THE EXTRAORDINARY DISCLOSURE.

ALEXANDER RAPHAEL, ESQ. LATE M. P.

VERSUS

DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. M. P.,

Great, glorious, and free,
First flower of the earth,
And first gem of the sea.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED

THE SERMON

OF

FATHER KEHOE ON THE OCCASION.

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ADDRESS

OF

ALEXANDER RAPHAEL, ESQ.

TO THE ELECTORS OF CARLOW.

GENTLEMEN—A report having been circulated that, in withdrawing at the time I did from any further opposition to the petition by which Mr. Vigors and myself were removed from the high honour of being your representatives, I had abandoned your interests, and sacrificed for the present the independence of your county, I think it a duty to myself, and to you, who so nobly returned me, a perfect stranger, as one of your representatives, to state fully and unreservedly, the origin of my connexion with your county, and the circumstances under which I embarked in, and was ultimately and most reluctantly compelled to withdraw from a contest, before a committee of the House of Commons.

In making this statement, I shall avoid as much as possible entering into any detail which might admit even of a colourable contradiction, and confine myself to a publication of that which is incapable of being controverted, with such observations only as appear to me necessary to render the whole transaction intelligible to you; my object being, that these worthy and independent electors who kindly honoured me with their confidence and suffrages, should be convinced that I resisted to the utmost the attempts made to deprive a vast number of you of your elective franchise, and that the defeat which you and I have sustained was owing to circumstances over which I had no controul—to the conduct of others, which neither you nor I could have believed possible, and of course could not guard against.

Having for many years been ambitious of a seat in parliament, and knowing the influence which Mr. O'Connell possesses in Ireland, I addressed to him, in the month of May last, a letter expressive of such my wish. A petition was then pending against the return of Colonel Bruen and Mr. Kavanagh, as your representatives, and on the 27th of May the committee declared their election void.

Historic Orgachtas

On the 28th of May, Mr. O'Connell called on me at my town residence, and pressed me to become a candidate for the county of Carlow, assuring me that the only risk I could incur would be £1000. I requested twenty-four hours' time to consider, and on the following day, at the exact hour appointed, I called at Mr. O'Connell's, and was told by the servant he was not at home ; in the evening I received the following note, in consequence of which an appointment was made for an interview between us at his house for the 31st of May :

9, Clarges-street, May 29.

My dear Sir—I remained at home, at some inconvenience, until after the hour I mentioned. I was sorry I did not remain longer, as you called shortly after ; but as you left no letter or other indication of acceding to my proposal, I take it for granted that you decline my offer—be it so. I only add my belief that you will never again meet so safe a speculation—I am quite sure I shall never hear of one.—I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, your very faithful

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Alexander Raphael, Esq.

On the 31st we met, as appointed, and after some discussion he wrote and delivered into my hands this letter :—

9, Clarges-street, June 1.

My dear Sir—You having acceded to the terms proposed to you for the election of the county of Carlow—viz., you are to pay before nomination £1,000—say £1,000, and a like sum after being returned ; the first to be paid absolutely and entirely for being nominated—the second to be paid only in the event of your having been returned. I hereby undertake to guarantee and save you harmless from any and every other expense whatsoever, whether of agents, carriages, counsel, petition against the return, or of any other description ; and I make this guarantee in the fullest sense of the honourable engagement, that you should not possibly be required to pay one shilling more in any event, or upon any contingency whatsoever.—I am, my dear Sir, your very faithful,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A. Raphael, Esq.

At this meeting I gave to Mr. O'Connell the address which I had formerly published to the electors of Westminster, which he promised to alter, and I became a candidate for the high honour of representing you in parliament.

At a subsequent interview Mr. O'Connell wished me to pay the first £1000 to his credit with Wright and Co. but I told him I preferred it going through the hands of my solicitor, Mr. Hamilton, with whom I would leave the money. On the 4th June he sent me the following note :

9, Clarges-street, June 4.

My dear Sir—I have heard from Mr. Vigors this day our prospects are quite bright. I will arrange your address for to-morrow's post, and my own for immediate publication. I at present entertain no doubt of success. You will hear again from me to-morrow. Who is Mr. Hamilton with whom you have deposited the £1,000? I do not know any person

of that name in London. I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of sitting by your side in the house. Till to-morrow, I have the honour to be your very faithful servant and friend,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A. Raphael, Esq.

On the 5th of June I received a note from Mr. Morgan O'Connell, apologising, by his father's direction, for not having written according to his promise; and on the 8th I received the following letter :—

London, June 8.

My dear Sir—I sent off yesterday my letter to the electors of Carlow, on your behalf; all my accounts confirm my opinion of an easy victory; I doubt whether there will be more than the show of a contest, but I am assured in any event of success. I send you a slip of a Carlow newspaper, showing that you are already nominated under the most favourable auspices. I also send you the draft of an address; I beg of you to peruse it, and to return it to me with any corrections you may deem necessary, or if you approve it, then with your signature; my wish is that you should alter it as little as you possibly can. I also send you a sealed letter from Mr. Vigors. I beg of you to return the address as near to four o'clock this day as you can, that I may transmit it to the *Dublin Pilot* for publication on Wednesday next. All the good men of Carlow see that paper. Let me know who the Mr. Hamilton is with whom you deposited the £1000, ; I expected that you would have it lodged at Mr. Wright's. It is time this were done.—Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Alexander Raphael, Esq.

On the 10th of June, Mr. John O'Connell called on Mr. Hamilton, with a note from his father, and received £1,000., for which he gave a memorandum. The following is a copy of the note and memorandum :—

Wednesday, June 10.

SIR—I beg you will hand my son, Mr. John O'Connell, the £1,000. placed with you by Mr. Raphael for my use. My son will give you a voucher at foot.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. Hamilton, Esq., 2, Henrietta-street.

I acknowledge to have received £1,000. by draught on Wright and Co.

JOHN O'CONNELL.

June 10, 1835.

And on the same day, previous to the receipt of the money, I having communicated to him by a friend of mine that Mr. Feargus O'Connor called upon me for my decision respecting Carlow, he sent me the following note :—

It is not my fault that Mr. Feargus O'Connor called on you. Refer him and everybody else to me. I want part of the £1,000. to send over.—How shall I communicate with Mr. Hamilton?

All well, quite well, in Carlow.—Faithfully yours,

Wednesday. DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On the 13th I received a letter from Mr. O'Connell, with the form of the oath to be made by me as to my qualification, and with directions before whom it was to be sworn. That letter contained these passages—

I am glad to tell you that our prospects of success are, I do believe, quite conclusive. If only one Liberal is to be returned, you are to be the man. I have made all the pecuniary arrangements, &c.

On the 17th Mr. O'Connell wrote me the following :—

Wednesday.

My dear Sir—I send you Vigors's letter to me, just received. You see how secure we are. Return me this letter, as it vouches £800. for me. With that you have nothing to do, as, of course, I stand between you and every body. Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Alexander Raphael, Esq.

The day after, I received the following note :—

June 18.

I enclose you the ballot of this morning. Nothing can be better.—Ever yours faithfully, DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A. Raphael, Esq.

Mr. Tyrrell did not work with the people at the last election.

I must observe, that though I paid the £1,000 in cash, I have been informed that the £800 here mentioned was remitted in a bill at a long date, drawn by Mr. O'Connell upon some persons carrying on business as brewers in Dublin ; a circumstance that was not very well calculated to induce the electors, or those to whom the money was remitted, to entertain a very high opinion of my pecuniary means. I have also been informed that nothing beyond the £800 has been expended or received in the county. What became of the other 200 ? or what would have become of the second £1,000 in case I had been returned without a contest, or without a petition, it is no business of mine to inquire.

On the 21st of June Mr. O'Connell communicated to me the gratifying intelligence that I had been returned one of your Representatives by the following letter :

9, Clarges-street, Half-past Three.

My dear Sir—Glorious news ! Raphael and Vigors returned on Thursday. I do not know the exact majority, but I know the fact. I heartily congratulate you. My communication is from a Cabinet Minister, but this is private. You can take your seat to-morrow. Ever yours faithfully, DANIEL O'CONNELL.

And on the following morning, the 22d, I received this short note—

Alexander Raphael, Esq., M.P. Ultimate majority, 56. You are entitled to get your letters free this day.

Houses of Oireachtas

On the 25th I took my seat in the House of Commons with the full determination to do every thing in my power to redress the grievances under which Ireland, and particularly its Catholic inhabitants, had so long suffered; but at the same time equally determined to act as became the *independent* Representative of so large and influential a body of electors as those who had honoured me with their confidence and suffrages.

On the 3d of July a petition was presented against the return of Mr. Vigors and myself;* and it is important to bear in mind that it was evident from the allegations contained in it, that his and my right to the seats would be decided on a scrutiny. Hence the necessity for an immediate and active investigation into all the votes on both sides, and for measures being taken to defend those seats and your rights before a committee of the House of Commons.

On the 16th or 17th of July the petitioners perfected the necessary recognizances, and on the latter day I received the following letter:—

9, Clarges-street, July 17.

My dear Sir—Send to Mr. Baker* the particulars he wants of your qualification. I will stand between you and him for all expenses. I promised you, and repeat distinctly my promise, that upon payment of the second £1,000, to which you are at all events engaged, no demand shall be made upon you for an additional six-pence. Do, then, at once pay the other £1,000 into Messrs. Wright's, to my credit. Confer with Mr. Baker as to his defence as much as he chooses. I am bound to indemnify you for all expenses beyond that £1,000—that is, the second sum.—Believe me to be, very faithfully yours. DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Alexander Raphael, Esq.

On the 25th I received this note from Mr. O'Connell:—

9, Clarges-street, July 25.

My dear Sir—You did not say to whom I was to apply for the second sum of £1,000, according to our arrangement. It is necessary—absolutely necessary it should be paid this day. Let me know at once who is to give it me. I have a note from Vigors, to whom I am pledged, pressing me on this subject. I, of course, am bound to him for the money. Faithfully yours, DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A. Raphael, Esq.

On the following day I informed Mr. O'Connell, by note, that my solicitor, Mr. Hamilton, would be in Henrietta-street, and requested him to call on him. This he did not do, but sent his son, Mr. John O'Connell, to whom Mr. Hamilton stated my understanding of the original engagement between us, in which he fully coincided, to be, that the second £1,000, was not to be paid until the seat was safe. This Mr. John O'Connell promised to communicate to his father, from whom I received, on the night of that day, on my return from the House of Commons, the following letter:—

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* The agent employed by Mr. O'Connell.

9, Clarges-street, July 27.

Sir—I can hardly restrain my feelings at hearing that you shrink from performing your engagement with me. Rely on it you are mistaken if you suppose that I will submit to any deviation from our engagement. I say no more at present, in the hope that there may be some mistake which you will instantly do away—there can be no mistake on my part.—I am, in the mean time, your obedient servant, DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Alexander Raphael, Esq.

My first impression, on reading this very extraordinary epistle, to say the least of it, was to abandon my seat at once; but on further reflection, and after advising with my friends, I determined to submit for the time to the insult thus offered, and by paying him the second thousand pounds, to remove from Mr. O'Connell all possible pretext for the non-fulfilment of the engagement on his part. Accordingly, on the next day I sent him this reply:—

Great Stanhope-street, July 28.

SIR.—I deny most positively that I have in any respect shrunk from performing my engagement with you. On the other side you will find a copy of a letter you gave me (viz. that of June 1.) You must recollect the conversation we had prior to that being written. My understanding at that time, was, and ever since has been, that I was to risk only £1,000, and that the other £1,000, was to be paid only in the event of the seat being secured; you, it seems, put a different construction upon it; and as I presume we both wish only what is right, I would suggest that the question should be decided by some mutual friend. In the mean time, to prevent all possibility of doubt as to good faith on my part, I have authorised Mr. Hamilton to pay the £1,000. In conclusion, it pains me to say, that the tone of your letter was quite unwarranted by anything on my part. I am, Sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

ALEXANDER RAPHAEL.

To Daniel O'Connell, Esq.

On the same day, viz., July 28, Mr. John O'Connell received the second £1,000, and half an hour afterwards the ballot took place and the Committee were nominated.

On the 31st a letter was put into my hand as I was going into the House of Commons, to be delivered to Mr. Vigors, who afterwards informed me it was from the agent, and was a very important letter, to which I replied that I had nothing to do with it, and referred him to Mr. O'Connell. What the contents or purport of it was, I did not then know, but have since been informed that it contained a statement of the probable expenses that would be occasioned by the scrutiny.

On the 2d of August, I met Mr. O'Connell by appointment at his house, where he made many violent observations on what he called the partial conduct of the Tory committee, and stated that he would wait until two votes were disposed of before he determined what course he would take; but not one word fell from him on this, or any other occasion intimating that the opposition to the petition was proceeding at my expense. I could not, however, from certain expressions used by him, but entertain doubts that it was his intention not to

carry on the contest much longer; and that he would avail himself of the first plausible opportunity of withdrawing from it. In this I was confirmed by the receipt, on the following morning, of a letter from that gentleman, containing something in the shape of an offer or proposition so extraordinary and unexpected that I really knew not what to make of it, except, indeed, to prepare for, and reconcile me to, his then intended breach of engagement, and to induce me to believe it was not only his desire to make some atonement for the consequences of such an act, but that it was in HIS POWER to compensate me, in some other way, for the loss of my seat, which was now reduced to a certainty, so far, at least, as depended upon him for his pecuniary or other support. But as this letter was marked "strictly confidential," I am not now disposed to allude further to its contents, but am ready to publish it and my reply, if Mr. O'Connell will permit me, to make this narrative complete: suffice it, therefore, at present to say, that I was not to be blinded or duped by this attempt "to blarney and humbug me;" and only now quote the following extract from that reply:—"I rely, however, on your fulfilling your engagement with me to secure my seat, if possible, by fighting the battle so long as a bad vote for the petitioners remains on the poll, or at all events to the end of the present session. To allow fifty-six of our votes to be struck off would leave fearful odds to contend with on a future vacancy."

On the fourth of August Mr. Vigors, Mr. O'Connell, and myself, met by appointment at the Westminster Club, and I was then informed that the committee had that day struck off the first vote. This of course led to some discussion, when I learned for the first time, to my great surprise, that Mr. Vigors had not contributed, and would not contribute, one shilling towards the defence of the seats! Mr. O'Connell left it beyond doubt that he did not intend any longer to defend the seats, consequently there was no alternative but for me, after having already advanced £2,000, in the confidence reposed in a brother Catholic, either to fight the battle single-handed, or to abandon at once all further opposition, and give the seats to Colonel Bruen and Mr. Kavanagh. Placed in this very embarrassing predicament, I determined, at all events, to continue the opposition for a day or two, to give me an opportunity of conferring with my friends. Hitherto I had not been consulted either directly or indirectly, and had not taken any part in getting up the case on the part of the sitting members. Counsel had been retained, and an agent appointed, of whom I knew nothing, without any communication with me. I was of course in entire ignorance of the merits of the case on the part of the petitioners, as well as of the sitting members, but had been assured there were more bad votes on the part of the petitioners than of the sitting members, and that the same evidence as to the value which would disqualify the latter, would, in its turn apply to the former, and that little doubt existed of the petitioners being defeated. To have abandoned the contest would not only have given the seats to Colonel Bruen and Mr. Kavanagh, but would have enabled them to prosecute the scrutiny

on their part as long, and in any way they pleased; and in the absence of opposition they could not have had any difficulty in striking off nearly the whole of the votes they had objected to, (upwards of 200) which would have given them such a decided majority as would have rendered any opposition at a future election unavailing, until another registration had taken place. I resolved, therefore, not to allow the county to be left in that predicament without a struggle, and relying on the assurance that our case was good, I went on with the opposition, but in the mean time addressed this letter to Mr. O'Connell, which he thought it prudent not to reply to, or take any notice of:—

Great Stanhope-street, August 5.

My dear Sir—I cannot express how deeply I feel in being left by you in the painful dilemma of either running away from the fight, with a majority of 56 in our favour, or to commence from to-morrow an expensive and uncertain contest, without a single sixpence from my colleague. I have, however, by the advice of my friends, determined to continue the contest for a day or two longer, reserving to myself, if necessary for the vindication of my character towards my constituents of Carlow, any other mode of proceeding which I may be advised to adopt. I therefore once more call upon you, as an act of justice to me, to fulfil your engagement, as you must be convinced (and you have yesterday declared*) that I have acted throughout the transaction in the most honourable manner towards you. I am, my dear Sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

ALEXANDER RAPHAEL.

On the following day I had an interview with Mr. Baker, the Parliamentary agent before-mentioned, who had been employed by some one, and I naturally infer by Mr. O Connell, certainly not by me, or with my knowledge, who stated, however, that he had nothing to do with Mr. O'Connell, but looked to me, and me only, for the expenses of opposing the petition.

The scrutiny continued until the 17th of August, when the petitioners, having struck off 105 votes, and thus converted our majority of 56 into a minority of 49, declared their case for the present closed, reserving to themselves the right of going on with their objections to the remainder of our votes, in case we should strike off a sufficient number of theirs to turn the majority.

In order to render the cause of our defeat intelligible to you, it is necessary I should state that the committee on the commencement of the investigation came to the resolution that the votes objected to before the revising barrister in 1832, should be first inquired into; it became essential, therefore, in the first instance, to give some evidence that the persons whose votes were now sought to be impeached had been then objected to, and on the part of the counsel employed by some one, but certainly not by me, to oppose the petition; it was insisted that strict proof should be given, that specific objection was taken to each individual as he came up to register, and that it was not sufficient to

* In the presence of Mr. Vigors.

show that a general objection was taken by cross-examination of the party. This evidence the petitioners were, fortunately for them, and unfortunately for us, enabled to give in every case by means of a very active and intelligent agent, who had attended the registry, and who produced the book in which he at the time made memoranda of his objections. When the counsel employed on behalf of Mr. Vigors' and myself required our opponents to go into this minute proof, they must, I presume, have been instructed that we should be in a situation to give similar evidence, when called upon to support our objections to the votes of our opponents.

Whether they were so instructed or not, I know not, but when it came to our turn to prove our case, we had, sure enough, the revising barrister, one of the counsel, one of the agents, and several other persons, all of whom could speak to the general nature of the objections, but not one of whom could particularise more than about a dozen individuals to whose right of voting any specific objections had been taken, and even about those they could not speak with certainty. A book had indeed been kept at the time of the registration, which, if produced, would have enabled the agent to give the requisite evidence; but, owing to some unaccountable blunder, the party who was known to have possession of it was not summoned, but remained very quietly in Carlow. Counsel, it is true, attempted to support three or four objections, but being required to give the same kind of evidence which had been required of our opponents, and which they had in consequence given, we, to use a law phrase, immediately "broke down." To have continued the contest longer under such circumstances, would have been not only unavailing, but might have induced the committee (seven of whom were Tories) to have voted the opposition frivolous and vexatious. I, therefore, under the advice of our counsel and agent, determined to offer no further opposition, and in so doing, I trust you will think I have made out a sufficient justification, and that so far from in any way sacrificing your rights or abandoning your interests, I have done everything in my power to preserve and protect them, and that I have not in any respect forfeited that confidence which you were pleased to place in me when an entire stranger to you, and which, I flatter myself, you will on some future occasion again honour me with.

I am aware that in thus making public what has passed between Mr. O'Connell and myself, I shall expose myself to that person's customary and vindictive abuse and calumny; but I feel that the liberal electors of Carlow are nevertheless entitled to this explanation, and if anything he can do, or leave undone, can, after recent disclosures, surprise his fellow-countrymen, it will be that he has never had the good feeling or decency to express on any occasion, either by letter or otherwise, one word of regret for what has occurred, or at the untoward termination of what he was pleased to designate as a safe "speculation," in which I embarked under a perfect reliance on his honour, patriotism, and integrity, and under the circumstances in part before detailed.

That I may not do him an injustice, it is but fair that I should, in conclusion, observe, that the second sum of £1000 has been accounted for by his paying in cash £350 to Mr. Baker towards the law charges, and after repeated applications made for the balance, by giving a bill for it at a long date, drawn by Mr. O'Connell himself on the self-same brewers as the £800 before alluded to was drawn on.

Such, gentlemen, has been the conduct of the individual who, in his letter recently addressed to the Duke of Wellington, with his usual modesty, thus speaks of himself—"The Irish nation know me to be *sincere* and *honest;* they confide in my moral courage and indefatigable perseverance."

This, gentlemen, may be your opinion; it most certainly is not mine.

With many and grateful thanks to you for your exertions in my favour, I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful and obedient servant,

ALEXANDER RAPHAEL.

Great Stanhope-street, Oct. 30.

Houses of the Oireachtas

ADDRESS OF PRIEST KEHOE.

As having immediate reference to the foregoing, we subjoin the following extract from the evidence before the Intimidation Committee of the House of Commons:

MR. CARTER HALL CALLED IN AND EXAMINED.

"What countryman are you? I am an Englishman.

"Since when have you resided in Ireland? I have resided for a considerable time in Ireland, and am a graduate of the University of Dublin.

"There is an address alleged to have been spoken by the Rev. Father Kehoe, at Leighlin-bridge on Sunday, the 14th of June, in which very strong expressions are used, applied both to a man of the name of Pat. Neill, and also to the interference of a gentleman of the name of Alexander; what do you know of that address alleged to have been spoken in that chapel, on that day, by Father Kehoe? I went to the Roman Catholic chapel of Leighlin-bridge on Sunday, the 14th of June, heard Father Kehoe address his congregation, took down notes of that address, and immediately afterwards copied them out.

"Is that paper a faithful transcript of the notes you took down? It is.

"Did you make the original draft of that printed paper? I did.

"And from the notes you took in the chapel? Yes."

The following is the paper alluded to:—

ADDRESS OF FATHER KEHOE TO HIS CONGREGATION, FROM THE ALTAR OF THE CHAPEL OF LEIGHLIN-BRIDGE, ON SUNDAY, THE 14TH OF JUNE.

"Is there any one here who will barter his soul for his landlord? There is one wretch that has done so. Do you know whom I mean? I mean Pat. Neil, the hypocritical apostate lick-spittle, Pat Neil, and his brother. (At these words there was a great laughter and some groans.) This miscreant got £70 a year for voting against his country, his religion, and his God, on the last election; and he now expects to have that increased to £150; besides, his landlord

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bribes him in every possible manner, and the base wretch, who once acknowledged that if he was a scholar he would be hanged; but he is no scholar, but the most ignorant brute in the country, now exults in being the lick-spittle of his landlord. Now see how he makes his apostate gain; he has a horse worth £10, and gets £20, for it, and so for every thing else. I say, Pat Neil, you are a detestable hypocritical, apostate, lick-spittle, a ruffian and a miscreant, to be held up to the finger of scorn and detestation and contempt; and what are you the richer than any honest freeholder, after all, when your debts are paid? (Here there were bursts of laughter.) About the oath you have to take at the election, boys, I want to speak a few words to you. (After reading the bribery oath, Father Kehoe dwelt on the word 'indirectly.') Mark this, good people, 'indirectly,' that is, if one gets leave to draw turf, is lent sacks, is taken into his landlord's employment, or other things of that kind, for his vote. Now this is the way Pat Neil is bribed by Alexander; he gets leave to take what land he likes, is made his process-server, his time-server, and his devil's server, and he (I mean Pat Neil) goes about to the other freeholders, striving to tempt them, as the devils tried to tempt the Saviour, and says, 'All these things will Alexander give you if you will worship him.' 'I expect,' says Pat Neil, 'to have a higher post after this election, for I will have £150 a-year and then you may step into my present post.' Oh, the wretch! But do not you barter your soul and sell your country, your religion, and your God, for Alexander, or any other tyrannical landlord. Good people, I am told policemen come here that are not Catholics; their only object must be to create a disturbance; therefore mark down their names, and I will soon take care that they shall not long have occasion to wear their green coats and black belts.—(Here every eye was directed up to the gallery and along the seats for some time.) About these policemen do you know? I suppose you do not, but I will tell you. There are 375 chiefs among them, receiving from £500. to £1500. a-year each. And how many of these chiefs are Catholics? Six. Does not this prove that all posts of emolument are shut against you because you are Catholics? Well, the sergeants. Now a sergeant has about six pounds a year more than a common policeman. Well, now, how many of these sergeants are Protestants? Why, two-thirds. So the paltry difference of £6. a-year makes them choose Protestants for their sergeants. Why, they ought to be at least four-fifths Catholics. Then, indeed, they would find you assisting them at the fairs to keep the people quiet. The Conservatives say a large number of soldiers have come to Carlow; but they have received strict orders not to escort the voters, so you have all in your own hands. Besides, the government has sent down three magistrates, who are to have the entire command of the army, to the exclusion of all the country magistrates; so, good people, all is in your own power; and the government, too, is very different from the last. But these Conservative landlords threaten to deprive you of your leases; that they cannot do. Why so? They dare not, though they are most anxious to wallow up to their knees in human blood—in

your blood, good people, and to bring about again the rebellion of 1798, and their object is to bring your daughters to prostitution, and your sons to beggary; but they dare not. Why? Because before the end of this session of parliament a body of poor laws will be in force, and every tenant that every landlord ejects, that same landlord will be obliged to support. And who are these bloody landlords, those tyrannical despots? Why, they are fellows whose names were not known when your ancestors possessed the land they now possess: but a time will soon come that will oblige them to prove what right and title they have to their possessions. Well, good people, will you now be true to your religion, your country, and your God, in spite of the tyranny of your landlords, in spite of Alexander and his son, the two who first obliged their tenants to pay blood-stained tithes—who, after the last election, because their tenants voted for their country and their conscience, issued latitats, the expense of which amounted to £2. 5s. 6d., to enforce the payment of sums of money not exceeding £6.? I am told that two conservative brats, sons of this Alexander, are now at the Cross below, terrifying the freeholders as they are coming to mass; but I will teach these chaps not to terrify honest freeholders. Good people, you must swear at the election that you vote for 'fit and discreet men to represent the county of Carlow in parliament.' Is Bruen a discreet man? What Bruen? Orange Bruen. He who always opposed Catholic Emancipation, till it was extorted from the government, and his opposition could no longer be an injury to you. Is it Bruen, who said in Parliament (the only time he did not give a silent vote) that the priests instigated the people to commit murder, and all kinds of outrage; and that till the priests were exterminated the country would not be fit for a Christian to live in; that one priest said to a man who did not wish to vote on the liberal side, 'I will make the water melt before it comes to your mouth!' that another priest said, 'I will turn you into a goat, if you do not vote for us;' and another said, 'I will turn you into flaggers, if you do not vote for me!' Is this a discreet and proper person to represent the County of Carlow—this hard-hearted, tyrannical landlord? Well, what of Kavanagh? Is he a fit and discreet person to represent you? Why he is dead! so the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* and the *Kilkenny Journal* say; but if he is not dead, he is always laid up with the gout. Is this a fit and discreet man to represent the County of Carlow? Oh, boys, take care and do not perjure yourselves. Why, this Bruen always supported tithes—blood-guilty tithes—tithes that have murdered and bayonetted you—that have dragged you out of your quiet and peaceable beds, and have torn the very sheets and blankets from under you! that have bayonetted you, as they did at Rathcormac and Newtownbarry! But I tell you, if you gain this election, before the end of this year there will be no such things as tithes, and even now a bill for the total extinction of tithes has passed the second reading of the House of Commons; it only requires a third reading to become the law of the land; for, as Peel himself said, neither the Lords nor the King dare refuse what the House of Commons pass into a law. Well, boys,

Bruen and Kavanagh, I think you will agree with me, are neither fit, discreet, nor honest men, to represent the County of Carlow. But I will tell you who are the honest men; Vigors is an honest man, he who has taken upon himself the people's rights, and is determined to protect them; but you know him well enough. We tried to get an Irishman, and applied to several other gentlemen of the county to side with Vigors, but they all refused. An English gentleman, however, has volunteered—Mr. Raphael, High Sheriff of the city of London, who has plenty of money and plenty of honesty; vote, then, for Vigors and Raphael, and you will vote for yourselves, your country, your religion, and your God. Is there any man will tell me that agitation has done nothing for Ireland? Where are tithes now? Although Catholics are still kept out of offices of emolument, still there are no such things as tithes now; I mean you no longer have to pay tithes, but a pitiful land-tax; and we will soon put an end to that too. The Protestant clergy are now very different from what they were, they are no longer the fine gentlemen they were, but are in a sad hobble, and we will make them in a greater hobble: for, instead of bringing up their sons and daughters to be gentlemen and ladies, they will be glad to bring them up to be farmers and tradesmen, like yourselves, good people—(here there was great laughter, and various expressions of assent.) Boys! Vigors and Raphael intend to address you after mass, and I desire that you will not leave the chapel-yard till you have heard them. These orange conservatives are very confident, like the devil when he tempted our Saviour in the wilderness; but we will strike fear and terror into their hearts on Tuesday. I hope it will not be necessary to draw the sword, for I hope the very sight of the scabbard will be enough to frighten them. But I tell you, boys, if the conservatives gain this election—they cannot gain it!—but if by perjury, threats, and violence, they do gain it—if they do trick us out of our representatives on this, as they did at the last election, and we be beat, more blood will flow than there is water in the river Barrow. Come then, good people, to the poll at once; I denounce that man who will not come to the poll at once, as one who is tampering with his landlord, as one who is waiting to see on which side the scales may turn, and I will suspect that man to be a renegade and an apostate."