A FULL AND REVISED REPORT OF THE THREE DAYS' DISCUSSION IN THE CORPORATION OF DUBLIN ON THE REPEAL OF THE UNION, WITH DEDICATION TO CORNELIUS MAC LOGHLIN, AND AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

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DANIEL O'CONNELL & JOHN LEVY

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FULL AND REVISED REPORT

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CORPORATION OF DUBLIN

ON THE

REPEAL OF THE UNION,

WITH DEDICATION TO

CORNELIUS MAC LOGHLIN, ESQ.,

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

BY DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A VALUABLE APPENDIX, AND THE PETITION FROM THE COBPORATION TO THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT, FOR THE RESTORATION OF IRELAND'S DOMESTIC LEGISLATURE.

EDITED BY JOHN LEVY, ESQ.



DUBLIN: PUBLISHED BY JAMES DUFFY, 25, ANGLESEA STREET.

REPEAL YEAR MDCCCXLIII.

TO CORNELIUS MAC LOGHLIN, ESQ.

MERRION SQUARE, 24th March, 1843.

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MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

THE Publication of the first fair Debate on the Repeal of the Union ought not to come before the Public without a Dedication.

Rosponsible in a great measure for the accuracy of the work, to whom am I to dedicate it ?

Should I not look out for a man whose private life is entirely without blemish, and whose public career is wholly free from error of judgment, or from the stain of one single selfish motive?

Should I not seek for a man who, though zealous, constant, and persevering for years upon years, in the struggle for the liberty of his country, could never be supposed to be actuated by any view to personal emolument, office, promotion, or dignity—except indeed the Patriots' dignity of unremitting exertion for the good of his native land?

Should not I look for somebody who is respected even by the enemics of the cause he has long advocated, and who is cherished by every friend to the Liberties of his Father-land?

CORNELIUS MAC LOGHLIN - Thou art the man !

To you then do I dedicate this publication, because it is eminently calculated to break the fetters of your country, and to restore her to Legislative Independence.

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DEDICATION.

For more than forty years have you and I worked together, in the sacred cause of the Rights of Nature and of Religion. And while the open day-work, which is recompensed by public applause and public sympathy, was seized upon with avidity by me, how much of the toil of vexatious labour-the obscure and unnoticed, but most useful details of that financial system, without which we could not succeed, fell into your willing and most efficient hands?. Even in all the pressure and bustle of your prosperous mercantile concerns, you found time to pay the same attention to the affairs of the Irish People that you paid to your own individual concerns; and-blessed be God !--you are now, in advanced life, with as much personal energy, with as clear and unclouded an intellect, and with as warm and affectionate a heart for the loved land of your birth, as you were when we began our career together. You find the abundant recompense for all your toils and exertions, in the opening prospect of better days for old Ireland.

x

To you do I DEDICATE this BOOK.

Proud of the opportunity, I thus publicly assure you, that I am,

My Dear Friend,

Respectfully and Affectionately Yours, DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

For you this debate was instituted. For you this work is published. To your freedom and prosperity every moment of my life is devoted.

Read this debate attentively; and if your *friends* do not convince you, I think your *opponents* will! Carry with you through all the operations of your every-day life these truths :---

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Firstly—That there is not the least possibility of governing Ireland advantageously for her People, through the means of the British Parliament.

Secondly.— That the only measure calculated to arouse all her People to such exertion as would entitle us to, and insure success, is the Repeal of the Union.

Thirdly—That the time *emphatically* is come when the Irish People can obtain that Repeal, if they are wise enough and virtuous enough to combine peacefully in an overwhelming majority for the Restoration of the Irish Parliament.

Fourthly—That there is no real obstacle to the Repeal of the Union, but an apprehension arising out of our past dissensions and struggles for Emancipation, that the Repeal would be followed by religious intolerance and sectarian animosity.

There never was a more unfounded apprehension. The causes of irritation being removed, the irritation itself could not continue.

Men of Ireland ! your duty is so to conduct yourselves as to obliterate every such apprehension. Exert your-

DEDICATION.

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selves unremittingly to exhibit kindness, affection, conciliation, and cordiality, towards persons of all sects, and of every persuasion.

Let us leave the settlement of our religious differences to grace, to piety, to the mercies of God, to the merits of the adorable Redeemer.

Irishmen! The more Christian qualities you exhibit, the more Christian charity you display, the more moral virtues you practice; the more profound is your piety before the throne of your Redeemer—the more shall you advance the *temporal* interests, and the *civil* liberties, of your native land.

It is a blessed consolation : Patriotism and Religion run in the same channel. And if all Irishmen were to-morrow practical Christians, their legislative independencefraught with every blessing and every prosperity--would at once burst with renewed existence amidet the joyful acclamation of all.

Fellow-countrymen, the "accepted time" has arrived. I OFFER YOU THE REPEAL.

If you will but join me with heart and hand, from one extreme of Ireland to the other; if you will rally with me in peace, in loyalty, in legal and constitutional exertion, in the absence of all riot, turnult, or violence—your country can be free; your country WILL be free; your country MUST be free.

Irishmen! I proudly offer you the Repeal of the Union. It is in your own hands.

Your Devoted Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

DUBLIN, 24TH MARCH, 1843.

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PREFACE.

TO THE READERS OF THE DISCUSSION.

I did intend to write a lengthened Preface to this Discussion, but the extent to which it has run, making as you see a volume of considerable size, precludes me from doing so. It may, however, be enough to express a hope that I have fulfilled the task I have undertaken to the satisfaction of all who feel an interest in the important question which has given rise to this debate. The printing was executed and the paper supplied by Mr. Duffy, the spirited publisher of Anglesea-street, and it will be seen that no expense has been spared to bring the work out in a way creditable to the Dublin press.

The speeches of Mr. O'Connell, as taken from the *Freeman's Journal*, have been all corrected and revised by himself—the other speakers also got an opportunity of correcting their speeches—some availed themselves of it, and with regard to those who did not I endeavoured to make such amendments as I deemed necessary, without interfering with the sense sought to be conveyed, or the subject matter touched upon by the speaker.

The Freeman's Journal, Saunders, Warder, and Weekly Register, are the papers to which I am indebted for the original reports; but it will be seen that they have all been corrected and revised, and that even the important and comprehensive speech of Mr. Staunton, which was taken from his own journal, contains many material amendments which, in the hurry of newspaper composition, were necessarily omitted.

PREFACE.

As to the value and importance of the whole work, it would be superfluous to say one word—it speaks for itself, and I have no doubt, that not only the present edition, but many others, will meet a ready sale. I may say for myself, that I have been long connected with the Repeal question, having some years ago started a Newspaper in this City (*The Repealer*) to advocate it, by which I lost upwards of fifteen hundred pounds—that loss has not damped my ardour for the cause of legislative independence, which I believe will be materially assisted by having put into a durable form, a correct and authentic report of this memorable Discussion—in that undertaking I know I shall be sustained by all parties.

JOHN LEVY.

20, Holles Street. Dublin, March, 1843.

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