

with such an adversary, and at such a time as this, cannot be vanquished, and must never lay down their arms until they have won for both countries the enfranchisement of the whole people, the abolition of caste, and the equality of all men before the constitution and the law.

The way to judge of the success of Fenianism is to consider what is its policy. It is not merely a political change which Fenianism seeks to effect, but a moral, a material and a national one also. It aims at revolutionizing the hearts of the people—making them sensitive to the infamy of their enslaved condition, and transfiguring them into a nation once again. We prepare the people for freedom before striking for independence: for the free soul is a mighty power, and when the people themselves are freemen in spirit, the freedom of the land *must* come. Every attempt to free the country without this preparation of the people has failed, and must necessarily fail. The Fenian revolution is practical because it creates an intellectual and moral revolution as a basis for the political one. It emancipates the mind before the body. It tries to make the Irish people worthy to be free, assured that in the hour when they are morally fit for liberty, their bonds shall loosen and their burdens fall. It is easy to make an insurrection, but this is only one of the incidents of the final stage of a revolution. It is a revolution however—and not a mere insurrection which is needed to redress Ireland's wrongs; for what use to overthrow the present hated system, if we be incapable of building up a better in its place? It is in the changed hearts of the Irish Patriots that the New Ireland must be born. The idea must be formed before it can be realized. That idea Fenianism has propagated, sedulously and with effect, and a magnificent harvest is in prospect. The revolution is no ill-planned work—no half-done work—no awkwardly-handled work; but square and true, and even now considerably advanced towards completion. Knowing what Fenianism has attempted, it will be easier to judge fairly what it has done, and of the worth of its workings. And now we prepare for the great and final effort. The moral force revolution has its day, but the day for physical force comes after. Ireland can never accept liberty as a contemptuous concession, for that which is acquired too cheaply generally proves to be worth little, and easily lost. That which must be retained by the sword must be won by the sword.

Every aspect of the popular cause is encouraging; with continued success in our ranks; with Union of the Fenian element in America; with an harmonious organization in Ireland; with a new league among elements of Irish intelligence, wealth and ability in Ireland, which never co-operated before for any phase of Irish nationality; with a movement in England which is in harmony with the principles on which Fenianism is based; with the sympathy of America and the example of France, the members of the Fenian Brotherhood scarce need to be exhorted to continue in their earnest labor, or to co-operate with all inside or outside of their own ranks to advance the cause of which the Fenian Brotherhood is the historic representative and acknowledged standard-bearer.

JOHN SAVAGE,

Chief Executive, Fenian Brotherhood.

Adopted at a Council Meeting, }
29th September, 1870. }

ADDRESS

OF THE

COUNCIL OF THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD.

The Ninth General Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, assembled in New York on the 30th August, and concluded its labors on the night of the 5th September. The general policy and special acts of the Chief Executive and Council, in furtherance of the objects of Fenianism in the United States and in Great Britain and Ireland, for the year past, were fully approved. Among the acts of the Convention was the appointment of a Committee to visit General O'Neill in Windsor prison, Vermont, and consult with him on the feasibility of a Union of all Irish nationalists claiming the name of Fenian. The result has been all that was desired—a well-defined and perfect Union has been accomplished between General O'Neill "on the part of himself and the organization of which he is President," and the authorized Committee, on the part of the Fenian Brotherhood, represented in General Convention.

The announcement of this happy result gave universal satisfaction not only to the Fenian elements, but to a large class of sympathizers with that cause, whose wonderful progress within a few years has attracted to its needs and objects the respectful attention and inquiry of thinkers and publicists. The good to be anticipated from an amalgamation of the Fenian forces cannot be estimated too highly. It will be borne in mind that the union now accomplished fulfills the emphatically-expressed desire of all Irish parties for several years. To further such an end the unwavering efforts of the present Chief Executive, on behalf of the Brotherhood, have been devoted. The best efforts of leading Irishmen have taken inspiration from a similar hope, and parties representing the organization in Ireland have, during the past four years, come to America inspired by, and instructed to labor for, a similar purpose. The union of the organizations respectively represented by the Chief Executive, Fenian Brotherhood and General O'Neill, was the union sought for by the Irish nationalists in America; it was the union demanded by the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood in Ireland. In view of this long concentration of Irish feeling on the subject, it is not too much to say that its final accomplishment will be received by the Irish everywhere—in Ireland, Great Britain, Australia and India—with as deep-seated a sense of gratification and enthusiasm, as by those in America who have so long looked for this happy culmination of their hopes.

The Council, therefore, in issuing this address, congratulate their brothers across the water on this union of the Fenian elements, as another evidence—in addition to the steady increase in strength, unity and numbers, as shown by the documents laid before the late Convention,—of the onward and upward progress of the Fenian Brotherhood, and its hold for practical good on the hearts of Irish nationalists.

To provide for increase of discipline with increase of numbers, to express their faith in the continuous labor of the Brotherhood, and to express their sympathy with the progress of Republican principles, the Council adopted the following resolutions (9th September) to be embodied in this address:

Resolution First.—That the provisions of the Constitution of the Fenian Brotherhood must in future be enforced in every case without fear, favor or undue delay.

Resolution Second.—That we regard the Fenian Brotherhood as the fulcrum of the Irish Revolution, that the cause rests upon it, and that the permanence and continuity of the Fenian Brotherhood is a necessity to insure the success of the present movement for Ireland's Independence.

Resolution Third.—That the Council, on behalf of the Fenian Brotherhood, place on record an expression of its deep sympathy with the efforts of France to achieve a popular form of Government; that we hail the establishment of the French Republic with feelings of Democratic Republican fraternity, and sincerely pray that the God of Freedom may vouchsafe unanimity of purpose to the people of France, harmony in the Councils of her representative men, and wisdom in the administration of her affairs in this terrible crisis, so that the Republic, born in the throes of national agony, may be perpetuated to enjoy the blessings of Liberty in Peace.

Attempts have been made, through the Imperial Parliament, to remedy certain special grievances in Ireland. The demonstrated lack of the will and of the knowledge to deal with purely Irish questions accounts for the very slight success of these remedial measures. All those matters should have been left to an Irish Legislature to settle. It is said that the questions of Education and of local Administration of Justice will occupy attention during the coming year in London. We cannot hope for any good results while this system of merely lopping off the branches of Irish grievance is continued, leaving the baleful root and stem of all our national woes untouched. English domination is the root of all Ireland's grievances, and the Education question, and others of like minor importance, may well be postponed until the "grievance of grievances" is first removed. No settlement that can be made of these minor questions will content the people of Ireland, or do away with the necessity of Fenianism, while the right of self-government is denied. This is the only Irish question which all admit is the business of the Imperial Parliament to deal with,—the restoration of Ireland's autonomy. The movement to achieve this restoration, gathers strength and importance. It cannot be resisted long. Nationality is the only solution of the Irish political problem, the only method of pacification for Ireland. The rulers of England must familiarize their minds with the idea of Ireland governing herself, and give their attention to the form in which autonomy will be restored, rather than to the tricks and subterfuges by which the demand of the Irish people may be balked or eluded.

Every English statesman knows that the best measure of safety for England would be Irish contentment; and yet, with impending destruction he persists in upholding a system, the chief consequence of which is to make high treason the only politics for an Irish patriot. The whole tendency of English state-craft is to cause any enemy of England to be regarded by the Irish as a friend. The effects of Fenianism are directed as well to show Englishmen the fatuity of the course pursued by their rulers as to place the Irish in a position to vindicate their steadfast sacrifices for liberty. We pursue this course patiently and persistently, advancing step by step, confident in final triumph. We do not arrogate for ourselves the apostolate of American repub-

licanism, but we are, every one, unanimous in the endeavor to raise our brothers in Ireland to the same level of political liberty which we enjoy in the United States. We labor to place them in this respect on an equality with ourselves; we cannot do more, we shall not be satisfied with anything less. Every Fenian is pledged at his initiation to "labor with earnest zeal for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of England, and for the establishment of a free and independent government on the Irish soil." By the terms of this pledge all Fenians are committed for Irish, and against English, rule in Ireland.

It is claimed that the benefits of legislation within the British Empire are general and equal; but, at a glance, we see that the compact majority of nine hundred in the London Parliament against Ireland places that country, which is said to be one part of the Empire, in complete subjection to England, another part of the Empire. This state of affairs defers and subordinates Irish interests to English interests; Irish ideas to English ideas; Irish prosperity to English prosperity; Irish industries to English industries; Irish tax-payers to English tax-spenders. This exhibits the absolute necessity why the Irish people should legislate for Irish interests, Irish ideas, Irish industries and Irish prosperity.

STATE OF ENGLAND.

The spirit of Democracy, which is arising in England, is Fenianism under another name. The wrongs of the oppressed millions of England and of Ireland are identical—their oppressors are identical—and the way to right the wrongs of both is the same. The English nation (as distinguished from the British aristocracy) and the Irish nation have a common foe—the privileged class. This class must be deprived of its privileges—must be subverted—in order that national rights may be regained. The demonstrated internal weakness of England is well calculated to fill her rulers with dismay. Her political position is full of danger. She has no friends, for she betrayed whoever trusted her. The decline and fall of the British Empire is the history of the time. The omens of her fate fill the minds of thinkers with gloom and cover her horizon with clouds. The convulsion is coming, as her rottenness is evidenced from without and *also from within*. Look at England's condition! Her people are divided by a broad line. On one side are wealth, political power, inflated pride; on the other are numbers, the goading stimulus of misery, and the consciousness of wrong suffered, and power to apply the remedy. That remedy is the overthrow of the dominant aristocracy. England is bound to become a Democratic State, and Ireland shall be one also: Ireland not ruling England, nor England dominating Ireland, but both, in a vital popular alliance, guiding and guarding the destinies of a power, which both have done so much to create, to develop and to ennoble. But the aristocracy must be overthrown before the two nations can be friends. It is the wicked policy of this, our common enemy, to excite ill-feeling between us. They divide us, in order that they may govern us, while we are too weak to resist their oppression. But the two peoples will not consent to be hounded at each other's throats by the selfish despots any longer. We shall turn and rend our common enemy. The contest between privilege and equal rights, between wealth and numbers, between gold and muscle, between aristocracy and democracy is sure to be fierce, desperate and final. But Democracy must eventually triumph. Liberty always conquers oppression in the end. The Irish and English people, joined in such a cause,