

EXTRACTS FROM MR. O'CONNELL'S LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL UNION OF IRELAND.

Mr. O'Connell first compliments the Political Unionists for their past services. He then exhorts them to avoid all acts of positive or active resistance, and to combine together in a peaceable, legal, and constitutional manner, in order that they may obtain what he holds out to their admiring expectations—good laws, cheap institutions, freedom from unjust imposts, and, above all, a domestic and maternal Legislature, with the repeal of the Union, as the forerunner of these good things for Ireland. He next proceeds to state the mode in which the people of Great Britain and Ireland can be procured to combine in aid of the impeachment of Anglesea, Stanley, and Blackburne.

As so the people of Great Britain, many of the Political Unions have already taken up this subject. They have the good sense to perceive that if the shabby Whigs are enabled to put down the right of petition in Ireland, they will proceed upon that precedent, and, encouraged by the success, will annihilate the same right wherever its exercise offends them in Great Britain. The real reformers of England and Scotland have tact and talent enough to comprehend distinctly, that if they allow the people of Ireland to be trodden under foot, they themselves will be liable to a similar fate. The British reformers remember the massacre at Manchester, and that it was justified by a leading member of the Irish Government.

Besides addressing the British reformers by letter, and from our political meetings, I intend to make a tour through the places in England and Scotland, to explain the honest and independent principles most prevail—these places are numerous—and I will, in those places, lay before the reformers the grievances of Ireland. I will detail the acts of violence resorted to, and the plans laid and carried into effect to disperse, or prevent peaceable meetings from exercising the sacred right of petition. I will expose the conduct of Lord Anglesea, Stanley, and Blackburne, and if I don't fall from the want of talents, I will, I think, succeed in procuring a multitude of petitions—aye, and instructions to many representatives, to support the impeachment of Anglesea, Stanley, and Blackburne.

So far for Great Britain—now for Ireland. I respectfully solicit the Political Union to consider deliberately the plan of proceeding which I propose, and if they approve of it, then I ask your co-operation to carry it into full effect.

My plan is this:—

The Secretary to the National Union should immediately open a book, containing a list of the parishes in Ireland, and insert the days and times on which each parish may have held its public meeting. The Secretary could write to every parish which was timid or tepid in the public cause, to join the rest of Ireland, in order to get rid of unjust impositions and to obtain cheap and free institutions.

The first object being to obtain these parochial meetings—the next is to suggest the business to be transacted at each meeting. I suggest the following:—

First. To prepare an address to the throne to dismiss (or, as the honest and patriotic men of the Trades' Union have better expressed it) to discard Anglesea, Stanley, and Blackburne. Such an address should be the first business of each meeting.

Second. To prepare a short and emphatic petition to Parliament for the total abolition and entire extinction of tithes, so as not to leave a trace behind.

Third. To petition the House of Commons to exhibit articles of impeachment against Anglesea, Stanley, and Blackburne, for their misgovernment of Ireland; their proclamation pranks and ludicrous prosecutions; their rearming of the yeomanry; their revival of Orange bigotry; their share in the several matters which have caused more human blood to have been shed in Ireland since the accession of Earl Grey's Ministry, than in five times the number of years of any former ministry; not omitting other topics, particularly those connected with some parts of the administration of justice in Ireland; in an especial manner for their venturing to disperse peaceable meetings, and for constitutional purposes, and daring to tread upon the sacred and most important right of petitioning the Legislature.

Fourth. To appoint a permanent committee of nine persons in each parish, for the purposes which I shall detail presently.

The extensive duties of the parochial committees would be these:—

First. To procure signatures to the address and to the petitions. Every male in each parish, from the age of nineteen to sixty, should be asked to sign; older persons ought to sign in a separate column, but these signatures would be very desirable.

Second. To procure the address to be presented to the King in the most respectful manner, so as to be handed to our gracious Monarch in person.

Third. To procure the petitions to be ready for representation, and to be actually presented to the Legislature on the first day of the first session of a reformed Parliament. If I should be returned to such a Parliament I will readily take charge of many petitions and of the impeachment.

Fourth. The next great duty of the committee should be to receive donations, but in particular to collect subscriptions of a farthing a week, and not more from each individual, to defray the legal and necessary expenses of obtaining our great objects, and in particular to indemnify persons who may be unjustly prosecuted, or in any respect persecuted, for patriotic exertions in favour of Irish liberty.

Let it be always collected that if only one million of persons contribute a farthing a week, that is, if one-eighth of the Irish population contribute one farthing a week, we shall have a fund exceeding fifty thousand pounds within a year, a fund amply sufficient to defray all expenses, and to indemnify every man unjustly or illegally suffering. Let it also be collected, that whoever gives a donation of 1*l.* os. 10*d.* that is twenty shillings and ten pence, pays for one thousand persons for a year, at a farthing a week. A parish with four thousand inhabitants need only to contribute 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and yet this will give in a year 50,000*l.* If only one parish out of every eight contributes, it will amount to that sum. If one out of every four parishes so contributes it will raise the money to one hundred thousand pounds.

I have thus specified four of the duties of each parochial committee. There remains another, and the most important of all. It is this:—

Fifth. To ascertain how many persons there are in each parish capable of voting under the Reform Bill—to procure and deliver the notices for registry of those persons—to attend by an agent at sessions, and get each voter registered—and to preserve the certificate of registry, and to make arrangements so as to convey each voter to the poll, without expense to the popular and repealing candidate.

I conclude with this declaration of my own personal intentions:—

FIRST. I AM DETERMINED NEVER AGAIN VOLUNTARILY TO PAY TITHES. SECOND.—I AM DETERMINED NEVER AGAIN VOLUNTARILY TO PAY VESTRY CESS. THIRD.—I AM DETERMINED NEVER TO BUY ONE SINGLE ARTICLE SOLD FOR TITHES OR VESTRY CESS. Such are my three absolute resolutions; and every other man so as he pleases. I have made up my mind at this course. I will not oppose the law, let it take its course; but I decline paying to, or buying from, tithe-proctors.

I have the honour to be, respected friends,
Your most faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

PENSIONS.

High rank and great wealth have a tendency to unfit a man for appreciating the feelings of the great mass of the community in which he lives. Lord Althorp, on Monday, made an elaborate defence of Pensions; in which, we have no doubt, he felt, or imagined he felt, that he was advocating the cause of reason and humanity; and yet, we believe there is hardly one man in the Kingdom, who is not deploring the maintenance of a system which he deems the defence an utter outrage upon both. It is true, that 75,000*l.* a year, would do little to alleviate the pressure upon the community from whose earnings that sum is drawn. But does Lord Althorp consider the removal of that heart-rankling with which the people regard the Pension List as of no importance and that the only view on which such a saving is to be regarded by an enlightened statesman is that gross, and vulgar, and palpable one—the quantity of animal comforts which it would purchase for the people in whose behalf it was remitted? He says the pensions, though for many ceasing with the demise of the crown were meant and understood to be granted for life. Be it so; but were they not granted at a time when the nation could afford them? and are they not purely eleemosynary grants? and is it not just and proper, now, when the nation can with the utmost difficulty pay its debts that it should cut off its charities? Our expenditure during the last two years has exceeded our income by half a million, Lord Althorp tells us he will endeavour to make such further reductions as will prevent the recurrence of such a state of things. But if the revenue continued to fall, what would he do?—what he will ask for more taxes. Ask for more taxes to carry on the business of Government while 75000*l.* of taxes are levied for the purpose of supplying its generosity!

We may be and are told, that many of these pensioners are very poor and very aged, (and it might have been added, very useless, when their old or young;) and that to take their pensions from them would be cruel. Do we ever hear of that fine compassion towards the hard-working many, that pay the pensions, which so liberally extended to the idle few, that receive them? Let it, however, be admitted that a tax payer ought to state whether the pensioner: how will that argument apply to those whom the abolition of the pension must deprive of a luxury or a superfluity, but who have the means of commanding both the necessities and comforts of life in their own resources?

Before the widow of an Ensign, who has purchased his commission and been shot in the nation's defence, can receive her pittance of 40*l.* a year, she must answer the interrogatories of Sir John Hobhouse touching her private fortune; and, dearly as the annuity has been purchased for her, she is fortunate in such a sum will enable her to command the comforts of life, she will not be allowed the annuity.—