from urging on this movement until Ireland's autonomy has been attained. Here we are safe from England's power to labor and conspire. Here, therefore, we establish the permanent focus of the patriotic movement, from which the Irish Revolution will be incessantly propagated wherever Irish hearts are beating. We have labored hard to make our organization a permanent institution. There is, therefore, behind you an unwavering power, which will aid your operations, furnish you with supplies, and reorganize your battalions if treachery or force should divide or shatter them. The importance of a permanent support behind you is immense. The one thing of all others which must subdue English resistance is Irish endurance. England can overcome any short-lived attack—can despise any ephemeral opposition; but she cannot encounter the permanent disaffection and ever imminent insurrection of the Irish people, maintained as it can and shall be by their brothers on this Continent.

We appeal, then, to Irishmen and the friends of Ireland in the United States, and wherever these words may reach, to aid by every means in their power the extension of those doctrines which Montgomery died to give life to—that liberty which Washington lived to obtain.

Adopted at Council Meeting,
10th November, 1869.

JOHN SAVAGE,
Chief Executive Fenian Brotherhood.

ADDRESS

OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND COUNCIL OF THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD.

The Fenian Brotherhood congratulate their brothers across the Atlantic on the steady and important advancement of the cause of Irish Nationality. We have also been cheered by the news of the consolidation and unification of the I. R. B., so as to present an unbroken front to the enemy. Union, organization, discipline and prudence are the virtues necessary for Ireland's army in the field; and that army, we are proud to learn, is constantly becoming more numerous and better fitted for its work.

The disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland gives us sincere pleasure, and we trust that the removal of this barrier to the fraternal union of all sons of Ireland, irrespective of creed, may produce the good results that we expect from it. But the church, though disestablished, has not been disendowed, so that "religious equality" is as far removed as ever in Ireland.

This disestablishment being effected, other disestablishments ought to follow. Three garrisons have held Ireland in subjection: the Church, the Landlords, and the Military; among the latter we reckon the Constabulary, armed with breechloaders and handled as if engaged in a perpetual campaign. It is the turn of the Landlords to be disestablished next; and after them the great disestablishment—that of the English military colony—must inevitably follow.

The Land question is one of a different kind from the Ascendency question. The latter constituted a great grievance, it is true, but, in comparison with that of the Land, it was only a sentimental grievance. The Land grievance is a vital one—the manner in which it is dealt with means life or death for millions of people. It is a grievance great enough to justify a rebellion, and therefore it is a "first-class" grievance, a rank which the Established Church grievance did not hold. The land of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland. The voice of the Irish people distinctly declares, as the rights of the people demand, that the actual cultivators alone should enjoy the privilege of holding land; and that the farmers should hold direct from the only legitimate landlord of Ireland—the aggregate Irish people. Feudal landlordism is doomed.

There are three first-class grievances oppressing the Irish people, any one of which would justify a revolutionary war. First, Landlordism; second, Mal-Administration of Justice; third, Excessive Taxation.

It is useless to look to legislation for an amelioration of the present system, so long as the laws are ill-administered. The magistrates are, with few exceptions, taken from one creed and one class. The creed is the Protestant, in a country where five-sixths of the people are Catholic; the class is the landlord, in a country where "the rights of tenants" involve the liberty to live. The administrators of justice are all appointed by the Crown. So are all the Sheriffs; so are all the public prosecutors in criminal cases. The Sheriffs have an unlimited power, which they never scruple to exercise, of packing juries. The magistrates act under the direction of the police-officers, and all are directed by the Irish Minister of Police, otherwise the Under Secretary, who is generally conspicuous for his ignorance of law and of Irish affairs.

The English Exchequer is replenished with revenues taken out of Ireland, in defiance of express laws and covenants, and by the products of taxes vastly in excess of Ireland's ability to pay. The result is that trade in Ireland is destroyed, industry paralyzed, and the country more impoverished every year. Thus, while landlordism is the grievance of the great class of the people, systematical injustice and excessive taxation affect all classes, and are grievances which, in the rational course of events compelled by Fenianism, must excite the thought and action of the entire population.

After all these grievances have been grappled with, there still remains the monster grievance of Ireland demanding to be remedied. This is the root from which all the others spring—the source and origin of all the woes of Ireland. It is Alien Domination. The rule

of England is the grievance of grievances. To remove it is to remove all the others. To suffer it to remain is but to provide for a new crop of intolerable wrongs. None of the grievances of Ireland can be radically cured until English Domination shall cease; they may be mitigated, but it is only a temporary respite, which would last only as long as the present agitation. Every English garrison must be withdrawn. Protestant, landlord, and British ascendency must be equally disestablished. Self-government is the only salvation for Ireland; autonomy is the panacea for her grievances.

The case of the political prisoners should appeal to the civilized world. Their sufferings cannot be described. The debates in the English Parliament have brought to light a system of treatment which the romancist of the horrible, in his direst necessity, would scarcely ascribe to the most barbarous age or country in history. There is, indeed, a fear of creating doubt as to the reality of horrors surrounding the political prisoners, the plain truth so shocks and assaults our faculties of belief; but undeniable simple facts on the record show that the treatment of political prisoners in England has resulted in death, in raving insanity; and that of those whose sufferings have been prolonged to the present, several are reduced to the lowest state in which life can be sustained, and others have been brutalized into imbecility. This class embraces several American citizens, by birth and adoption. On no subject in these days have the people of Ireland been so unanimous as on a general amnesty for the prisoners. In denying the prayer of the People, Mr. Gladstone, as an excuse, says, "It is known to the Government that the Fenian conspiracy is not extinct either in the United Kingdom or in America." This plea is a shallow attempt to disguise the weakness of his position. It is unworthy of the candid statesmanship for which Mr. Gladstone receives and accepts credit. It is equally unworthy of the public intelligence he addresses. The testimony of the Premier is not needed to prove that Fenianisn is not extinct. The pretence that he has just discovered that fact is insincere. He knew that Fenianism was not extinguished by the incarceration of those patriots. He knew that the existence of Fenianism so plunged his predecessor into difficulty that it made his opportunity for promotion—that, in fact, Fenianism was his stepping-stone to power; and he knew that since he has wielded the prerogatives of his great office nothing has been done to ameliorate the condition of affairs which made, and still makes, Fenianism a necessity. He knew *then* Fenianism was not extinct. He knows *now* it is not likely to be extinct. It would be unjust to the Premier's intelligence to believe that *he* believes it possible, even with the aid of Mr. John Bright, to bandage the eyes of Fenianism with the old lawn sleeves of the Irish Church, or crush its giant form into the diminutive coffin of disestablishment. He assuredly has not seen anything in the demeanor of the prison-martyrs to warrant the assumption that they would purchase personal liberty at the price of the extinction of Fenianism. He knows that their hold upon the hearts of the people is because of the heroism with which they illustrate the Fenian idea. He knows that when released the political prisoners will not be regarded as pardoned felons, but as unjustly punished patriots; for Liberty is justified of all her children. Hence, his plea, if put forth to the English people, is insincere—if to the Irish, wilfully heartless; while to thinking civilization it presents the English Government as wanting strength to be magnanimous, or wanting sagacity to be honest. Juries of twelve men, carefully selected and packed for the purpose, sent these political prisoners to jail. Millions of men of all classes, politics, and religious denominations have openly demanded their release. Instead of taking advantage of this grand popular justification, the unanimous expression of humanity seems to have hurled the English Government into a paroxyism of barbarity—a position all the more recognizable to the world in the light of that magnanimity exercised by the Republican Government of the United States on the one hand, and the Imperial Government of France on the other, in extending unconditional amnesty to their political offenders.

The reports furnished to the late Congress of the Brotherhood prove that the organized nationalists of America have become more numerous, united, and efficient than they were twelve months ago. The Chief Executive and Council impress upon the members of the Brotherhood the necessity and nobility of preserving a position of dignity and toleration towards the misguided men who have been led into error, and the consideration of wild adventures, by malign influences.

Respect cannot be won without giving an example of self-respect; nor can we hope to influence the intellect unless we check the awakening of passions which annihilate reason. At ordinary times it is unnecessary to warn the Brotherhood, who have acted throughout remarkable struggles and trials with such faith and self-command; but, in acknowledging the exercise of these virtues in the past, an expressiou of the necessity for their continuance will not be out of place at this juncture, when, it is understood, fresh efforts are about to be made to create exciting, though ephemeral distractions, to counterbalance the victories achieved by the persistent propagandism of Fenian principles.

These principles have been severely, terribly tested; but we need only recall the public

mind to the history of current events to show, from self-evident results, that Fenianism is worthy of confidence in laboring to be worthy of its cause; that it is all that its friends claim—all that its enemies fear.

Fenianism is a combination of the best of the many good ideas in behalf of Ireland which have preceded it. It is the growth of the results which have gone before.

Fenianism is the heir of '98 and '48, is guided by the best teachings of both, and is therefore inspired by a more manageable fervor than either. It aspires to rival, and has already proved itself not unworthy of the heroism of the former; it has laboriously sought, by undeviating belief in organization and discipline, to amend the errors which encumbered the brilliant legacy of the latter.

Fenianism embraces the truth preached by Wolfe Tone, the purity exemplified by Robert Emmet, the honor which distinguished Lord Edward Fitzgerald. It has adopted the manly characteristics of the dead Martyrs of '48; the chivalry of Smith O'Brien; the restless devotion of Michael Doheny; the passionate patriotism of Thomas Francis Meagher.

While Fenianism is fed by the hopes, strengthened by the sacrifices, admonished by the defeats of the past; it applies itself to the exigencies of the present, baffling the most audacious and illegal energies of the old oppressor, and keeping the truculent frenzies of the British authorities in comparative check; by the control of public feeling, opinion and action in such a direction and by such means as keep the British Government in a state of chronic and exhaustive disorganization.

Fenianism has a great and proud mission. It does not bend to the theatrical phase of politics. It does not mean to waste resources and lives in clap-trap expedients or temporary sensations which will be only remembered to be condemned. It applies itself to the great necessities of a race, the elevation of a people, the creation of a nation, and to the relative questions which history makes note of in most indelible characters.

The ready daring and tenacious sagacity of Fenianism have overcome one of the greatest drawbacks Irishmen had to contend with in their struggle with a great but hypocritical power, as full of resources as recklessness. England, her parliament and press, had the ear of the world. Thus, public opinion was made, and the verdict of civilization vitiated by England, who was the prosecutor and witness against, as well as judge, jury and executioner of Ireland. Fenianism has done wonders in checking this great source of evil and suffering, and in commanding the sympathetic attention of mankind to its cause. Were agitations or threats confined to Ireland met nothing but the contemptuous silence or more contemptuous sneers of English opinion; but the explosive vitality of Fenianism on English soil, its determination to assert itself even on the scaffold, as well as at the polls in the enemy's country, wrought a wonderful change in the self-protective sensibilities of England, and forced it to acknowledge through unmanly fear that which it would not consider through a sense of manly justice. Thus, Fenianism has forced itself through barricade, barrack, dock, jail, prison-ship and scaffold into the British Parliament, and compelled the chief medium by which Ireland was abused or vilified to be the startling trumpeter—not only of Ireland's actual woes, sufferings and necessities, but of the rising strength, consummate tact, and undeniable power by which these marvellous changes have been wrought. Thus, even the British House of Lords proclaimed that Fenianism, and Irish rights, and the mass of the Irish people are identical, and that Fenianism has placed the British Government in the greatest predicament of the times—disestablishing the English Church in Ireland—hammering in the wedge between Church and State in England, and compelling the "Defender of the Faith" Victoria, to forswear her coronation oath.

These things, undreamed of in O'Connell's programme of emancipation, have most certainly come to pass, as the Prime Minister of England has stated, by the "development of the intensity of Fenianism."

Fenianism has passed its precarious era. Even if no "Brotherhood" existed, the principles which are combined and expressed by Fenianism present a Faith of Nationality against which no Irishman can wantonly project himself and claim to love or labor for his race. Its defined purpose and energy has, moreover, attracted to its support a patriotic and intelligent element which other movements in our time repelled as meaning only agitation for the sake of agitation.

As we opened with words of congratulation to our brothers across the Atlantic, we will close with words of encouragement to them. The Revolution which we both conjointly labor to accomplish is the overthrow of English domination; in other words, the establishment of a free and independent government in Ireland. The removal of special grievances may facilitate our progress to this great end, but we must never allow ourselves to be turned aside from the high and holy purpose of making the Irish a nation once again.

In spite of sacrifices, reverses, martyrdoms, our cause has certainly advanced very considerably. We are full of confidence in its final triumph. We will never desist