy of the human heart for those

discussions inspire the Fenianism, and the greater admissions recently recorded on the Statute Book are indeed remarkable in view of previous contumely. They are also worthy of note when taken as a standard by which to judge of the influence of those who attempt to discountenance Fenianism, the procrastinating patriots on the one hand, who are always waiting for the good time coming, and do nothing to make it come; and the marplots on the other, who strive to prevent others from doing that which they know they cannot achieve themselves. These persons behold Fenianism progressive, powerful, practical—they see it rational, though uncompromising, aspiring and achieving, and actually become jealous of its efficiency by reason of their own conscious inactivity.

There are two other prominent Irish grievances besides that of the Land, the Mal-administration of Justice, and Excessive Taxation. The tendency of the Fenian Act will be to render the former grievance more universally and oppressively felt than ever. Judges, sheriffs, magistrates, and jurors, all appointed by the Crown on anti-Irish principles, is a system of judicial administration not calculated to create confidence in the courts or respect for the law. Nothing can make people so law-abiding as the knowledge that the laws which they obey are their own. And the people of Ireland cannot rely on a fair administration of the law so long as its administrators are not protected against the domination and coercion of the Crown. It is important to have better law courts; but even it is a hundred-fold more necessary to have better judges. The root of this and all other grievances is alien domination; and there is no other remedy for them than self-government.

The Council would most emphatically call attention to the rapid propagandism of faith in an Irish government for Ireland, and to the distinctness with which the ardent sentiment in favor of his object shapes itself at last. To know precisely what we want is the first step towards its attainment. Every indefinite demand seems exorbitant; but the whole world will sympathise with us on learning what is the least that Ireland can contentedly accept. The very least is an acknowledgment of her nationhood. Ireland can never be prosperous or respected until this much is achieved. It recommends itself to all creeds and classes of the people of Ireland, and would prove beneficial to them everyone. Its advantages are so manifest that numerous Irishmen of eminence and influence, outside of the Fenian ranks, have encouraged us to proceed in our work and promised us their active assistance in bringing it to a satisfactory end.

The supreme desire of every Irish nationalist is to restore peace, prosperity, and happiness to his long-suffering country. But this national salvation can never be achieved except through self-government. Self-government cannot be obtained except by effecting such a change in the relative positions of Ireland and England as will render the former country the superior no longer of the other. This political change cannot be effected by mere agitation or petitioning—it must depend on the

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not governed, but—held in restraint. The resort to the state of siege is a confession of inability to govern Ireland. For, as Cavour remarked, any one can rule a state of siege.

The Tenure Bill of the British Government is now before the public. It has disappointed the expectations in which many were so foolish as to indulge, and it will be far from a satisfactory settlement of the Irish Land question; but it is the very best which can be hoped for from an alien legislature.

Hitherto the lack of justice to the tenant has largely palliated if it has not completely vindicated in the public conscience the violent acts to which he had resort to avenge the outrages of the landlord. English law left the Irish tenant a helpless victim to the landlord; and, where neither law nor equity came between hard-working, goaded tenant and accumulating outrage or annihilation, a perverted invocation to the wild justice of revenge was readily defended by the people's frenzy, as the last resource in vindication of a life of labor, and in protection of parents and children. Hence the Rockite threat was the counterpart of the arbitrary notice to quit. The Whiteboy organization was the correlative of the bar brigade. But, henceforth, we trust that there will be no excuse left for any crime, whether committed by landlord or by tenant, and that these deplorable deeds will, therefore, cease. Mr. Gladstone's Bill contains two bold and liberal principles which should recommend it to the Irish tenants. It reverses the false and shameful presumption, always acted on by the men who administered "justice" in Ireland, that all improvements on a farm are made by the landlord; and it acknow-

nal sorrow are synonymous in every corner of the earth; but the contemptuous
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ity and civilization, vitiated public consideration into doubt of her patriots as
agogues—and largely reduced the vital sympathy of the human heart for those
gles against oppression into mere pity for the unfortunate. Now the dis-
ions forced upon Press and Parliament by such measures as the Reform Bill, the
ch Bill and the Land-Tenure Bill, greatly benefit Ireland by creating, tending,
elicitng a public opinion which we long needed. Public opinion is to the nations
the world what a good opinion of a family is to it among its neighbors. A guarantee
onesty, of uprightness of purpose, of moral dignity, of manly independence. This
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ence the opinion now being concentrated on Irish affairs cannot but elevate the
e of Ireland in the estimation of the world.

very concession made by the British Ministry to Ireland is an admission to the
d that England has been in the wrong and Ireland in the right—that Fenianism,
e energetic exponent and organizer of Irish sentiments on Irish Rights, was ne-
ry; and that it is necessary, and will be necessary while a concession remains for
and to conceive as a peace offering to Ireland, or the schedule of grievances on
Fenian programme of action is not wiped out.

ne admissions made by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright and their associates, in the

achieved except through self-government. Self-government cannot be obtained except by effecting such a change in the relative positions of Ireland and England as will render the former country the subject no longer of the other. This political change cannot be effected by mere agitation or petitioning, but must depend on the employment of physical force. There can be no sufficient force created for this purpose without unity and organization among nationalists themselves. In order to perpetuate the organization in Ireland, it is necessary that it should be sustained by the Fenian Brotherhood of America, which is able to re-organize it as often as the power or arts of the enemy create confusion in its ranks. Proudly accepting this mission, the Fenian Brotherhood, strong in the unity of its central administration, conceals neither the names of its members nor its objects, but proudly bears aloft the glorious banner of the cause, until such time as the leaders of the Home Organization shall be prepared to unfurl it defiantly upon Irish soil.

JOHN CAVAGE,

Chief Educator, Fenian Brotherhood

