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DOMESTIC LEGISLATION.

No. II.

CATHOLIC ASCENDENCY.

(FROM THE NORTHERN HERALD.)

EVEN at the threshold of our argument we are met by an objection, which must be removed before we can advance. It is founded in mere ignorance and delusion; yet, beyond all question, it strongly influences multitudes. Whether it be concealed or confessed, the absurd dread of Catholic Ascendancy prevails almost universally among the enemies of our cause. In vain do we reason; in vain do we demonstrate the necessity and the worth of a Domestic Parliament; in vain do we appeal to the self-interest and the nobler pride of our countrymen, and tell them of the prosperity, the happiness, and the glory which Ireland would enjoy, could she arise from her provincial debasement and rank again among the nations. They will not listen to us. The same words of terror are ever ringing in our ears. The same miserable prejudice still clouds the intellect; the same coward apprehension still checks the generous impulses of the heart. Ask the Orangeman wherefore he will not aid in the establishment of our own independence? and he will answer that the domination of those who were once submitted to his rule must result from it. Ask the liberal Protestant—He may not be so candid; he may rest his defence on general principles; he is ashamed to ally himself with the bigot whose intolerance he was wont, in other days, to denounce; but it is obvious that the impelling motive of his conduct is the same. He has assisted the Catholic in his advance to religious freedom; but he trembles to endow him with civil power. He is, perhaps, unwilling to acknowledge, even to his own consciousness, the lurking distrust which he feels to be unworthy of him; yet, by it, more than by all things else, he is held apart from his fellows. It degrades his once lofty character; he ceases to be an Irishman, and becomes a sectarian. We grapple at once with this most pernicious obstacle to the progress of Nationality. We would take from these cabalistic words their malignant potency, and when the spell with which they have bound the understanding of our opponents is broken, our reasonings may have some effect.

For ourselves, we aver with solemn earnestness, that did we regard the restoration of our native legislature as the forerunner of the ascendancy of any party, we would oppose the measure with sternest resolution. Every man who truly loves Ireland, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, must hold in abhorrence the revival of the spirit of exclusion in her government; but in this high argument we seek the advantage of all the people; and it is our abiding conviction, that the successful issue of our efforts must equally benefit those who are hostile to us and those who lend us their support.

Circumstances have changed, and men are also changing. The surface of Irish society is still partially agitated; but only as the ocean is rippled before its troubled waters subside into tranquillity, when the force of the storm has been spent. The elements of division exist no more. We have no cause to fear or hate each other now. While the Catholic claimed his liberty, and the Protestant labored to perpetuate the supremacy of his sect, their alienation was unavoidable. The object of the Catholic has been attained; the rights of conscience have been conceded; he has lost his distinctive character as a partizan, and united with his countrymen in common citizenship. The supremacy of the Protestant is overthrown; honor and profit can never again be the rewards of intolerance. The power which created and cherished his party is [illegible] annihilation. The days of the factions [illegible] corruption and monopoly, the principles [illegible] are destroyed. The exclusive interests of [illegible] merge in the comprehensive interests of the nation. The Catholic and the Protestant stand on an equality.—Injury to one is injury to both; their rights and duties are the same, and they must soon be allied in a community of purpose. The moral necessity of their union is now as imperative as was that of their hostility in less happy times. It is folly to anticipate the ascendancy of either; it is crime to foster their expiring jealousies, and awaken mutual distrust, when all things tend to establish harmony and confidence between them.

It is difficult to combat this objection, for we profess that we can scarcely attach a signification to the terms in which it is conveyed; and we feel most forcibly,

"That true no-meaning puzzles more than sense."

There is a mystery in this Catholic Ascendancy, and the very obscurity which hangs around it imposes on the unthinking multitude. *Omne ignotum pro mirifico.* It is a mere bugbear, conjured up by the inflamed imagination of the timorous—a cunning device, framed by the designing to deceive the ignorant. We will analyze, as carefully as we may, a phrase of import so indistinct and vague; and the weakness or the knavery of those who make it the Shibboleth of a party will be manifest at once.

It may be said, that if we achieve a domestic legislation for Ireland, based on popular suffrage, a Catholic constituency will return Catholic representatives, and thus the Catholic interest will be ascendant in the State. We will not answer that—as in ancient Rome, when the Plebeians, after a long struggle, obtained the privilege of appointing persons of their class to certain offices, they, nevertheless, continued to choose Patricians as before—the Catholics of Ireland would prefer Protestant candidates to men, as *well qualified*, professing their own faith; for so they might not do; neither shall we refer to many elections in the South,* which prove that they are not governed by a narrow and illiberal spirit, in the exercise of the franchise; we will suppose that the majority of the Irish Commons would be Catholic. And what then? Surely it matters little by whom we are governed if we be governed well. The objection must apply, not to the simple *possession* of power by Catholics, but to the *uses* for which they may employ it; and few will be so extravagantly senseless in their bigotry as to assert, that if their measures were not of an exclusive character, the religious belief of the *men* could vitiate our Parliament.

* As in Carlow, where Mr. Vigors, a Protestant, was supported by the Catholic Bishop, and returned in opposition to a Catholic; as in Louth, and many other places.

In what, then, would or could the Catholics seek undue ascendancy? This is the sole question, and to it we have heard but one definitive reply. They would pull down the Church of England and erect their own upon its ruins. Most vain and preposterous fallacy! Long suffering has given them wisdom. They have been schooled in the principles of religious freedom, and they will not abandon those sacred principles. They feel that the virtue of their devoted pastors would be endangered; that the confidence which is universally reposed in their piety and zeal would be weakened, were they made dependent on any Government. The priest and the flock have now no alien interest, and they are bound together by strong attachment. The priest is the father and the friend of the flock, and they reward his care with love and reverence. The Laity, the Clergy, and the Hierarchy are combined in determination never to destroy this blessed union, by demanding for their religion a civil establishment which would separate its ministers from the people, and rob them of their full and fond affection. We speak from our own knowledge of Catholic opinion; we refer to the recorded evidence of the Catholic prelates before committees of the English parliament;† and we assert that the connexion of the Catholic church, in any form or measure, with the state, is most strongly repudiated by its own most attached adherents. Be it remembered, also, that they, more than all others, must suffer from such a measure, not only in their religious but in their worldly well-being. They form the great body of the nation; the Protestants are comparatively few. The burden of such an establishment must gall them bitterly; but to the Catholics themselves it would be infinitely more oppressive. Have they sense, forethought, care for their own advantage, and will they voluntarily sink beneath this burthen? There is palpable absurdity in the supposition. Venerating the faith to which they have clung through ages of persecution, knowing their duties and their interests as citizens, it is monstrous to imagine that they will ever claim for their church a temporal supremacy.

If the fear of ecclesiastical domination be thus unfounded, can Protestants indulge in any other fear? From what office can they be excluded—of what right can they be deprived—because of their religion? This is not the age, nor is this the country, in which opinion may be punished by penal inflictions. The mighty influences which are at work for the regeneration of the world—the spirit of the time—the growing intelligence of the people, forbid it for ever. Until we shall relapse into barbaric ignorance; until the teachings of a stern experience shall be utterly forgotten, the anticipation of such a state of things cannot be seriously entertained but by some brain-sick Bedlamites.—Let us make the supposition, that the Catholics of Ireland would attempt the acquirement of a civil ascendancy; we make it, ludicrously nonsensical as it is, only for the sake of proving that, even could it be so, Protestants have no cause for dread. Their safety would be as fully assured by a domestic as by a foreign legislature. We demand not a separation of the kingdoms; we would still acknowledge the authority of the crown; and unless they believe that the Irish Lords and the English King would co-operate with our House of Commons in this vile attempt, they cannot for an instant doubt that it would be defeated. If they be secure how they would then enjoy at least an equal immunity from wrong. But on this we dwell not. The Catholics seek no such ascendancy; they have acquired all that they could hope or wish as a party. Were Ireland once more a nation, their identity with their brethren would be perfected; and this chimera would be numbered with the visionary terrors which fright the inmates of the nursery.

Protestants of Ulster! be not deluded by words without meaning. Let not vain apprehension of an event that can never come, induce you to repel the proffered alliance of your countrymen, forego your duty, and neglect your own advantage. Its emasculated citizens disputed on questions of scholastic theology, while the Moslemin invested Constantinople with their hordes; and the crescent of the Prophet soon floated in triumph above the capital of the Cæsars. Let it not be thus with you. Wrangle not about names, when you are called to battle for the independence of your native land. You are endowed with reason, knowledge, ability to distinguish truth from falsehood; question your own understandings, whether you have cause to shrink from this impossible ascendancy; whether you can justify the act to your own hearts, and to your children, if you sacrifice the present greatness and good of Ireland, lest you may realize an undefined and shadowy presentiment of future evil. We ask you but to weigh dispassionately the arguments which we shall adduce; we entreat that you will accord us a patient hearing while we plead the cause of nationality, with such force and power as we may unworthily exert in its support.

Irishmen must stand or fall together. "For one and for all," must be henceforward the principle of every effective political effort. Ignorance of each other, and of the true relations which should subsist between them for their common happiness, has separated the Catholic and the Protestant; but Time, the great teacher, is removing this ignorance, and they will learn at last that they are reciprocally dependent; that their interests are identical and indivisible, and only to be promoted by a union of feeling, of energy, and purpose.

† Vide the evidence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle and the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, in the *second report on the state of Ireland.* Vide also the evidence of Lord Forbes, in the *fourth report.* Newenham's *View of Ireland*, Appendix XXIX, may be consulted with advantage on this subject.

THE IRISH POOR.

The Dublin and London Steam Company have entered into a contract for carrying Irish paupers from the great metropolis to the Irish capital, and it is calculated that there will be from 200 to 300 a week poured into our city. The constituted authorities should be speedily made for forwarding the unfortunate people to their houses or providing for their emigration. If the subject shall be neglected, we will, ere the winter passes, be in a frightful condition.—*Dublin Paper.*

The Hon. Colonel Dawson Damer is to accompany Lord Howard de Walden to Lisbon, in the capacity of *attachee.* Colonel Dawson is brother to the Earl of Portarlington.

REPEAL OF THE UNION—ABOLITION OF TITHES—PAUL'S PARISH,

(FROM THE DUBLIN REGISTER.)

A numerous meeting of the parishioners was held on Monday at the Parochial School-rooms, Queen-street, to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the above objects.—The following members of Parliament were present:—Messrs. O'Connell, Henry Grattan, E. S. Ruthven, E. Ruthven, and Dominick Ronayne.

At half-past two o'clock, Michael Thunder, Esq., was called to the chair.

Mr. Edward Brennan was appointed secretary.

The Secretary said that the honor of proposing the first resolution, calling for a repeal of the Union, had devolved on him. The privilege of meeting and petitioning was the right of every country, and when a country was prohibited from so doing it ceased to be free. That privilege they at present enjoyed, and they would exercise it in a legal and constitutional manner.

Mr. Delabyde moved the next resolution, calling for the abolition of tithes.

At this moment Mr. O'Connell entered the room, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheering.

Loud cheering here announced the arrival of Mr. Grattan, and Mr. O'Connell exclaimed—"The moment repeal of the Union is spoken of, Henry Grattan comes in."

Mr. O'Connell here suggested the adjournment of the meeting to a large yard on Ellis's-quay, as it was the architect's opinion that the floor of the school-house would not be able to sustain so great a weight as that of the number of persons assembled. They accordingly adjourned.

Mr. Henry Grattan then addressed the meeting. He said that he came there as a parishioner and a proprietor in the parish, and he was not only desirous of protecting himself to the best of his judgment from this system of taxation, but desirous of protecting them all. (*Cheers.*) He was called on to attend a meeting at the other side of the water where, by a mandate of an act of parliament, a tithe rate of 5s. an acre was placed upon his property, and he thought it right that he should attend another at this side of the water for the purpose of removing it. As a Protestant, he thought it unfair that Catholics should be called on to pay for his religion who never entered his church. Lord J. Russell, in his recent speech, approved of the principle, but only differed as to the application of it. Mr. Poulett Thompson did not at all agree with him—he thought it just that every man should pay for his own religion. He (*Mr. Grattan*) did not know how they would reconcile those conflicting opinions, and settle their differences—but it was for that meeting to settle them, and he had come there that day to tell them his opinion on the subject. The people of Ireland should bestir themselves, and not throw all the weight on the shoulders of their representatives. They should petition parliament, that it might know their opinions upon the subject—they should exert themselves, or the time might soon pass when interference upon their part would be useless.

A Mr. Cooke rose and expressed his dissent from Mr. Grattan's view of the claim upon which tithes were founded. (*Disapprobation.*) If the Catholics were masters of the councils of the state, he thought, as a Protestant, that persons of his persuasion were bound in conscience to pay them tithes. (*Loud laughter, and cries of oh! oh!*)—He denied the position which Messrs. Thompson and Grattan had taken; their premises were right, but they came to a wrong conclusion when they stated that tithes were founded in injustice. He denied it—if they originated in injustice, it was the injustice of the God of Heaven. (Much confusion.)

Mr. O'Connell interposed.—Surely the meeting would not refuse to hear arguments which were given with deliberation, and in a manly manner. If they were good they ought to hear them—if bad, he promised them they would not go unanswered. (Cheers.)

Mr. Cooke continued—Their sentence then was, that the God of heaven, who was the author of tithes, had founded them in injustice. (*Continued murmurs.*) Although he approved of tithes, he differed as to the system upon which they were collected. It was bad and wanted correction.—If he were in Rome, he would cheerfully pay taxes to that government, and tithes to the Pope.—(*Laughter.*) What alteration did they experience by passing through the hands of individuals—they were still paid to God. He held Earl Grey—although he did not approve of his religion, for he believed he had no religion at all—while the government was in his hands, in the same respect as he held God. (*Oh! oh! and cries of turn him out.*) Mr. Cooke declared his regard for Mr. O'Connell, and said that he would follow him with tears to his grave, and after having in vain endeavoured to obtain a further hearing, he was compelled to sit down.

A young gentleman named Pollock, who announced himself as a Protestant, and a scholar of Trinity College, demanded to be heard in reply to Mr. Cooke, and silence having been at length obtained, he addressed the meeting in an eloquent and argumentative speech, in opposition to the opinions advanced by Mr. Cooke.

Mr. O'Connell next presented himself to the meeting, and was received with the most enthusiastic applause. There, my friends, said he, there is what I call "a Protestant boy" for you.—(*Cheers and laughter.*) Give me but half-a-dozen such Protestant boys, and we will all sing "the Protestant boys will carry the day." (*Loud laughter.*) I will not sit down—I will not leave this place until I have moved—and I hope you will all second me (*as you are in the habit of doing*)—I will not quit this without moving a resolution, requesting of this gentleman to publish the powerful, honest, and manly speech which he has just delivered.—(*Hear, hear.*) I was afraid that there would have been some little taint of sectarianism to tarnish our proceedings to-day, and which was, I think, attempted to be given to them by the gentleman who spoke before—I mean Mr. Cooke. (*Hear, hear.*) He is a *cook*, and I must tell him I do not like the way in which he dressed up his broth. (*Laughter.*) I should be *sorry* to have so bad a *cook* in lent. (*Laughter.*) What Mr. Cooke spoke, I am sure he spoke honestly, and with sincerity and candor. All that I want is for men to speak out. I want them manfully and openly to declare their sentiments. I like men boldly to announce their opinions—that whatever they think they should speak out; for I do not like your little *sleveens*, who think one thing, say another, and whisper a third in the corner. (Cheers.) I like Mr. Cooke's manliness, though I do not much like his doctrines. He first treated tithes as of divine origin. They were instituted in the Jewish theocracy—at a time when God—his holy name be blessed for ever!—made laws directly for the people. They were instituted from the Jews; but we are not Jews—we are Christians. (*Hear.*) And we are likely to be better Christains after hearing the address and following the example of the young gentleman who has just sat down. (Hear.) As to the payment of tithes being a payment to Providence (for I shall not use the awful name of the Creator as frequently as Mr. Cooke has done)—but as to tithes being a payment to Divine Providence, I should like to see a tithe proctor who was its representative. (*Hear, and laughter.*) It would certainly be a most consolatory reflection to a man who had paid the tithe-proctor to think that he had given something to Divine Providence. (*Hear and laughter.*) But if Mr. Cooke has a divine tithe-proctor, he has also got another divinity, and who do you think it is? Earl Grey. (*Hear and laughter.*) And he has given us a strong theological reason for thinking Earl Grey a divinity. He did not, indeed give us his authority for it; but he has given a most extraordinary reason for Earl Grey being one of his divinities—namely, that in his opinion he has no religion. (Loud laughter.) If ever I heard a curious reason for regarding a mere man as a divinity, this is it—that he has no religion. (Laughter.) But then, Mr. Cooke says, that when I go to my grave he will cry over me—I am greatly obliged to him, and his promise reminds me of what occurred upon the death of Lord Clare. At that time there was in town an honest farmer, a tenant from the county Limerick; and when the deceased lord was going to be buried, one of the friends of Lord Clare said to the farmer that the family would be glad to see some of the people at the funeral, and said he to the farmer, "Won't you go to it?" "Oh, yes," answered the farmer, "I will go to Lord Clare's funeral with the greatest pleasure imaginable." (*Cheers and laughter.*) You see what good it does to listen to a man talking. (Laughter.) And really I must say for Mr. Cooke, that he has made one of the best defences for the tithe system that I have ever heard. There is no answering it, because—it is unintelligible. (*Cheers and laughter.*) He sets all logic at defiance, and there can then be no argument to oppose him. (*Laughter.*) There is no *argument* to support it: its stability rests upon the policeman's pistol, and the grenadier's bayonet. We have come here to protest against the tithe system; as honest Protestants, and as honest Catholics, we have met here to protest against that system. (*Hear.*) Mr. Cooke, to be sure, has dressed up a *hash* for us. (*Loud laughter.*) He said, that if the Catholic church were established in this country, he would pay tithes to the Catholic church; he even went to Italy, to pay tithes to the Pope. (*Laughter.*) Now, we have "an ancient ally," called the Grand Turk; and if the Grand Turk were the ruler of this country, Mr. Cooke would, according to his own doctrines, pay tithes to his mufti. (*Cheers and continued laughter.*) Is not that Cooke now dressed well enough for you? (*Hear, and laughter.*) Well, then, I won't give him even *one turn more.* (*Laughter.*)—But, really, there is no other excuse for the payment of tithes than that which he has given you. (*Hear, hear.*) It is a gross and an abominable injustice. Tithes do not belong to the landlord, and they should not go into the pocket of the landlord. Mr. Perrott, of Totness, an Englishman, and as honest a man as ever sat in the House of Commons, has made, in a *recent speech* of his, a very proper distinction between rent and tithes. The rent is that which the farmer pays to the landlord, for the use of the ground, while the tithe is a sum taken from the gross produce of the land, and is not merely a tax upon the land, but upon the labour and capital expended on that land. The tithes, as far as affects labour and capital, I would have removed, and the other, the third portion of it, I would still have laid upon the land, to provide for the county cess, to be expended in the building of infirmaries, the making of bridges, and the repairing of roads. That share of the tithes I would still continue, not to be paid as tithes, but instead of the cess and county taxes which are now paid. Instead of the minister's money, which is now given to a person who does not do you any good at all, I would have a portion of it still paid to defray your city rates and taxes. This is my plan; and I have common sense with me to support it. I do not want to have tithes to pay either the Pope or the Grand Turk. In Ireland the system of tithes is a gross injustice. (Hear.) Tithes did not exist in Ireland when it was Catholic, and before the English came over here. The Catholic church in Ireland, from the days of St. Patrick, existed without tithes, until the Saxons, and some Normans, aided by an unfortunate Irish King, who was dethroned, came over here. (Hear.) There were no tithes in Ireland until they were introduced here by an English clergy, who came over with the conquerors—they were not, in truth, conquerors, for in the first battle in which they engaged, that near Wexford, they were beaten. It was by fraud they obtained power in Ireland, and by fraud they have continued it to the present day, but we will soon see an end of it, with the blessing of God! (Hear, hear, and cheers.) When tithes were first laid on in this country, they were devoted to the building and repairing of the churches, to the sustainment of the sick, and to every work of charity; and it was only the small remnant of them that was then left that went into the pockets of the clergy—whereas, at present, all the tithes are swallowed up, not merely by clergymen but by laymen. Therefore is it that they are unjust in principle, and the sooner they are abolished the better. With the help of the people, and of the good God, that abolition we will all soon see accomplished. (*Hear and cheers.*) Let me tell you that I want the help of the people. (*Loud cheers, and cries of "you must have it."*) Let those who are our enemies—let those who would forward the tithe system, come manfully forward like Mr. Cooke—and let those who are friends of Ireland come manfully forward like young Mr. Pollock. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Let me prophesy, which I have done so many times successfully, not meaning of course that I am inspired, but as its being the result of common sense and experience, that if it please God to give health and life to that young gentleman, he will be an ornament to his country, and rise in whatever profession he may devote himself to. (*Hear and cheers.*) During the last week I find that the English newspapers have been referring to an old rag called the *Evening Post*, which, some say, still continues to be printed in this city. (*Laughter.*) The only way I have of finding out that the assertion is true, is that I find it quoted now and again in the English newspapers. That old rag has been asserting that the meetings for a repeal of the Union have been only attended by twenty or thirty persons! (Exclamations of "oh! oh!" and loud groans.) Whereupon, the ensuing Monday we cannot find a room that could possibly hold us all; and if there had been a notice that we should meet in this yard, we would find it stuffed over to the quay. That is the answer that is given to the assertion of the *Evening Post.* (*Hear and cheers.*) You must, let me tell you, be most pressing in your call for the abolition of tithes. I am not one, I would tell Mr. Cooke, who would turn adrift the Protestant ministers. They have adopted, under the sanction of the law, a mode of life, and I am not the man who would leave them and their families to starve. I would protect the present incumbents. We can afford to do justice, and even if we could not afford it, we ought to do justice. We look for the protection and the aid of a just providence, and we cannot expect either if we do not find ourselves disposed to acts of mercy and of justice. (Hear, hear.) Let me tell the young Protestant gentleman, Mr. Pollock, who has this day so powerfully and ably addressed *you*, that in parliament the man that I most served there was the Deputy Grand Master of the Orangemen of Ireland, so far was I from being influenced by sectarian feelings. (Hear, hear.) Proud am I to be able this day to point to that fact, and to show Mr. Pollock that there is a congenial heart between him and me. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I am better pleased with that cheer than with any I ever received. (*Hear, hear.*) You must come forward to repeal the tithes, and this especially because of the recent act of parliament brought in by Mr. Stanley. (Hear, hear.) At one time the diocese of St. David, in Wales, was without a Bishop, and a person who, after the reformation, sought to be nominated, promised various portions of the see to different courtiers of Henry VIII., if he could procure the office. He did obtain it, and he kept his word; so that he has since been called "the calamity of the see." Mr. Stanley is "the calamity" of the ministry—he has brought in an act of parliament of so oppressive a nature, that we find in the district of Graiguenamanagh, for instance, where half-a-crown was paid before, £5 may now be demanded. This act is of so oppressive a nature, that the people [illegible] exclaim from one end of the county to the other "down with the [illegible]." (Hear, cheers, and loud cries of "down with the tithes.") There is no chance of peace or tranquillity in the country until there is an abolition of the tithe system.—(Hear, hear.) As I was going out to the meeting this day, I got a letter which has given me much pain; it refers to the collection of tithes. In the last session we voted a million of money to the tithe owners, so that we might have no demand for tithes until November twelvemonth, and that in the mean time the subject might be regulated.—The tithe-owners will not take the million—they prefer grinding the faces of the people. (Hear.) By the letter which I have got this day from Fermoy, I find that Mr. Littleton and Lord Wellesley have ordered out the army to enforce tithes!—(Hear, and cries of oh!) What! when the treasury have offered these persons a million of money, and they will not take it, but prefer hunting and harrassing the people—when a man will do this, why should the government give him the aid of the military force? (Hear, hear.) And yet they tell me I ought to side with this administration! I believe Mr. Cooke was mistaken when he said that Earl Grey had no religion; but this much I know, that I will not side with him as long as he has no religion for Ireland. (Hear, and cheers.) Mr. O'Connell then read the letter from Fermoy, detailing the sufferings of the people who refused to pay tithes, and mentioning that a party of the 92d was engaged in aiding the tithe owner in the collection of them. After reading the letter he proceeded to say—here this letter says that the soldiers are out assisting in collecting the tithes for a man who will not take his share of the million! Every good man must exclaim against a system which is driving the people to madness, and which turns out the King's troops to make pig-drivers and turkey-catchers of them.—(Cheers and laughter.) I read the other day the opinion of Mr. Poulett Thompson upon this subject. I have read what has been said of [illegible] little Lord John Russell, who chance made a reformer, and who is, I believe, sorry for it since.—(Hear.) But Mr. P. Thompson is the representative of a commercial constituency—that of Manchester, and he comes out and tells us that the Dissenters must be relieved from the demands made on them by an establishment to which they do not belong, and that it is not just nor expedient that they should pay for the clergy of a church from whom they receive no value. (Hear.) I took up the topic, and I rejoiced at the moment to find that such a declaration should have been made by one of the ministry. I said he was a cabinet minister; I was wrong in that. I at once admit it. I was ignorant that he was not a cabinet minister; but then he is one of the ministry. (*Hear.*) I care not whether or not he be a cabinet minister; but I ask this, how dare he talk to the Dissenters of England of its not being just that they should pay for the support of a church to which they do not belong, and from which they receive no value, and then turn round upon Ireland, and say that it was just her people should do so? (Hear.) Is not justice the same in every country? Must not that be just for Ireland which is just in England, or does it change its complexion with the climate?—Is that which is declared injustice in England

THE BRITISH LIBRARY