BY THE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

congregation of Warsaw, the superintendent of schools judged it expedient in reply to say:

"Shall the great body of Roman Catholics in the State be exempted from their share of the general tax for the support of Public Free Schools, and the money raised upon the residue of the taxable property of the State be paid over to teachers employed by their respective churches, whose duty it shall be to 'incorporate into their system of daily instruction' the peculiar tenets of their religious faith."

We have listened to the utterances of distinguished men in the leading Protestant denominations, and if we take up the statistics of educational establishments in the country, we shall find that all the denominations of christians are putting forth great exertions to found and endow Universities, for the higher studies of the wealthier classes. Catholies also found and establish Colleges and Academies for the rich members of their church, but their principles are as good and as applicable for the poor as for the rich. Here is where we find the difference between them and the various Protestant denominations.

Whilst the latter have written wisely, learnedly and beautifully on the absolute necessity of religious instruction in schools and colleges where the young are to be educated, they make the application of their principle only in behalf of their rich communicants. Catholics, on the contrary, have put forth their strength in behalf of their poor children. These nced religion and all its helps in the church, and at | the fire-side, but still more in the school which is the

There are at the present time not far from one are over four thousand children in the Catholic them of equal rights. They might provide for their and improve its mind, to mould its young heart, and the adherents of the English Government, on one schools of Rochester. These children are the children the kind of education they deem suitable, to draw the mind and heart to God. Our schools side, and the real representatives of the Irish people, dren of the people; among them are children whose late war. Among them are many whose mothers' little earnings can ill be spared from the family's if the State did not put religion under a ban and

If to-day we have one hundred thousand children probability will be doubled. For the past thirty years, since the first serious discussion of the right religion alone can give. of religion to be in the schools, when we had very tew Catholic schools in the State, we have been too busy providing church accommodation for our ever increasing members to give that earnest attention to | will not discountenance the humbler efforts of their | schools and mean always to have religion there, we our schools which they merit.

children than with the creeting of churches, although of forming the character to morality and virtue. this work will not be permitted to stand still.

A plan or system of schools which excludes one whose behalf Free Schools are supposed to be mainare carried on upon a basis so thoroughly defective does the plain mechanic, or humble laborer in his grow into the fullness of all truth. as those in this city of Rochester, which are able to simple cottage. gather within their walls no more than 5,500 children in daily average attendance, whilst a portion of its citizens, who are unwilling to separate religion from education, can show an average daily attendance of 4,000 in special schools of their own, can scarcely be called Common Schools for all.

It is, we know well, the system which the majority of our fellow-citizens have adopted, but we have yet to learn that majorities, even if all-powerful, are infallible, or that minorities have no rights, or that a system that falls back in its ultimate defence when logic, sound sense and fair-play have stormed all its positions, on the mere power of numbers, is a system that can, or that deserves to be

permanent. Much is said about sectarianism, secturiun schools end sectarian institutions. Indeed, you have only to mention the name to disturb the equanimity of many of our worthy fellow citizens. It is singular how little attention they have given the subject, and how, their early education, they lose sight of reason,

nieant by sectarian.

My first authority is John C. Spencer, Secretary of State and Superintendent of Schools, who in his report to the Legislature of New York in 1840, said:

"To this plan objections have been made, that it would enable different religious denominations to establish schools of a sectarian character, and that thereby religious dissensions would be aggravated. if not generated. It is believed to have been shown that there must be some degree of religious instruction, and that there can be none without partaking more or less of a sectarian character; and that even the Public School Society has not been able, and cannot expect to be able, to avoid the imputation. The objection itself proceeds on a sectorian principle, and assumes the power to control that which is neither right nor practicable to subject to any domination. Religious doctrines of vital interest will be inculcated, not an theological exercises, but incidentally, in the course of literary and scientific instructions; and who will undertake to prohibit such in-

"It is believed to be an error to suppose that the absence of all religious instruction, if it were practicable, is a mode of avoiding sectarianism. On the contrary, it would be in itself sectarian; because it would be consonant to the views of a particular class, and opposed to the opinious of other classes. Those who reject creeds and resist all efforts to infuse them into the minds of the young before they have arrived at a maturity of judgment which may enable them to form their own opinious, would be gratified by a system which so fully accomplishes their purposes. But there are those who hold contrary opinions; and who insist on guarding the young against the influence of their own passions and the contagion of vice, by implanting in their minds and hearts those elements of faith which are held by this class to be the indispensable foundations of moral principles. This description of persons regard neutrality and indifference as the most insidious forms of hostility. It is not the business of the undersigned to express any opinion on the merits of those views.-His only purpose is to show the mistake of those who suppose they may avoid sectarianism by avoiding all

religious instruction." Another who has discussed this question of sectarianism with force and great plainness of speech, is the Rev. Dr. Spear, of Brooklyn, in the columns of the Independent, thus :---

"It is quite true that the Bible, as the foundation of religious belief, is not sectarian as between those who adopt it; but it is true that King James' version of the Holy Scriptures is sectarian as to the Catholic, as the Douay is to the Protestant, or as the Baptist version would be to all Protestants but Baptists. It is equally true that the New Testament is sectarian as to the Jew, and the whole Bible is equally so as to those who reject its authority in any version. • • • There is no sense or candor in a mere play on words here. It is not decent in a Protestant ecclesiastic, who has no more rights than the humblest Jew, virtually to say to the latter: 'You are nothing but a good-for-nothing Jew; you Jews have no claim to be regarded as a religious sect, or included in the law of State impartiality as between sects which Protestants monopolize for their special beneafit. Away with your Jewish consciences. You pay your tax-bills and send your

a supercilious pomposity of which Protestants ought to be ashamed. It may please the bigotry it expresses, but a sensible man must either pity or despise it. In the name of justice we protest against To quiet the Rev. Mr. Young and the Presbyterian, this summary mode of disposing of the school question in respect to any class of American citizens. It is simply an insult."

We are frequently told by our non-Catholic friends that really we have no just cause of complaint; that if the State takes our taxes, it gives us in exchange schools for our children to which we can send them, if we please; that if we do not choose to patronize these Public Free Schools, we have no one to blame

but ourselves. This argument is readily accepted by those whom it suits. It does not answer us. In the first place, if we are not to go back to the days of pagan Sparta a defective, injurious, peisonous education. Hence, and resign all control of our children to the State, since under the present system formed by the State found on the side of justice and right. And whenit will not be denied that parents have the natural right and duty to provide for their children the best education they can. Not many will question this Colleges, Seminaries and Academies-institutions right and duty; it is generally acted on by all parents who have the means to may taxes and at the same time provide education, other than State education, for their children in seminaries, colleges and private establishments, in harmony with the reli-school house at the Cathedral on Frank street; the gious views and wishes of their patrons; it is acted very large and beautiful school house of St. Peter's to come together, brothers as we are, in this mighty on by others, not so able to bear double taxation; but who are willing to make great sacrifices to fulfil a conscientious duty. There are others who are not able to provide for their own children the kind of education which they would wish to give their offspring, because the State intervenes, and by taking a portion of their small resources, and by establishing with a lavish expenditure of the public funds, rival and competing schools, has rendered well nigh impossible the fulfilment of a bounden parental duty, and to this extent, is guilty of a gross wrong to many of its citizens.

There are citizens then who complain with truth hundred thousand Catholic children in the Christian and reason on their side that the legislation of the Free Schools of this State of New York, and there State operates unfairly and wrongfully, depriving and they, and not the State, are the judges of what fathers bones lie bleaching on the battle fields of the that education ought to be, if the State did not tax furnishing this education, doing the very thing for power was set in motion to influence persons of them for the education of other peoples' children, or, interdict and make laws discriminating in favor of education without religious instruction, and against it come where so many of the children are to be in our schools, ten years hence that number in all the efforts of its poerer citizens who prefer education with all the helps, influence and sacred spirit which

The men who are advocating the establishment of Colleges and Universities for the training of Baptists, | strong in our convictions that the same rights belong Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Methodists, surely poor fellow citizens who seek for their children in In the years to come we shall be more occupied the simple week-day school, that religious knowledge with school building and with the education of our joined to secular learning, which alone gives hope

What is good and useful in the College, is good and useful in the school; what is right for the rich, bundred thousand children of the very classes in is right for the poor. No rich man loves his child with more fondness, nor seeks its future advantage tained, cannot be said to be a success. Schools that for this world and the next with more sincerity than | pray God that this small beginning of truth may

The fallacy of unsound argument is in time detected by the people, and the play upon words, under cover of which many are deceived, ceases to avail.

Hence, whilst for a long time sectarianism meant only Catholicism, and could be used as a battle cry to rally the unthinking or malicious bigotry of the crowd, now that it is coming to mean any aspect of religious teaching, or the plain reading of the Bible, without note or comment, sensible men will begin to ask, "Where is this going to end?"

I have never yet heard an honest argument to disprove or invalidate the views of John C. Spencer or Rev. Dr. Spear on this question of sectarianism. And I have no hesitation in asserting that the sectarianism prevailing in the public schools of this State is as objectionable to a large class of citizens as any other form of sectarianism that could be in-

It is the sectorianism of no-religion, of infidelity completely blinded by the prejudices and feelings of it is the sectarianism of those who have no form of religious belief, or are indifferent to all forms; it is religion they may look after as they please in their Two authorities will suffice to show what is truly tyrant with fearful injustice. Listen to its cry which it passes for an argument: "If we give these religious people what they want, if we help sectarian schools, in their sense of sectarianism, what is to become of us?"

It was the sectarianism of no-religion which broke down the religious denominational schools in New York city, and all over the State in the first years of this century. And it is the religious people of the different Protestant denominations who with one breath blow hot and cold, knowing that education without religious instruction is harmful, and yet trembling lest such a true doctrine might help the

Here are two resolutions passed by a Convention of Methodist Ministers held at Syracuse, this very week:

"Resolved. That we as a convention insist upon the moral element in the instruction afforded in our common school system, and especially the teaching of the moral system of Bible Christianity, which is the foundation of our civil law.

"Resolved, That the time has come when the constitution of the State of New York should be so amended as to prohibit peremptorily the appropriation by State or municipal authority of public funds for the support of sectarian schools, and we hereby solemnly and urgently petition the next Legislature to inaugurate the action by which this amendment may be secured."

To understand what these gentlemen of the Methodist Church mean by the moral element and the teaching of the moral system of Bible Christianity, we must listen to the explanations given by these same reverend gentlemen. Rev. Mr. Jones of Ilion,

"Our right to sustain and control them fthe public schools] was found in their Christian origin. He argued that moral culture must come from drill, and this must be given in childhood and in school. After a passing denunciation of political corruption, he said the teacher should not have to deal with the intellect alone. The State, in assuming to act in loco varentis could not refuse to take care of the spiritual education of the children. Teachers must not be allowed to substitute the demoralizing doubtings of irreverent speculation for the grand saving truths of divine inspiration, whose essentials long ago become and by the blessing of God shall continue to be the unwritten creed of this great

American neople." Dr. Peck is already on record. He wants none of your milk and water christianity-your liberal religion that means nothing; he wants the religion that will bring men to Christ-the religion that will

suit the Methodists. At the same Convention in Syracuse, Rev. Mr. Taylor ventured to say that Methodists did not wish to teach religion in the Common Schools, but upon being taken to task for the utterance of such a heresy, and it was called a heresy by two of his brother ministers, he quickly explained and joined hands with Rev. Mr. Flack, who said that if the terrible heresy presented by Mr. Taylor should prevail he would not hold his place a day as principal of a

place of learning.

There is great confusion of ideas in these resolutions and speecher of the Methodist ministers. They call for a constitutional amendment to prohibit the giving of meney to sectarian schools, and as the children to the Public Schools and we will attend to same time and in the same breath insist that the

A LECTURE ON CHRISTIAN FREE SCHOOLS. known as Protestant Christianity. It is simply their minds, substitute Cutholic for sectarian and you will let in a ray of light, if not of honest minded-

> And so in this whole controversy, from its origin to this day, whenever you hear a religionist of any kind speaking of sectarianism, when you reach what is in his mind, you discover that it is the spectre of Catholicism that frightens him.

After what you have heard from me this evening, many may be anxious to know what do these Catholies really mean, and what is it they want-what are their views upon this great question of education. In the first place, we are in favor of education for should not submit to injustice or wrong one day the people. We are in favor of the most general longer than is absolutely necessary. It will be an system of education that can be devised. We favor unfortunate condition of things if this great and State. But we do not favora system that gives them | no solution through reason, common justice and fair we cannot take our stand upon the platform with ever that majority-when the youth of to-day, come our fellow citizens, we retire to one of our own. to be the men of ten years hence, you will find that We build school houses and establish schools. I American, and Irish, and German Catholics, on this think that here in this city of Rochester we need not fear comparison with the public school houses of the city. Here are the two school houses of St. for them, and, by those means which the constitu-Joseph's, the largest school houses in the city; the congregation; and the not so large but more beautiful school house of the Immaculate Conception. We build school houses, large, spacious, roomy, well wentilated, well provided with all the appliances for way; for if they do stand in the way, they will have been in vain. After asserting, in the strongest way; for if they do stand in the way, they will have been in vain. After asserting, in the strongest in the way of the clare and stability of this manner the incompetency of Purliances to schools religion holds the first place like a beautiful goddess presiding over all-I would not fear to clear mind, an earnest soul, to do all they can in bring out the children of all these schools and place them side by side with the children of any other more glorious, this great American people, schools in the city for examination in those secular branches which we are told are so valuable. We know their value. And while these branches are studied in our schools, we wish to bring in the beautiful hand-maid of religion to help the child furnish the children all the other schools do, and, which the State collects taxes and supports schools, we ask, and rightly and justly we ask, why it is that found receiving the education the State means they shall have, and receiving at the same time that inclaim these rights for ourselves we are equally to others. That whilst we bring religion into our say to our non-Catholic fellow-citizens, bring into your schools whatever of religion you have-bring in prayer and religious singing, and Bible reading. These means of good you hold as sacred and precious; we would much prefer good Protestants of any kind to infidels and deniers of all Revelation; we thank God for any and all truth wherever we find it. If but the beginning of truth to-day, we

I do not propose to tell my follow citizens of the State this evening how they are to meet this subject. Little by little, next year, ten years hence if you please, the question will be settled upon a fair and just basis, without any more of those disastrous compromises which in the past have made the subject so difficult. Among those who have their children in our schools are foreigners from all the countries in Europe-Germans, and Swiss, and French, and Irish. These people come here to a land of liberty, and we tell them what a glorious country it is; and we can never exaggerate in praising the beauty, glory and advantages of this noble country of ours. We tell them of all its many blessings ready for every poor down trodden Enropean who comes to our shores. But when these foreigners come they bring with them their consciences-they bring with them the religion in which they were born and educated, and that religion they prize more than the advantages the country offers, that religion they prize beyond all earthly gain. Shall we tell them that when they come to this country their own care of, and the state will see that no religious instruction is given them? Some of them come from Prussia, where the state most cautiously guards the religious interests of all. There are schools for Catholics and in those schools religion is attended to with the greatest care under the supervision of the parish Priest. There are Protestant schools and the children are carefully instructed and trained in their religious duties by the ministers of the parishes to which they belong. There the Jews have equal advantages. In Republican Switzerland we have the same wise, just and equitable arrangement. In Great Britain these schools for all kinds are favored and encouraged by the government. In Ireland it has happened that years ago, in those earlier days when the poor people were trying to emerge from a slavery of hundreds of years, they gladly accepted any boon of education the government gave them, and the government gave them one very much like the one we have in this country-secular education without religion-religion before and after school hours, but no God in the school, And this very year, almost this very month, although all through the land there were none but Catholics, the teachers and children Catholics, because God had been told to stand at the door of the school house, the Bishops of Ireland have passed condemnation upon these schools, and they insist that the schools shall be schools in which shall be found the cross upon which their Savior died-schools In which the exercises may be opened in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Chost, in which the children may go upon their knees and adore the great and

good God that made them. I am not here this evening to find special fault with the common schools on any other score than the single one of banishing religion from them. If I were to do so I might take up the statement of Prof. Agazzis. Not many papers care to publish

it. It is too terrible a thing to state. But people say, " if you Catholics have schools, and our taxes go there, we shall be supporting Popery." I would like to know who pay the taxes. I always thought when the tax-gatherer came around he did not stop long to examine whether the dollars were Catholic or Protestant. That objection I think amounts to but very little. If the taxes do help us in our Catholic schools perhaps it will be the Ca-

thelic money that comes there. Now what is the meaning of my speaking here this evening? . I come here as an American citizen, speaking to American people. I have no other country. I come before the American people loving the country as dearly as any one clse can. No one ever traveled through Europe who held his head higher and with more pride, or who more frequently spoke out in praise of this country than I did when there a year ago. After my God and my religion, my country is the dearest object of my life. I feel to-night in my heart the blot and disgrace that is upon the country by the wrong and unjust system of public schools that is now upheld in the land simply and solely by the power of the majority. I do not wish to say a single unkind, hard or threatening word. I come this evening to ask a fair discussion—to ask my fellow citizens to look at this great question without prejudice, without bigotry, having dispelled those unfortunate clouds that have been in their minds for so many years past. If no discussion can be permitted—if from first to last we can hear but the words, "we will it, we have made

truth," then I would say that ten or twenty years Ireland as in England, Foster, the Speaker of the Ireland and Germany, although their right to stand here is as good as the right of any man in the country-the issue will be with the children of these men from European countries. They are the children we are educating in our schools-into whose minds and hearts there will be planted deeply the true American feeling and principle that whilst they ought always to be good and law abiding citizens they ought also to cherish with all the power of should not submit to injustice or wrong one day defence of their rights, in claiming them, in asking tion and the laws of the State place in their hands, in obtaining them. But how much better for us all and glorious country which the good Lord has given us, and discuss these matters—talk them over, duty of all citizens to labor with a good heart, a building up and strengthening, and making still

HOMERULE .- XIV.

THE UNION DEBATES-(Continued,. As it became evident that a vital struggle between

the adherents of the English Government, on one on the other, was now imminent, every engine of position and authority in favour of the Union, and to neutralise the adverse sentiments of the great the money must all go in one direction and none of mass of the people, who had everywhere joined in not his dependant; and that you will not degrade it come where so many of the children are to be denouncing the odious measure. Whilst Castlereagh yourselves from an independent kingdom into an and his abominable crew were employed in bribing, corrupting, and intimidating those who were open terdicted thing called religion? But whilst we to such influences, Lord Cornwallis, the Viceroy, claim these rights for ourselves we are equally appealed personally and by letter to all whose support he deemed it prudent to solicit. It is not much to be wondered at that such applications prevailed in overcoming the repugnance of many who country. would otherwise have opposed the project; but there were still some men of independent minds, who could not be wheedled, or seduced, or bought over session. It was about this time, as Plowden observes to the side of an unscrupulous administration. Amongst others, the aged Lord Rokeby, in reply to the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote a powerful letter, "as a Briton and Euglishman," in direct opposition to the stances according to the most unaccountable modes proposed measure. And when the question was again introduced in the British House of Peers, Earl Fitzwilliam said he "deemed the agitation of it unseasonable. It would tend to inflame dissension, and impair the strength and vigour of the empire.-The House had the experience of ages, that the dangers apprehended from a separate legislature time in the Irish House on the question of issuing had not arisen. It was then to be considered whether a writ to enable a supporter of Government to take this were the proper time for an Union. On the the place of a member who had retired. Mr. Arthur part of Great Britain he would say, Do you wish to Moore (afterwards Judge of Common Pleas) observintroduce into the British Porliament the rebellion ed that he "did not conceive how ministers could of Ireland? Do you wish to introduce the repre- justify such a partial and unfair exercise of the sentatives of Ireland-representatives elected by the free electors of Ireland? Oh, no, no; but by British bayonets." In this debate also that great and good man, that noble, wise, and honest statesman exposed the duplicity of the Government with regard to the question of Catholic Emancipation which led to his untimely, and for Ireland, most unfortunate recall. He then stated upon his honour that, "though he had agreed to assume the Government of Ireland on the understanding that he was not to bring forward the question of Emancipation on the part of the Government, he had entered his protest against resisting it, should it be brought forward from any other quarter, and that he had made most distinct own churches, but their children the state will take declarations that, in case of its being so brought forward, it should receive his full support. With hese declarations he had assumed the of Ireland." Such an admission was too inconvenient | the two countries, if carried, impermanent, and the to the English Minister to be allowed to pass, and accordingly Lord Grenville professed to have "no recollection of the circumstances," and coolly asked for the production of papers on the subject, knowing well that the protest, although made in his own presence, was a verbal one; but any excuse was deemed good enough, at that time, to serve the purpose of a Minister in carrying out his Irish policy.

Lord Rawdon (Earl of Moira) declared that "no one would more heartily concur in the proposed measure than himself, if it should meet the approbation of the greater part of the Irish community; but, as it had excited general disgust and vigorous opposition, he was convinced of the danger of prosecuting the scheme. Even if the Irish Parliament should be disposed to adopt it, the disinclination of the people ought to have been deemed a sufficient ground for relinquishing it; otherwise we might nourish in delusive security a secret fire, which might ultimately consume the vitals of the empire? Lord Darnley also gave his voice for suspending the scheme, and Lord Holland, "though he did not consider the adjustment of 1782 as a bar to a new agreement, disapproved the proposal of an Union at a time when

it excited strong disgust in that kingdom." The Minister's proposition, however, was carried and subsequently a conference was held between the two Houses of Parliament in England, when it was proposed by the Lords that a joint Address to the Throne should be presented by both. A fresh discussion of the Union however took place on 22nd of April in the Commons, when Pitt moved that they should join in the Address voted by the Peers; but this was ultimately carried, after some strenuous but fruitless apposition on the part of Sir Francis Burdett, Lord William Russell, General Fitzpatrick, and others. The address, which was presented in due form to the king, included the following paragraph, which reads like a cruel mockery, a bitter, heartless satire in the face of the system of Imperial legislation adopted by England towards Ireland for seventy years afterwards: "We entertain a firm persuasion that a complete and entire Union beween Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of the respective kingdoms and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemics, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire."

Thus was Ireland sacrificed to gratify the nation al ambition and jealousy of Englishmen, who hast Parliament of Ireland opened, on 15th damagn flattered themselves that they were advancing their 1800, several of the former anti-Unionists were "conflattered themselves that they were advancing their 1800, several of the former anti-Unionists were "conflattered themselves that they were advancing their themselves the conflattered themselves that they were advancing their themselves the conflattered themselves that they were advancing their themselves the conflattered themselves that they were advancing their themselves the conflattered themselves the conflattered themselves that they were advancing their themselves the conflattered themselves that they were advancing their themselves the conflattered themselves that they were advancing their themselves the conflattered the conflattered themselves the conflattered the conflattered the conflattered themselves the conflattered the own selfish interests, while talking grandly of securing the glory and greatness of "the empire," and therefore paid little heed to the angry feelings of wounded pride, which were sure to be engendered in the hearts of Irishmen, and which have become more and more embittered every succeeding year, as it has become more and more evident that the hopes then held out, in regard to Ireland, were fallacious, and the promise illusory.

introduced on 11th April, 1799, by the Right Hon. country out of the slough of subjection, and who now their Obstition education. It is not decent to say publicsohools shall teach religion, Bible obstitues, and the might of James Fitzgerald (late Prime Sergeant) for the purchase of citizens who dissent from what is etc. To clear up the difficulty, to get at what is in the majority shall prevail in spite of justice and of pose of fixing the regency in the same individual in over her full; who watched, as he pathetically said

hence the issue will not be with the gentlemen from length the Union once more in an unappropriate of the Union once more in the Union of the Union once more in the Union once more in the Union onc of the Union once more in an unanswerable speech The pretences," he said, " for a legislative Union were ill supported. The risk of a disagreement on the subject of peace or war, or regard to foreign treaties, would not justify the adoption of a measure so unconstitutional. The case of regency afforded the only apparent foundation of alarm; but the Bill now under consideration would remove all apprehension on that head." There are some who still make they bug asso to thought and the feeling that they use of the same arguments, as he combated, against granting Home Rule to Ireland; and the matured opinions of such a constitutional authority still carry weight. "The arguments adduced for an Union of system of education that can be devised. We give an union of the education of the people finds the two legislatures were," he said, "equally application of the lines of the two legislatures were," he said, "equally application that will bring in all the children of the vital question of the education of the people finds the two legislatures were," he said, "equally application that will bring in all the children of the vital question of the education of the people finds the two legislatures were," he said, "equally application that will be called the children of the vital question of the education of the people finds the two legislatures were," he said, "equally application that will be called the children of the vital question of the education of the people finds the two legislatures were," he said, "equally application of the education of the education of the people finds the two legislatures were," he said, "equally application of the education of the educat able to the Union of the two Houses of either Parliaable to the Union or the two mouses with the parity ment. These might disagree, and ought by parity ment. These might disagree, and ought by parity where would then be our Constitution? It would yield to Monarchical or Republican despotism. The balancing principle composed the chief excellence question, in this matter, will stand as one man in of our Constitution; and why might not the two legislatures, guarded by one head, perform national and imperial functions in a better and more efficacious manner that a combined Parliament." If unanswerable argument, powerful reasoning, and the most lucid exposition of constitutional law and government, sustained by a lofty spirit of true parriotism, could save a country, the luminous speech which Foster delivered on this occasion would not imparting instruction. We supply teachers and stand in the way of the glory and stability of this manner, the incompetency of Parliament to surrender books. And I would not fear, although in these country whose future God only knows. It is the their legislative powers he made a stirring appeal to the surrender below with a good heart a facility of all cross and classes. It to Irishmen of all creeds and classes. He said: "Your country is in danger; a desperate attempt is on foot to seduce you to surrender the independence of your Parliament. You are all natives of the same island; interested in its trade, its property, its freedom, and in all the blessings of a glorious and happy Constitution; bounden by every tie of duty to yourselves, your country, and your posterity to preserve it, join all hands and hearts together, bring the vessel into port, forget all family differences, all local or partial jealousies, and save Ireland, save your country. Tell the bold Minister who wants to take away your Constitution that he shall not have it, that you will not be his dupe ; that you love Britain as a brother: but you will be his brother, yourselves from an independent kingdom into an abject colony." Would to Heaven that these nable words might sink deep into the hearts of Irishmen to-day; and that every creed, every party, every social rank and distinction in the land might lay aside all political differences, and offer up the mutual sacrifice of patriotism on the altar of their common

The Bill, which at first seemed to meet approval. was ultimately postponed, and finally lost for the that began "the very singular system of members shifting their scats in Parliament according to their various feelings and sentiments, and in some inof squaring their honors and consciences on this critical and important measure. It would be both false and stupid to deny that the whole powers of Government, patronage, influence, and omolument were now devoted to prosclytising for the Union. prerogative of the crown, unless they were determinbd openly and broadly to confess and declare (that which every day's events rendered useless for them longer to conceal) that they were resolved to carry the measure of Union by any and by every means. and to use all the engines and influences of power, and the insidious practises of fraud and unfair dealing to bring about its completion. Sir, there is no man who is an attentive observer of public occurrences, and who keeps an eye on the conduct of the administration, who must not have seen, and seen with affliction, that the measures which have been taken, and were now in daily and unremitting practice, to effectuate the Union, were such as no honest man could justify, and which, while they stamped the authors of them with indelible disgrace. discontents and calamities of that nation eternal."

On this occasion Plunket also spoke with trench-

ant force and bitterness. "The question," he said had been brought into that house accompanied by the execration of the people of Ireland, but at the same time with the proud boast and childish hope, on the part of the noble Lord (Castlereagh). that it would be carried by a triumphant majority. It was dismissed and defeated by the instinct, and the reason, and the virtue, and the talents, and the prosperity of the country." "At first the noble led professed that no man should be allowed to vacate unless he gave satisfactory assurance that his seat was not to be sold. He stated it as a fact, and desird to be contradicted if it were not so, that the noble lord had totally abandoned that principle, which he admitted was a fair and honourable one. He stated it as a fact that, since he made that profession, he had allowed seats to be vacated, where he knew that money was to be given by the successor, and that he had refused permission to vacate, where he knew that no money was to be given. He stated it as a fact, that it was publicly avowed by Government that voting or not voting for the Union was the sole rule by which the permission to vacate should be regulated. Would any man after that be so senseless as to believe that Government wished for the fair sense of the Parliament or of the people? Would they deny that they had purchased the newspapers to admit publications only on one side? would they deny that they had instructed sheriffs to prevent the sense of the counties being collected by the convening of county meetings? Were they ready now to have the counties of Ireland convened, and to abide the test of their declaration on the question? It was notorious that the power of Government had been strained in every corner of the kingdom to prevent the sense of the people from being declared. He was informed that their emissaries had actually descended so low as to threaten a publican in the city of Cork that his license should be withdrawn if he ventured to receive into his house a number of gentlemen who afterwards affixed their names to an address, thanking the Parliament for having rejected the Union."

But the ministers succeeded in putting an end to further debate by forcing an adjournment; and little more was done in Parliament for the remainder of that session. In the interim, the myrmidens of Government were not idle. Ireland was dishonoured by the introduction of the foulest system of bribery: and no expense was spared in the wicked efforts to stifle the natural voice of the country. Many of the members sold their seats, by retiring in favour of the nominees of the administration; and when the last Parliament of Ireland opened, on 15th January, spicuous by their absence."-Castlerengh having gained, by purchases and changes in the representation, not less than forty-three votes from the opportunity tion. But there reappeared on the scene, on this memorable occasion, one whose name alone was a magic talisman to conjure up the spirit of patriotism whose glowing eloquence was once more to stir the soul of Ireland to its depths, and make the hearts of her enemics quake with fear; one who had, eigh In the discussion on the Regency Bill, which was teen years before, mainly contributed to raise his