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NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

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A VERY LARGE PAPER, FOR THE COUNTRY,
IS PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY MORNING,
At the rate of TWO DOLLARS per annum, in advance.

THE TRIBUNE.

The Secret History of Polk's Nomination at Baltimore Disclosed.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 23, 1844.

MESSRS. GREELEY & McELRATH:

Gentlemen:—I have pleasure in enclosing to you for publication in The Tribune, copies of a correspondence which recently passed between two seceders from the Polk ranks.

The gentleman who has placed the papers at my deposal, requested me to suppress, for the present, the names of the parties mentioned in the statement as participators in the fraud, because of his reluctance to engage in a newspaper controversy, or in a correspondence so disagreeable;—although you will perceive that the relator of the fraud has given full authority to publish the letter *entire*.

It is certainly a curious development of intrigue and deception, and will fully account for the conduct of some of those heretofore prominent leaders of the Loco-Foco party.

Yours, respectfully, ——

[Copies.] —— FURNACE,
—— Township,
—— County, Pa. July 24th, 1844.

Dear Sir: Some of my friends here are anxious to learn more of the means by which the nomination of Mr. Polk by the Baltimore Convention was accomplished. I wish you would write to me a letter detailing all the circumstances attending it, which I promise you shall not be made public without your sanction.

I cannot suppose you are so wedded to party as to vote an entire party ticket regardless of the character of men, and their avowed principles: and as you say that you cannot support the nomination of Mr. Polk, I presume you can have no objection to furnishing me the information I require.

In conclusion, I hope you will continue to oppose *anti-Tariff* candidates whenever they present themselves for office, and hoping to hear from you very soon,

I remain faithfully yours. * * *

To ——, *Esq. near Philada.*

—— HALL,
Near Philadelphia, Aug. 8, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: I have to acknowledge the honor of your letter of the 24th ult. and to apologize for delaying my answer. There were several points involved in the statement you require, which demanded from me a deliberate consideration, because I have already been assailed for venturing to express my opinion of certain party leaders, and I do not desire to figure in opposition to my late political associations.

Since the adjournment of the Convention at Baltimore, I have frequently been importuned by staunch and unwavering Democratic friends, to furnish a full history of the disgraceful transactions of that body, and of the means employed to distract, divide, and finally, to overthrow the party in the approaching contest; but the task appeared to be at once so laborious and self-sacrificing, that I have constantly declined; nor should I yield now to the entreaties of my very excellent friend, in saying what I purpose in this letter, but for an apparent determination on the part of some of my old political coadjutors, to whip me into *their* party—into the support of a man, who has consented to be the tool of a *faction*.

You are therefore right in believing that I am not "so wedded to party as to vote an entire party ticket, regardless of the character of men, and their avowed principles." I have never voted any other but the *true* Democratic ticket, nor will I, yet I cannot consent to vote for men calling *themselves* Democrats, who publicly avow *anti-Democratic doctrines*. I am not an *Ultraite*. My first exertions in the political arena were in favor of General Jackson, with whose measures, however, on two or three occasions I was dissatisfied, viz: the Indian policy, introduced by Mr. Cass, which will probably involve us at no distant day in the most expensive and sanguinary war we have ever known; the Removal of the Deposites, and his veto of the Maysville Road Bill: but I still clung to him. To Mr. Van Buren I had resigned no be personally and politically attached, and I was delighted with his elevation to the Presidency. I was honored by him with an appointment. The Sub-Treasury and Militia bills, however, destroyed his prospects for re-election, and because, also, he lacked those elements of enthusiasm in his personal and political character so essential in a political campaign. You and I, and all of us, (the Democratic party) know that the enormous majority of General Harrison, in 1840, was due to the wild enthusiasm created by military reminiscences, log-cabins, coon skins, and hard cider; that these elements of excitement drowned all consideration for the commanding talents and fitness of Mr. Van Buren—swallowed up every thing, indeed, by appealing to the passions rather than the reason of the mass. Painful as these reflections are to an intelligent mind, yet no candid man will deny it, for it is a fact, and worth, therefore, ten thousand arguments.

Entertaining these views, then, regarding the unavailability of Mr. Van Buren for a third campaign, and the availability of a Chieftain, dangerous as I view the necessity of such selections, generally, I was strenuous in my exertions to secure the nomination of a distinguished citizen, whom I knew possessed the requisite talents, firmness, and integrity, together with those elements of enthusiasm, growing out of his brilliant services to his country, in having fought many battles without ever having been beaten, which would have rendered the great contest in which we are about to engage, more equal in its results. In this I was doomed to be disappointed.

Mr. Van Buren foresaw his inevitable defeat in the Convention as early as February last; and he accordingly prepared himself, and his immediate friends for the event. He had been officially informed in the early part of this year, that the Democratic party in twenty-two out of the twenty-six States had appointed Delegates to the Convention, to be holden at Baltimore on the 27th of May, and that those delegates had either been formally instructed, or recommended, to vote for *him* as the Democratic Candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Calhoun, sustained by President Tyler, determined that Mr. Van Buren should not receive the support of the Southern and South-Western States, and therefore introduced that fire-brand, the Texas question, with a knowledge of Mr. Van Buren's decided hostility to the measure of Immediate Annexation, and too successfully enlisted the feelings of the Southerners against him. Perceiving this intrigue, and that several of the Southern States had rescinded their instructions to their delegates, and that this course would be pursued by others in the West, Mr. Van Buren determined that the trap-setters should fall into their own trap. He accordingly despatched a confidential and faithful friend to the West, and the latter met at Cincinnati a distinguished member of the press, who immediately convened a meeting of the friends of Mr. Van Buren, on the 29th of March, and a letter was addressed to Mr. Polk requesting his views regarding the Annexation of Texas and Oregon. This friend took with him a copy of that letter, (the original being sent by mail,) went to Mr. Polk, and both gentlemen then consulted General Jackson at the Hermitage, where Mr. Polk's reply was arranged, but not furnished for two or three weeks thereafter. I have reason to believe, however, that General Jackson did not entirely approve the game that was about to be played, and wrote to his New-York friend frequently upon the subject. But it was settled by Mr. Van Buren, that he or Mr. Polk *should* be the nominee. With Mr. Polk, he knew the party must be defeated; and this then was the alternative—*nominate me, or down you go for your treachery!*

This feeling was shared in common by most of Mr. Van Buren's personal friends. Mr. Benton had every thing at stake in the selection of any other than his friend Mr. Van Buren, and hence his superhuman efforts to sustain the falling fortunes of his chief upon the Texan question.

The apparently concerted manner in which the letters of Messrs. Van Buren and Polk, and the speeches of Messrs. Benton and Wright, upon that exciting topic, appeared in the public prints, has not, I presume, escaped your memory; and I only allude to it here as a necessary link in that chain of circumstances, which will establish conclusively in your own mind the premeditated character of the fraud which has been perpetrated.

I will now refer to the state of feeling at Baltimore and Washington, from the 20th of May, and up to the 27th of that month, when the Convention met.

The impression generally among the Delegates as they assembled was, that the adherents of Mr. Van Buren would probably be able to secure a new set of rules for the government of the Convention; among which would be, that the candidate receiving a majority of all the votes should be the candidate of the party. In this result much confidence was manifested, even by some of the anti-Van Buren men; because a decided majority of the Delegates *were solemnly pledged to use all honorable means to secure his nomination*; and the first honorable step would certainly be to adopt the truly democratic principle of the *majority* rule, by which Mr. Van Buren would be nominated on the first ballot.

The leaders of the party in Congress, and of the several delegations, did not reach Baltimore until Saturday evening and Sunday morning, the 25th and 26th of May. Having an acquaintance with a large number of the Delegates, growing out of an extensive and frequent correspondence, I had early access to their opinions and views regarding the prospects of the several candidates which would be presented to the Convention. Some of the instructed Delegates were individually opposed to running Mr. Van Buren, although they could discover no chance of getting any other nominee if the two-thirds rule, so called, prevailed; hence, some despaired of a nomination at all.

Immediately after the arrival of some of the Southern Members on Saturday evening, they resolved that Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, should be the leader of the Southern Anti-Van Buren party in the Convention. The game now commenced; and the most important point was to secure the vote of some of the Van Buren Northern delegates for the adoption of the two-thirds rule. The Pennsylvanians were attacked with a degree of generalship worthier a better cause. Mr. Hendricks B. Wright, of Penn., was selected by Mr. Saunders to preside over the Convention, because he was known to be in favor of the two-thirds rule, and his influence, as Chairman, would determine the result. It was known on Monday morning that five members of the Pennsylvania delegation would adhere to the established rules of former Conventions; and on Monday night the Tennessee delegation fell into the measure, and being followed on Tuesday morning by seven more of the Pennsylvanians, the death-blow was given to Van Burenism.

The masterly manner in which Mr. Saunders conducted the incipient stages of the battle, proved him an able and skilful tactician. The call for the Convention announced the hour of opening at 12 o'clock on Monday. Mr. Saunders, with his watch carefully set to time, arose on the instant of the first toll of the clock, called the Convention to order, nominated Mr. Wright as Chairman, and forthwith moved the adoption of the Rules and Regulations governing the Conventions of 1832 and 1835—thus securing an important basis for future action. Upon this resolution an animated and zealous discussion ensued principally between Messrs. Saunders and Walker, on the part of the Van Burenites, and Messrs. Butler and Medary on the other part, which was continued with much asperity until half past 12 on Tuesday, when Mr. Saunders ascertained that a majority for the two-thirds rule could now be relied on, and the debate was cut off by cries of '*question*' from the North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee delegations, which quickly extended to other parts of the Hall, and the vote being pressed upon the Convention was carried by an unexpected majority of 32—the delegations from Massachusetts and R. Island having, by a divided vote, assisted this result.

Had Mr. Butler obtained the floor, and opened the Convention, with Governor Hubbard, of New-Hampshire, in the Chair, he would doubtless have secured the majority rule, and consequently the nomination of Mr. Van Buren.

The initiatory proceedings were conducted by Mr. Saunders with such indecent haste, and the excitement was so great among others, that the usual solemn forms of opening legislative and deliberative bodies were entirely overlooked; and it was not until a Delegate informed the President of the Convention, at an advanced stage of its proceedings, that two Clergymen were in attendance, that religious ceremonies were performed!

On Monday night the New-York, Ohio, Missouri, Maine, and parts of the New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania delegations, the steadfast friends of Mr. Van Buren, held caucuses, and systematically arranged their movements. The *minority* party was now to prevail.

While the friends of Mr. Van Buren were busy in marshaling their forces against the disorganizing Southerners, the respective friends of other candidates were no less occupied in stratagems against each other. The friends of Col. Johnson were as jealous of the growing influence of Mr. Cass, as were the friends of the latter anxious to break down the former before the rage of the Van Burenites. It finally assumed the character of a cut-throat game, each faction being determined to destroy the other, if they could not deem it worth while to speak of the Buchanan men, because there were really so few, even among his friends, who mentioned him with confidence in his popularity, that there is little likelihood of his ever being seriously considered by the party as a candidate for the Presidency. Indeed, his chance has, since the nomination of Mr. Dallas, forever passed.

The balloting for President commenced on Tuesday afternoon at half-past 3 o'clock, when Mr. Van Buren having, on the first ballot, received 146 votes, being a majority of the whole number of votes, Mr. Miller, of Ohio, moved that Mr. Van Buren be declared the nominee of the Convention. This motion being strongly objected to, the balloting proceeding regularly to the seventh, (Mr. Van Buren declining on each ballot,) when Mr. Miller again submitted a similar motion, which was fiercely opposed in several quarters with loud cries of "Go on with the balloting!"—"If Ohio is not satisfied, let her retire!"—"I will be heard!"—"Turn him out!"—"Go ahead!"—"Order, order!"—"Let them come on, we are ready for them," &c. &c.—all uttered amidst a scene of strife and confusion which would beggar description. Fear, laughter and threats were thus intermingled, while several members were vainly endeavoring to make themselves heard. By an extraordinary effort, from the top of the back of a settee upon which he was standing, towering above those who stood in front upon settees, desks, &c. Mr. Medary of Ohio, being declared by the President entitled to the floor, at length made himself tolerably audible; but confusion still continued to reign, and at about 7 o'clock in the evening, Mr. McNulty, Clerk of the House of Representatives, (specially admitted as a member of the Ohio delegation,) having the floor, and urging with terrible energy the adoption of a resolution to rescind the two-thirds rule, the Convention was adjourned until next morning, Wednesday.

The crisis had arrived when the *coup de main* was to be given to the desperate players in the Drama by the introduction of *Polk*. The movement was a bold and dexterous one, and proved highly successful. It was accomplished by certain members of the New-York, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Alabama Delegations. The terms or conditions upon which the compromise was effected are not fully known, but it is believed that the principal parties to the transaction are, in case of Mr. Polk's election, to be provided with Collectorships, or other sinecures.

It will be difficult for those who were not participants in the action of that Convention, and careful *observers of men* and events, to comprehend how this can be—how it is that men of such high political and social standing could lend themselves to perpetrate such frauds. But so it is. The allurements of office, particularly to many of those who were in that Convention, are too strong to be resisted, and old office-holders and politicians know too well the magic influence of *Treasury pap*.

You will naturally exclaim—Why not let the public into a knowledge of these facts? My answer is, it would draw upon me the anathemas of partisans, and I should then be forced into farther details of this stupendous fraud, which would induce an endless newspaper warfare, and probably *libel suits*, always unprofitable to the defendant here, because truth, being libelous matter, is not admitted in extenuation. Otherwise, I could present a picture to the people of this Country, which would forever *do away Conventions*—got up by political stock-jobbers to make bargains for offices for themselves and friends, and then compel the party to vote for *their* candidate, as in the present case, against their own consciences—a tyranny not exercised even by christian *Kings!*

Who among the real political friends of Mr. Van Buren, that sustained his views of the Tariff, and Texas questions, can support and vote for Mr. Polk without violating every principle of honesty? It may be said by some that Mr. Van Buren himself has approved the nomination of Mr. Polk. Truly he has: but what sort of an approval is it? Has Mr. Van Buren pledged himself to, or even intimated that he would, *support the nomination?* Has Mr. Butler, Mr. Wright, Mr. Young, Mr. Dickinson, or indeed any of the ardent admirers of Mr. Van Buren's Democracy, given substantial evidence of their intention *to work for and support Mr. Polk?* Do not refer me to the *published letters* of some of those gentlemen, read at the mass ratification meeting in the City of New-York, as evidence of intention; for if you will but refer to those letters again you will perceive their *cold indifference to Mr. Polk*, whilst they prate most loudly of DEMOCRACY! How different a face would those letters have presented had Mr. Van Buren been nominated!—his eulogy—his name would have run through every line.

The truth is, that those who *forced* the nomination of Mr. Polk, were compelled by the attending circumstances, to appear before the party in laudation of the nomination, that they might escape the stigma which would otherwise rest upon them.—Their own political salvation depended on it.

A question will also naturally suggest itself to your mind, and that is—If Mr. Polk was the wonderfully popular man he was *represented* to be by certain parties in that Convention, why was he not brought forward immediately after they discovered difficulty in selecting from the candidates named during the early ballotings?—and when it was known, too, that Mr. Van Buren's friends, holding the balance of power, were firmly determined to oppose Messrs. Cass and Johnson throughout! But the truth is, neither of the parties who first cast their votes for him ever dreamed of Mr. Polk for the Presidency, nor knew any thing of the secret operations of Mr. Van Buren's personal friends, until after the adjournment of the Convention on Tuesday night; *the films were then removed from their eyes, and they discovered his vast popularity!*

I will refer to another very singular development in substantiation of the part played by a certain Northern politician, which forcibly illustrates *the clearness of his conscience of "Bargain and Sale."* On casting the vote of his State for Mr. Polk, this individual, who was the first to speak upon the subject, availed himself of the occasion to say—"*Sir, the people of my State, here and elsewhere, are incapable of carrying forward any political intrigue, to accomplish any political purpose.*" Again: "*No man must say that it was produced by bargain, or by any improper management.*" Why the necessity of such a *voluntary* declaration? Did he suspect that *he* would be suspected after suggesting that "*inducements should be held out to members of other delegations*;"—those who were "always ready to sacrifice men to preserve the great cause?"

But it is a well known fact that Mr. Polk had never been spoken of as a candidate for President, and that but two States, on the present occasion, had named him as Vice President, viz: Tennessee and Mississippi; and how it is that members of that Convention could, under a knowledge of this fact, cast their votes for him, can only be explained by the superior inducements held out to them.

I have now written to you a long, long letter, and as the subject is a painful one, I am unwilling to pursue it farther; indeed, I have not treated it, thus far, as its magnitude demands, because it would have occupied more time than I could well devote. Before closing, however, I must advert to one point, which is most grossly misrepresented by the *Loco-Foco* press—(for so shall I designate the supporters of Mr. Polk)—viz. that the nomination of Mr. Polk was effected with great unanimity. IT WAS NOT A UNANIMOUS NOMINATION. I know of those who *did not consent* to the nomination; but they were tyrannically overruled. If it required a two-thirds vote to nominate a candidate for President, surely the same principle ought to have prevailed in the State Delegations when casting their votes. But no: the majority of some of the Delegations overruled, when it suited their purposes, the minority, and cast the whole electoral vote of the State for *their* candidate;—thus carrying out the despotic principle of "*might makes right*," to its fullest extent.

I must here close, or I shall be led into an unreadable length.

With sentiments of high regard,
I am yours faithfully, &c.

To General ——, ——County, Pa.

—— FURNACE,
—— Township,
—— County, Pa. Aug. 14, 1844.

My Dear Sir: I beg to return my sincere thanks for your very able and complete exposition of the secret intrigues of the Baltimore Convention. It is a most convincing statement and it ought to go forth to the people of this country that they may see how they have been duped. So far I have shown it to a few friends only, but I now ask your authority to use it more publicly, as I have hopes of doing much service to the interests of our State through its means. Write me immediately. Your obd't serv't, ——

To ——, *Esq.* —— *Hall, near Philada.*

—— Hall,
NEAR PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 17, 1844.

GEN. —— ——,

My Dear Sir: I cannot hesitate about giving you authority to use my letter on the 8th inst. in any way you may deem proper. I have never feared to express my opinion of men as I have found them, nor of their public acts. If in writing the truth and printing it, I can contribute to awaken the Democratic party to the manner in which they have been betrayed, I shall be content. I trust we have witnessed the last Convention that shall ever again assemble to nominate for the People a candidate for the Presidency.

If you design having my letter published I request that you will withhold my name for reasons mentioned therein: but I nevertheless authorize you to furnish it to any one named in the statement upon their personal guarantee to prosecute the matter in a proper fair manner.

Yours, with unfeigned regard. ——

FIFTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

Liberation of O'Connell—Close of the War in Morocco—Visit of the Queen to Scotland.

By the arrival of the Caledonia at Boston on Thursday at 10 o'clock, we have Willmer & Smith's European Times, with London and Liverpool dates to the 19th, for which our acknowledgements are due Adams & Co. We annex a summary of the principal news.

LIBERATION OF O'CONNELL.—The day the last steamer sailed, the Judges had given their opinions in the House of Lords on the law of the points submitted to them. Of the eleven counts which composed the monster indictment, they pronounced more than half to be either informal or bad. Four of the counts they held to be informal by the finding of the Jury, and two to be radically bad. The bad counts are the 6th and 7th, which charge the monster meetings, and form the kernel of the offence. On these points the Judges were unanimous. Seven out of the nine were of opinion that the bad and the informal counts did not, nevertheless, vitiate the judgment, while two—Mr. Baron Parke and Mr. Justice Coltman—held that the whole proceedings ought to be set aside.

This was the state of matters at the sailing of the last steamer. When the House met again on Wednesday, the discussion was confined to the law peers—the Chancellor, Lords Brougham, Cottenham, Campbell, and Denman. The two first named lawyers were for sustaining the judgment of the "Court below;" the other three for reversing it. Lord Denman, the Chief Justice of the English Queen's Bench, delivered an elaborate opinion, in which he strongly denounced the illegality of the whole proceedings, and characterized the treatment which the traversers had received in the matter of the jury list, as a "mockery, a delusion, and a snare!" Ultimately, the Lord Chancellor put the question, when the judgment was reversed by a majority of one of the law Lords—three to two. Some of the lay peers wished, in this emergency, to rush to the assistance of the government, but they were restrained by Lord Wharncliffe, who showed them that bad as was the reversal of the judgment, their interference, by voting, would be worse—more damaging to the constitution and to the peerage.

This result came upon every one so unexpectedly—the opinion of the majority of the judges delivered on the previous Monday against the traversers having been universally regarded as decisive of the question—that the world could not credit the announcement. The sensation which the news produced in London and the other large towns where it became known, has rarely been equalled in modern days.

The excitement in Dublin was intense. Great crowds had assembled on Kingstown pier. The packet arrived before 5 o'clock; some repeal agents on board, holding up white flags, inscribed, "Judgment reversed by the House of Lords—O'Connell is free!" The crowd hurraed—the news spread, and cheers re-echoed throughout the city. Mr. O'Connell's rooms in Richmond Penitentiary were at once invaded by a crowd of congratulators. He is said to have borne the intelligence "with the same calmness that it was manifest he would have shown had it been of an opposite nature." The Repeal Association held a special meeting to concert measures for giving éclat to the occasion; and it was resolved to escort Mr. O'Connell from jail in procession.

The order for the liberation of the traversers reached Dublin on Friday the 6th instant, on the evening of which O'Connell left the prison privately, accompanied by his sons, John and Daniel. The other traversers also left in the course of the day. O'Connell was soon recognized, and as he passed along a crowd collected and followed him, forming a great concourse when they reached Marion square. Having gained his home, he came out into the balcony and made a short speech, containing little beside an expression of thanks for the tranquillity which the people had maintained during his incarceration. On being dismissed, the crowd quietly dispersed.

Although the Liberator had left the prison on Friday evening, the good folks of Dublin were not to be disappointed of their procession; and, that it might have all due effect, early on Saturday morning Mr. O'Connell went back to his prison. The hour of public departure was fixed for noon, but the very size of the procession caused a delay of two hours. All the city seems to have been in motion, either marching in line, or standing to see it. The procession comprised the trades of Dublin, each trade preceded by its band; several Repeal Wardens, and private or political friends of O'Connel; many members of the Corporation, and the Lord Mayor, in full costume; and then, preceded by wand-bearers, and "Tom Steele" with a branch in his hand, as Head Pacificator, came the car bearing the Liberator. This car was constructed for the chairing of Mr. O'Connell some years ago. It is a kind of platform, on which are three stages, rising one above another like steps; profusely decorated with purple velvet, gold fringe, gilt nails, and painting. Six splendid dappled greys slowly drew the cumbrous vehicle along. On the top most stage, elevated some dozen feet above the crowd, and drawn to his full hight, stood O'Connell. Although grown rather more portly since his confinement, and wearing that somewhat anxious expression which has been noticed of late, he looked well. His head, thrown proudly back, was covered with the green velvet and gold repeal cap. He bowed incessantly to the cheering multitude. On the second stage was seated the Rev. Mr. Miley; on the lowest were Mr. Daniel O'Connell, Jr. two of Mr. O'Connell's grandsons, dressed in green velvet tunics and caps with white feathers, and a harper, in the ancient dress of his craft, inaudibly playing on his instrument. Then followed the other traversers, some with their ladies, and a few friends, in three private carriages; the subordinate Repeal martyrs, also bowing and smiling on all sides; and finally, the lawyers in a coach, carrying the "monster indictment." The procession traversed the greater part of Dublin, and did not reach Merrion-square until half past 5 o'clock.

Having entered his own house, Mr. O'Connell mounted the balcony, and addressed the people. He began with—"This is a great day for Ireland—a day of justice! All that we ever desired was justice; and we have got an instalment of it at any rate. The plans of the wicked and the conspiracy of the oppressor—the foul mis management of the Jury panel—the base conspiracy against the lives, the liberties, and the constitutional rights of the public—have all, blessed be God, been defeated. Justice has thus far been attained; and Ireland may, if she deserves it, be free. But do I doubt the people of Ireland deserving it? If I did, I would be the most stupid as well as the most base of mankind. How could I doubt them?" After a brief allusion to the monster meeting, he remarked that one meeting alone remained unassembled, that of Clontarf; and he finished by promising to attend at the Conciliation hall on Monday.

On Sunday the liberation was celebrated by a high religious ceremony in the "Metropolitan church." On the left side of the Sanctuary was a lofty throne, with crimson canopy; on which, gorgeously robed and mitred, sat the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Beneath the pulpit were "chairs of state," on which sat Mr. O'Connell and his companions of "the Captivity." In that state was offered "pontificial high mass," with "a solemn Te Deum, in thanksgiving to Almighty God for the deliverance of the beloved Liberator of his country, and of his fellow-martyrs, from their unjust captivity." A sermon was preached by the Reverend Dr. Miley; whose discourse was full of allusions to Repeal politics, and to Divine interposition in favor of O'Connell.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—The announcement that Mr. O'Connell and his companions in captivity would attend the weekly meeting of this body on Monday, the 9th instant, caused the Conciliation-hall to be crowded almost to suffocation. It is stated that there were at least 5,000 persons present, whilst thousands of others were assembled without, unable to obtain admittance. About one o'clock, Mr. O'Connell, accompanied by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and others, entered the hall. His reception is thus described by the *Evening Freeman*:—"Peal upon peal arose the acclamation—roar rose on roar, as billow follows billow—the poor and the wealthy—the rough and the gentle—the feeble and the vigorous—the young and the old—joined, as with one voice, in the outpouring of their exultation at the triumph—the constitutional triumph which Ireland had achieved over the injustice of her foes. No language could do justice to that scene—no imagination exaggerate it. Gradually he who was its object reared his tall form to its full hight; his breast swelled—his eye dilated—his aspect assumed a look of mingled severity, pride, and conscious power, which communicated to his form the grandeur of a hero and the enthusiasm of a prophet."

Mr. O'Connell's Speech.

After some preliminary proceedings,

Mr. O'CONNELL rose to address the assembly. Adverting to his release, he described it as not being the work of man, but a blessing bestowed by Providence on the virtuous people of Ireland, in answer to their prayers, and to those of the people of Italy, Belgium, and other Catholic countries. A glorious victory had been achieved in a cause which had nothing selfish or individual about it—for the principles assailed by the Government prosecution were those of the British constitution—the right of the people to assemble peaceably, and petition for a redress of grievances, and the trial by jury. He called the attempt of the Government to annihilate the right of petition, treason to the monarch on the throne, which was established on public opinion—and for this the Government deserved to be impeached. The packing of the jury, too, ought to be inquired into, and he trusted that public opinion would compel inquiry before a competent tribunal, which should declare who committed the crime

The result had vindicated not only the trial by jury, and the right of petition, but also the right to assemble peaceably, in hundreds of thousands, to petition for a redress of grievances. The honorable and learned gentleman then proceeded to contend that the decision of the Lords did not rest on legal crotchets and technical points, but on the substantial merits of the case, and after pointing out the disagreement between the English and Irish Judges, particularly with reference to the sixth and seventh counts, he said that the sentence passed upon him was illegal, and that he had as much right to send his judges to jail as they had to send him. There was no doubt whatever that the judges had especially sentenced him on the sixth and seventh counts, and yet seven wiseacres of Judges in England presumed that it was otherwise, and gave their decision on that presumption. Their decision was founded on what was called a presumption in law, but he called it in plain terms what it was, a lie; and that decision was supported by Lord Lyndhurst, and by that indescribable wretch, Brougham. However, blessed be Heaven! three men were found honest enough to attend to the truth and give up the lie—to look to the fact, not the presumption—and, therefore, he told them to rejoice, for the judgment was quashed on the merits, and the technicalities were entirely on the other side. He was now going to make an atonement to a class of men whom he had often assailed, and who certainly, in some degree, deserved to be assailed, but, after all, how infinitely superior were the Whigs to the Tories! One grand difference between them was in the appointment of judges. The Whigs had sought to give them good judges, the Tories to give them partisans. Mr. O'Connell proceeded to speak of Lord Denman, Lord Cottenham, and Lord Campbell in the highest terms of panegyric,—to praise the Morning Chronicle for its zealous advocacy of constitutional rights,—and he then alluded to Mr. Shiel as one to whom the Irish nation owed a deep debt of gratitude, and particularly for having wrung from Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, the assertion that the trial had been a fair one, an assertion which, he said, had drawn upon Peel the scorn of Europe, and must damn him with all posterity. He then urged his hearers to peace and perseverance as certain to end in the restoration of the National Parliament. Conciliation was their primary duty. Adverting to the fears of those who had hitherto refrained from joining with them, he said, "We have been engaged, and are engaged in a mighty struggle.—Have we injured any body in that struggle? Have we insulted any body in that struggle? Have we oppressed any body in that struggle? Have we been guilty of any turbulence, of any tumult, of any deed of violence? No, blessed be Heaven, we have not. We met by millions, and not only was no act of violence attempted, but such was our forbearance, one toward the other, that not even an accident any where occurred. We are strong enough to commit violence, but nothing save the spirit of conciliation and love for each other could have brought us together in such multitudinous masses without violence. In the midst of a people who love me and trust me—with more power in my hands than any monarch in Europe enjoys, so situated, how have I demeaned myself? But first, how did I acquire that power? I acquired it, because of the conviction which every man, woman, and child feels that I would not abuse it. I acquired it, and I have maintained it, because I was congenial in opinions with the millions of my countrymen, because they were perfectly persuaded that in the exercise of the power with which by their confidence they invested me, I would sedulously guard against the commission of any crime whatsoever." After speaking of the assistance rendered by the Catholic clergy, he proceeded to criticise the conduct of the Irish Attorney-General, attributing much of the bitter personal hostility of that functionary to the facts that Mr. John O'Connell had defeated him at Youghal,—and that he (Mr. O'Connell) had moved the impeachment of his father. After adverting to the Clontarf proclamation—and again expressing his belief that there were persons who did not intend the day to pass over without blood, he said that there were three subjects rushing on his mind. The first related to the Clontarf meeting. That meeting had been legally called, and illegally prevented,—and for a long time he had thought that it would be necessary to call that meeting again for the vindication of a principle. That principle had perhaps been sufficiently vindicated by the House of Lords, and his present impression was against holding the meeting, but he would propose, that day week, that the subject should be discussed, with the consideration of a committee. If it were found desirable for popular rights, to hold that meeting—hold it he would. The next subject to which he alluded was the formation of a Preservative Society in Dublin, consisting of 300 gentlemen, each handing in £100, with a view to correct and control the repeal movement! initiating nothing, but acting in conjunction with the association. The subject was full of legal difficulty, and he would move for a select committee to inquire into the possibility of forming a select assembly of the kind, and to take the advice of the most eminent lawyers in England as to whether there would be any thing illegal in such an arrangement. That was his plan, and he would not take a single step to bring any man within the law. "We will have," said he "the opinions of the most eminent legal men in both countries, of a case the preparation of which I will myself superintend, and we will see whether we will not have a second body working for Ireland; not a House of Lords, but having more power than the House of Lords, and composed of the real friends of the people of Ireland. First three hundred individuals, consisting of wealthy merchants and of country gentlemen, will constitute a body that will bring about, with great facility, the repeal of the Union. I have modeled the plan in my mind, and am now about to arrange it, to try it as an experiment. It will be abandoned by me, and also by every other person, if it should be found impracticable; but it will be embraced with great fervor if it is found to be a ready instrument to bring back the Parliament to College Green." His third plan, to which he was greatly attached, was to procure an impeachment of the Irish Judges, and Attorney-General, and of the ministry. The first ground of that impeachment would be the monster indictment, which he said was honestly declared by Mr. Richard O'Gorman to be incomprehensible to the Grand Jury, in which he was fully borne out by the opinion of Lord Denman, who said it was a document of such a nature it was almost impossible for any man to come to a fair conclusion of its contents, so voluminous and intricate were its complications. For adopting that indictment the Judges deserved impeachment. He next alluded to the strong partisanship of the Lord Chief Justice throughout the trial, and his indecent charge to the Jury, and said he intended to call upon the people of England to assist the people of Ireland in dragging him before the only tribunal authorized to say whether such conduct was to be tolerated in a Judge; and also to inquire into the admission of newspaper articles, against which he protested as evidence against him—the concoction of the verdict, illegal imprisonment for three months, and other matters which formed no part of the case before the Lords, and which could only be reached by an impeachment. "I mean hereafter," said he, "to propose that a committee be appointed, of which I myself will be one, whose business, if it should appear expedient that such a course should be adopted, it will be to go through the principal towns in England, in order to explain the details of our case, and to show them the injustice that was inflicted upon us with a view to obtain redress if possible. Here is manifest injustice—an unjust and illegal imprisonment is admitted on all hands to have taken place. What redress are we to have for this injury and insult? Englishmen! I have often been told that the *people* of England were favorable to us, whatever the aristocracy might be; I will try you now. Either you will join me as one man and insist upon this impeachment, or I will come home and say to my countrymen, 'Do n't mind John Bull—look for your Parliament yourselves.' I will go through England from town to town—from county to county; I will assemble meetings and give them the gratification of seeing a live lion who was caged for three months. But are the ministry to escape? Sir James Graham had the unparalleled impudence, in the absence of two members of the House of Commons—myself and my son—to call us convicted conspirators. He had it all his own way, with his packed jury and one-sided judge; and when an unjust verdict was returned, he had the impudence to call us convicted conspirators. Peel had such unrivaled powers of face, and such total disregard for truth, (at least the newspapers attribute the excess of impudence to him,) to state in the House of Commons that we had a fair trial. (A voice—'He's a liar!') Why, to be sure he is. There is the British Minister for you! The first country in the world! Why, is there a man in all creation, having the slightest regard for truth, who would dare to say that we have had a fair trial? A packed jury!—a one-sided judge!—the refusal of every thing to the traversers, and the total exclusion of Catholics from the jury box!—and then a fair trial, forsooth! sweet Sir Robert! But, perhaps, he tells the truth: perhaps he thinks it a fair trial *for Irishmen!* A mockery, a snare, and a delusion; but a very fair trial *for Irishmen!*" After some recapitulatory observations, Mr. O'Connell concluded by saying, "This is a day full of hope and endearing anticipation. It is time that we should look forward to have Ireland free. Hurra for old Ireland and the Repeal of the Union!" (Tremendous applause, waving of hats and handkerchiefs.)

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.—The Queen and Prince Albert left London on Monday, the 19th instant, for Dundee, in the steam yacht Prince Albert, accompanied by the leading members of the Court, where they arrived on Wednesday, and immediately proceeded to Blair Atholl. The Queen received a hearty cheer when she left the Thames, and an equally hearty greeting on her landing in Scotland.

At the entrance of the Castle, the cortège was met by a body of clansmen, who ran by the side of the carriages up to the great portico. At the entrance to the mansion the Queen was received by Lady Glenlyon. Her Majesty appeared much pleased; and addressing a few remarks to Lady Glenlyon, entered the mansion with Prince Albert.

CHRISTENING OF THE YOUNG PRINCE.—Lofty was the ceremonial, splendid the feast, in Windsor Castle, on the 6th instant, when Queen Victoria's second son was christened. This was distinguished from previous pageants by the presence of the elder children. The Queen wore a white satin dress, trimmed with Honiton lace, a diamond tiara on her head, with the insignia of the Garter; the little children were dressed in white satin and lace; the Princes in military uniforms. The Royal infant was baptized by the Archbishop, the Duke of Cambridge giving the name—"Alfred Ernest Albert."

THE FEES OF HER MAJESTY'S ACCOUCHEURS.—The fee presented to Dr. Locock, first physician accoucheur to the Queen, is, it is understood, upon the birth of a royal infant, £1000. Dr. Ferguson receives £500, and Sir James Clark the same amount. Mrs. Lilly, the Queen's monthly nurse, receives "for the month" £300. This amount is generally swelled to upward of £600, the extras being derived from the handsome presents the nurse receives from each guest invited to the christening. The wet nurse is said to receive £100 per month for her service, beside the gratifying prospect of some portion of her family being provided for, either in the army or navy, or in some of the public offices.

LOUIS PHILIPPE'S VISIT.—The Morning Chronicle gives some particulars of Louis Philippe's intended visit to England—"His Majesty will leave Eu on the 7th or the 9th, by the evening tide, to disembark the following day, before midday, at Southampton, and the same evening to dine at Windsor Castle. The two of his ministers who will accompany King Louis Philippe are, M. Guizot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Admiral Mackau, the Minister of the Marine. His stay in England will be very short. He will not be absent from his own kingdom for more