in one of the first resolutions passed, had recorded their determination in this part of the country to support the League (hear, hear). Without the United Irish League, and the work which it had done during the last two years, there would have been no union to-day in the Irish ranks (hear, hear).

A Voice—"The United League is a second South Africa to the Government" (loud cheers).

Mr Dillon—Well, I hope so (cheers). Therefore, he said, when men criticised, as a few were still found, who criticised and opposed the United League, this fact should be borne in mind by every honest Irish Nationalist. The United League had restored union to the ranks of the Nationalists of Ireland, and, by restoring union, had restored strength, to the right arm of the Irish nation, which was paralysed for ten years by dissension (applause). The Convention that was assembled in Dublin, the largest and the most representative gathering that he had ever seen in Dublin, with one unanimous voice declared that the United Irish League was, and must be, accepted as the National organisation of Ireland, and that it deserved the support of every Irish Nationalist. In view of that fact, he would now say a word on the question of selecting members of Parliament here in this division. Judging from the reception which that member had got, and from the reception which he had got in other parts of the division, they probably would not have much trouble on that question.

A Voice—We won't have any other member (applause).

Mr Dillon said he did not believe there would be much difference of opinion about that. Still, Mr O'Malley would have to come before the people and abide by the decision of the people, and that every member would have to do. The time had come after six years when every Irish member of Parliament would have to come down to his constituency, and there were some of them who never came down during the whole six years (hear, hear). He had heard men complaining that there was too much dictation from Dublin to constituencies in the past. He never much believed in that himself. But one thing was perfectly certain, that under the constitution of the United Irish League there could be no dictation whatever. Under the constitution of the United Irish League every parish would be represented by the most active Nationalists of the parish in the Convention, that would decide who was to be the candidate for the division, and the man or men who came before that Convention would be judged by their record and reputation, and the work they had done. He had read a good deal about the test that should be applied to these candidates. He could speak for himself alone, but he said that he thought the time had come when no constituency in Ireland which really desired to have an honestly united National Party, and to see Ireland a free nation, should support or accept any candidate as a Nationalist candidate who was not a supporter of the United Irish League (applause). There were men in Ireland to-day, members of the Party, who exerted all their influence and all their power in opposing the League, but there were very few of them.

A Voice—Ah, poor Healy (groans).

Mr Dillon said the people of Ireland had now some experience of the result of a divided Party, and they had shown that they wished to obtain and retain a United Party, which would act together as one man in the cause of Irish freedom. How were they going to get that, and when they got it, how were they going to keep it? They could only keep it by the maintenance of a National organisation (hear, hear). In the old days there were a number of gentlemen who were for freedom of opinion, and who resisted as dictation the claim of the old Land League to interfere with the rights of members of Parliament to do as they liked. Mr Parnell and he and the men who worked with them, were held up to opprobrium by the old nominal Home Rulers of 1879, because they sought to subject the Irish representation to what was called the Dictatorship of the League. But they placed that claim issue before the people in 1885. They cleared the whole lot out of the representation (hear, hear, cheers). Now, if they wanted a united fighting and united Party they must

PUT A CLEAR ISSUE BEFORE THE PEOPLE,

and that issue was that no man ought to be elected as a member of the Irish National Party who was not in favour of an organised Ireland (hear, hear), and a man who was an opponent of the United Irish League was an opponent of an organised Ireland, because there was no other organisation in Ireland, and there was nobody who proposed any other organisation (hear, hear). The man who desired to be elected a member of Parliament, and who was opposed to the National organisation, could not be trusted to remain as a loyal member of the National Party, and the reason was very simple, because he knew if there was no organisation he could do as he liked (hear, hear). Within the last few weeks all parties had agreed that the time had come when a Compulsory Sale Bill must be introduced, by which the land of Ireland finally taken away from the landlords (hear, hear). Mr T W Russell had announced that this had been decided on by the Government, and this proposal for which they had been fighting for 20 years, and for advocating which they were denounced over and over again as Communists and Socialists, was now practically accepted by all parties. But there was a very serious question involved. Who was to settle the price? If the lands of Ireland were sold to the tenants by a Compulsory Sale Bill while the country was disorganised, he was greatly afraid that a price would be fixed which would leave the tenants as badly off than ever they were before, and therefore he said there never was a time when it was more nationally important and necessary for the future of the people of this country that

THEY SHOULD HAVE A POWERFUL ORGANISATION,

a real fighting organisation at this present moment when they were within measurable distance of the total transfer of the land of Ireland (hear, hear). While they were prepared to give a fair price, there never was a time in the history of this country when the people were more bound in their own defence, and to protect their homes from robbery—there never was a time when the people were more bound to be strongly organised than at the present moment (hear, hear). And when he said that it was now accepted on all hands that a Compulsory Sale Bill must be introduced, he drew their attention to this fact, that there was no question of compulsory sale two years ago, when the United League was started (hear, hear). That was another evidence, if any was needed, to prove the mighty irresistible power of the people when they were united. Compulsory sale is now accepted by everybody. Again, two years ago there was no question of division of grass ranches, and nobody admitted that the grass ranches of Meath and Westmeath must be broken up and divided amongst the people (applause). If all came to this, that after 20 years of fighting and agitation, the Government had new to come back to the doctrine laid down by Michael Davitt and the Land League in 1881, that until they got rid of landlords altogether, and gave the land to the people, they never would have peace and prosperity (hear, hear). He had heard men say that the time had come when something ought to be done for the town people and the labourers, and he agreed in that. But he held that the prosperity of the town people of Ireland depended on the prosperity of the people in the country, because trade in the towns rose and fell according as the population of the country around rose and fell (hear, hear). Where the people were prosperous they made the towns prosperous, and where the towns were prosperous there you would have employment for the labourers (hear, hear). He was convinced that they never would see the towns of this country prospering as they ought to prosper, and the artisans of this country in full labour at good wages until the rule of the stranger was abolished in Ireland (hear, hear), and until a Government was placed in this country whose chief care would be to cultivate and develop the resources of Ireland, which were as rich as those of any land that God ever created (hear, hear). Instead of the Government we now possessed, which was indifferent, careless, nay hostile, to the people of this land, which was glad and rejoiced to see them driven into foreign countries, which was not concerned when the population of Ireland dwindled, except when they wanted soldiers for South Africa—and he trusted they would get no more (cheers—but which was rather rejoiced to see the people of Ireland starved into exile, because they had found the people of Ireland a troublesome crowd to trample upon, and he hoped they would be always found so (cheers). The Government of the stranger, whose only idea was to maintain a sufficient police force and soldiery to keep the peace, to which their laws were the only real menace (hear, hear). Until that Government was got rid of, and they restored to Ireland the right to manage her own affairs, he did not believe that they would ever see prosperity and peace in Ireland. But he did believe and was convinced that all the necessary means were taken to secure

A TRULY UNITED NATIONAL AND FIGHTING PARTY

in the next British Parliament, the day was not far distant that the Government of the stranger would be vanished from Ireland (applause), and when the people of Ireland, planted in freedom on the soil of their own country free from the control of landlords, would be a self-governing and prosperous people (loud cheers).

Mr O'Malley proposed a vote of thanks to Mr J F Naughton for presiding, and spoke of his services to Nationality both in the south of Dublin and in Connemara.

Mr J H Joyce, in seconding the resolution, announced that he would open the General Election Fund with a subscription of a sovereign.

The vote of thanks was carried unanimously, and Mr Naughton suitably replied.

Several subscriptions were at once paid into the fund inaugurated by Mr Joyce, and it will be found that few parishes of its size will make a better display than Oughterard in the subscription list.

ENTHUSIASTIC DEMONSTRATION AT NENAGH

GREAT SPEECH BY MR T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

THE UNITED IRISH LEAGUE AND ITS TRADUCERS

SPEECHES BY MESSRS. P. J. O'BRIEN AND T. J. CONDON, M.P.'S.

(FROM OUR REPORTER.)

Nenagh, Sunday.

To-day an enthusiastic and imposing Nationalist demonstration, organised by the Nenagh Branch of the United Irish League, was held in front of the Town Hall, and was marked by a spirit of unanimity and enthusiasm illustrating in the most striking and satisfactory manner the earnestness and the solidity of the union effected among the people by the United Irish League. The principal speakers at the demonstration were Messrs T P O'Connor, P J O'Brien, and T J Condon, M P, and to each was accorded a hearty and enthusiastic reception. Mr. T. P. O'Connor travelled to Nenagh from Dublin on Saturday night. His speech to the meeting roused the highest enthusiasm, and his eloquent and fervent utterances were cheered to the echo. The meeting was exceedingly successful and representative in character, and afforded splendid proof of the excellent effect which the United Irish League is producing in the country.

Mr P. J. O'Brien, M.P., was moved to the chair, and among those on the platform were—Judge Leslie Holmes, New York; Messrs. John McCormac, K B Boland, M Cahill, James Haugh, J Dwyer, P Carroll, J Hogan, D Darcy, M Gleeson, R. O'Brien, W. O'Brien, J. Gleeson, P McGoey, D C; P Longmore, P C; J Costello, D C; J Cahill, G W Bourke, D C; J. Gleeson, D C; P Kennedy, P L G; Thomas Burke, D C; M Flannery, C C; J Nolan, J Hogan, Templederry; T O'Brien, J M'Donnell, D C; P Bonfield, J Duffy, P Griffin, J Whelan, W Hogan, C P L G; W Walsh, D C; E M Walsh, J Dillon, Joseph Dillon, J P Power, P Kennedy, D C; W Coffey, D C; J Liberty, P Kenna, J Clerihan, J Flannery, Moyan, Barron.

The Chairman, who was received with cheers, said he desired to thank them for the great honour they conferred upon him in asking him to take the chair at this great and influential meeting. Owing to the state of his health for some time past, he regretted he was not in a position to address them at any great length on this most important occasion. Whenever the people of North Tipperary were called upon to take part in any great National work they were always ready to respond to the call, and he felt sure that the town of North Tipperary would go forth from this great meeting and would have the effect of encouraging every other division in the county (cheers). During the last decade the people of North Tipperary were relieved from one great difficulty, because they had no Parnellites to contend against. They had disappeared from every other part of the county and the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites were banded together in one great force with one great object in view (cheers). The meeting that day was to support and rally round the United Irish League (cheers). It was now the acknowledged organisation, and the only safety for our country (cheers). It had received the imprimatur of the Great National Convention, held in Dublin (cheers). The policy of the League was approved and expounded by the most distinguished men and the Chairman of the Irish Party, Mr J Redmond (hear, hear), and the most eloquent and cogent language expounded the objects and aims of the League, and did not leave it open to anyone to question its programme (cheers). No honest Nationalist could hesitate for a moment to approve the policy of the League and to support it (cheers). He would now call upon the secretary, Mr P Walsh, to read letters of apology for non-attendance.

Mr Walsh read the following letters:—

Galway, August 9th, 1900.

Dear Sir—I regret very much that it is out of my power owing to previous engagements to accept the invitation conveyed in your letter of the 3rd August. I am rejoiced to hear that the people of Nenagh and North Tipperary are taking up the U I League actively, and I desire to send them my heartiest good wishes for the success of the meeting on Sunday next. It now seems probable that the elections will take place in October. There is not a moment to be lost in getting ready for the fight, and I am sure that North Tipperary will not be behind.—Yours truly,

JOHN DILLON.

(Cheers.)

Borrisokane, 9th August.

Dear Sir—Convey thanks to your committee for invitation to your meeting. I regret to say my parochial duties will not permit me to be present.—Yours faithfully,

P. MAFFER, P.P.

The Bishop's House, Skibbereen, Aug 7.

Dear Sir—I beg to thank you and your committee for your kind invitation to attend the public meeting on the 12th instant. I would very much desire to be present, but I am on vacation, and will not return home till the end of the month. You have my best wishes for the success of your meeting.—I am, yours truly,

JOHN SCANLAN, P P, Cloughjordan.

(Cheers.)

Honeymount, Roscrea, Aug 6th, 1900.

Dear Sir—A prior engagement prevents my accepting the invitation of your committee to the meeting of the U I League on Sunday next.—Yours,

THOS CORCORAN.

Mr Thos O'Brien proposed, and Mr Jas Hogan, Templederry, seconded, the following resolutions:—

"We demand the establishment of a Catholic University which will give to Catholic students the same educational advantages as are at present enjoyed by the Protestant youth of this country; we pledge ourselves to an immediate response to the appeal for a General Election Fund made by the patriotic Bishop of Raphoe, Mr John Redmond, and Alderman O'Mara with the authority of the National Convention, by the holding of parish collections throughout this constituency."

Mr T J Condon, M P, who was enthusiastically received, said that he must apologise for being physically unable to address them to-day. When he accepted the invitation he told the secretary he was suffering from a cold contracted at another meeting of the U I League. However, he came to the meeting and throw himself upon their kindly good feeling, and trusted that they would take the will for the deed, and expressed the hope that on some future occasion he would be able to give a hand in the good work. He rejoiced to see that there was one evidence there to-day of the United Irish League being recognised as the true National organisation of the people, and that was the attention that Dublin Castle had focussed upon the meeting. They saw as many police there as ought to be sufficient for a British general in the Transvaal to capture the Boers (cheers). There was no higher indication in Irish National life of the genuine orthodoxy of any organisation whatever in the interests of the people than that Dublin Castle had put its brand upon it and sent its minions to watch the proceedings, dog their footsteps, and take notes of what they said, with a view to a future prosecution. They had been accustomed to those things, time out of mind. He wished Mr Balfour and his friends all good luck in the work. They ought to know that whatever the Irish members had to say they would always say it fearlessly and above board, whether in the House of Commons or on the Irish hillsides, and that they would always call a spade a spade and not a garden utensil. He, like the chairman, felt absolutely confident that in the present, as in the past, North Tipperary and every division of Tipperary would gladly respond to the National call which was made upon them (cheers).

Mr T P O'Connor, M P, who was received with loud cheers, said—My friends, it is five years since last I had the honour and pleasure of addressing an audience of Tipperary men and women. On that occasion, as now, I was addressing a meeting on the eve of the general election, because it was in the year 1895, but the circumstances of the general election of 1895 were in many respects less favourable for Ireland than the circumstances of the election we are now approaching (cheers). In 1895 that dissension and split among the people which began in 1890 was still a wide gaping open wound and the best men of honest, political conviction, the highest national record, found themselves in opposite and hostile camps, and in 1895 the country was almost without leadership, a vestige of anything like a real and a live organisation of the people. Now, if I turn to the circumstances of to-day I find in the first place that the dissension which began with the split has now been closed; that two sections of the Irish Parliamentary Party are united together in the same bond of discipline, and under the same leader, and that no man who is not insane, or who is not reasonable or treacherous to the interests of Ireland has any desire to revive the horrible internecine struggle which had divided us during that time (cheers). If I turn to the question of organisation I find that although it has been in existence a short time in Ireland, although it has had many obstacles and difficulties to overcome, still we have in the United Irish League an organisation which has made more rapid progress in its time than did the great Land League that preceded (cheers). You have here in Nenagh a branch of the

THE UNITED IRISH LEAGUE,

(cries of "We have"). In some counties of Ireland there is not a single parish which has not a branch of the League. In every county in Ireland, before long with the exception of those counties which always belong to an hereditary enemy, I believe and hope there will be a branch of this organisation in which the people, united and strong, once more will be able to make another great and successful struggle for the advancement of the people (loud cheers). Now, Mr Chairman, do we want an organisation? (A Voice—"Very badly"). Do we want a United Irish Parliamentary Party of Nationalists at all? Strange as it may seem, it is a question to which different answers are given by men professing to be Nationalists. I myself think the only answer could be given, but there are some gentlemen who at least call themselves Nationalists who give a different answer. There are men in the country who declare that it is in vain at this moment to ask people to join an organisation (cries of "Away with them"). There are some men who say that the spirit is gone, that the labourers are divided from the farmers, and that the farmers are divided from the labourers. There are men going about the country declaring that Ireland's spirit is dead. I met a man in Dublin the other day, and I said to him, "How is the movement going on?" "Oh," he said, "you cannot do anything in Ireland, now the farmers are satisfied; they have got big reductions of rent, and they are doing very well, and all they want is to sit down and enjoy the blessings, the benefits, the Constitution has given them" (laughter). Their whole policy and principle as the present moment is like that of a man who went to take a snooze after a heavy dinner. Let us be up and be thankful; let us hear no more about movement or organisation, or irritation (renewed laughter). That is what some people say in regard to the state of Ireland. Aye, there are many going about who say that this is the state of mind among the farmers and the labourers, and that that ought to be the policy ("Shame"). They say, what has organisation ever done for you? They say, don't be led away by those agitators, by those mad mullahs, and by all those other terms of vituperation which are now bestowed upon every man who tries to do good for Ireland to-day, and not upon the enemies of Ireland (cheers). If it be true that the farmers are satisfied I have got no more to say. The people of Ireland are ready to give up their struggles for the liberties of Ireland—I have no more to say, but I declare here to-day, in speaking, not to you alone, but through the Press, speaking to all Ireland, and to the Irish race outside Ireland, that the man who says that the spirit and courage of Ireland is dead (prolonged cheering), and I declare that the spirit and courage of Ireland is as strong and as stout as ever (renewed cheers), and that the people of Ireland are ready once more for a more forward movement in defence of their rights and their liberties (cheers). Is it true that the farmers of Ireland are satisfied? (Cries of "No, no,") Well if they are they are very easily pleased, because I maintain that the farmers of Ireland, with all the agitation, with all the Land Act, with everything that has occurred, the farmers of Ireland are not as well off and have not got as many reductions as the farmers of England (hear, hear). Let me tell you a very curious thing that happened in the House of Lords a few weeks ago. The Irish landlords—poor fellows (laughter)—are always complaining of being robbed. A wicked tenantry, dishonest Government, a tremendous organisation, a number of agitators like myself have combined to rob them of their rights, and reduce them to miserable pauperism and despair, and they came to the House of Lords, where they expected to get a favourable hearing, and they said they had been robbed, plundered, and badly treated, and they wanted the British Government to come to their assistance, and to destroy the Land Acts that had been passed, and to give them a little money for all they had lost. The Marquis of Salisbury (groans) is the Leader of the House of Lords. He is a big landlord, and all his sympathies are with the landlords. The Duke of Devonshire is a great Irish landlord, and his sympathies are with the landlords, and so are the rest of the members of the House of Lords. Well, what happened? I assure you the poor Irish landlords were almost as badly treated by the House of Lords as if they brought their cases before a branch of the United Irish League (laughter and cheers). The Duke of Devonshire was put up to answer the case made by the Irish landlords, and what did he say? He said—"I am in the position to speak impartially, and with some knowledge, upon this question, because I have land in England and I have land in Ireland, and I have had to reduce my rents both on the land in Ireland and the land in England. Now, he said, I have a small estate in Somerset, in England, and I have a large estate in Lismore, in Ireland, and reductions were made upon both. My rent was reduced 16 per cent in Lismore, on my Irish estate, and it was reduced 35 per cent in Somersetshire, on my English estate"; so that his rent was reduced twice as much in England as it was in Ireland, and the Duke of Devonshire went on to say—"If you compare the reductions of rent in England and the reductions of rent in Ireland you will find that instead of the landlords of Ireland being worse off than the landlords of England, they are a great deal better off, because the reductions in rents in Ireland are a great deal more than in England"; so that if the farmers of Ireland, as I say, are satisfied with all that has been done I must again repeat they are mightily easily pleased, and far be it from me to try to disturb their comfortable after-dinner slumbers (laughter). Now, let me take another point. The reductions of rents in Ireland have steadily decreased. I'll tell you why later on. Well, I suppose that also adds to the satisfaction and comfort of the farmers (renewed laughter); and, thirdly, I want to put this to the farmers of Ireland—When the Land League was started in 1879 and '80 the Land League put forward this programme before the people, that the only final and satisfactory and just settlement of the Irish Land Question would be no peddling with landlordism, no tinkering with landlordism, no making trust or compromises, no peace with landlordism, but to work on and on until landlordism was abolished and every tenant farmer in Ireland owned the land of Ireland, for himself (loud cheers). Well, you never got that yet (cries of "No"). You are a good distance from that yet; but I tell you this if the United Irish League becomes the powerful and universal organisation I believe it is going to become, if you have in the next House of Commons 84 Irish members, not fighting one another, but fighting the enemy, not going one section into one lobby, and another section going into another lobby, but all into the lobby—if you have them loyal, united, disciplined as one man as in the days of the great Parnell (cheers), if you have those twenty-four, a great, powerful, and a great, powerful, United Irish League, and a great, powerful, honest Irish Party in the House of Commons, the next Parliament ought not to be allowed to pass away until we have wrung from the Government, whether it be Tory or Whig, a great measure that will enable the tenantry of every estate in Ireland to purchase the land of their estate from the landlords whether they like it or not (cheers). Now, some of you may think I am exaggerating, that I am holding out false or delusive hopes to the farmers of Ireland. Well, am I? ("No, No") Let us examine the point. Every Nationalist member, every Nationalist candidate, before he becomes a member of Parliament, will be compelled by his constituency to pledge himself to vote and work for compulsory purchase in Ireland, so that we will have 84 or 85 Irish Nationalist members claiming it (hear, hear); but that is not all. I don't believe there will be any members from Ireland who won't support compulsory purchase (cheers). The fund of the Irish Church, took out a million of money, robbed the people of Ireland of the million of money, and gave it into the hands of the landlords—one of the wickedest pieces of plunder ever committed upon the tenants of Ireland by the Government of England (cheers). My friends, you begin to see the danger to Ireland in not having an honest and a united Party. How many Irish members were in Parliament to oppose this act of plunder? If you had 84 honest men, as we had in the days of Parnell, bound together in discipline, do you think they would have allowed Mr Gerald Balfour to have robbed the people of Ireland of a million of money? But when this Bill was going through Parliament we had not twenty Irish members out of 82 (cries of "shame"), and the Government could carry the Bill we easily might be represented if the voices of Ireland were absent from their places, and were not there to give the proper opposition to such a measure. Aye, and what made the matter worse was this, that a few days during one week, while this act of infamy and robbery was going on, a Bill was brought in to benefit some one in Dublin, and you had plenty of Irish members to go over in order to vote for a Bill to put money into the pockets of a few men in Dublin (cries of "Healy"), and very few to keep the money out of the pockets of the Irish landlord (cries of "Shame"). Now I think I have proved to you that these people are not right who are whispering there is no necessity for organisation in Ireland. I understand a landlord saying that. I took up a landlord paper the other day, and I found that the one thing necessary for Ireland to be saved, according to it, was for persistent agitators, like myself, to hold their tongues, and allow the people to be quiet in their homes, and to make no more demands; and it is an extraordinary thing that the landlords and their supporters are preaching the same gospel as many so-called Nationalists are, and are walking arm in arm, and joining efforts to prevent people from being organised.

A Voice—Tim Healy and his family are at that (cheers).

Mr O'Connor—I think I have proved organisation is necessary. Now we come to the question—Where are you to get an organisation? I think the farmers and the labourers of Ireland will be plundered unless you have an organisation (cheers). I look around me, and I find only one organisation. I take this or none. If I were offered a choice between two I would weigh one against the other and choose the one which I thought was the better of the two; but that is not the position. There is only one organisation in the country. It is in every parish in Connaught; it will soon be in every parish in Munster; and it is already in many parishes in Ulster; and it will soon be in every parish in Leinster. I must take the organisation or do without one at all. Either the United Irish League is the organisation, or there is no question. Do you think you can do without an organisation at all then, in God's name, have nothing to do with the League. If you think you want an organisation then, in God's name, join the League before the country, help it, rally round it, and make Ireland once more powerful for the assertion of her rights (cheers). Some people make some objections about the United Irish League. I believe it is always better to face this thing. What is the objection? I have heard it stated if you were to join the United Irish League in North Tipperary the immediate result would be that some Dublin or man in Dublin would send some fellow down to make a speech may be a carpet bagger from London, or a butter merchant from Manchester, or an iron founder from Newcastle-on-Tyne, or some other fellow like that—and force him down your throats (laughter). I do not think the men of North Tipperary would have any man forced down their throats, but I can tell you that not only would you not submit to it, but that nobody intends to ask you to submit to it. What is the constitution of the United Irish League? It is this. Every constituency will hold its own Convention. At the Convention every branch of the United Irish League in the constituency will be represented; every branch will elect its own delegates freely, voluntarily, without interference or advice from anybody; that Convention will elect its own chairman, secretaries, its own rules, and it will be offered neither suggestion nor advice with regard to any man unless its asks for it, so that the Convention will be absolutely free to choose any man it pleases, as anybody in the world can do. Now, is that coercion, or dictation, or direction? It is in your own hands (cheers). The people are going to choose their own representatives. They may choose them well or they may choose them ill. Whether they choose them well or ill of the United Irish League asks is this you shall hold a representative Convention, representative of the branches of the organisation, and the free choice of the Convention will get all the money that is necessary to pay his election expenses to fight any man that comes before him. Can anything be fairer than that? What are the other objections? That it is a one man's league. I am told that one man is Wm O'Brien.

A Voice—Mr O'Brien is a decent man, and always was (cheers).

Mr O'Connor—Now it is said that it is a league of one man, and that man is William O'Brien. Mr Chairman, I altogether deny that this League is a league of one man; but suppose it was the league of one man?

A Voice—We are willing to follow him (cheers).

Mr. O'Connor—Is there an honester leader in Ireland than William O'Brien? Why when we hear men talk of William O'Brien now, people seem to forget that he never got a penny from Ireland, that he gave to Ireland his health, his strength, his magnificent and glorious intellect, and two years of suffering in British gaols (loud cheers). Why, Mr. Chairman, I wonder what those who come after us will think of the present generation of Irishmen who are living in days when any man who tries to do good for Ireland's cause gets nothing but vituperation, and attack, and calumny. Davitt, O'Brien, John Dillon—not one of those men but has been assailed as if, instead of being a patriot and a friend of Ireland, he had been a traitor and enemy to Ireland.

A Voice—"All Healy's work."

Mr. O'Connor—Why? Do you forget the days of coercion? Do you remember when Lord Spencer—a good man as he turned out, but then a mistaken man—was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when he could practically put every man in Ireland into jail by the decree of two of his dependant magistrates? Do you forget that scaffold after scaffold in Ireland was red with the blood of our people, when men were shot down in the streets of Mitchelstown? Do you remember the time when the platform, the Press, the liberty, the life of every man in Ireland were at the mercy of the Government; and do you remember that during all those years there was one voice raised high and defiant above all (cheers), and that against the British Government, and scaffolds, and jails, and all the powers that were of heaven and earth, Mr. O'Brien stood and conquered (loud cheers). And when thirty or forty years hence, when most of us be returned to dust, when the generation of that day in Ireland have descended and the news received come up Now look at what took place last session of Parliament. When Mr Gladstone passed the Irish Church Act he established a fund for the relief of Irish suffering. He said this fund was taken from a religious organisation, it must be devoted to something like a religious purpose, and that money was given for asylums for the blind, hospitals for the sick, and other places where disease or calamity could find a home. What happened? Some of the money has been undoubtedly spent for the purposes for which Mr Gladstone intended it. Some has gone to the Congested Districts Board for the relief of the poor people, there, and expending for the relief of the poor labourers who have to go to England in the harvesting to earn the rent that went into the pockets of the Irish landlords but there was a little of the money left, about a million or so, and in the Session of Parliament that is just over the landlords thought this a good chance for them. Mr Arthur Balfour, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, brought in a Bill, and what did that Bill do? Take there were millions of money left out of the Irish Church Fund. Why, friends, what could not be done to settle some of the rent questions of the labourers or the great questions of the congested districts with a million of money. Why, if you and all honest and united Party in Parliament and an honest and powerful organisation in Ireland, we could have got that million to build cottages, so that every labourer in Ireland could have a decent roof over his head; but you were not represented; you were not strong enough to prevent that Bill of Mr Balfour put his hand into the fund of the Irish Church, took out a million of money, robbed the people of Ireland of the million of money, and gave it into the hands of the landlords—one of the wickedest pieces of plunder ever committed upon the tenants of Ireland by the Government of England (cheers). My friends, you begin to see the danger to Ireland in not having an honest and a united Party. How many Irish members were in Parliament to oppose this act of plunder? If you had 84 honest men, as we had in the days of Parnell, bound together in discipline, do you think they would have allowed Mr Gerald Balfour to have robbed the people of Ireland of a million of money? But when this Bill was going through Parliament we had not twenty Irish members out of 82 (cries of "shame"), and the Government could carry the Bill we easily might be represented if the voices of Ireland were absent from their places, and were not there to give the proper opposition to such a measure. Aye, and what made the matter worse was this, that a few days during one week, while this act of infamy and robbery was going on, a Bill was brought in to benefit some one in Dublin, and you had plenty of Irish members to go over in order to vote for a Bill to put money into the pockets of a few men in Dublin (cries of "Healy"), and very few to keep the money out of the pockets of the Irish landlord (cries of "Shame"). Now I think I have proved to you that these people are not right who are whispering there is no necessity for organisation in Ireland. I understand a landlord saying that. I took up a landlord paper the other day, and I found that the one thing necessary for Ireland to be saved, according to it, was for persistent agitators, like myself, to hold their tongues, and allow the people to be quiet in their homes, and to make no more demands; and it is an extraordinary thing that the landlords and their supporters are preaching the same gospel as many so-called Nationalists are, and are walking arm in arm, and joining effort to prevent people from being organised.

A Voice—Tim Healy and his family are at that (cheers).

Mr O'Connor—I think I have proved organisation is necessary. Now we come to the question—Where are you to get an organisation? I think the farmers and the labourers of Ireland will be plundered unless you have an organisation (cheers). I look around me, and I find only one organisation. I take this or none. If I were offered a choice between two I would weigh one against the other and choose the one which I thought was the better of the two; but that is not the position. There is only one organisation in the country. It is in every parish in Connaught; it will soon be in every parish in Munster; and it is already in many parishes in Ulster; and it will soon be in every parish in Leinster. I must take the organisation or do without one at all. Either the United Irish League is the organisation, or there is no question. Do you think you can do without an organisation at all then, in God's name, have nothing to do with the League. If you think you want an organisation then, in God's name, join the League before the country, help it, rally round it, and make Ireland once more powerful for the assertion of her rights (cheers). Some people make some objections about the United Irish League. I believe it is always better to face this thing. What is the objection? I have heard it stated if you were to join the United Irish League in North Tipperary the immediate result would be that some Dublin or man in Dublin would send some fellow down to make a speech may be a carpet bagger from London, or a butter merchant from Manchester, or an iron founder from Newcastle-on-Tyne, or some other fellow like that—and force him down your throats (laughter). I do not think the men of North Tipperary would have any man forced down their throats, but I can tell you that not only would you not submit to it, but that nobody intends to ask you to submit to it. What is the constitution of the United Irish League? It is this. Every constituency will hold its own Convention. At the Convention every branch of the United Irish League in the constituency will be represented; every branch will elect its own delegates freely, voluntarily, without interference or advice from anybody; that Convention will elect its own chairman, secretaries, its own rules, and it will be offered neither suggestion nor advice with regard to any man unless its asks for it, so that the Convention will be absolutely free to choose any man it pleases, as anybody in the world can do. Now, is that coercion, or dictation, or direction? It is in your own hands (cheers). The people are going to choose their own representatives. They may choose them well or they may choose them ill. Whether they choose them well or ill of the United Irish League asks is this you shall hold a representative Convention, representative of the branches of the organisation, and the free choice of the Convention will get all the money that is necessary to pay his election expenses to fight any man that comes before him. Can anything be fairer than that? What are the other objections? That it is a one man's league. I am told that one man is Wm O'Brien.

A Voice—Mr O'Brien is a decent man, and always was (cheers).

Mr O'Connor—Now it is said that it is a league of one man, and that man is William O'Brien. Mr Chairman, I altogether deny that this League is a league of one man; but suppose it was the league of one man?

A Voice—We are willing to follow him (cheers).

Mr. O'Connor—Is there an honester leader in Ireland than William O'Brien? Why when we hear men talk of William O'Brien now, people seem to forget that he never got a penny from Ireland, that he gave to Ireland his health, his strength, his magnificent and glorious intellect, and two years of suffering in British gaols (loud cheers). Why, Mr. Chairman, I wonder what those who come after us will think of the present generation of Irishmen who are living in days when any man who tries to do good for Ireland's cause gets nothing but vituperation, and attack, and calumny. Davitt, O'Brien, John Dillon—not one of those men but has been assailed as if, instead of being a patriot and a friend of Ireland, he had been a traitor and enemy to Ireland.

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Mr O'Connor—Now it is said that it is a league of one man, and that man is William O'Brien. Mr Chairman