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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
First National Convention
OF THE
FENIAN BROTHERHOOD,
HELD IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
NOVEMBER, 1863.

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Can blast an empire like a rock."

Thomas Davis.



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Entered according to Act of Congress, December 12, 1863

By JOHN O'MAHONY,

In the Clerk's Office of the Eastern District Court of Pennsylvania.

Elective Officers.

HEAD CENTRE :

JOHN O'MAHONY, New York City.

CENTRAL COUNCIL:

JAMES GIBBONS, Philadelphia, Penna.

MICHAEL CORCORAN,

Brig. General Army of the Potomac.

MATTHEW MURPHY,

Col. 69th Rgt. N.Y.V.N.A. Corcoran's Irish Legion,

RICHARD DOHERTY, Lafayette, Indiana,

MICHAEL SCANLAN, Chicago, Illinois.

TREASURER :

PATRICK O'ROURKE, New York City.

ASSISTANT TREASURER :

PATRICK KEENAN, New York City.

STATE CENTRES :

New York,MICHAEL KENNEDY, Troy.

Illinois,HENRY O'C. M'CARTHY, Chicago.

Indiana, THOMAS REDMOND, Indianapolis.

Ohio, JAMES MANNNING, Cleveland.

District of Columbia, ...JAMES LACKEY, Washington.

Missey,.....WILLIAM MORAN, St. Louis.

Kentucky,.....J. P. MAGRATH, Louisville.

Tennessee,THOMAS M'CARTHY, Nashville.

Pennsylvania,JAMES GIBBONS, Philadelphia.

Massachusetts.....JOHN WARREN, Charleston.

Wisconsin,JEREMIAH QUIN, Milwaukee.

Michigan,.....LAWRENCE VERDUN, Detroit.

California,JEREMIAH KAVANAGH, San Francisco.

Army of the Potomac,...PATRICK J. DOWNING, Major 42nd Reg. N. Y. V

Army of the Cumberland JAMES M. FITZGERALD, Capt. 10th Reg. Ohio V.

Army of Tennessee,.....COL. MALLOY, 17th Reg. Wis. Vols.

British Provinces,.....	{	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
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British Provinces,.....

The following Minutes, Resolutions, Address
and By-Laws have been submitted to me and are
hereby approved as the OFFICIAL REPORT of the
FIRST CONGRESS of the Fenian Brotherhood.

Signed,

JOHN O'MAHONY,
H. C. F. B.

6, Centre Street, New-York,
December 3, 1863.

Preliminary Meeting.

The Centres and Delegates of the Fenian Brotherhood, summoned by the order of the Head Centre, John O'Mahony, to meet in Convention at Chicago, Nov. 3d, 1863, at 11 o'clock, A. M., assembled at that hour in preliminary meeting in the Fenian hall. The Head Centre, calling the meeting to order, made the following address:

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS:—You do not expect me to address you at any great length at this preliminary meeting. You have been called here to a convention to be composed of the Centres of the Fenian Brotherhood, assisted by delegates from its several Circles, chosen by election. The first thing then to be done here is to ascertain the persons that are entitled to participate in the proceedings about to be commenced, according to the terms of the call which has been published in the newspapers, copies of which have also been forwarded in the form of circulars to all the branches of the Fenian Brotherhood. This can be best effected by means of a committee on credentials, to whose scrutiny every Centre and Delegate claiming a voice in our deliberations will submit his claim to be present. You will have to provide likewise for permanent officers for the convention. This also will be best accomplished by appointing a committee to select them, subject to the approval of their fellow representatives when the session will be regularly organised.

For many reasons that most of you will readily understand, it is necessary that the business of this, our first convention, shall be transacted with closed doors, and that none but Centres and Delegates shall be permitted to be present, unless by a special vote.

The motives for calling you together shall be laid before you in detail when your meeting is regularly inaugurated. The call was made in compliance with a requisition signed by a number of Centres in the West and elsewhere; but, had no such requisition been sent, it is high time for us to meet in council, and, having compared our experience of the past six years—for so long has the Fenian Brotherhood been in existence—to adopt such measures as will place our

organization in a position more suitable to its vast extent, and to pass such rules for its direction and management as will render it more efficient and more ready to the hand than it is at present; for the time seems fast approaching when we will have to strike a blow for the Independence of Ireland—a time for which we have been preparing ourselves for years. *

It is also necessary that we declare our position, our object and our resources before the world, so that all the friends of Irish freedom may understand us; for our enemies have been allowed to calumniate our organization too long. By declaring our *status* openly, we will confound all their vile emissaries—their paid spies and secret agents—whether they assail us as the open foes or as the pretended friends of the Irish people. But our open foes we might well laugh at. Their hate and vilification would but serve to strengthen our association and hasten their own destruction. This their leaders know full well; they are cunning vipers, and understand Irish nature thoroughly. They know it is not exactly the thing to assail us in the *New York Albion*, or in any journal *avowedly* in the interest of England. Aware of the attachment of the Irish Catholic to the faith of his sires, they buy some base wretch of an editor who pretends to teach Catholicity to the Irish citizens of the United States, to vilify and assail the Fenian Brotherhood as a “Secret Society,” and as such, forbidden by the Church. By declaring openly what we are, what are our objects, and how we propose to gain them, and declaring also our rights as freemen, and even as Catholics, should we be of the Catholic faith, to associate for their attainment. This will force our traitorous assailants to come out in their true colors, or else to let us alone for the future. Resolutions should be passed upon this and other important matters.

The organization needs, likewise, a constitution and code of by-laws, more in accordance with the habits and customs of this country, than those under which we have been acting these years past. It must be placed upon a more democratic basis.

Your attention will be called more particularly to these subjects when you are in regular session. As many of you have come more than a thousand miles, from the North, South, East and West, to this meeting, leaving your homes

and your avocations, and are anxious to return to your friends and families, I shall not detain you any longer from the business that brought you hither. You will, therefore, propose the formation of the committees that I have mentioned, so that we may set to work without further delay.

Richard Doherty, Indiana, moved that H. O'C. M'Carthy, of Illinois, act as Secretary *pro tem.*; seconded and carried unanimously.

P. T. Sherlock, Ill., moved that a committee on credentials, consisting of three, be appointed, before which each Centre and Delegate should submit his credentials, and receive authorization to sit in Convention; seconded and carried unanimously.

The Head Centre appointed

RICHARD DOHERTY, Ind.,	}	Committee on Credentials.
MICHAEL SCANLAN, Ill.,		
Capt. D. J. DOWNING, 97th N. Y. V.,		
Potomac Circle,		

P. T. Sherlock, Ill., moved that a committee of three on permanent officers for the Convention, be appointed; seconded and carried unanimously.

The Head Centre appointed

P. T. SHERLOCK, Ill.,	}	Committee on Permanent Officers.
JAMES GIBBONS, Penna.,		
P. O'ROURKE, N. Y.,		

Thomas M'Carthy, Tenn., then moved that the preliminary meeting of the Convention adjourn over to 3 o'clock, P. M., to then meet in first organized session; seconded and carried unanimously.

The Committee on Credentials were instructed to proceed to business, after which the meeting adjourned.

First Organized Session.

At 3 o'clock, P. M., JOHN O'MAHONY, Head Centre, called the Convention to order.

Committee on credentials reported, whereupon the Secretary *pro tem.* called the roll presented by said committee, each representative receiving a card as the call proceeded, through which he was to be recognized by the guards at the door as having a right to sit in the Convention.

Charles J. Kickham, Mullinahone, Tipperary, Ireland, and M. J. Heffernan, 14th U. S. Infantry, late of Tipperary, Ireland, were, upon the recommendation of the Head Centre, and by the unanimous vote of the Convention, admitted to a seat upon the platform.

The Secretary *pro tem.* read the minutes of the preliminary meeting, which, upon motion, were unanimously adopted.

JOHN O'MAHONY, Head Centre, then made the following address to the Convention:

GENTLEMEN AND BROTHERS:—As your Convention is now in session, it becomes my duty to call your attention to the work before you, in as brief terms as I can command. Of this work you have all had some intimation ere now, so that it rests with me but to remind you of the particular points to which I would direct your special attention.

Towards the end of 1858, when I was elected your President, at a meeting held in New York city, and, at the same time, received my commission as Head Centre from elsewhere, there were not more than forty men who belonged to our association in all these States. Outside of the city just named, there was not a single enrolled member of our Brotherhood in all America. Setting out from such small beginnings, it has since then put forth its branches from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific. Stretching northward, it has crossed the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, spreading widely over the Provinces of Great Britain. Towards the South, it had reached the mouth of the Mississippi ere the present deplorable civil war had cut off communication with our Southern Circles, of which that at New Orleans

alone still keeps up an understanding with your Central Office in New York.

Since the inauguration of our Brotherhood many obstructions have been cast in the way of its development. Newspapers published in Ireland of the effete school of constitutional agitation, have striven with might and main to cry it down. The "Moral Force" deluders of the Irish people have uttered all manner of denunciations against it. Those would-be O'Connellites, whose prototypes stood aloof from the great man who is now their prophet, in the days of his sore trials and hard strife with Protestant ascendancy, reviled and calumniated our association and its chiefs. But more than all, the Irish Revolutionary party of '48—the Young Irelanders—produced men hardy enough to attempt to put us down—us, many of whom their own rash counsels and badly concerted plans had dragged from happy homes, and condemned to the sad lot of exile. This was the party that produced a man who was found so oblivious of the duties that devolve upon him from his antecedents with regard to Irish Revolution, and so blind to the advantages of the present position of the Irish nation, taken as a whole, at home and abroad, as to come out from Ireland to these United States, seemingly, as if to crush out the last spark of faith in their country's resurrection from the breasts of the Irish citizens of America. His blow was struck at our organization in the days of its infancy, but we have outlived it. He failed in his attempt, though he discouraged many a true Irishman. We are, none of us, simple enough to be persuaded that one set of principles could be preached to us truthfully in '48, and a totally different one in '59. I shall not now mention this gentleman's name. Perhaps, considering the commanding position of the Fenian Brotherhood, I may have gone too far in even alluding to him. But somehow I feel personally aggrieved when a Young Ireland leader gives up the cause of Irish Revolution. The summons of that party brought me out from my quiet home in 1848. By following its leaders I brought ruin and death upon those I loved dearest upon earth, and condemned myself to a life of bitter exile. I, like many another '48 insurgent, was not of their party till they took the field. I expected all from them. Up to this time I have been sadly disappointed. When one of them attacks the Fenian Brotherhood and its plans and policy of Irish Revolution, I feel thoroughly indignant, not alone for the sake of my

country, but for my own. I consider that they owe a debt to Ireland that is still unpaid. I consider my own personal claim upon them to be no light one. I trust indeed I shall never again see a young Ireland leader come out to America, and then strive to crush out from the hearts of my fellow-exiles the hope of our country's redemption by armed force. But why have I dwelt on this matter, now that we have triumphed over the attempt in question? Simply because another similar raid may be made into our midst. I wish to warn all parties so inclined, that this is not the place nor the time to obstruct the progress of Irish revolution. If they attempt it they will hear more from me.

We have been assailed from many other quarters also. Parties have been found here to denounce our Brotherhood upon one pretext or another, but all of them groundless. In certain quarters Anathemas of the Church have been threatened against our associates, though upon pretences that are without any solid basis. We have been charged with being a "Secret Society." Churchmen have been persuaded to assail us, though in very rare instances; but rare as these instances have been, no other attack has injured us so much. * * *

The civil war also retarded the development of the Fenian Brotherhood for a considerable time, so many of our comrades having entered the American army from all quarters of the Union. At length we have overcome most of our difficulties. The organization has come safely through every crisis up to this. It has numerous Circles in the army, whose members count by thousands, as well as in the cities and towns of the Union. We no longer need generals of our own blood to lead us to battle for Ireland, nor veteran soldiers to follow them. We have more of them than we shall ever need.

The H. C. then laid before the meeting the present state of Ireland in respect to organization—the spirit of her people, &c. But these matters must not be laid before the general public. He also pointed out the work already done by the Fenian Brotherhood at home and abroad; concluding, by asserting that whatever signs of national vitality existed in Ireland at present, were owing to Fenian teaching. He furthermore contrasted the position of the Poles and Poland, with the Irish and Ireland—pointing out rather severely to the latter their superior advantages for preparing an insurrection against their tyrants. Having dwelt

upon the necessity of a military pre-organization, and the utter folly of ever hoping to ameliorate the lot of Ireland without it, he said: It now rests with you to enter upon the duties you came here to perform. The first will be the drawing up of a series of Resolutions which will declare the position and objects of the Fenian organization, together with the rights of its members individually and collectively. You will also have to draw up a constitution and code of by-laws suitable to the circumstances of the present hour. It will be well that henceforth all your chief officers should derive their authority from the voice of their associates, through election, subject, however, to such modifications as the necessities of our movement require. The system of periodical election will render our association in better accord with the democratic institutions of America, and thus secure for it a greater popularity than heretofore, among our fellow citizens born in this country.

The separation of the executive and financial departments will next engage your attention. Both ought, in my opinion, to be made accountable to an annual convention of the Chiefs of the various branches of the Brotherhood, assisted by representatives elected by each Circle thereof.

Provisions will have to be made for the regular transmission of supplies to all quarters where they may be needed.

The labor of our organizers will have to be divided more equally in future, and means will have to be devised whereby they may discharge their several duties more efficiently than they have been able hitherto to accomplish under our old regulations.

Committee on permanent officers reported, for

President, JOHN O'MAHONY.

Vice Presidents, { RICHARD DOHERTY, Ind.
DANIEL GRADY, D. C.
DANIEL CARMODY, Wis.

Secretaries, { H. O'C. MCCARTHY, Ill.
THOMAS MCCARTHY, Tenn.

On motion, the report was unanimously adopted. Thomas McCarthy, of Tenn., expressing his acknowledgment, begged to decline, stating that his imperfect sight would seriously impede the proper performance of a secretary's duties. His resignation was accepted, and on

motion, John A. Stuart, Ind., was unanimously elected to the vacated office.

P. Sherlock, Ill., moved that a committee of five be appointed to take into consideration and bring before the Convention certain resolutions and addresses, which the exigencies of the time and the welfare of the Brotherhood make necessary. Seconded and carried unanimously.

The President appointed,

JAMES GIBBONS, Penn.,	} Committee on Resolutions and Addresses.
MICHAEL SCANLAN, Ill.,	
P. T. SHERLOCK, Ill.,	
THOS. MCCARTHY, Tenn.,	
JAMES M. FITZGERALD, Capt. 10th Ohio U. S. V.	

P. M. Dunn, Ill., moved that a committee of five be appointed, with the President of the Convention as Chairman, to revise the Constitution and By-laws of the Fenian Brotherhood. Amendment by Thos. Redmond of Indiana, that the committee consist of one representative from each State. Amendment to the amendment by Michael Cavill, of Pennsylvania, that one representative from each military circle as well as from each State form the committee. Seconded and carried.

The President then appointed the Committee on Constitution and By-laws.

H. O'C. MCCARTHY, Ill.,
Capt. P. F. WALSH, Penn.,
DANIEL DONOVAN, Mass.,
JOHN MULANY, Ind.,
THOMAS MCCARTHY, Tenn.,
J. P. McGRATH, Ky.,
J. MANNING, Ohio.,
Capt. D. J. DOWNING, Circle of the Potomac,
BARTHOLOMEW O'NEILL, Wis.,
MAJOR P. F. HANNAN, New York,
W. MORAN, Mis.
JAMES M. FITZGERALD, Circle of the Cumberland,
LAWRENCE VERDUN, Michigan,
DANIEL GRADY, Washington, D. C.
RICHARD DOHERTY, Circle 35th Indiana U. S. V.

The President called the attention of the Convention to the late Rev. Edward O'Flaherty, of Indiana, "a gentleman

with whose career, capacity and patriotism you are so well conversant that it is needless for me to enlarge upon them. Suffice it to say, that in his death the Fenian Brotherhood suffered a loss which cannot readily, perhaps, be supplied. When I received the sad news of his death, I cannot describe to you my grief and anxiety—grief for my noble and gifted friend; anxiety lest the Brotherhood should fall away from that high standard which he had established for it in the North-west, more especially in the State of Indiana. I would suggest, gentlemen, that you take into consideration the appointment of a committee to devise a means wherewith the Fenian Brotherhood can shew its appreciation of the labors of its patriot priest, Edward O'Flaherty."

Michael Scanlan, of Ill., moved that a committee be appointed from the Centres and Delegates of the State of Indiana, to devise a plan and elaborate details, the fund required to be furnished pro-rata by every circle in the United States and the British Provinces. Amendment by C. H. O'Brien, of Indiana, that the committee consist of a representative from each State; seconded and carried.

The President appointed

ROBERT SHEELEY, Ind.,
JAMES GIBBONS, Penn.,
D. GRADY, D. C.,
DANIEL DONOVAN, Mass,
J. J. FITZGIBBON, Ill.,
THOMAS MCCARTHY, Tenn.,
P. CONSTANTINE, Ky.,
TITUS SCULLIN, Ill.,
T. DOLAN, Ohio,
D. P. CARMODY, Wis.,
JOHN GORMAN, N. Y.,
WM. KIDNEY, Mo.,
Capt. D. J. DOWNING, Circle of the Potomac,
Capt. J. M. FITZGERALD, Circle of the Cumberland,
RICHARD DOHERTY, 35th Ind., U. S. V.,

Committee on O'Flaherty Monument.

The President then directed that the various Committees should (after the intermission for supper,) meet in the Hall in order to enter upon their respective labors.

On motion, the Convention then adjourned over until 9 o'clock, A. M., Wednesday, 4th day of November.

Second Day's Session.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1863.

The Convention was called to order by the President, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

Committee on Credentials reported the arrival of delegates from the British Provinces, who, having been duly accredited, were introduced to the Convention, the Secretary adding their names to the Roll. [For obvious reasons the names of these gentlemen are suppressed from the printed reports.]

The Roll was then called.

The minutes of the preceding session were read, and, upon motion, unanimously adopted.

The Secretary then read, by direction of the President, the following rules, which are to govern the transaction of business in the Convention:—

1. All motions shall be submitted in writing.
2. The speaker shall address the President in a respectful manner, and standing.
3. No member shall speak more than once on the same subject, except the maker of the motion, who may make explanations wherein his position is not clear.
4. No personalities in debate allowed.
5. Any member called to order will transgress the decision of the President under pain of expulsion.

The Code of regulations as set down in Jefferson's Manual, shall in all else govern the Convention. The order of business was also read.

The President then passed to the Secretary a telegram, which he read to the Convention, as follows:

San Francisco, Nov. 3, 1863.

John O'Mahony, Fenian Hall, Chicago: Members of the first Irish Congress! The men of California recognize you as the Representatives of our Race, and as the opportunity is at hand, pledge you their support. Proxy to Gibbons of Philadelphia. Answer.

J. KAVANAGH, Centre.

It was moved and carried, that the telegram be inserted in the minutes, and that the following reply should be returned; also, that J. Gibbons act as proxy:

Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, }
Chicago, Nov. 3, 1863. }

J. Kavanagh, Centre, San Francisco, Cal.

Greeting: Dispatch received. Gibbons your proxy.
Convention a success. JOHN O'MAHONY.

Letters were also read by the Secretary from Captain Burke, Centre *pro tem.* of the Rappahannock Circle, and from Major Dufficy, 35th Ind. U. S. V., which letters, on motion, are inserted in the minutes.

Camp Ninth Mass. Vol., }
Near Warrenton, Va. }

JOHN O'MAHONY—Dear Sir:—In concurrence with the views of the members of the F. B. of the Rappahannock Circle, and as it is improbable that either myself or the Delegate elect can obtain a leave of absence, I herewith furnish you a general summary of what we wish our Delegate, by proxy, to represent at the Chicago Convention:

All the members of this Circle are ardently devoted to the cause which they have espoused, and nothing less than the utter failure of an attempt to disenthral our native land will slacken their ardor or decrease their enthusiasm. We are ready and willing to take up arms at any time that our superiors should deem expedient (and in accordance with our duties and obligations to the U. S. Government) and in the 9th regiment alone we can raise at least 300 fighting men, unless the casualties of battle will diminish that number during the coming seven months. We wish our delegate to state in emphatic terms, that the Circle of the Rappahannock is in favor of taking advantage of the earliest chance that offers itself to rise in open rebellion against the despoilers of the liberties and rights of our people. However, dear sir, should the opportunity not offer itself as early as we would have it, we will, like dutiful children, toil on in our good work, and calmly await the time when our superiors shall call on us to prove by deed THAT which we have pledged to accomplish.

I would dearly wish to attend the Convention in person, as, perhaps, I could demonstrate more plainly the ideas and views of soldiers in the field. Perhaps you could appoint

a military man to act as our proxy, and if so I think it would be better: however, it lies with you altogether, and there is no fear of fault-finding.

Dear sir, if you have time, please acknowledge the receipt of this communication. I might add that it is not impossible that our leaves could be granted, as they are now on the way, but we thought it better to give you timely notice, so that you would be prepared.

Wishing you harmony of action in the work before you, with complete success, I am, sir,

Yours Fraternally,

T. B. BOURKE, Capt.,

Centre *pro. tem.*, Circle of the Rappahannock.

The President, in accordance with Capt. Bourke's and the Committee on Credentials' instructions, appointed Capt. D. J. Downing proxy.

Headquarters 35th Ind. (Irish) Vols., }
Chattanooga, Tenn. }

RICHARD DOHERTY, Lafayette, Ind. — Dear Sir:— The undersigned takes pleasure in introducing himself as a Fenian Brother, and would solicit your attention for a moment. A branch of the F. B. was established in this regiment by Mr. McDermott, from Ireland, in the month of July, 1863. Since that time we have perfected our organization. On the 12th inst. we received a letter from John O'Mahony, Head Centre, stating that there would be a general Convention held in Chicago, Nov. 3, 1863, and instructing us to make our representation either in person or by proxy. A special meeting was called last night for that purpose, and you were chosen as a proper person. We shall anxiously await your reply, and trust you may accept the proposition. Our organization numbers forty-five. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN P. DUFFICY,

Major 35th Ind. Vols.

In accordance with the desire of the writer, approved by the Committee on Credentials, the President appointed Richard Doherty proxy.

James Gibbons of Philadelphia, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions and Addresses, presented the resolutions as adopted by the Committee. He introduced them by saying: "in presenting Resolutions and Addresses of an importance so very solemn, I feel myself unequal to the task, but actuated by good motives, I confidently rely upon

the graciousness of the Convention. The voice of this assembly, or Congress, as our friends in California happily term it, is the voice of the Irish race, that, wandering in the wilderness of exile, have centred here in council to tell the world that the nationality of Ireland is yet intact."

He said there were present representatives from all parts of the United States, from the Canadas, and from Ireland. California had sent her electric words of good cheer and good faith. From our army too, where Ireland's noble sons fought and bled for their adopted country, came men with true hearts and willing hands to do and die for the dear old land. A brave soldier who but recently lost a limb in the battle of Gettysburg, and though weak and emaciated, underwent a long journey to this western metropolis to unite with the chiefs in the cause of Ireland's regeneration; having already suffered for Ireland, was here and though young in years had by his patriotism and zeal endeared himself to the Irish heart. Such a spirit, and so thorough a desire to forget exciting allusions to topics foreign to the immediate business in hand, he had never witnessed. And he looked upon this sacrificing of bickerings for the sake of unanimity of action in the great issues of the great question as a good omen. He reviewed with ability the numbers of Irishmen in all lands, occupying exalted positions, loving their country, and yet kept by an insidious policy and perverted organization from accomplishing results. He alluded to the grandeur which the organization of the Fenian Brotherhood had already attained, how it had sprung from the people and was of the people. The people were the directors. The idea was the leader. The idolatry of name, or almost idolatry, heretofore pervading national movements in Ireland, was now crushed. The *idea* had taken the place of *men*, and it was no longer forgotten in men. Leaders might become traitorous, or die, or grow cold—but the people clung still more closely and gathered more firmly around their chief—*Regeneration*. He alluded to the existing condition of affairs in Ireland. To famine, deaths and beggary—to evictions. "Cattle," said he, "were now browsing upon the grass which sprang from the graves of our fathers—*Durham* cattle." "Going back" he said "through the long vista of ages to the time when our ancestors, the Kings and Chiefs of Ireland sat in Council, mail-clad men in the ancient Halls of Tara, I think to myself what a fearful contrast! that day and this! What food

for reflection! What seas of tears and blood, what sufferings and what sorrows pass before me—a hideous panorama! * * * But the men in Ireland have resolved not to die the dog's death of starvation. They have resolved to die as the descendants of a brave race should die, on the battle-field with the flag of Irish liberty in their hands. The Fenian Brotherhood, like true engineers, have surveyed the paths which they must traverse, and they have discovered that they will have to tread the same bloody paths their fathers trod before them. They know that Liberty is not a gift—that it must be wooed and won by virgin steel in the hands of freemen, and they have resolved to win it—planting the standard of Ireland, a free land, upon the mounds where lie those foes who have been feeding upon the heart's blood of her people for ages.

“Cast your eye across the Atlantic, my countrymen, and behold your ancient and venerable mother sitting with her head bowed in grief, her hands in manacles, amidst the ruins of her now departed glory. Hear her appeals calling upon you to turn your eye towards your ancient Jerusalem, and asking you to wipe the death-sweat from her brow, to clothe her in her national garments, and send her forth redeemed and disenthralled. You know, gentlemen, the silk-worm, it feeds on the mulberry, it envelopes itself in a cocoon of silk—it dies long before that silk is unravelled, and webbed, and dyed in brilliant hues—and worn upon forms of grace and beauty. We resemble somewhat the silk-worm. We are industrious, and we are gathering around us material, which, when woven, will make a garment of prodigious splendor for regenerated Ireland; although we, like the silk-worm, may pass away. We can however look into the future with a prophetic eye and behold Ireland walk forth from the long night of slavery, clothed in the robes of liberty woven by the hands of the sorrow-stricken exile.

“Remember that the sun of Ireland's departed glory is gilding the eastern horizon, and you don't know the hour when the battle-cry of the old race will sweep across the Atlantic, announcing in tones of thunder that the long-looked for hour of vengeance is come. Oh! my countrymen, will you be ready?

“If you are not ready when that cry is heard, mankind will despise you, your people will despise you, and I say to you, woe, woe, and ten thousand woes upon you, for you will be as Cain.”

P. T. Sherlock, Illinois, moved that the Secretary read the resolutions first entire, and then in sections—each section being digested and acted upon in its proper place; seconded and carried unanimously.

The Secretary read the Resolutions, and the first resolution was then taken up and adopted, also the second, the third, with phraseology changed.

On motion, the convention adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

Third Session.

The President called the Convention to order at 2 o'clock, P. M.

On motion, roll-call was dispensed with, each representative having to submit his credentials to the guards at the door opening into the Convention room.

The resolutions were then taken up. The 4th and 5th resolutions were read and adopted. When the 6th resolution was read, an animated discussion took place regarding the paragraph which terminated the resolution. The phrase "know-nothing exclusiveness" was objected to, it having been used in connection with the influence foreign potentates might exert upon the enunciation of American political opinions. The resolution read, that in the cases where naturalized citizens were influenced in their political action by foreign officials of any class whatsoever—"know-nothing exclusiveness would become the duty of American-born citizens." The paragraph was finally voted down as containing matter not essential to the completeness of the resolution, whereupon

The 6th resolution amended was read and adopted, as also the following—7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d.

P. T. Sherlock, Ill., moved that the Resolutions be accepted as a whole; seconded and carried.

On motion, the third resolution of which the phraseology had been changed, was submitted to the President, who was empowered to alter it so that it would express precisely the spirit of the Convention.

P. T. Sherlock, Ill., moved that twenty thousand copies of the Resolutions, signed by the representatives, be printed for circulation through the Brotherhood; seconded and carried.

The Secretary then read to the Convention a dispatch from Gen. Meagher.

New York, Nov. 4, 1863.

JOHN O'MAHONY, Fenian Hall, Chicago :

Had to go to Washington on call of War Department. The call imperative. Have to go again on Saturday. Will proceed to the Army from Washington next week. I heartily concur in plan and regulations of re-organization as proposed by you with such modifications as the Convention adopts. Fraternity and happiness and honor to all.

THOS. FRANCIS MEAGHER.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to insert the above dispatch in the minutes.

Michael Scanlan, of Ill., moved that James Gibbons, of Philadelphia, should have the honor of first attaching his autograph to the accepted resolutions: seconded by P. T. Sherlock, of Chicago, and carried unanimously.

The representatives then proceeded to sign as the roll was called.

James Gibbons, Penn., moved that the accepted Resolutions be termed the DECLARATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND, and that the original, with autographs, be placed in the archives of the Chicago Circle for preservation; seconded and carried unanimously.

Robert Sheely, of Ind., Chairman of the Committee of the O'Flaherty Monument, handed the following report to the Secretary.

Your Committee respectfully report that they submit the following resolutions to the Convention :

Resolved, That each Circle in America be recommended to open books of subscription, to raise funds for the erection of an appropriate monument to the memory of Rev. Edward O'Flaherty, deceased, and that all members of the Brotherhood be requested to aid in making up this fund.

Resolved, That John O'Mahony, New York, Francis Duffy, Titus Scullin, Danville, Ill., and Richard Doherty, Lafayette, Ind., be appointed a Committee to adopt a design, and receive funds for said monument.

Resolved, That the balances of the said fund remaining on hand after providing for the monument be applied as the committee may deem proper.

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to send copies of these Resolutions to each of the Centres of the F. B. in America.

On motion, the report was adopted, and the Secretary instructed to insert the same in the minutes.

On motion, it was resolved that a committee be appointed to draft resolutions in connection with the decease of our lamented and revered brother, the late Rev. Edward O'Flaherty. The President appointed

Captain DUNN,	}	Committee on O'Flaherty Resolutions.
THOMAS REDMOND,		
Captain WALSH,		
Captain WARREN,		

The Secretary then read to the convention an address to the people of Ireland, as prepared by the Committee on Resolutions and Addresses. On motion it was adopted, and the secretary instructed to inscribe it in the minutes.

On motion, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Committee on Resolutions and Addresses, for the efficient and able manner in which they had discharged their duties.

On motion, the printing of the Resolutions was deferred until after the adjournment of the convention, when they would be printed in connection with the minutes.

On motion, the convention then adjourned over until 8½ o'clock, A. M., Thursday, 5th Nov. 1863.

Fourth Session.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1863.

The President called the Convention to order at 9 o'clock A. M.

Roll call being dispensed with, the Secretary proceeded to read the minutes, which, upon motion, were adopted.

H. O'C. McCarthy, Secretary, and Chairman of the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws, introduced the report of the Committee by saying, "that he hoped the consideration of the matter presented to the Convention by this Committee would be considered in a most thorough manner.—As John O'Mahony had suggested, a change was deemed necessary in order to render the Constitution and By-laws more in consonance with democratic institutions. And, too, as you know, the most trying experiences having been numbered with the past, the mode of government should be changed—from that calculated to inaugurate an organization to that which should develop and control one already established. There should now be regulations which, guaranteeing faithful and efficient performance of duty on the part of officials, should also excite the confidence and sympathy of Irish and Irish-Americans in America.—And I trust after these resolutions are digested and established as laws for the government of the organization, that each centre and delegate will apply himself with energy and devotion to the propagation of Irish nationality. Now is the golden time. Our people are learning to think as well as to feel. They begin to reason as well as to fancy. They look around them and see everywhere Irishmen not only exiles, but hewers of wood and drawers of water. They know God formed them equal to any other people mentally and physically. They have bright mental parts, but they feel, also, that they have not had that knowledge of material appliances, and perhaps that application of prudence to common affairs, which is necessary to success. They are numbered by millions in America. They number thousands in Australia, and, in fact, there is no country in the world where Ireland is not represented by numbers as well as by ability. The masses, however, are doing the hard labor which enriches empires, kingdoms and republics. Is

it not an anomaly that these millions of people, many of them occupying exalted positions, many of them thoroughly cultivated, and all of them hating the despotism which has crushed their native land and its people, is it not an anomaly that this despotism should be suffered to continue? * * * It is not an anomaly when you consider that sectional issues have ever stepped in to break up organization and keep dissevered elements of power which once united could crush any despotism against which its momentum should be directed. * * * Irishmen begin to see that if they wish to peer with other nationalities, it is necessary to initiate an unanimity of action. * * *

Gentlemen, you who form such large and clear conceptions of the work we have to do, go to your homes, with hearts on fire, with minds exalted, and with bodies nerved to work. Spread intelligence. Spread a love of Irish nationality. Excite Irishmen to work. Convince their minds, develop their enthusiasm, and direct them to work. To work patiently, energetically and unflaggingly."

The Constitution and By-laws were then read, and with certain changes, adopted in detail.

On motion of Thomas McCarthy, Tenn., they were then adopted as a whole.

On motion, the Convention adjourned over to 2 o'clock P. M.

Fifth Session.

Capt. P. F. Walsh, Pittsburgh, chairman of committee on O'Flaherty Resolutions, introduced his report by alluding to the deceased in a profoundly feeling manner.—He described his life, his aspirations, his labors. How single-minded he pursued the cause of Irish nationality. How his energy and constant sacrifice of physical rest in his exalted labors as priest and patriot had culminated in his death.

The Secretary read the annexed report:

Whereas, it having pleased the Almighty arbiter of mankind to take from the scenes of his earthly labors the Rev. E. O'Flaherty, of Crawfordsville, Ind.; and, whereas, during this life he eminently displayed those ennobling virtues which endear the living and immortalize the dead by his

holiness and zeal as an Irish priest, who united the character of a pious spiritual teacher to that of an earnest worker for the regeneration of his fatherland: and, whereas, the emigrant found in him a true friend and faithful adviser, combining in his person the Philanthropist, the Priest and the Patriot; and, whereas, as a Fenian Brother and Centre of the State of Indiana, he labored with untiring zeal and indefatigable energy in bringing our organization to its present important position in that State, and preached through the Great West a crusade for Ireland's National Independence; be it, therefore,

Resolved, That we the Centres and Delegates of the Fenian Brotherhood, of the U. S. of America and of the British Provinces, in convention assembled, do sincerely deplore the loss we have sustained in the death of our revered fellow-worker.

Resolved, That Ireland may number him among those illustrious ecclesiastics who in the past stood forward to resist the tyrannic innovations of the invaders of Ireland, and to rescue her undying nationality from the unhallowed grasp of English usurpation, who labored with zeal and with all the powers of his mind to band Irishmen together so as to be in position to attack and crush the oppression and misrule which have so long prostrated Ireland.

Resolved, That as we honor the memory of this heroic priest, we this day pledge ourselves to prosecute, and, if possible, to consummate the work to which he devoted his abilities and his life, and therefore, do we ask Irishmen, whether by birth or descent, to unite with us in raising to his memory the most grateful, grandest and most pious of all monuments—Ireland's Freedom.

Resolved, That we extend to his bereaved relatives our sympathy, at the same time exhorting them to be consoled with the recollection that he died as he lived, a pious and zealous priest, and a noble and exalted patriot.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to the relatives of Father O'Flaherty.

On motion, the report of the Committee was adopted, and the Secretary directed to include it in the minutes.

The Secretary then read the following letter:

LEAVENWORTH, Kansas, Nov. 1, 1863.

MICHAEL SCANLAN, Esq.—Dear Sir:—As chief of the organization of the F. B. in the State of Kansas, I wish to

state to you and to the Brotherhood, that, from a variety of circumstances, it will be impossible for us to be represented on the 3d inst. in Chicago. Many of our most prominent members are absent in the army, and others who remain here are, from the troubled condition of our State, compelled to act on night guard duty with the State militia. I intended myself to be present at your meeting, but am unable, from ill health, to do so. However, dear sir, be assured that the Fenian Brotherhood of Kansas are with you in spirit, and I have no doubt will endorse any patriotic action you may take in favor of the great cause in which I have the honor, dear sir, to be your Brother.

PETER MCFARLAND.

On motion, the above letter was incorporated in the minutes.

A letter was then read by the Secretary, from John A. Hynes, Ill., which, upon motion, was laid on the table.

The President then addressed the Convention.

GENTLEMEN AND BROTHERS:—You have now declared your *status* before the world, and made yourselves a Constitution and code of By-Laws for your future direction.—Under them, I trust your organization will continue to grow and flourish, until the objects for which we have associated together are accomplished. In order that the Fenian Brotherhood be in reality what your legislation has made made it this day—a thoroughly democratic, self-governing institution—it still remains for me to divest myself of the almost absolute authority which, with your assent, I have held for nearly five years, and by so doing to place the government and direction of the Fenian Brotherhood in the guardianship of this General Convention, until it shall seem fit to its members either to replace me by another or to re-elect me to the Head Centreship. I feel no hesitation as to the safety of the step I am about to take in so far as concerns our organization. The manner in which you have conducted your deliberations during the whole of this Convention, assures me that your choice of my successor will be made with wisdom and with patriotism. Should you consider it best to continue me as Head Centre, I will strive to discharge its duties honestly, with whatever talents I may possess. Should you select another member as your chief officer, whatever experience I have gained during my term of office, shall be at his command, and I shall labor for the success of our cause with the same earnestness

under his direction, as if I held the first place myself. That you can find in your midst, a man fully competent to discharge the duties of Head Centre, I have no longer any doubt, if, indeed, any doubt ever existed on the subject, in my mind. You have convinced me during the present Convention, that you have amongst you men capable of discharging any duties, however grave.

Before I retire I shall read to you two documents that I received upon assuming office in the beginning of 1859.

* * * * *

Those writings I have held in my possession and acted upon for nearly five years. I resign to you the authority they conveyed. You are at last in a position to invest your chief officer with a power to manage your affairs, emanating more directly from yourselves, and founded on the principle of Free Election.

On the part of the Brotherhood and myself, I thank you for the manner in which you have conducted the business of this meeting. Your demeanor would have reflected honor upon any assemblage whatsoever.

The Head Centreship of the Fenian Brotherhood is for a time in your own keeping, to bestow it on whom you please. I am now but a private member of your organization.

Upon motion John O'Mahony's resignation as Head Centre was accepted.

James Gibbons, Penn., then in an eloquent address, stated that he, perhaps, better than any man in America, knew the labors and the trials to which Mr. O'Mahony had been subjected, and in which he exhibited a character which for ability and patriotism was not surpassed, if equalled, by any living Irishman.

The Secretary read the following resolutions :—

WHEREAS, In order to act with harmony and power as a body, and bring home to the hearts of the Irish people in America their truest and noblest interests, it is absolutely necessary that we should have the guidance of a Chief officer of tried devotion, and comprehensive mind, of ability and experience in Irish political affairs, and honored and trusted by the Irish people at home and abroad.

Resolved, That in John O'Mahony, our Head Centre, we have found such an officer, and that his persistent, able, and self-sacrificing labors have successfully carried the Fenian

Brotherhood through most critical trials, during which, under less resolute and patriotic management, like all recent Irish organizations, it would have melted away before the powerful, malignant and continued attacks of its enemies.

Resolved, That by his wisdom and discretion he has preserved the Fenian Brotherhood from all alliance with any political party, and, rising high above every other consideration, made Ireland alone the Polar Star of his ambition.

Resolved, That in O'Mahony's genius, eminent purity, and disinterestedness, we have a guarantee that under God the organization of the Fenian Brotherhood will culminate in the glorious consummation of Ireland's freedom.

Resolved, That in consideration of his heroic virtues, displayed during the five trying years that have passed, and as an evidence of our confidence in his ability and integrity we, the Delegates of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, do hereby unanimously elect him Head Centre of the Brotherhood in accordance with our Constitution, to have and to hold such office until further provided for.

On motion of Mr. Gibbons, the above resolutions were adopted unanimously and with acclamation.

The Head Centre resumed his seat, making the following acknowledgment:—"This hour repays me for all the annoyance and pain I have suffered in bringing the Fenian Brotherhood to its present height. I would have been better pleased had you found another competent person to fill the place of Head Centre. But, as your choice has fallen upon me, I shall endeavor to discharge the duties it has imposed upon me. Fortified by your votes, I shall set to work with a lighter heart than I have done hitherto, if not with more efficiency. But, while I perform my peculiar task as chief officer, do you not neglect to perform your own as associates. While I am watching and advancing on the enemy in front of our array, do you take care that no coward or traitor betrays us on our flank or rear. While certain that there are true men beside and behind me, I shall dread no attack coming from before, whether my assailants contend by force or by wile."

The Convention then went into caucus to nominate State Centres, who approved by the Head Centre, were unanimously elected in Convention.

H. O'C. McCARTHY, State Centre, Illinois.

JEREMIAH QUINN, " Wisconsin.

MICHAEL KENNEDY, " New York.

JAMES MANNING, " Ohio.

JAMES GIBBONS, " Pennsylvania.

THOMAS REDMOND, " Indiana.

J. P. McGRATH, " Kentucky.

WM. MORAN, " Missouri.

JAMES LACKEY, " District Columbia.

J. M. FITZGERALD, Capt. 10th Ohio, State Centre, Army of
the Cumberland.

Capt. JOHN WARREN, State Centre Massachusetts.

THOMAS McCARTHY, " Tennessee.

JEREMIAH CAVANAGH, " California.

PATRICK J. DOWNING, Maj. 42d N.Y.V., S. Centre, Army of
the Potomac.

LAURENCE VERDON, State Centre, Michigan.

Col. MALLOY, 17th Wis., " Army of Tennessee.

The Head Centre nominated the following gentlemen to
compose the Central Council, who were unanimously
elected in Convention.

JAMES GIBBONS, Philadelphia.

GEN. MICHAEL CORCORAN, Army of the Potomac.

COLONEL MATTHEW MURPHY, 69th N. Y. V. N. A. Irish
Legion, Army of the Potomac.

RICHARD DOHERTY, Lafayette, Ind.

MICHAEL SCANLAN, Chicago, Ill.,

The following gentlemen were nominated as Treasurers,
and elected in Convention :—

CENTRAL TREASURER,

Patrick O'Rourke, New York City

ASSISTANT CENTRAL TREASURER,

Patrick Keenan, New York City.

On motion of John O'Mahony, the minutes, papers, &c.,
arising from the Convention, are to be deposited in the
archives of the Chicago Circle.

On motion, a vote of thanks was passed to the Secreta-
ries.

On motion, a vote of thanks was passed to M. Scanlan,
Centre Chicago Circle, for his courtesy, and the care and
completeness perceptible in all his arrangements for the

Convention, and to his Circle for the use of their rooms, and their attentions and labors.

H. O'C. McCarthy then moved that the Central Treasurer shall, at any time pay over to the order of the H. Centre such monyes as he may have funded for the Fenian Brotherhood, taking Head Centre's receipt as voucher therefor to the Central Council.

M. Scanlan, Chicago, moved that 20,000 copies of minutes, Resolutions and Address, with Constitution and By-Laws, be printed immediately, to be distributed *pro rata* to the Centres of the Fenian Brotherhood; seconded and carried unanimously.

Mr. Richard Doherty, Indiana, handed in the following address to the Irish Ladies of Chicago, which was unanimously adopted:

Convention, Fenian Hall, }
Chicago, Nov. 6. }

To the Irish Ladies in Chicago, who presented the Irish flag to the Chicago Circle of the Fenian Brotherhood, greeting:—We have heard the history of your patriotic labor in furnishing our Chicago brothers with a national emblem. The lofty and heroic conduct exhibited by the Polish ladies, we see, is not lost upon you. We know the Irish woman is peerless in all charms, save one—she loves her country, but is national. Your action initiates a heretofore dormant characteristic which will, we trust, be followed up by all the Irish women in America. Not, indeed, in presenting flags alone, but in thinking of the regeneration of the old land, and in working for that in such ways as seem most likely to effect it.

Irish ladies of Chicago we salute you.

(Signed,)

RICHARD DOHERTY, *Chairman,*
Lafayette, Indiana.

H. O'C. McCarthy then moved that the Convention do now adjourn *sine die*, to meet at such time and place in accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws as the Central Council may appoint; seconded and carried unanimously.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED.

Michael Scanlan of Chicago, then informed the Delegates that the Chicago Circle had prepared a banquet to succeed

the closing of their labors, and that each representative was not only invited, but pressed to take part in it.

The assembly immediately broke up.

DISPATCHES.

After the convention had adjourned *sine die*, the following dispatches were received from Gen. Corcoran and Col. Murphy.—

Fairfax Court House, }
Nov. 5, 1863.

John O'Mahony, H. C. Fenian Hall, Chicago:

Captain Weply's leave has not yet been granted; until he arrives you may vote for us, or you may select anybody else to do so. Trusting that the convention may be eminently successful, and that its labors will conclude as its most ardent friends desire, we wish you God speed.

MICHAEL CORCORAN,
Brigadier-General.

Fairfax Court House, }
Nov. 5, 1863.

J. O'Mahony, H.C.:—Mr. P. O'Rourke, of New York, has been elected our delegate to the convention.

MATTHEW MURPHY,
Col. 69th N. Y. V., N. G. A.

RESOLUTIONS, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS,

UNANIMOUSLY PASSED AT THE

FIRST GENERAL CONGRESS

OF THE

FENIAN BROTHERHOOD,

ASSEMBLED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO AND STATE OF ILLINOIS, ON THE
3RD, 4TH AND 5TH OF NOVEMBER, 1863.

Resolutions.

I.

WHEREAS, The time has come when the members of the Fenian Brotherhood feel called upon to declare to the public the nature and object of their organization and their individual rights as freemen and citizens: be it

Resolved, That we, the Centres and Delegates of the said Fenian Brotherhood, assembled to this our first annual convention, do hereby emphatically proclaim our organization to consist of an association having for its object the national freedom of Ireland, and composed for the most part of Citizens of the United States of America, of Irish birth or descent, but open to such other dwellers on the American continent as are friendly to the liberation of Ireland from the domination of England, by every honorable means within our reach, collectively and individually, save and except such means as may be in violation of the constitution and laws under which we live and to which all of us, who are citizens of the United States, owe our allegiance. We furthermore boldly and firmly assert our unquestionable right under the said constitution and laws to associate together for the above named object, or for any similar one; and to assist with our money, our moral and political influence, or, if it so pleases ourselves, with our persons and our lives in liberating any enslaved land under the sun.

II.

WHEREAS, The exiles of every country, and especially of Ireland, have ever found a home, personal freedom, and equal political rights, in this American Republic; and

WHEREAS, We deem its preservation and success of supreme importance, not alone to ourselves and our fellow-citizens, but to the extension of democratic institutions, and to the well being and social elevation of the whole human race ; be it

Resolved, THAT WE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES, DO HEREBY SOLEMNLY DECLARE, WITHOUT LIMIT OR RESERVATION, OUR ENTIRE ALLEGIANCE, TO THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

III.

WHEREAS, From the hostile attitude assumed by the English oligarchy, merchants, and press, towards the United States, since the commencement of the disastrous civil strife that has devastated this Republic during the past three years, it is all but certain that war is imminent, or at least fast approaching, between our adopted country and England, our hereditary enemy; be it

Resolved, That the younger members of the several Circles of the Fenian Brotherhood be instructed to apply themselves sedulously to the study of military tactics and the use of arms, and to organize themselves into companies for the purpose of drilling, so as to be prepared to offer their services to the United States government, by land or sea, against England's myrmidons in that event.

IV.

WHEREAS We deem the resurrection of Ireland to independent nationhood to be of immediate interest not alone to Irishmen but to all sincere lovers of human freedom, as well as of especial advantage to America, whose vanguard she stands even to-day against British aggression, with her organized sons keeping watch and ward for the United States at the thresholds of the despots of Europe, nay in their very citadels ; be it

Resolved, That every man of Irish birth or descent who lives on the American continent is admissible to the Fenian Brotherhood without distinction of class or creed, provided his character be unblemished and his devotion to Ireland unquestioned ; and that we earnestly invite every American who is loyal to the principles of self-government to aid and sustain us by his moral influence against our enemies, the

emissaries of foreign despotisms, who would feign crush the growth of republican principles and stop the onward march of Freedom by assailing it even in this free land.

V.

WHEREAS, Certain questions connected with the general politics of the United States, with local partizanship foreign to Irish freedom, or with differences in religious faith, are the great obstacles that impede the successful working of the Fenian Brotherhood, and delay the redemption of Ireland, by perpetuating in this country, the ancient dissensions of her sons, though upon issues for the most part peculiar to America; be it

Resolved, That every subject relating to the internal politics of America and the quarrels of American partizans, together with all subjects relating to differences in religion, be absolutely and forever excluded from the councils and deliberations of the Fenian Brotherhood, and be declared totally foreign to its objects and designs; and that we furthermore invite every sincere friend of liberty, without distinction of party or creed, to join cordially and harmoniously with us upon the neutral platform of Irish Independence.

THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD NOT A "SECRET," "OATH-BOUND"
OR "ILLEGAL" SOCIETY.

VI.

WHEREAS, Certain men, actuated by feelings of hostility, either to the national resurrection and independence of Ireland in particular, or, by a general indiscriminate hatred to the principles of self-government and popular sovereignty—to the Republican Idea itself—have repeatedly attacked the Fenian Brotherhood upon false pretences and unfounded assumptions; some asserting that it is a "Secret Society," bound together by an OATH, and, as such, distinctly condemned by the Catholic Church, through certain rescrips thereof, leveled against the Freemasons, Carbonari, Odd Fellows and other similar associations, social or political; while other assailants confine their attacks to vaguely charging the said brotherhood with being an "Illegal" society and consequently sinful, and without defining the points wherein its illegality consists, and without stating what particular laws have been transgressed, and in what country these laws have been enacted and received,—in a word,

whether they be monarchical laws or republican laws, whether we are to look for them in the statute books of the United States or among the ukases of old despotisms of Europe; and,

WHEREAS, These accusations having impeded the progress of the cause of the freedom of Ireland on this continent, we feel called upon to repudiate and deny their truth; be it in the first place

Resolved, That we, the members of this convention, most distinctly declare and make known to all whom it may concern, but without the slightest disrespect to any of the societies above-named, that the Fenian Brotherhood is not a Secret Society, inasmuch as no pledge of secrecy, expressed or implied, is demanded from the candidates for membership thereof; neither is it an Oath-bound Society, for no oath whatever is required in order to entitle a man to all the privileges of the association. Hence, if the mere fact of its members pledging themselves to secrecy can render an association sinful according to the laws of the Catholic Church, there being no pledge of secrecy, there can be no sin in becoming a Fenian brother; again, if the mere fact of its members being required to take an oath upon entering it can render it sinful, where there is no oath required there can be no sin, on the grounds above stated, in joining the Fenian Brotherhood.

In the second place be it

Resolved, That we protest most emphatically against the casuistry of the charge made against us of Illegality, inasmuch as the members of the Fenian Brotherhood contemplate no breach of the laws of the United States, while aiding in the liberation of Ireland; and that we challenge our assailants to point out any one instance, wherein our association has transgressed one single provision of the said laws during the past six years, for so long has it existed, and, if it has, let it be indicted by the legal officers of the American Government, and let the question be decided in the American Courts of Justice for these are the only arbiters that we acknowledge upon questions involving Illegality; that we nevertheless fully admit that our association may possibly be open to the charge of being illegal, if tested by the laws of England, but these we have repudiated on taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, an

act which we know to be illegal, according to the latter code, but not on that account the less right and just.

In the third place be it

Resolved, That, while we conduct ourselves as law-abiding citizens of these United States, we most firmly and emphatically protest against, repudiate and resist all interference with the legitimate exercise of our civic and social privilege as Freemen under the American constitution on the part of any man or class of men, AND MORE ESPECIALLY ON THE PART OF THOSE WHO MAY CLAIM TO REPRESENT OR TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANY FOREIGN POTENTATE OR FOREIGN OFFICIAL WHATSOEVER; for, were we to submit to such interference, we would be unworthy of participating in the great political privileges, wherewith the naturalized citizens of America are invested.

GENERAL FORM OF FENIAN PLEDGE.

VII.

WHEREAS, Certain Circles of the Fenian organization, as well as individual members thereof, have, in a few instances, adopted forms of pledges peculiar to themselves; and,

WHEREAS, These forms, by falling into the hands of our enemies, have subjected the said organization to misrepresentation and calumny: and, while we do not forbid any member to take any form of pledge that may please himself with respect either to the redemption of Ireland or to any other subject, provided the same be not hostile to our cause,—be it

Resolved, In order to prevent misconception as to our obligations in future, that the following be adopted as the only form that shall henceforth be obligatory, in order to entitle a candidate to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Fenian Brotherhood:—

“I ————— solemnly pledge my sacred word of honor as a truthful and honest man, that I will 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 Irish soil; that I ————— will implicitly obey the commands of my superior officers in the Fenian Brotherhood; that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my membership, as laid down in the Constitution and By-Laws thereof; that I will do my utmost to promote feelings of love, harmony, and kindly forbearance among all Irishmen;

and that I will foster, defend and propagate the aforesaid Fenian Brotherhood to the utmost of my power.”

PERVADING SENTIMENTS AND PRESENT POSITION OF THE IRISH
RACE ABROAD AND AT HOME.

VIII.

WHEREAS, It is a self-evident and incontrovertible fact, that a profound love of Ireland, and a never-ceasing longing for her liberation from foreign domination are all but universal throughout the whole Irish Race, at home and abroad; and,

WHEREAS, It is equally manifest that the said Irish Race is everywhere pervaded by an intense and undying hatred towards the monarchy and oligarchy of Great Britain, which have so long ground their country to the dust, hanging her patriots, starving out her people, and sweeping myriads of Irish men, women, and children off their paternal fields, to find a refuge in foreign lands, bringing with them thither a burning desire for the destruction of British tyranny, and bequeathing this feeling as an heir-loom to their posterity; be it

Resolved, That it is the special duty of the members of the Fenian Brotherhood to strive with all their might, and with their whole heart, to create and foster amongst Irishmen everywhere, feelings of fraternal harmony and kindly love of each other, unity of counsel, and a common policy upon the Irish question, with mutual forbearance upon all others, so that their efforts may be unanimously directed towards the common objects of their universal wishes after a common preconcerted plan. Thus will their force become irresistible, guided by one will and one purpose, in one undeviating system of action, and thus will they give shape and life, direction and movement to that love of Ireland, and that hatred of her oppressors, which are the predominant passions of every true Irish heart.

IX.

WHEREAS, The men of Irish birth and lineage, now dwelling on the American continent, hold, at present, a more powerful position among the peoples of the earth, in point of numbers, political privileges, social influence and military strength than was ever before held by any exiled portion, not alone of the Irish nation, but of any subjugated nation whatsoever; and,

WHEREAS, We feel firmly convinced that her British tyrants could not keep Ireland much longer enthralled, if the Irish citizens of the American Republic were closely allied to and cordially co-operating for the redemption of their fatherland, with their brethren still living on the Irish soil, together with those expatriated Irishmen, who are planted by thousands, *like so many hostile garrisons throughout Great Britain, in the very centres of her manufacturing and commercial wealth, throughout her colonies, and even in her imperial capital, driven from their ancestral homes by the fell agencies of the tyrannical laws of England*; be it

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the Fenian Brotherhood labor with all our energies and talents, with stern will, steadfast zeal, and ceaseless exertion, to organize, combine, and concentrate these great elements of Irish national power, which an all-wise Providence has, it would seem, FOR THE PURPOSES OF RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE, placed within the reach of the present generation of Irishmen; and that we direct their whole force, moral and material, from all points towards the overthrow of British tyranny in Ireland, and the establishment of an independent government in its stead.

X.

WHEREAS, We feel confident that the numbers and importance of the Irish element in the United States, England and her colonies, as well as the Irish power scattered elsewhere over the earth, on land and sea, have at this particular epoch, reached their greatest development, and that henceforth, they must rapidly decrease by the natural decay of humanity, inasmuch as Ireland, the source of their production, with her diminished population, is no longer able to fill up their places, as they die out—to supply the “wear and tear” to which they are subjected, in the hard battle of the exile’s life; and,

WHEREAS, This declension of the Irish people abroad, must be accompanied by the almost total extinction of the Irish race at home; if it be not speedily prevented by the destruction of the power which is causing it; and,

WHEREAS, Also, the thousands of well trained Irish-American soldiers and the officers, who are at present, longing to strike for the freedom of their fatherland, will dwindle away in equal ratio, if no opportunity be given them to serve their own country, while the vigor of their manhood remains unbroken; be it

Resolved, That we call upon and exhort every true Irishman in America, England and the British Colonies, to rally around the Fenian Brotherhood, and to aid us in preparing Ireland for freedom's battle, and in hastening the day of her deliverance; and that we, with equal fervor, exhort our brothers in Ireland to hold by our beloved land to the last extremity, nor flee from it to foreign countries; to gird their loins silently and sternly, for the inevitable struggle that is approaching, and TO AVOID ALL PUBLIC MEETINGS AND ELECTIONEERING DELUSIONS, which only serve to expose good men to the persecution of village despots, and which are as bloodhounds to track out the best and most devoted of the Irish race, and start them up to be hunted and exterminated like wild beasts by their oppressors.

IRISH NATIONALITY INDESTRUCTIBLE.—RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE.

XI.

WHEREAS, Ever since the first invasion of their country by Henry the Second of England and his Norman freebooters the people of Ireland have, from generation to generation, given undeniable evidence of their INDESTRUCTIBILITY by periodical resistance to their foreign tyrants, ever protesting against the extinction of their independence, by the blood of illustrious martyrs, shed both on the battle-field and on the scaffold; be it

Resolved, THAT WE DECLARE THE SAID IRISH PEOPLE TO CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE DISTINCT NATIONALITIES OF THE EARTH, AND AS SUCH JUSTLY ENTITLED TO ALL THE RIGHTS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE I. R. B.—THE C. E.

† XII.

WHEREAS,	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	be it			

† The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth series of preambles and resolutions are withheld at present from the public, their publication at this time being deemed injudicious.

Resolved, That

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*				

XIII.

WHEREAS,

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	be it					

Resolved, That

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

XIV.

WHEREAS,

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	be it					

Resolved, That

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*						

SYMPATHY WITH THE POLES.

XV.

WHEREAS, The precedent set to Irishmen by the noble and almost desperate struggle; which the gallant sons and faithful daughters of Poland are at present maintaining against the giant despotism of Russia, their country's foe, fills our hearts at once with an enthusiastic admiration of their brave and patriotic devotion, with a sincere love for their holy cause, and with a heartfelt respect for their sufferings in its behalf, as well as with a generous emulation to follow their great example; and,

WHEREAS, When we compare our own position with theirs—our own numerous vantage grounds for acting

against our foe and our incalculable superiority in external resources, which the tyrants of Ireland cannot reach, with the isolated position of the Poles, hemmed in all round by enemies, and with so few of their people beyond the grasp of their tyrants,—our frivolous dissensions with their glorious and fraternal concord,—we are struck with shame and humiliation by the contrast presented to us; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our deep and heartfelt sympathy with the People of Poland in their war against their oppressors; our admiration of their indomitable fortitude, and the grandeur of their present attitude before mankind, and our ardent prayers that their efforts may be crowned with complete success.

And be it further

Resolved, That we hereby express our reverential gratitude and filial respect towards his Holiness, Pope Pius the Ninth, for his paternal solicitude in the cause of suffering Poland, up in arms for her liberty, and for the anxious care with which he offers up to Heaven his ardent aspirations for her success, and recommends her brave sons, battling for "right against might," to the prayers and the support of the Catholic world.

PERSEVERANCE—FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

XVI.

WHEREAS, We are fully impressed with the magnitude of the task undertaken by the Fenian Brotherhood, and well aware of the difficulties and delays that may retard its accomplishment, but are nevertheless resolved to persevere steadfastly and with active zeal in our efforts until they shall be crowned with complete success, in the firm and implicit faith that

"THE PATIENT DINT AND POWDER SHOCK
CAN BLAST AN EMPIRE LIKE A ROCK."

Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Fenian Brotherhood, be declared hereby A FIXED AND PERMANENT INSTITUTION in America, and that it continue its labors without ceasing until Ireland shall be restored to her rightful place among free nations.

XVII.

WHEREAS, The members of the Fenian Brotherhood are for the most part citizens of a free and democratic republic, and hence entitled to a system of government and direction in accordance with the institutions and customs of America; be it

Resolved, That a general convention of representatives of its several branches shall be held at such stated time and place as shall be hereafter determined on for the purposes of receiving reports of its progress and expenditure, approving or condemning the conduct and management of its executive corps, and of devising such rules and regulations as may become necessary for its proper government by the requirements of the future; and that the said convention shall be composed of the Head Centre, the State Centres, and the Centres of Circles, assisted by Elected Delegates from all circles in good standing, each circle being entitled to elect one delegate but no more.

And be it moreover

Resolved, That a Head Centre be elected at the said general convention with power to govern and direct the affairs of the whole organization during the ensuing year, and that a Central Treasurer and Assistant Central Treasurer and Central Council consisting of Five Members, be elected for a like period on the same occasion, for the purpose of assisting the Head Centre in the discharge of his duties by their advice and support.

XVIII.

WHEREAS, In the peculiar position of the Fenian Brotherhood, placed almost in presence of a powerful and ever vigilant enemy, it is absolutely necessary for the prompt execution and ultimate success of its efforts that its chief officer should be invested with ample executive powers; be it.

Resolved, That the Head Centre be intrusted with the whole management of the affairs of said Brotherhood, during his term of office, subject, however, to the control of the Central Council, should he outstrip the limits prescribed to him by its Constitution and By-laws, as agreed upon at this Convention, and to such restrictions as may hereafter be imposed upon him at any future general Convention, regularly called together; that the said Head Centre shall have the power to confirm or annul the election of all State

Centres and Centres of Circles; that it shall be his prerogative to treat on the part of the said Fenian Brotherhood with all parties that are likely to favor or assist in the redemption of Ireland and in the downfall of English tyranny, whether those parties be regularly established governments, bodies corporate, organized societies, public functionaries, or private individuals, at home or abroad; that through the said Head Centre alone shall the Brotherhood receive any communication from any parties whatsoever, and that he alone is entitled to enter into engagements with them in our behalf.

XIX.

WHEREAS, Occasions of sudden emergency may arise when the representatives of the Brotherhood may have to be called together in Convention, either by State Organizations or in general assembly; be it

Resolved, That the Head Centre shall be empowered to call a special Convention, either of the whole Brotherhood or of the State Organizations thereof, with the consent of the Central Council, or without it, on receiving a written requisition therefor from ten Centres of Circles established within the limits of the district to be represented at the said Convention.

XX.

WHEREAS, It is requisite for the purpose of facilitating the transaction of business by equalizing the labor of conducting so widely extended an organization as the Fenian Brotherhood, that there should be a regular gradation of divisions and sub-divisions thereof, and that under the Head Centre there should be a regular gradation of officers to preside over them; be it

Resolved, That the said Brotherhood be divided into State Organizations, Circles, and Sub-Circles, and that they be presided over and governed respectively by State Centres, Centres and Sub-Centres.

XXI.

Finally, and in commemoration of our cordial and sincere participation in the acts and resolutions of this, our first general Convention; be it

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the Fenian Brotherhood here assembled, do solemnly pledge ourselves without mental reservation, to abide by the foregoing reso-

lutions in spirit and in truth, and that we will faithfully abide by the Constitution and By-laws, as passed by us for the government and guidance of our organization, and that we also pledge ourselves to extend, foster and sustain the said brotherhood to the utmost of our ability, and that in testimony thereof, we hereunto affix our signatures.

JAMES GIBBONS, Philadelphia, Pa.

MICHAEL SCANLAN, Chicago, Ill.

P. F. WALSH, late Captain 84th Pa. Vols., Pittsburg, Pa.

MICHAEL CAVILL, Philadelphia.

P. T. SHERLOCK, 23d Illinois Vols.

JAMES M. FITZGERALD, Captain 10th Ohio.

JOHN O'CARROLL, Broad Top, Pa.

DANIEL GRADY, Washington, D. C.

DANIEL DONOVAN, Lawrence, Mass.

J. J. FITZGIBBON, Chicago, Ill.

HENRY O'C. MCCARTHY, Chicago, Ill.

JOHN STANTON, Troy, N. Y.

THOMAS NASH, Indianapolis, Ind.

JOHN A. STUART, " "

ROBT. KENNINGTON, " "

THOMAS REDMOND, " "

T. CONSTANTINE, Bowling Green, Ky.

JOHN COSGROVE, New Albany, Ind.

THOMAS MCCARTHY, Nashville, Tenn.

J. P. McGRATH, Louisville, Ky.

JAMES MANNING, Cleveland, Ohio.

ANDREW FAGAN, " "

PATRICK GORMAN, Logansport, Indiana.

JOHN CARROLL, Crawfordsville, "

PATRICK O'FARRELL, Covington, "

JAMES S. McMAHON, " "

MICHAEL FITZPATRICK, Lafayette, "

ROBERT SHEELEY, " "

MATHEW BALL, " "

RICHARD O'MEARA, " "

PATRICK MURRAY, " "

JOHN CUNNINGHAM, " "

T. F. KELLY, Springfield, Illinois.

D. O. CROWLY, " "

MICHAEL GLEASON, " "

JOHN CAVANAGH, " "

P. H. McLEAR, " "

TITUS SCULLIN, Danville, Illinois.
 E. OSBORNE, Terre Haute, Ind.
 C. H. O'BRIEN, " "
 P. BYRNE, Madison, "
 JOHN MULLANY, Columbus, "
 THOMAS DOLAN, Upper Sandusky, Ohio.
 JOHN MORAN, Sandusky, Ohio.
 PATRICK J. DOWNING, Major 42d N. Y. V., Potomac
 Circle.
 D. J. DOWNING, Capt. 97th N. Y., Potomac Circle.
 THOMAS HARE, Quincy, Ill.
 THOMAS O'MARA, " "
 D. P. CARMODY, Milwaukee, Wis.
 BARTHOLOMEW O'NEIL, " "
 JEREMIAH QUINN, " "
 P. F. HANNAN, Major Phoenix Brigade, New York City.
 P. O'ROURKE, Hamilton Rowan Club, N. Y.
 A. A. BUSHNELL, Peoria, Ill.
 P. W. DUNN, " "
 JOHN O'DONNELL, Mitchell, Ind.
 JOHN GORMAN, Syracuse, N. Y.
 WILLIAM MORAN, St. Louis, Mo.
 WILLIAM KIDNEY, " "
 ANDREW WYNNE, Philadelphia, Pa.
 T. R. BOURKE, Captain 9th Mass. Vols., Circle of Rappa-
 hannock—proxy Downing.
 PATRICK O'NEIL, Circle U.S. Engineers—proxy Downing.
 MATTHEW MURPHY, Circle of Nansemond.
 * * * British Provinces. †
 * * * " "
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 * * * " "
 DANIEL QUIRK, Capt. 23d Ill. Vs.—proxy P. F. Sherlock.
 TERRENCE O'MAHONY, Columbus, Ohio—proxy J. O'M.
 THOMAS HOLT, Waterford, N. Y.
 JAMES LACKEY, Washington, D. C.
 MICHAEL CORCORAN, Brig. Gen.—proxy P. O'Rourke.
 MICHAEL J. HEFFERNAN, 14th U. S. Infantry, late of Tip-
 perary, Ireland.
 WILLIAM SULLIVAN, Tiffin, Ohio—proxy J. O'M.

THOMAS F. MEAGHER, Brig. Gen., Circle of the Potomac—
proxy J. O'M.

RICHARD DOHERTY, Lafayette, Ind.

JAMES W. FITZGERALD, Cincinnati, O.—J. O'M., proxy.

PATRICK GRAHAM, Pittsburg, Pa.

JEREMIAH CAVANAGH, San Francisco, Cal.—proxy Gibbons.

JOHN P. DUFFICY, Major 35th Ind.—proxy Doherty.

* * * Canada East.†

* * * “ “

* * * “ “

JOHN O'BRIEN, Buffalo, N. Y.

J. WARREN, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM MEAGHER, West Troy, N. Y.,—proxy J. O'M.

JOHN O'MAHONY, New York.

PATRICK LEONARD, Lieut. Col. Phoenix Brigade, New-York,—proxy Major Hannan.

JOHN MURPHY, Hamilton Rowan Club, New-York,—proxy P. O'Rourke.

FRANCIS WELPLY, 69th N.Y.V. N. A. Corcoran Legion,—proxy P. O'Rourke.

M. O'K. AUSTEN, State Line, Indiana.

WILLIAM GRIFFIN, Madison, Indiana.

FRANCIS DUFFY, Lafayette, Indiana.

JAMES McDERMOTT, Louisville, Kentucky,—proxy McGrath.

PETER McFARLAND, Leavenworth, Kansas,—proxy M. Scanlan.

JOSEPH KEARNEY, Logansport, Ind.,—proxy Gorman.

JAMES CARROLL, Attica, Ind.,

JAMES McNAMARA, Toledo, Ohio,

WILLIAM HAYES, West Point, Ind.,

} proxy J. O'M.

† The names marked * will be printed in capital letters when the proper time arrives.

Constitution and By-Laws.

1.

The Fenian Brotherhood.

The Fenian Brotherhood is a **DISTINCT** and **INDEPENDENT** organization.

It is composed, in the first place, of Citizens of the United States of America of Irish birth and lineage; and, in the second place, of Irishmen and of Friends of Ireland living elsewhere on the American Continent and in the Provinces of the British Empire, wherever situated.

Its Headquarters are and shall be within the limits of the United States of America. Its members are bound together by the following general pledge:

2.

General Pledge of Membership.

I solemnly pledge my sacred word of honor as a truthful and honest man, that I will 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; that I will implicitly obey the commands of my superior officers in the Fenian Brotherhood; that I will faithfully discharge my duties of membership as laid down in the Constitution and By-laws thereof; that I will do my utmost to promote feelings of love, harmony, and kindly forbearance among all Irishmen; and that I will foster, defend and propagate the aforesaid Fenian Brotherhood to the utmost of my power.

3.

Form of Organization.

The Fenian Brotherhood shall be sub-divided into State Organizations, Circles, and Sub-Circles.

It shall be directed and governed by a Head Centre, to direct the whole organization; State Centres to direct State Organizations; Centres, to direct Circles; and Sub-Centres to direct Sub-Circles.

The Head Centre shall be assisted by a Central Council of Five; by a Central Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer;

by a Central Corresponding Secretary and a Central Recording Secretary; and by such intermediate officers as the Head Centre may, from time to time, deem necessary for the efficient working of the organization.

4.

The Head Centre.

The Head Centre shall be elected annually by a General Congress of Representatives of the Fenian Brotherhood, which Congress shall be composed of the State Centres, and the Centres, together with Elected Delegates from the several Circles of the organization—each Circle "*in good standing*" being entitled to elect one Delegate.

A Circle to be *in good standing* must have made regular and satisfactory reports, through its Centre, to its State Centre and Head Centre within a period of nine weeks previous to a General Congress.

The election of the Head Centre shall be subject to the acknowledgment of the C. E. of the I. R. B.

5.

The Central Council.

The Central Council shall consist of five Centres, who shall be nominated by the Head Centre and elected at a General Congress.

The Central Council shall, in whole or in part, be subject to the call of the Head Centre when he may deem it expedient.

6.

The Central Treasurer, Assistant Central Treasurer, Central Corresponding Secretary, Central Recording Secretary.

The Central Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer shall be nominated by the Head Centre and elected at a General Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood.

The Central Treasurer shall be required to furnish bonds in such a manner as the Head Centre and Central Council may direct, in order to secure to the pecuniary interests of the Fenian Brotherhood an absolute protection.

The Head Centre can, with the consent of the Central Council, remove or change the Central Treasurer.

The Central Treasurer shall pay to the order of the Head Centre such sums as he may have funded of the moneys of the Brotherhood, but he shall retain receipts as vouchers therefor, in order to exhibit a clear financial statement to the Central Council.

The Central Secretaries shall be appointed by the Head Centre.

7.

State Centres.

State Centres shall, upon the recommendation of the majority of the Centres in the several States, be appointed and commissioned by the Head Centre, who shall also have the power of rejecting the appointment, and, with the assent of the Central Council, of changing or appointing State Centres.

The State Centre shall control entirely the organization in his State. He shall establish Circles and communicate with all parties therein who desire instruction or advice. The State Centre shall make a consolidated report on the tenth of each month to the Head Centre, thoroughly explanatory of the condition of the organization of his State.

He shall, if he deems proper, mark out a route in his State for an agent to traverse, with instructions to canvass and organize the same.

The consolidated report is appended in skeleton in the appendix to these By-laws.

8.

Centres.

Centres shall be elected by Circles, and after the approval of the Head Centre shall be commissioned by the State Centre; each commission being countersigned by the Head Centre.

The Centre shall preside at all regular meetings of his Circle, and shall report upon the 25th of each month to the State Centre, setting forth the condition of his increase or decrease, with names, and the average attendance of members, the amount of moneys received, amount distributed for local expenditures, with the balance remitted on the 25th to the Head Centre.

The Centre shall be authorized to establish Sub-Circles,

and to commission Sub-Centres, after their election by said Sub-Circles, with the approval of the State Centre.

9.

Sub-Centres.

The Sub-Centre shall preside at all regular meetings of his Sub-Circle, and shall report once a month to his Centre upon whatever stated day the said Centre shall determine.

10.

Sub-Circles

Sub-Circles shall be established only in cities or towns where the number of members is so large as to interfere with efficient transaction of business.

The Centre will make the partition of Sub-Circles, and hold a consolidated meeting of all his said *Sub-Circles* once in three months.

11.

Presiding Officers.

In the absence of State Centres, Centres and Sub-Centres, the Chairman of the Committee of Safety shall preside at business meetings.

12.

Treasurer of Circle or Sub-Circle.

A Treasurer shall be nominated and selected by each Circle and Sub-Circle. It shall be his duty to make up a financial report to be embodied in the monthly report of the Centre, on the 25th of each month.

The balance on hand he shall forward to the Head Centre on the same stated day, every month, without fail.

13.

Secretary of Circle or Sub-Circle.

A Secretary shall be nominated and elected by each Circle and Sub-Circle of the Fenian Brotherhood.

It shall be his duty to make a faithful record of the proceedings of each meeting; he shall keep the financial accounts and shall sign all the official reports of his Circle or Sub-Circle, and shall in all things comport himself in accordance with the established duties of a Secretary.

14.

The Committee of Safety

A Committee of Safety shall be established in each Circle and Sub-Circle. It shall consist of not less than Three nor more than Seven members, who shall be nominated by the Centre or Sub-Centre, and elected at a regular meeting of the Circle or Sub-Circle. This Committee shall have the power of receiving members, together with the power of expelling them; but in each case their action must be submitted for approval to a meeting of their Circle or Sub-Circle.

A vote of want of confidence in the Committee of Safety will necessitate the immediate resignation of its members.

15.

Admission of Members.

Every candidate for admission into the Fenian Brotherhood must be proposed two weeks before initiation.

16.

Members in Good Standing.

Members *in good standing* are alone entitled to a voice in matters of business.

17.

Meetings.

Each Circle and Sub-Circle of the Fenian Brotherhood shall meet once a week, for the transaction of business, at such time and place as may be deemed most in accordance with their interests and convenience.

All discussions upon subjects connected with Religion or with American Politics, shall be peremptorily excluded from every meeting of the Fenian Brotherhood.

18.

Dues and Initiation Fees.

The minimum established for the weekly dues is Five Cents for each member; the minimum for the initiation fee is One Dollar.

Each Circle may, however, fix the amount of dues and initiation fees as may be deemed best for its interests.

19.

Relations of Members and Officers of the Fenian Brotherhood.

Sub-Centres shall correspond with, and report to and be directed by Centres.

Centres will correspond with, report to, and be directed by their State Centre.

State Centres will correspond with, report to, and be directed by the Head Centre.

No correspondence whatever can be held with Ireland or Europe on the business of the organization, except through the Head Centre. No communications on that business can be received in the United States from abroad except through the Head Centre. Any member, Sub-Centre, Centre, State Centre, or any officer whatever, derogating from this law shall be considered a traitor.

20.

Perfidy.

Perfidy on the part of a member or officer shall be punished by expulsion.

Maligning the objects of the organization; Calumniating its officers or members; Conveying information to the enemy; Injuring seriously the organization by disgraceful conduct, shall constitute Perfidy.

The names and descriptions of all persons guilty of Perfidy shall be sent by the Head Centre to all Circles throughout the United States, and to the C. E. in Ireland, to be there kept on record.

21.

Members in Bad Standing.

Members who have not attended a meeting of their Circle or Sub-Circle for thirteen successive weeks, when their absence is not accounted for by a legitimate excuse, shall be considered *in bad standing*, and their names shall be stricken from the Roll of the Fenian Brotherhood.

No member *in bad standing* shall enter into any Fenian Circle whatever until he has shown to the Committee of Safety of his previous Circle, sufficient cause to satisfy them of his firm resolve to act thenceforward the part of a truthful and steadfast Fenian.

Previous to his re-admission into the Brotherhood he shall pay a fine of not less than one dollar, and shall clear up all arrears of his weekly dues.

22.

Men Coming from Abroad.

Men coming from abroad who represent themselves to be Fenian Brothers, must be first recognized as such by the Head Centre, before admission to any Circle in the United States.

Where it is difficult to obtain this recognition, the Centre to whom the party applies shall forward information and documents to the State Centre, who will advise him in the case; otherwise the applicant must be proposed in the regular manner, and be initiated as a new member.

23.

Cards and Letters of Introduction.

When members change localities they shall carry a letter of introduction and a certificate from the Centre of the Circle to which they had been attached, to the Centre of the Circle to which they are going. This will be taken up on presentation and reported back to the Centre who issued it, and when found correct, the member shall be received forthwith.

In places where Circles are very large, cards may be issued to identify members.

24.

Elections and Term of Office.

All the elected Officers of the several State organizations, Circles and Sub-Circles of the Fenian Brotherhood shall hold office for a period of not less than One Year from the date of their commissions, unless in case of resignation or dismissal.

25.

Resignations and Dismissals.

Resignations, to be valid, must be, in the first instance, received by a majority of the Circle or Sub-Circle of the resigning officer, and next forwarded by his immediate superior to the Head Centre for approval.

Any officer of the Fenian Brotherhood may be dismissed

from his position for Perfidy, Neglect of Duty, or Disobedience of Legitimate Orders, by a decree of his immediate superior in command, or by a *two-thirds* vote of his constituents, subject, however, in each case, to the approval of the Head Centre and a majority of the Central Council.

26.

Jurisdiction of the Head Centre and Central Council.

The decision of the Head Centre, shall, with the written consent of the majority of the members of the Central Council be absolute and conclusive upon all points that are not specially provided for in these By-Laws, until the next annual session of the Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood.

27.

Annual Congress.

A Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood shall be held annually, during the month of November of each year, until the Independence of Ireland shall be thoroughly established. The Election of a Head Centre, Central Council, Central Treasurer and Assistant Central Treasurer, for the ensuing year, together with the confirmation of State Centres, for the same period, shall be made at the said annual Congress.

It shall receive and confirm reports of the progress, strength, and pecuniary resources of the Fenian Organization during the current year, and shall make such alterations in its Constitution and By-Laws, as may be found necessary for its more efficient working.

The said Annual Congress shall be held within the limits of the United States of America, at such place as shall seem fit to the Head Centre and Central Council.

28.

Resolutions of the First Fenian Congress.

The Resolutions passed on the Fourth day of November, 1863, by the First Fenian Congress held in the City of Chicago, and State of Illinois, in the said month, and year, and, after mature deliberation, signed by the Centres, and Delegates there assembled, are, and shall be adopted as part of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Fenian Brotherhood.

Local By-Laws.

Each Circle shall have the power of enacting By-Laws for its special government. These shall be brief and comprehensive, and shall in no-wise conflict with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Fenian Brotherhood.

The Committee of Safety shall, in the first instance, prepare the said Local By-laws, which shall be then submitted to the Circle for approval.

The General Constitution and By-Laws together with the Resolutions of the First Fenian Congress, shall be read once a month to the members of each Circle until they become thoroughly familiar with them.

Blank Form of Monthly Report.

MONTHLY REPORT OF _____ CIRCLE, F. B.

MONTH.	NUMBER OF MEMBERS PRESENT AT					Amounts, Dues, &c., Received.
	1st Meeting.	2d Meeting.	3d Meeting.	4th Meeting.	5th Meeting.	

Aggregate attendance, _____ Members, paying.....	\$.....
Disbursed for local expenditures.....	\$.....
Balance remitted to H. C.....	\$.....
Total amount forwarded to H. C. to date.....	\$.....

	No.	NAMES.	CAUSES.
Actual strength of Circle.....			
Increase since last report.....			
Expulsions or desertions since last report.			

Remarks and suggestions relative to wants of or improvements in local organization.

Signed.

_____ Centre.

_____ Secretary.

_____ Treasurer.

ADDRESS
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,
ADOPTED AT THE
FENIAN CONGRESS,
ASSEMBLED IN CHICAGO, ON THE THIRD, FOURTH
AND FIFTH OF NOVEMBER, 1863.

BROTHERS:—We deem it prudent to withhold for the present from publication in the newspapers certain important resolutions having special reference to the revolutionary element in Ireland, which have been submitted to this Convention by the Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, and unanimously adopted. Printed copies of these resolutions will be placed before the different Circles of our organization in this country, and will also be transmitted at the earliest fitting opportunity to our friends at home. In the meantime, we do not wish to separate without addressing to you a few guarded words—such as we can afford to have read by ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN—regarding the present aspect of our cause.

We are solemnly pledged to labor earnestly and continuously for the regeneration of our beloved Ireland. That pledge, with the blessing of Divine Providence, we shall redeem. And when the wished for hour will have arrived, we shall be prepared with you to meet the implacable persecutors of our race in battle array, to put an end forever to the accursed system under which our unhappy people have suffered such cruel tortures—or die like men in the attempt. And in what holier cause has man ever died? How much Irish blood has fallen upon the battle-fields of the world? Alas! how much Irish blood has been shed in the service of our country's oppressor—the plunderer and murderer of her people—the fell enemy of her faith? Over this subject and others connected with it we have pondered long and bitterly. But our resolve is fixed and irrevocable; the foul stigma which attaches to our name MUST be wiped out.

We do not ask, Will you be ready? We know you are ready. Nine-tenths of the Irish people have at all times been ready, in heart and will, to dispute with armed hands

the invader's right to enslave or exterminate them. But this is not enough. We must be "skilled to do," as well as "ready to dare." We are thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATIONS, PARLIAMENTARY "POLICIES," and all similar delusions. These things have brought more suffering upon our people than would be caused by the most protracted and devastating war. The best of them WOULD BUT EXPOSE THE ARDENT AND THE BRAVE TO THE VENGEANCE OF LOCAL DESPOTS, and be it remembered that such sacrifices beget no noble aspirations.

NO ENSLAVED PEOPLE EVER REGAINED THEIR INDEPENDENCE, OR BECAME FORMIDABLE TO THEIR ENSLAVEMENT WITHOUT "ILLEGAL" (IN THE ENSLAVEMENT'S SENSE) PRE-ORGANIZATION. Poland had its illegal (in the Russian sense) organization long before those glorious "legions of despair" unfurled the flag of revolution. Had Italy no illegal (in the Austrian sense) organization, the sword of McMahon had never flashed in victory on the field of Magenta. Had not the American colonies of England their trained militia, the "trampled province" could not have sprung into a "free and glorious Republic." Hungary was pre-organized. But why multiply instances? The lesson which history teaches to struggling nationalities, and illustrates by many a bright and many a dark example, is THAT PRE-ORGANIZATION IS ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS.

With it there may be defeat and glory. Without it there must be defeat and shame. Some politicians seem to think anything approaching a military organization impossible in Ireland. But its possibility and feasibility, when guided by courage, prudence, devotion, and ability, have been proved to our satisfaction; and this fact is the very foundation of our conviction that the day of our deliverance is at hand. We say our deliverance, for the privileges of living among a free people and of sharing the blessings of free institutions, but make us feel the more keenly the sufferings and degradation of our own old land. But our hearts swell with hope and exultation when we think of the living fire that burns within her shores, defying the combined efforts of the open foe and false friend to extinguish it. No matter how powerful and devoted her exiled children might be, we should tremble for the issue if there were no true men left in Ireland, no worthy descendants and disciples of the heroes of '98. We do not wonder at

the enemy's persistent endeavors to emasculate or to banish you.

Americans already admit that the non-recognition of the revolted States by England is due to the attitude which the Irish people have assumed, both at home and in this Republic. If the Irish people at home and abroad were united in a band of brotherhood for the salvation of their own country, would the United States hesitate for an hour to strike a blow which would be followed by two inevitable results—peace in America and liberty in Ireland?

A deep responsibility rests upon Irishmen in the present generation. The fate of their country trembles in the balance. Emigration is doing its exhausting work. Other influences are leagued with the oppressor to quench the spirit which has triumphed over the dungeon and the scaffold, and which even famine could not kill. Let us falter now, and Ireland's doom is sealed; a grand old nation—grand even in her chains—is blotted from the map of the world. But there shall be no faltering, no cowardice. Our country cries to us for aid, and points to the grave which the foe has dug for her. ARMED LEGIONS shall interpose between her and that grave.

Here we have Soldiers armed and trained (thousands of them trained in the tented field and amid the smoke and thunders of battle) with able and experienced Generals to lead them. Let the cities and towns and parishes of Ireland have their brigades, regiments, battalions and companies of partially disciplined soldiers of liberty silently enrolled. Above all things, LET EVERY MAN BE PLEDGED TO OBEY THE COMMANDS OF HIS SUPERIORS; AND PLEDGED ALSO NEVER TO MOVE WITHOUT SUCH COMMANDS, FOR OBEDIENCE TO COMMAND IS THE FIRST AND THE MOST IMPORTANT REQUISITE TO THE PERFECT SOLDIER; all the rest is secondary. Thus you will not only be prepared to strike with effect, but all rash attempts at insurrection will be prevented.—Without such an organization as we contemplate, partial uprisings of the people will be sure to occur, leaving no results but the sacrifice of brave men, and perhaps the ruin of our cause. When we strike, let us strike home. And are there not strong arms within the enemy's own shores to second the blow? Circumstances are in our favor, such as Providence never before vouchsafed to an enslaved people. We have but to act as becomes brave and reason-

ing men, and ours shall be the pride and the glory of lifting our sorrowing Erin of the Streams to her place among the nations.

BROTHERS, RELY UPON US. WE RELY UPON YOU.

JAMES GIBBONS, Pennsylvania,
Chairman.

JOHN O'MAHONY, New York.
President and Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood.

RICHARD DOHERTY, Indiana,
DANIEL GRADY, District of Columbia,
DANIEL CARMODY, Wisconsin,
Vice Presidents.

HENRY O'C. McCARTHY, Illinois,
JOHN A. STUART, Indiana,
Secretaries.

[APPENDIX.]

The Call for the Convention.

CHICAGO, Sept. 5, 1863.

John O'Mahony, Head Centre F. B., New York City:

SIR AND BROTHER—For grave and pressing reasons well known to yourself, we the undersigned officers of the Fenian Brotherhood request of you, as our Head Centre, to call a General Convention of the above named organization at your earliest convenience, to be held wherever you may deem best fitted for the objects we have in view.

With fraternal greeting, we are, Sir and Brother, your servants.

JAMES GIBBONS, Centre, Philadelphia Circle.

MICHAEL SCANLAN, Do., Chicago, Ill.

RICHARD DOHERTY, Do., Lafayette, Ind.

THOMAS NASH, Do., Indianapolis, Ind.

JOHN CARROLL, Do., Crawfordsville, Ind.

JOSEPH KEARNEY, Do., Logansport, Ind.

TERRENCE O'MAHONY, Do., Columbus, Ohio.

JAMES CARROLL, Do., Attica, Ind.

JAMES MANNING, Do., Cleveland, Ohio.

JOHN COSGROVE, Do., New Albany, Ind.

T. F. KELLY, Do., Springfield, Ill.

PATRICK O'ROURKE, Do., Greencastle, Ind.

PATRICK FARRELL, Do., Covington, Ind.

JAMES McNAMARA, Do., Toledo, Ohio.

WM. HAYES, Do., West Point, Ind.

TITUS SCULLEN, Do., Danville, Ill.

W. O'K. AUSTIN, Do., State Line, Ind.

E. OSBORNE, Do., Terre Haute, Ind.

WM. GRIFFIN, Do., Madison, Ind.

J. P. McGRATH, Do., Louisville, Ky.

And numerous Centres of the organization in the North and North-West.

[REPLY.]

To the Centres of the Fenian Brotherhood:

GENTLEMEN AND BROTHERS—In compliance with your requisition, I hereby summon a General Convention to be composed of the Centres of the Fenian Brotherhood together with elected Delegates from each Circle thereof, to meet in the Fenian Hall, Chicago, Ill., on the 3d day of November next.

I also call, through you, upon every Circle, *now in good standing* according to the rules of the F. B., to assemble with as little delay as possible in special meeting for the election of delegates to represent them in the said Convention. Proxies will be allowed to such "Centres" as may be unavoidably prevented from attending.

I remain, in fraternity, your faithful servant.

(Signed)

JOHN O'MAHONY, H.C.F.B.

September 10th, 1863.

N. B.—No members but those in "good standing" are entitled to vote at the election of delegates. J. O'M.

