

events that state might be changed without violence or outrage to the feelings of either country, into a kindred communion, though under separate forms of government, he would contend that it must still be the duty of this country to endeavour to impart to those Provinces, whether connected or severed, all the benefits and blessings which she herself possessed in consequence of the admirable system of laws and the superior share of freedom she so pre-eminently possessed. The Rt. Hon. Gent. then concluded by moving "That a select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the state of the Civil Government of Lower Canada, as established under the 31st of Geo. 3, chap. 31, and so report their observations and opinions thereon to the House." The Rt. Hon. Gentleman sat down amid loud cheering.

(To be continued)

Monday, May 12.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS.—A condensed report of the speeches delivered during the two first nights debate, on the expediency of taking these claims into consideration, will be found in our fourth page; and we now proceed to give a digest of the proceedings on their final discussion this night. The order of the day for the resumption of the debate having been moved, Mr. C. Grant rose, and at great length addressed the House in favour of the motion. The distinguished features in the Hon. Gentleman's speech, were the absolute necessity of concession on the ground of a sane and enlightened policy. The state of Ireland was such, that the interests of the Empire loudly called for its immediate pacification. The picture which had been given of its condition was such as should immediately awaken attention, and call for that healing measure, which year after year was sought by millions from the House. A body, a compact and a regularly organized body, exists in Ireland, not recognised by the constitution, yet possessed of, and exercising considerable authority, and able to excite or controul an immense physical force. Parliament should not shut its eyes to such an *imperium in imperio*, and the voice of experience should tell it that the best means of destroying such, was to concede these claims, the delaying of which gave the Catholic Association so great a preponderance in the Country. The entire system of misrule should be overturned, for so long as a fragment remained, it was vain to hope that Ireland could be tranquillised. Remove all restriction, however, and the most moderate will then have ascendancy, and the most violent will then be compelled to retire into obscurity. The conduct we have pursued towards the Roman Catholics was most inexplicable, there were three positions on which we ought to have taken our stand; the first position was this—we gave them neither toleration or free exercise of their religion; the second was—we gave them both toleration and religious freedom, but we gave them no privilege of civil rights; and the third ought to have been this, to have given to them both toleration and civil rights—each of these being a distinct maintainable position, we steered between both, and we were wrong; we struck out the very course which we ought not—for if we were not disposed to extend to them all they justly claimed, we were very unwise in extending to them any proportion of it at all. Can we be surprised then if they complain of the conduct which has been pursued towards them. The Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to combat the objections adduced against concession on the ground of anticipated evil to the Established Church, contending that nothing could be more prejudicial to its well being, than to make it a bar of civil rights and thus affix to it an odium, which its purity and liberality set it so much above. The Hon. Gentleman next referred to a pamphlet of Mr. Knight's, respecting the state of Roman Catholics in other countries, and which he contended justified the House in demanding security without interfering with the consciences of the Roman Catholics. After glancing at the present state of some of the Continental powers, and drawing almost vivid picture of the distractions of Ireland, and felicitating the House on the glowing liberality of the day, (which among other proofs, he adduced, from Oxford not sending up an unanimous petition, and Cambridge not sending up a petition at all against the Catholic claims.) The Hon. Gentleman concluded by energetically calling on Parliament to take the subject into its immediate consideration—fill up the blanks left in the Act of Union, consolidate the Empire, and realise those memorable words once proudly

quoted by a great Statesman, now no more—Mr. Pitt.

—“Paribus se legibus ambæ
Invitæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.”

Colonel Davies gave the motion his decided negative.

Mr. Henry Grattan, in a speech characterised by much force and some historical incident, supported the motion—The power which had grown up in Ireland he admitted to be formidable, but declared it to be wholly derived from, and dependent on, the present state of the laws, which if amended must necessarily lay it prostrate.

Lord Ennismore (in a maiden speech) said he was as firmly attached as any man to the venerable fabric of our liberties, and to the Established Church, but in the same proportion as he held one and the other of them dear, in that same proportion was his anxiety to see those stains which intolerance and injustice had cast upon them, washed away, and to have Ireland at length rendered an available portion of the Empire, by being permitted the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. G. Bankes said, that the outline of the plan for Emancipation had been laid down, and its propriety defended, but no attempt had been made to follow it up in detail, or to show how it might safely be granted. The argument derived from the Scotch Members was quite inapplicable to the present case, in so much as they had a national Church, which participated in all the protection of law granted to the Church of England; and unless it was meant to follow up Emancipation by the establishment of the Catholic as the Established Church of Ireland, there was no analogy between the cases of Presbyterian and Catholic members of Parliament. He had referred to the documents to which his Right Hon. Friend on the other side of the House had alluded, and had satisfied himself that the plan proposed by Prussia could in no degree suit this country; unless they were prepared to go to the length of an Hon. Baronet's (Sir Francis Burdett) proposal, namely, to talk of securities and trifles only fit to amuse children, and be the ridicule of men. He was decidedly opposed to the motion, conceived it pregnant with considerable danger to the well being and security of the state.

Mr. T. Denison replied to the observations of Mr. Bankes.

Mr. North spoke with great eloquence in favor of the motion. The question for the House to deliberate on, was not the consideration of this or that principle—the discussion of this or that right, but was one of vast more importance.—It was the all-engrossing question, “What shall be done with Ireland?” To this he would implore the attention of the House, and entreat it not to regard with apathy the events which were of every day occurrence in the sister country. The power wielded by the Roman Catholic Clergy, could not be subdued by any other means, but the concession of the Catholic Claims. Let them be granted, and peace would shed her beneficent smiles upon the distracted land, and politics would not follow the husbandman to the plough—the merchant to his office, and the tradesman to his counter, the first business of every man, would not be as at present, politics, and his second trade.—It was high time that we should overthrow the barrier which has long interposed between the Protestants and the Catholics of Ireland, and prevented their mutual co-operation for the general good.

Admiral Evans deprecated the menacing language held out by the Irish Roman Catholics, and declared that he should feel himself to be the most pusillanimous of men, if any argument of intimidation influenced him. He opposed the motion, and conceived the conduct of some hon. gentlemen inconsistent in the extreme; They supported the question of the Catholic Emancipation; yet they had sworn with him, holding the same book and standing at the same table, that the Catholic Religion was infamous and idolatrous, and that no foreign Prince hath a right to have any power, spiritual or temporal, within these realms. He did not know how such members could reconcile these oaths with the course of conduct they were now pursuing.

The Attorney-General opposed the motion in a most luminous address, and strongly objected to the manner in which the question was brought forward; he wished to have a Bill in order that he might accurately judge of the precise import of what was proposed to be granted. He had been for many years opposed to what was called Catholic Emancipation; but he was opposed to it on a plain and broad

principle. He had no objection at all to concede the principle, that the Roman Catholics, under certain limitations, might be admitted to come into Parliament, and to hold offices under the King; but this must be under certain conditions.—If this concession on our parts was to be made, it must be a mutual concession as regarded the other—*damus sed felinusque vicissim*. The Right Hon. and learned Gentleman went on to show, that the Hon. Baronet and those who, on the same side of the question, succeeded him, had thrown overboard the long important question of the Treaty of Limerick, and the union. He would now enter upon the Treaty of Limerick. [Loud cries of, oh, no.] Well, then, the Treaty ought not to be alluded to at all, if it was not to be tried by the test of Parliamentary investigation—he was surprized at the silence of all the great supporters of the Catholic Claims respecting the Treaty, and in consequence felt assured that they would have long since referred to it, if they had hoped to have benefitted their cause, by bringing it upon the carpet of discussion. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman then proceeded to ridicule the notion, that the advocates of the present measures had any claim to the names of Fox, and Grattan, since it was notorious, that they had advocated a measure, of which securities formed an essential part, whereas, in the present case, securities were altogether omitted. The Constitution rested on four pillars—A Protestant King—A Protestant Church—Protestant Legislators—and Protestant Officers; the present measures sought to subvert two of these, and put a third in imminent hazard. He would not go into a Committee, for they had done so on three Bills, one of which the Catholics would not accept, and he did not think there was any one absurd enough to suppose, that the Protestants of England were to be intimidated to yield up without protection, those securities which were necessary for the preservation of the Throne, the Church, and the Constitution.—[Cheers.]

Mr. T. Wallace, in forcible terms, supported the motion.

Mr. Huskisson contended at great length for the admission of Catholics on principles of policy. He replied *seriatim* and with much point to the observations of the Attorney General. He considered the Committee to be the only proper place, in which the question of securities could be discussed. The Hon. Secretary then proceeded to review the entire question, and declared there was more danger to be apprehended from leaving the Catholics as they at present stood, than by admitting them, under proper safeguards, to a participation in all the rights of which they claimed a share.

Mr. Brougham followed Mr. Huskisson, and gave the support of his powerful eloquence to the motion after which the House divided, when there appeared for Sir F. Burdett's motion, 272; against it 266; majority in favor of the Committee, 6.

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