

Major Dickson conducted the details of the artillery service during this siege, as well as upon former occasions, under the general superintendance of Lieut.-Colonel Framingham, who, since the absence of Major-General Borwick, has commanded the artillery with this army. I cannot sufficiently applaud the officers and soldiers of the British and Portuguese artillery during this siege, particularly Lieut.-Colonel Roby, who opened the breach, and Major-General Borwick, who opened the breach, and Major-General Borwick, who opened the breach...

Adverting to the extent of the details of the Ordnance Department during this siege, to the difficulty of weather, &c. with which Major Dickson had to contend, I must mention him most particularly to your Lordship. The Officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General's departments rendered every assistance on this occasion, as well as those of my personal Staff; and I have to add, that I have received reports from the General Officers commanding divisions, of the assistance they received from the Officers of those departments attached to them, the greatest number of whom and of their personal Staff are wounded.

In a former dispatch I reported to your Lordship the difficulties with which I had to contend, in consequence of the failure of the civil authorities of the province of Alentejo to perform their duty, and to supply the army with means of transport; these difficulties have continued to exist; but I must do General Victoria, the Governor of Elras, the justice to report, that he, and the troops under his command, have made every exertion, and have done every thing in their power to contribute to our success.

Marshal Soult left Seville on the 1st instant, with all the troops which he could collect in Andalusia; and he was in communication with the troops which had retired from Extremadura, under Gen. Drouot, on the 3d, and he arrived at Llerena on the 4th. I had intended to collect the army in proportion as Marshal Soult should advance; and I requested Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham to retire gradually, while Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill should do the same from Don Benito, and the upper parts of the Guadiana.

I do not think it certain that Marshal Soult has made any decided movement from Llerena since the 4th, although he has patrolled forward with small detachments of cavalry, and the advanced guard of his infantry have been at Utrage. None of the Army of Portugal have moved to join him. According to the last reports which I have received to the 4th instant, on the frontiers of Castile, it appears that Marshal Marmont had established a body of troops between the Agueda and the Coa, and he had reconnoitred Almeida on the 3d. Brigadier-General Tranta's division of militia had arrived on the Coa, and Brigadier-General Wilson's division was following with the cavalry, and Lieut.-General the Comde D'Amante was on his march, with a part of the Corps under his command, towards the Douro.

I have the honour to enclose returns of the killed and wounded from the 31st of March, and in the assault of Badajos, and a return of the ordnance, small arms, and ammunition found in the place; I will send returns of the provisions in the place by the next dispatch.

This dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by my Aide-de-Camp, Captain Canning; whom I beg leave to recommend to your protection. He has likewise the colours of the garrison and the colours of the Hesse D'Armstadt's regiment, to be laid at the feet of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. The French battalions in the garrison had no eagles. (Signed) WELLINGTON.

Grand total from 18th March to 7th April, 1812, inclusive, 22 officers, 51 sergeants, 2 drummers, 910 rank and file, killed; 206 officers, 216 sergeants, 11 drummers, 2434 rank and file, wounded; 1 sergeant, 62 rank and file, missing.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded at the Siege of Badajos, from the 31st of March to the 2d of April, 1812. KILLED. 45th Foot, Lieutenant White. Portuguese Artillery, Captain Antonio Velez Barreiro. WOUNDED. Royal Artillery, Captain Dundas, lost an arm. King's German Artillery, Lieutenant Thel, slightly. 34th Foot, Lieutenant Masterman, Acting Engineer, severely, not dangerously. 92d Foot, Lieutenant Cattanagh, Acting Engineer, slightly. 94th Foot, Lieutenant Munroe, slightly. 21st Portuguese, Ensign Francisco de Castro, slightly.

Names of the Officers killed, wounded, and missing, at the Siege of Badajos, from the 6th to the 7th April, 1812, inclusive. KILLED. 28th Foot, Captain Johnston, aide-de-camp to Major-General Baines. Royal Artillery, Captain Latham. Royal Engineers, Lieutenants Lancelotti and De Salabury. 3d Batt. Royal Scots, 2 lieutenants wounded. 1st Batt. 4th Foot, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 sergeants, 38 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 8 sergeants, 1 drummer, 164 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 5th Foot, 1 major, 1 sergeant, 10 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, 26 rank and file, wounded. 1st Batt. 7th Foot, 1 major, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 2 sergeants, 42 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 10 lieutenants, 11 sergeants, 105 rank and file, wounded. 1st Batt. 43d Foot, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 19 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 10 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, 84 rank and file, wounded; 1 sergeant, 19 rank and file, missing.

3d Batt. 27th Foot, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 35 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 9 sergeants, 12 lieutenants, 16 sergeants, 1 drummer, 258 rank and file, wounded. 2d Batt. 44th Foot, 2 lieutenants, 2 sergeants, 35 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 9 lieutenants, 12 lieutenants, 16 sergeants, 1 drummer, 258 rank and file, wounded. 1st Batt. 45th Foot, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 71 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 2 sergeants, 12 lieutenants, 16 sergeants, 1 drummer, 258 rank and file, wounded.

5th Batt. 60th Foot, 1 lieutenant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 1 lieutenant, 1 staff, 2 sergeants, 24 rank and file, wounded. 7th Foot, 1 sergeant, 11 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 30 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing. 17th Foot, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 lieutenants, 1 staff, 3 sergeants, 8 rank and file, wounded; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 1 sergeant, 22 rank and file, wounded. 2d Batt. 83d Foot, 1 captain, 1 sergeant, 22 rank and file, wounded. 1st Batt. 84th Foot, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 4 sergeants, 25 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 9 sergeants, 1 drummer, 90 rank and file, wounded.

THE SUN, FIRE AND LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF LONDON. FOR effecting Assurances from Loss or Damage by Fire, granting Assurances and Endowments on Lives and Survivorships and the Endowment of Children, has appointed Mr. AARON BARNES, Bookseller and Stationer, and Proprietor of the Chronicle, their Agent for Waterford, and the adjoining Districts.

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, ON SATURDAY, THE 18TH OF APRIL NEXT, AT THE EXCHANGE, IN THE CITY OF WATERFORD. SEVERAL LEASEHOLD AND FREEHOLD PREMISES, situated in and near said City, and now producing £300 per Annum—

TO OWNERS AND CAPTAINS OF SHIPS. In consequence of the increase in the price of Larders of Force for Hulls, and every Material used in the Construction of Ships, the Owners of the several Ports in Cumberland, viz. of Whitehaven, Workington, Harrington, and Maryport, have lately been under the necessity of advancing the price of Coal, including every charge, and putting on board ship, 200 Tons. The Ship Masters, who, from various regulations made in their own favour, have, in fact, been permitted hitherto to enjoy almost the entire monopoly of the trade of these Ports, have, in consequence, referred to the Courts at this advanced, although not unobtainable, and at the same time, to raise, as to amount only to 9d. per Ton. There is, in consequence, the greatest demand for Cumberland Coal, which has already advanced 9d. per Ton in Dublin, whilst, from the apprehended stoppage of the Irish trade, other Coals, precluded of course, are expected to fall in the same proportion.

TO BE LET, WITH OR WITHOUT A FINE, OR THE INTEREST SOLD. THE DWELLING HOUSE in Great-Brick-Street, and CONCERNS at the same, there, now occupied by ASHLEY JACKSON, Esq. Apply to him, at Alex and Jackson's Compting-House, near the Bridge. Waterford, 28th of 4th Month, 1812. N.B. The Premises may be viewed any day between Twelve and Two o'clock.

TO BE LET, FOR THE FIRST DAY OF MAY NEXT. EITHER in the Whole or in Divisions, THE LANDS of CARRIGANORE, containing nearly 73 Acres, situated on the River Suir, and about two Miles distant from Waterford. The said Lands are situated in the County of Wick, and contain a large quantity of the best Soil, and a long Lease would be given to an improving and solvent Tenant. Proposals will be received by THOMAS PEARSON, Waterford, March 21, 1812.

TO BE LET, FOR THE FIRST DAY OF MAY NEXT. EITHER in the Whole or in Divisions, THE DWELLING HOUSE in Great-Brick-Street, and CONCERNS at the same, there, now occupied by ASHLEY JACKSON, Esq. Apply to him, at Alex and Jackson's Compting-House, near the Bridge. Waterford, 28th of 4th Month, 1812. N.B. The Premises may be viewed any day between Twelve and Two o'clock.

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THAT BEAUTIFUL YOUNG HORSE, FRIAR. THE PROPERTY OF DAVID BARNES, Esq. will stand for sale, at the Auction of the Hon. and Right Hon. the Lords of the Treasury, on Monday, the 11th of May next, at 12 o'clock.

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CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Mr. GRATTAN began by observing, that in consequence of what fell from some Gentlemen in the former debates, respecting the main principle of this question, he had been induced to change the form of the motion; the present motion would not be of a nature to pledge those who were friends to the principle of it, to the support of any doctrine in detail. It was not a motion to insinuate, but to invite discussion. It would be, in short, a motion for mere consideration—it would be a motion calling on the House to acknowledge that the Petitions in favour of the Catholic Claims did deserve at least consideration—every person, therefore, who thought that those claims were founded in justice and sound policy, and ought to be granted in their own right, would vote for such a motion—every person who thought that such claims should be conditionally acceded to, would support the present motion—every person who thought that they could be granted at all, under whatever circumstances, or whatever qualifications, could not consistently refuse their support to the present motion.

litics, omnipotence within the regions of error; but their omnipotence could never make wrong right. In disqualifying a British subject on account of his religious opinions, they would attack the principle that made them a Parliament, and disqualify themselves [hear, hear]. I admit that there may possibly exist circumstances connected with matters of religious opinion, which might call for the regulation of the Legislature; but those are such only as essentially affect the allegiance of the subject.—[Hear!] I ask you, will you argue the rights of the Catholics upon that ground? No; because you can have no doubt of their allegiance; if you will not read the history of past years, you cannot help reading their present history in the Gazette of every passing day [hear, hear]. You cannot help knowing that Irishmen are every day bleeding to ensure your safety, and dying to advance your glory. [Hear, hear.] The names of the proscribed appear in the honourable memorials of every Gazette, to shame the proscription that robs them of nobler distinction, and you of greater strength.—[Hear, hear.] This is no new objection. I remember when it was contended, that Irishmen could not bear allegiance to an English Government—remember when it was contended, that no Irishman could feel attachment towards a Prince of the House of Hanover; but time has done with prejudice what reason never could do. Ireland has proved herself capable of long and patient allegiance. The objection has died in its own folly; but folly had still other objections to generate and destroy—the power of the Pope was called in, and made to team with phantoms against the peace of Protestantism. Ireland, said these reasoners, can never amalgamate with England, because of her acknowledgment of a foreign temporal supremacy, that can at any time arbitrarily interfere with her allegiance to a Protestant King. This has been doubly falsified—falsified by reason that proves it never could be so—falsified by fact that shows it never has been so; if it had been so, Europe could not have existed for a year—the great fountains of social intercourse must have been broken up, and a moral deluge have covered the face of the nations; and all the communities of the christian world must have crumbled into the ruins of one great moral dissolution. But the objection has been answered—answered with a solemnity that nothing but the horror of its own violence could have rendered necessary; it has been answered by six Universities, Paris, Louvain, Douay, Salamanca, Padua, Valladolid; each and all denied the temporal power of the Pope, the dispensing power; each and all affirmed, that every Catholic was bound irrevocably by his oath; this was their answer, and they gave it with all horror of the low, uncharitable, and dark suspicion that could have suggested the bad doubt that required it. [Hear, hear.] There is another answer, the oath which your own Acts of Parliament have required of them. There is yet another, the acknowledgment of their steady faith and unwavering allegiance in the preambles of your own Acts. There is still another, your votes of thanks. There was strong fact against weak sophistry. You have voted thanks year after year to armies composed of Catholics, for victories won by the aid of Catholics! What were all these? Verdicts, so many verdicts, verdicts of acquittal, verdicts found by their accusers. There, then, stood the Legislature, with the penal code in one hand, and honourable acquittal in the other; the one gratefully proclaimed, but the other superciliously and iniquitously adhered to; but the innocence and the merits of the Catholics had no other sanction in evidence less interested and more decisive; this evidence was negatively as well as positively strong. They had first strong negative testimony. Where, I ask, are those Protestant Petitions against their claims, which we were told would have by this time borne down your table? [Hear, hear.] We were told, in the confident tone of prophecy, that England would have poured in her Petitions from all counties, towns, and corporations, against the claims of Ireland; I ask, where are those Petitions? [Hear, hear.] Has London, her mighty capital, the university of Dublin mocked the calamities of your country, by petitioning in favour of those prejudices that would render us less able to redress them? [Hear, hear, hear.] Have the people of England raised a voice against their Catholic fellow-subjects? No; they have the wisdom to see the folly of robbing the Empire, at such a time, of one-fourth of its strength, on account of speculative doctrines of faith. They will not risk a Kingdom on account of old men's dreams about the prevalence of the Pope. They will not sacrifice an Empire because they dislike the sacrifice of the Mass. [Hear, hear.] The Church, too, has acted with a decency worthy her sacred office. We have not seen the ecclesiastical horn raised to gather together the materials of tumult; we have not heard it sounded so as to thrill through the whole sphere of religious prejudice, and rouse it from the centre to the circumference. We no longer see the pulpits of peace hung with the emblems and banners of division—nor hear from their thunders of polemical drink. We no longer witness the procession of a set of dull divines to proclaim their zeal for the Church in their animosity to the Constitution, and their meek attachment to their own faith in their damnation against every other. [Alas!] I say, then, England is not against us. She has put ten thousand signatures upon your table in our favour. And what says the Protestant interest in Ireland? Look at their Petition, examine the names, the houses, the families, the vic of the name stands for; Latoeche at the head of the list— a name once opposed to us, the O'Connors, the Leisters. Look at the list of merchants. Look, in a word, at Protestant Ireland calling to you in a warning voice; telling you that if you are resolved to go on till ruin breaks

with a fearful surprise upon your progress, they will go on with you; they will partake your danger, though they may not share your guilt. [Hear, hear.] Ireland with her Imperial Crown now stands before you. You have taken from her Parliament, and she appears in her own person at your bar.—[Hear, hear.] Will you dismiss a kingdom without a hearing? [Hear, hear.] Is this your answer to her zeal, to her faith, to the blood that has so profusely graced your march to victory; to the treasures that have decked your strength in peace. Is her name nothing; her fate indifferent—her contributions insignificant—her six millions revenue—her ten millions trade—her two millions absentees—her four millions loan. Is such a country worth a hearing? Will you, can you dismiss her abruptly from your bar? [Hear, hear.] You cannot do it—the instinct of England is against it—[hear, hear.] We may be outnumbered now—and again—but in calculating the amount of the real sentiments of the people—the cyphers that swell the eminent majorities of an omnipotent Minister go for nothing. I fear not Court majorities, [hear, hear.]—I have fought with them too long, and too frequently, to fear them now. [hear, hear, hear.]—In 1782 I fought against a Court Majority, and in 1782 I beat it down.—[Hear, hear.]—In 1792, ten years after, with only forty-five I stood out against a Court majority; we were overwhelmed, and sank for a moment beneath the pressure of numbers, but we rose again in the buoyancy of a good cause.—In 1793, the next year, I encountered that court majority, and again it was beaten down.—[Hear, hear.]—In one year I beat it down.—[Hear, hear.]—What other result could follow? It would have been treason against the people to have despaired in the people's cause—it would have been profane to have despaired in the cause of God. It was the cause of the people, for that is freedom without religious liberty—it is the cause of God, for who can worship him acceptably without liberty of conscience? [Hear, hear.] I did not for these reasons despair there—were there none why I should not despair now? Give me leave to say why I think there are. If you refuse to consider at all, you reject for ever [Hear, hear]. Bigotry—seven bigotry will pass before it bids a people despair. [Hear, hear.] Again, if you reject for ever, are you aware of the engagements which you break, and which were believed to be for ever binding? [A general cry of hear, hear!] Engagements binding from every principle of honour in public and private life—engagements reaching to the highest quarter. Can Ireland forget the memorable era of 1782? Can others forget the munificent hospitality with which she then freely gave to her chosen hope all that she had? [Hear, hear.] Can Ireland forget the glowing and spontaneous cordiality with which her favours were to our subjects of a gracious proclination—[hear, hear.]—a proclination that required no apology and called for no renunciation—[hear, hear.]—a proclination that did equal honour to him who felt it, and to those who were the objects of it.—[hear, hear.]—It laid the grounds of a great and fertile hope—all a nation's wishes crowding to a point, and looking forward to one event as the GREAT COMING at which every word was to be heard, every tear to be wiped away.—[hear, hear.]—the hope of that hour, beamed with a cheering warmth and a seductive brilliancy. Ireland followed it with all her heart—a leading light through the wilderness, and brighter in its gloom. She has followed it over a wide and barren waste—it has charmed her through the desert, and now that it has led her to the confines of light and darkness—now that she is on the borders of the promised land, is the prospect to be suddenly observed, and the fair vision of RAINBOWED FAITH to vanish for ever?—[A general cry of hear, hear, from all parts of the House.] I will not believe it. I require an Act of Parliament to vouch its credibility—may more, I demand a miracle to convince me that it is possible, if you bid Ireland despair—there is another, the Union. I speak not of the precise form of words according to which Ireland covenanted away her independence—but I say this, that had it not been for the expectation of the removal of all religious disqualifications, Ireland would now have her resident Parliament. [hear, hear.] Ireland knows this, England cannot doubt it. I come, therefore, to an honourable nation, not to exact the letter of the bond, but the spirit of the covenant—you got your Parliament, because they thought you would grant them their rights in exchange—character in trade is wealth, it is strength in politics—in arms it is the glory that is inviolable—the name of England has won vic tries in foreign cabinets—set up to the principle that made the mention of your formidable abroad, and you may long be England—if you refuse, you dissolve the union—you destroy the principle of incorporation—a form of words cannot unite where fact substantially disunites—the two countries have been formally united, but the mere force of form kept them together. No, the union has been kept together by expectancy, and must be dissolved by despair; [hear, hear.] two nations cannot exist together in one union of mere Parliament and power, from which the people of both countries are excluded. We have an union of Parliament, we have an union of power, but no union of people; it is an union that makes a Parliament more handy to a Minister, but it makes the people nothing; the integrity, the entirety, the heart of the gigantic whole that could put forth the hundred arms for our safety, cease to beat; the pulse of life is still; let the Constitution circulate, and we are again an empire. [hear, hear.] The Irish Catholic asks for rights, the Irish Protestant asks for consolidation, and both ask for the integrity of the empire. On this ques-

tion Ireland is united. If you refuse her, if you force her to perpetuate the attitude that costs three-fourths of her population, something more than allocation will follow. Mad resistance and unrestrained coercion may again frantically cheer on evil; obsolete laws will be dragged into existence; the administration of the executive will offer a channel of general litigation; or the Government at law with the people; well meaning men at both sides will be heated into intemperance and error. The Duke of Richmond and his Secretary were known to have been originally liberally disposed towards the Catholic Body. They passed the limits, all neutrality before they were well aware that they had come to be judges. If you refuse—if they had come to be judges, it must end in separation—there are no kinds of separation—separation in fact—separation in disposition. You are undone by either. I do not say Ireland would escape the wreck. I think separation would escape her ruin; and I think it would give Ireland neither more nor less than the boundless relief of French carrying over the field, and rights, and liberties, and name of Ireland; [hear, hear.] anarchy, desolating and bloody, or the next worst evil—a military government plundering and slaying in Ireland. Let the blessing England never fear France there or elsewhere. France cannot destroy, but you are certainly competent—perfectly competent to your own destruction [Hear, hear]. If you will have it so, Ireland must descend into the grave; but depend upon it, that the gorgeous empire of Great Britain must soon follow [Hear, hear]. The day on which you decide her doom, you decide your own. Your common interest is placed in the same balance—throw Ireland out of the scale—weigh England, and she will be found wanting. [hear, hear.] After you folly has dug your grave, your history may easily write epiph—HARK! ALL THAT REMAINS OF ENGLAND—ENGLAND TAXED AMERICA AND LOST HER—DISQUALIFIED IRELAND AND LOST HER, AND THEN DIED THE DEATH! YOU SAY YOU DISQUALIFY FOR GENERAL GOOD—I DENY IT—YOU CANNOT MAKE GOD NOT MAKE—GOD CANNOT MAKE ARBITRARY LAW—YOU HAVE, I ADMIT, A RIGHT TO REGULATE THE QUALIFICATION—AND WHY? BECAUSE YOU ARE A TRUSTEE FOR THE PRIVILEGE THAT QUALIFIES—BUT YOU CANNOT ARM THE QUALIFICATION AGAINST THE PRIVILEGE—YOU CANNOT MAKE THE QUALIFICATION DESTROY THE PRIVILEGE; WHEN YOU ATTEMPT TO DO SO—YOU EXCEED YOUR POWER. YOU SAY YOU LEGISLATE FOR THE GENERAL GOOD—WHAT IS THE MODERN ACCEPTATION OF GENERAL GOOD—THE POWER OF THE STATE OPPOSED TO THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE—for here we have the power of a sect labouring to work the eternal deprivation of a people. There are two species of laws—the laws of municipalities—the laws of God; the former, to be good, must rest on the principles of the latter—but when you would rest your establishments (as you call them) upon the removal of prescriptive exclusion—the law of nature must prevail, the state will reel to its law centre of gravity, and God will vindicate his own laws.—By such laws you exceed your powers, you oppose the Almighty himself, and though you had a host of mitres on your side, you strike God out of the ecclesiastical constitution, and liberty out of the political [hear, hear, hear.] Nomination is the right of the nominator; eligibility is the right of the Common; you have made the Catholics a part of the Commons of the Empire by your own act, and you cannot deny them the constitutional privileges belonging to that rank you have as yet given them in the Constitution. Nothing in their mere religious creed could be grievously supposed to vitiate their claim. The State has nothing to do with their seven Sacraments. Eccomuniation has been spoken of as a formidable power—the parishioner excommunicated has his action against the Priest; he actually recovered damages recently in Ireland. But the power of the Pope divides their allegiance. Has it divided the allegiance of any other Catholic country? If it has, why has the Pope, when the Petition from Cambridge describes as enjoying greater power than ever [a laugh] why is he now a state prisoner in France? [hear, hear.] If the Pope be great in power, how much greater must be the King of Spain, who is also a state prisoner. You are paying twenty millions in support of the war in Spain, without any stipulation about the Pope. Why, are you not apprehensive that you are fighting for the reversionary interest of France in the Peninsula? Thus did you tread upon this bigotry whenever it stood in your way, and never stopped to raise it; but you would lift it against the claims of your fellow-subjects. [Hear, hear.] You talk of difficulty. I answer, go into the Committee and all difficulty vanishes. The only solid obstacles to peace at home and strength abroad, are the Ministers themselves. [hear, hear.] You say, you tolerate their religion; I say, you punish it. What! am I in an assembly of Englishmen? Is it in a British Parliament that it is doubted whether civil disabilities be a grievance? [Hear, hear, hear.] Is the right of representation nothing? the right of Trial by Jury nothing? The Irish Catholic has not the right of Trial by his Peers; he has not the privilege of a foreigner; of the mediæ lingue, tried by a jury of Protestants, packed by a partizan Sheriff. I speak of trials affecting their religious interests. But we are told, that was ambitious of power, not an anxiety for protection. Why, it was ambition; the ambition of a man not to be robbed; of a woman not to be ravished; the ambition of life, liberty, limb, and property. This was the ambition, and what were we to think of his idea of glory who could call this ambition? [hear, hear.] We who support, and they who oppose their Petitions, alike call for security. We call for security against civil

and in short, by repealing and altering every thing of our Constitution, from the time that the Protestant Reformation was established in England, down to the present time. The full emancipation which the Roman Catholics contended for, would violate and repeal the Act of Union between Scotland and England, and the Union between Ireland and Great Britain in a great measure. If all these Acts were repealed, what became of the Constitution? By the Union between England and Ireland, the same church establishment was guaranteed to both countries. But our modern Philosophers, and our modern Orators, make very light of all those Acts. They are only exempted from certain employments. They have as complete liberty as any people on earth. They had the same securities for their liberties and properties as the rest of their fellow-subjects; and they might have a seat in Parliament, if they would only take those oaths which every other person took. The Catholics were always calling for full liberty of conscience; but they themselves allowed no liberty of conscience whatever. It was a maxim of the Catholics not to quarrel with the people of another religion, when they happened to be stronger than themselves. Their impotence alone was the cause of their humanity. They say they have a right to religious liberty; and the fact was, that notwithstanding their own intolerance, they were in the full enjoyment of religious liberty. [Hear, hear.] He himself a complete friend to religious liberty. [Laugh.] Religious liberty never was denied them, at least in his memory, in Ireland. Another reason urged for the repeal of all these constitutional acts, was their number and power in Ireland. For this there was assertion, and assertion alone. The only calculation made was from the hearth-money returns, and it was contended from these that the number of inhabitants of Ireland amounted in the whole to 4,150,000; but this calculation admitted a great deal too many inhabitants to one house. However, a Bill brought in by a Rt. Hon. Baronet (Sir J. Newport) would soon settle that matter. Now with respect to the wealth and power of those formidable Roman Catholics, their wealth was stated at a prodigious rate indeed. But what was the fact? Their real property was well known, and it did not constitute one part out of 49 of the whole kingdom. And with respect to the commerce of the country, he would say, that the Catholics did not enjoy 1-10th part of it. And yet it is said that this is a contest between England and Ireland, and that all Ireland calls aloud for Emancipation! The House had seen a Petition, said to be from the Protestants of Ireland, in favour of the Roman Catholics. He would say there were many counties where the Petition was universally signed. When open means would not do, they had recourse to surreptitious methods. In counties where the proportion of Roman Catholic inhabitants was greatest, in the south of Ireland, for instance, where the people do not live in great towns, as in England, private information was sent about to the farmers, that if they did not sign the Petition they would have their houses and goods set fire to. [cries of hear, hear, hear, from the Opposition.] This was notorious. In Dublin, every little retail dealer was threatened with the loss of his customers. Besides, the names of the persons to the Petition are not the writing of the persons, but copied by others. These were strange liberties. He would say that not one in a hundred of the Protestants of Ireland signed this Petition; and to impose it upon the people of England as the sentiments of the Protestants of Ireland, was as gross a deception as was ever uttered. The Catholics were almost universally of the lowest class, and they did not constitute three parts out of five of the whole population. They were by no means a respectable body, there was not one sensible man among them. [Laugh.] The Protestants of Ireland were as able now of themselves, without any assistance from England, to put down any insurrection, as they were in 1798. In 1798, no doubt being sufficiently aware of the progress of the rebellion, many thousands were taken by surprise and murdered in cold blood. But the rebels were not like a mob. Though there were 30,000 of them at Vinegar-hill, they were easily put down; and the Marquis Cornwallis was not more to do, than any other General Officer residing in this country. The People of England, therefore, need not be terrified at the forces sent out by the Ministry to quell the rebellion; the only troops who were present in time were the Buckinghamshire Militia, commanded by the Marquis of Buckingham and his Lady. [Laugh.] Much had been said about the services of the Catholics in the army and navy. It had been stated, there were so many Irish regiments, that these regiments were Catholics. Why nearly all the officers and one half of the men were Irish Protestants. There were more Protestants in the army than Catholics. But what was the great merit and lives better than a common Irish labourer. He would ask again, were 2,500,000 people to prescribe religion to thirteen millions? With respect to the Catholic religion, see what influence it produces on their most famous characters. See what influence it produces on the Catholic religion, as exemplified in Dr. Troy, Hussey and others. They have proscribed all sorts of schools, not only Roman Catholic schools. The Right Hon. Gentleman and Learned Gentleman then proceeded to comment on the oaths taken by Catholic Bishops and Parish Priests, which he contended were such as to render it dangerous to entrust the Catholics with political power. He then proceeded to examine the nature of Councils. He desired them to look to the conduct of France with regard to Ecclesiastical affairs. Notwithstanding all the power of Bonaparte in his dominions, he said, that it was

still necessary for him to have the nomination of Priests in his power. Surely this ought to be a warning to the people of these kingdoms. Sir J. C. HIPPLISLEY commenced his speech by replying to some of the arguments and assertions made by Dr. Duigenan, particularly with regard to the Pontifical Oath, which he had read to the House, without informing it that Dr. Troy had conceded the point of the temporal Supremacy of the Pope. In his pastoral letter of 1799. He contended that the Pontifical Oath, so much objected to, had been modified by the Pope, on the demand of the Empress Catherine of Russia, when the obnoxious words, "Hereticus persequatur et opprobriatus," were omitted, and the clause commencing "Salvum ordinem," had been introduced. An addition to it had afterwards been made applicable expressly to the Sovereignty of Great Britain, by which the Juror deposed, "all this I swear as not being contrary to the allegiance I owe to the King of Great Britain." At the Council of Lateran, 70 canons, two of doctrine, and the remainder of discipline, were proposed, but they were never formally decreed, as was necessary to their validity; as the only object of the then Pope, (one of the most arbitrary, that ever occupied the Papal chair) was merely to obtain a supply for his revenue. The discipline enjoined by the Council of Trent had never been received. The speech which the Right Hon. Gentleman (Dr. Duigenan) had this night delivered, was much more moderate than any of his preceding attacks upon the Catholics, and much more temperate than several of his pamphlets, in some of which he had not scrupled to assert, that "The whole of the Romanists at one time entered into a conspiracy with the French, to overthrow the Government of the country." At another time, he had maintained, "That every Catholic was in his conscience a traitor," and that "every Catholic Priest was an agent of Satan, and an enemy from hell." Dr. DUIGENAN here expressed his dissent. Sir J. C. HIPPLISLEY continued.—If the Right Hon. Gentleman meant to insinuate to the House that such were not his sentiments, he was satisfied; but within the last forty-eight hours he had read those sentiments, in a book published by Stockdale of Piccadilly, and bearing the name of the Right Hon. Gentleman, as the author; and, when the first edition appeared, he had himself inquired, as to its authenticity, of Mr. Stockdale, and was by him assured that he was authorised to publish it as the work of the Right Hon. Gentleman. He, however, did not introduce those passages for the purpose of casting obloquy on the Right Hon. Gentleman, but for a much better end. It was his wish to prove that the doctrine of exclusive salvation ought not to be construed in the manner he had done. He could quote the case-books of Roman Catholic Sorbonians; the works of a learned Doctor and his authority, as well as the works of St. Austin, St. Jerome, French Professors, and men of great learning; and he would direct their attention to the names of the highest Prelates of the Catholic Church in Ireland, in which the author expressly states, that "in the name of Christ alone were men to be saved"—which was the plain doctrine of the Established Church. Then came his construction of the doctrine of salvation. Here the author observed, that those were not considered as excluded from the pale of the church, who, from ignorance, or in consequence of the power of parents or guardians, were brought up in a different religion; such persons, no matter of what sect, he looks upon as most unquestionably "within the same pale of salvation as the Roman Catholics." Consequently every Member of that House, who, in the estimation of the Catholics, could not be supposed wantonly to have neglected or thrown aside those doctrines, but who had imbibed another religion, from particular circumstances, must be considered in a state of salvation. The Honourable Baronet afterwards took notice, in terms of dissatisfaction, of the conduct of Dr. Milner, who, by his imprudent zeal, had again opened the wound, erroneously imagining that the British Government, on the point of the Veto, was endeavouring to over-reach the Catholics, notwithstanding they had stated in a Synod assembled for the purpose, that the denial of the right of Veto to the King was at that time inexpedient. Even down to 1810, the resolution of 1799 had not been rescinded. A paper published on the very morning of this debate (Morning Post) contained some remarks which it was necessary to notice, because they were founded in injustice and falsehood, and were a continuation of a series of similar productions. The Catholic Committee was here charged with intolerant behaviour, and with circulating reprinted copies of Wards Bravata, the most infamous work ever published. The Honourable Baronet warmly vindicated the Catholic Committee from both these aspersions, proving that the book alluded to was brought out by the bookseller, who owned it, merely for his own private emolument, and that Dr. Troy had freely joined in the centre of an act so improper at the present period. He appealed to the English History, commencing with William I. and terminating with James II. to prove that no such dangers were to be dreaded, as many persons apprehended, and terminated a speech of much research, by impressing upon the House the necessity of acceding to the motion, which (demanding only investigation) he did not think even the Honourable Member for Yorkshire could object.

Dr. DUIGENAN explained, denying that he was the author of several of the passages quoted by the last speaker. Mr. W. BANKES considered this as being a most unfit time to turn state alchemist, to tamper

with the crucible, or to mix in it some ingredients which might explode and destroy them all. It was true that many of those who complained of disqualifications were now most gallantly fighting our battles; but that was what grieved him—namely, that they should wish for that which would be of no sensible advantage to them even if they obtained it. He also believed, that their claims would become more serious and weighty, if they were conceded in the present case. Not did he think, that any thing would make the body of the Catholics mix fairly with the rest of the community. It would still flow as the Rhone through the Lake of Geneva, without mixing its waters with those of the calm lake. It was not the saying of a string of masses, nor the adoration of saints and angels, nor the worshipping the Virgin Mary as a Deity, which he thought was to be most devalued in the Catholics. It was because he conceived their religion was most favourable to a despot Government, and therefore would be fatal to our Constitution, that he objected to it. He was not, however, for using against them any retaliatory measures; nor would he wish to visit them with the sins of their forefathers; but he was for continuing those restrictions on the Catholics. In his professions, there were some which called to his mind the words of the Poet:— "Some truths there were, tho' dash'd and mix'd with lies." "To please the fools, and puzzle all the wise." Lord BANNING argued in favour of the motion. A full participation in all the benefits of the Constitution ought not to be refused to any class of the people, unless it could be shown that the grant was attended with danger. The Catholic question failed strength year after year. The mob was galloped from the eyes of the people of this country. The test laws were not the laws of the land. They were an innovation on the Constitution, called for by the necessity of former times, and left to posterity to be modified or annulled as circumstances might demand. Experience manifested, that Catholics were not averse to liberty; for to whom did we owe the greater part of our existing rights and privileges, but to our Catholic ancestors? Were Mr. Pitt living, he would support the motion. Mr. Pitt knew human nature better than to suppose that a Catholic Barrister would be content without being allowed to aspire to the Bench, a Catholic Captain without being permitted to indulge the hope of commanding an Army; or a Catholic Gentleman with returning his Protestant neighbour to Parliament. Were the principles of the Catholics hostile to the Constitution?—Why had any of their claims been granted? Were they not hostile? Why were not all granted? Either the present conduct of Parliament was a censure upon the past, or the past was a censure upon the present. He loved the Catholics as countrymen; he honoured them as freemen; and he looked forward with confidence to the day when they would be put in complete possession of their rights. Colonel ELMON declared his opinion to be in favour of an enquiry. Mr. OWEN said, his opinion always was, that every individual in these realms should be allowed the free and unrestrained exercise of their religion. The claims which the Irish Roman Catholics now made, however, he was sorry to say, were inadmissible. If the present claims were conceded, their demands must naturally increase, and in time they might conceive the Protestant Establishment to be unjust and impolitic—[hear, hear.] Religious animosities would be renewed, and no person could foresee the result. Mr. VERNON professed that he had heard nothing alleged against the Catholics; and nothing indeed crossed some original sin in that body could induce him to agree with the opinions of the last speaker. The Learned Doctor had talked to them a great deal about the dangers of the Catholic persuasion; little or nothing of the injustice of excluding from 500 officers of one kind, and 2000 of another, a fourth part of the Empire. The Honourable Gentleman concluded an able speech, by quoting the celebrated anticipation of Milton, in which he congratulates himself in the contemplation of seeing "a noble and puissant nation, like a young eagle, scaling the undazzled eyes below the noontide beam, while the whole flock of timorous birds flew scared and terrified at the new appearance." Mr. MARRYAT concurred in the propriety of the motion. Lord MILTON deprecated the cry of the Church being in danger, raised, he believed, only to answer political purposes. But they who raised it uniformly avoided coming to close quarters—they avoided specifying where the danger lay. The tests which had been enacted, were enacted not against Catholicism as a religion, but as a protection of the State; the necessity of that protection had now ceased, and the tests should cease likewise. He trusted, indeed, that they had run their race, and that more liberal notions were now spreading over the whole empire. He was willing to allow that the opposition which the Right Honourable Gentleman so consistently maintained to the measure, was the result of a sincerity for which he honoured him; in him he firmly believed it arose from a decided conviction of its danger; but he could not say so much of his subsequent colleagues, who got into office by pledging themselves to no very sincere hostility to the Catholic claims. Mr. C. ADAM rose to oppose the motion, amid loud cries of "adjoorn—adjoorn." He considered the Catholic Religion as essentially dangerous in its idolatrous worship, in its irrecusable of saints and images, its unchristian confession, and its consequent abolition. Mr. BARNARD spoke against the motion, when the question was adjourned at two o'clock. (For Second Day's Debate see Supplement.)