Mr. CROKER rose to second the motion. He said he certainly owed some apology to the House for offering himself so very early to their attention on so very important a question. He trusted, however, that some degree of excuse would be found in the matter he had to submit. It had fallen to his lot, among the other duties his situation imposed, to examine closely some of those harsh and impolitic enactments directed against a large class of the community—and in tracing them from their rugged sources, he had been struck with observing how what was originally a furious torrent had gradually and imperceptibly melted into a mild, beneficent stream.—*(Hear!)* The Right Hon. Gentleman who preceded him had stated, in his own impressive manner, the strong sensation created in the House and the Country by the Bill of 1817, for throwing open the honours and emoluments of the army and navy to the Roman Catholics; he had truly stated that that Bill then had passed the House without a single dissentient voice or observation, and yet but a few years before had lighted up a flame, and produced a general outcry through the Country. He was the person who had introduced it; it did not indeed pass in absolute silence, because he had felt it his duty to explain his views on it; and he at that time said he had brought it in, rather to satisfy doubts and difficulties felt by others, than from any perceived necessity operating on his own mind. He thought, that what was enacted by that Bill, with respect to officers in the army and navy, was virtually, and for all practical purposes, the law of the land before; and he said now, that such was the law of the land with respect to civil offices. He said that, by the present law of the land, a Roman Catholic might be Lord Chancellor of England. *(A laugh.)* He owned, that what he declared probably appeared novel, and likely to excite the surprise of the House, but should not have ventured to make it, was there not the Act before referred to on the table to support his assertion. That Act, it was true, recited only offices in the army and navy; but he had already stated, that it only declared, respecting them, what was the real state of the law in regard not only to these, but all other offices; and after reading that Act, he thought it impossible any Hon. Friend of his could oppose the motion, and withhold his assent from the proposition, at least for going into inquiry on the state of the Penal Laws. It had been truly stated by the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Grattan), and by a late Right Hon. Doctor (we suppose Dr. Duigenan), who used to lead the debate against the Catholics, that "the Legislature did not exclude Catholics; they excluded themselves by refusing to take the oaths." He should now apply himself to examine the law at present in force on the subject, and he assured the House, that in so doing he should waste as little of their time as possible. *(Hear, hear!)* But when it was considered that there were about 150 Acts, some of them repealed in the whole, some in part; some strangely modified and altered, some inconsistent with one another; one requiring an oath of supremacy, another of allegiance; one an oath of abjuration, and another of transubstantiation; (he should correct himself, and say, when there were two Acts laying down the oath of transubstantiation in two ways, while it was matter of doubt in many cases which of them was to be taken;) when, he repeated it, the laws themselves were involved in so much confusion and perplexity, he hoped the House would pardon him if he were not so clear as he should wish. *(Hear!)* In proceeding to describe what the present state of the law was, he should discard all *the trash of legislation*, as it might be called, which had preceded the accession of the House of Hanover, because at that æra it might be said we had taken a new lease of the Constitution. The Act 1 George I. enacted that all persons who undertook any office, civil or military, should take an oath of allegiance to his Majesty, abjuration of the Pretender, the King's supremacy, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation; and it dealt in this way with such persons, it said that all who served the Crown in any public capacity should take the oaths and make the declaration in any of the King's Courts at Westminster, or at the Quarter Sessions, within three months; and not before entering on office, or without those qualifications being made a condition precedent, which shewed that, as manners became more refined, the laws advanced in humanity and liberality. The time was, by a subsequent Act, extended to six months, and no injury to Protestants or the Established Church had ever been found to accrue from the new indulgence; and at length the 6th Geo. I. the first of these Acts, called the "*Indemnity Acts*," was passed; which, reciting all the Acts relating to Protestant Dissenters, and all those enacted against the Roman Catholics, indemnified all persons holding offices, who had not complied with the requisitions before described, provided they qualified themselves before the 25th of March next ensuing; and since this Act had passed, during a period of near 100 years, an annual Act of Indemnity has been passing in Parliament without opposition, discussion, or observation, which virtually, actually, and effectually, repealed all the pains and penalties before provided against persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion. *(Hear, hear! from the Ministerial Benches.)*—Sure he was, that what he said must appear novel to a great number of Members, but he believed it did not to many others; he recollected having represented this view of the subject before to various Gentlemen who heard him. To confirm his opinion on the subject, he should state that Mr. Fox, in the first speech he made on the question in Parliament, had, with the luminous brevity and felicitous abundance which characterised his speaking, said, that the points of difference between Protestants and Catholics recognised by law were, first, as to civil and military offices, and secondly, as to the enjoyment of seats in Parliament. He said that all offices in the army and navy were open to Roman Catholics except those of Admiral and General; and he had with great pleasantry imagined two Commissioners of the Navy sitting together at the Board, and discussing, not the propriety of sending out a fleet or blockading a fortress, but points of divinity. *(A laugh.)* But would it be believed that these high officers had not for the space of a hundred years taken the qualification oaths; and that therefore Roman Catholics were not by the actual administration of the laws excluded from such offices. He trusted that when a man of, he might say, the miraculous powers of Mr. Fox's mind had been, as he had already said, mistaken respecting the state of the Penal Law, the House would bear with him in endeavouring to represent how the law really stood in practice. *(Hear!)* But it might be said that the law of indemnity was only occasional and temporary; of no permanent force, and liable to be suspended at the will of the Legislature. In answer, he could shew it to have been carried on uninterruptedly for eighty-five years, and how much longer he did not know. The oath of supremacy was first established by Henry VIII. that beneficent monarch! not for any purpose to which it now served—*(hear!)* but merely to support a dogma of his own. It was material to keep this in mind, because the occasions of enacting these laws ought not to be forgotten in considering the fitness or unfitness of continuing them. *(Hear!)* Every body believed at the present day, that the King was the head of the church; and in his opinion, the oath of supremacy would have long ago gone into oblivion were it not for our own religious divisions, and, he feared, our jealousy against fellow-subjects. The Act rendering it necessary was, after being repealed in the time of Mary, revived in that of Elizabeth, for which, perhaps, some excuse might be found in the circumstances of the Country. In the succeeding reigns, and the fanatic times which followed them, it was never thought of excluding Catholics from Parliament. But at the period of the Popish Plot, which was denominated by Sir Wm. Blackstone a time of national madness, the Act of the 25th Charles II. directing the declaration against transubstantiation, was passed with that intent, by obliging the person making it to profess that he did believe there was not any real sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. That did not satisfy the zealous minds of the day, for the 30th Charles II. was carried, the Act under which they met in the House, prescribing a new declaration against transubstantiation, much stronger than the former; and in succeeding times persons were obliged to make either of these declarations, according to the whim of the Legislature. On the accession of William and Mary, these Acts were annulled, but shortly afterwards re-enacted for all persons holding civil offices. *(To be continued.)*

LONDON.

MONDAY, MAY 3.

The Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider the repeal of the Bank Restriction is expected to report to-day or to-morrow. The plan which the Committee propose to recommend is, of course, a secret, the Committee being a secret one; but the general belief of well-informed persons is, that Mr. Ricardo's scheme has been adopted with some modifications. In March or April next the Bank is to commence paying any large amount of its notes in gold bullion at £4 1s. per ounce; and two years afterwards, it is to pay at the standard price of £3 17s. 10½d. Parliament will again be assembled before the first operation begins. A proceeding so important will require the utmost care and vigilance.

CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 3.—Although the supply of Wheat was rather small this morning, yet the sales were heavy; fine samples from Essex, Kent and Suffolk obtained Monday's prices, but all other descriptions are 2s. per quarter cheaper. The arrivals of foreign Barley in the course of last week were very considerable, yet the major part being of inferior quality, prime samples, as well English as Foreign, sold rather freely, at a reduction of 2s. per quarter from the currency of this day week. The Oat trade was rather brisk for fine fresh Corn, at a reduction of 1s. per quarter. In Beans, Peas, and other articles, there is no alteration.

TUESDAY, MAY 4.

Stocks this day at one.

Bank Stock 251 251½	5 per Cents. 104½ 105 104¾
3 per ct. Red. 71¾ ½ ¼	India Stock 219 218
3 per ct. Cons. 72¼ ½ 72	India Bonds 28 30 pr.
Do. for Acc. 72¼ ½ 72	Ex. Bills (2d) 9 11 prem.
3½ per Cent. 80¼ ½	Long An. 18¾ 13-16
4 per Cents. 90 90½ 90 90½	Omnium —

Last night, Mr. Grattan moved the House of Commons for a Committee, "to consider the state of the laws relating to the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, and also the oaths and declarations required to be taken by them in order to the enjoyment of civil offices and the exercise of civil functions." The motion was negatived by a majority of only two; 241 being for it, and 243 against it. It is well known, however, that about 40 more Members were in readiness to vote against the question; but they were taken by surprise. It was not expected, that a division would take place till Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Peel, Mr. Canning, Sir W. Scott, Mr. Plunkett, and others had spoken. They, it is supposed, were lying in wait to reply to each other; and the friends of the motion, thinking the particular time favourable for a division, preferred pressing the question to the vote, to arguing it. They had nearly succeeded in obtaining a decision in their favour, by the absence of so many of their opponents; but we are well assured, that the present House of Commons is more opposed to the concession of political power to the Catholics than the last one was. That House, in 1813, acceded to a *preliminary measure*, the introduction of a Bill, by a majority of forty, though it afterwards refused Catholics seats in Parliament by a majority of four. The present House, on the contrary, has rejected the *preliminary measure*, by a majority of two, (in reality a known majority of about fifty,) and it would probably have shewn still greater numbers against the concessions, had the business proceeded so far as to bring them forward in detail.—*Courier.*

The manner in which the debate terminated was certainly not expected. After the Speaker had put the question, which was negatived, the *noes* having it, Mr. Peel and Mr. Plunkett both offered themselves to the attention of the House, amidst the most violent calls for the question, and a long discussion arose, we understand, whether these Gentlemen could be heard or not. It was at length decided, that the negative vote having been given, no Member could afterwards speak to the question, and that the observations to the order of the House could only be delivered in the way of advice to the Speaker, by the Member *sitting and covered*. A division then took place, when the numbers appeared to be, for the Committee, 242, against it, 248. On declaring these numbers at the table, Mr. Croker, one of the tellers, stated that it was his duty to report to the House, that, during the discussion which had taken place on the point of order, some Members had irregularly entered the House, whose votes must, therefore, be disallowed, and accordingly it was decided, that the names of Lords Worcester and Rocksavage, Mr. Banks, Mr. Ure, and General Porter, were struck off from the *noes*, and that of Lord Forbes from the *ayes*. This left the real numbers as stated above.—*Ibid.*

DUEL BETWEEN LORD DONOUGHMORE AND COLONEL BAGWELL.

Yesterday morning early a duel took place between the Earl of Donoughmore and Colonel Bagwell, about three miles from town, on the Uxbridge-road. The Noble Earl was accompanied by Sir R. Wilson, and Colonel Bagwell by Mr. James Daly. It was agreed by the seconds to toss up for the first fire, and the principals having taken their station, Sir Robert gave the signal to fire, by throwing up his hat. Colonel Bagwell fired and missed. The Earl of Donoughmore missed fire. Colonel Bagwell insisted he should fire. The Earl of Donoughmore said it was impossible. Sir Robert Wilson observed the miss was decisive of a shot. This led to an attempt on the part of the seconds to accommodate the business, which was attended with success, and the parties shook hands. The Earl of Donoughmore expressed a hope that they should prove better friends, to which Colonel Bagwell gave his cordial concurrence. The parties then left the ground, and returned to town. The quarrel, we understand, arose out of the Tipperary Election, and had no connexion with the Catholic Question, as was reported yesterday.

The Waterford Chronicle.

SATURDAY, MAY 8.

The London Journals of Monday and Tuesday have arrived.—No Mail due.

Every thing has been excluded from this day's Paper that could with propriety be omitted, in order that we might advance as far as practicable in an unmutilated detail of the proceedings in the Commons on the Catholic Claims. Mr. GRATTAN's Motion for a Committee of the whole House on that important subject was rejected by a majority of two, there being for the Motion 241, and against it 243. The total number of which the House consists amounts to 658. We have been obliged to stop in the Report of the ingenious, able, and novel speech of Mr. CROKER, but the conclusion of it, with other details, shall hereafter be given. That Gentleman was followed by Mr. LESLIE FOSTER, in opposition to the Catholics; by young Lord NORMANBY, son of the Earl of MULGRAVE, in favour of their Claims; by Mr. BROWNLOW, against them; by Mr. BEECHER and Sir R. WILSON, in their support; and by Lord LOWTHER, in opposition to them. No debate was, perhaps, ever closed, in point of speaking, in a more singular manner; Mr. PLUNKETT, Mr. C. GRANT, Sir J. MACINTOSH, Mr. W. LAMB, Mr. CANNING, Lord CASTLEREAGH, Sir JOHN NEWPORT, Mr. SCARLETT, &c., all intended to have delivered their sentiments, but they were suddenly precluded from saying a word by the House coming to a division. The *Courier* has given some explanation of this strange occurrence, and there is reason to believe that it's statement is tolerably accurate. The House besides was crowded to excess, and the heat had become so intolerable, that an irresistible clamour for the Question prevailed; but the assertions of the *Courier* on other points, and particularly, that there were forty or fifty Members in readiness to vote against the Catholics, cannot be entitled to belief, until they shall be fully substantiated.

The discussion on the Window Tax was appointed for Tuesday, but we would warn the Public against indulging any sanguine expectations of relief.

No Report has as yet appeared from the Secret Committee on the Bank Restriction Act, and a delay of some days was expected. Dr. WOLLASTON, whose scientific knowledge of metals and their alloys is well known, is said to have been examined on Monday—a circumstance which is regarded as favourable to the supposition, that a return to a metallic circulation is the object contemplated by the Committee.

We feel pleasure in acknowledging our obligations to Mr. SMITH, of the Custom-house, for the following highly important commercial communication:—

VALUE of the EXPORT of PROVISIONS from the Port of WATERFORD, for the Year ending 30th of April, 1819:

				£	s.	d.
1,608	Tierces Beef	at	110s.	8,844	0	0
1,720	Barrels Beef	—	75s.	6,450	0	0
65	Tierces Pork	—	160s.	520	0	0
8,190	Barrels Pork	—	100s.	40,950	0	0
189,786	Flitches Bacon	—	45s.	427,018	10	0
93,836	Cwts. Butter	—	110s.	516,098	0	0
9,788	Cwts. Lard	—	85s.	41,599	0	0
62,440	Barrels Wheat	—	45s.	140,490	0	0
265,455	Barrels Oats	—	20s.	265,455	0	0
14,091	Barrels Barley	—	28s.	19,727	8	0
53,903	Cwts. Flour	—	26s.	70,073	18	0
9,062	Cwts. Oatmeal	—	22s.	9,968	4	0
5,392	Cwts. Bread	—	22s.	5,931	4	0
9,485	Live Pigs	—	50s.	23,712	10	0
908	Black Cattle	—	100s.	4,540	0	0
	Total			£1,58[illegible],377	14	0
	April, 1818			1,551,291	1	0
	April, 1817			1,542,093	3	0

Joseph Cooke, Treasurer to the Fever Hospital, acknowledges the receipt of One Guinea, for the use of that Institution, from Thomas Cooke, junior, Esq. received by him on a Revenue Trial.

BIRTH—On the 6th instant, of a daughter, the Lady of Richard English, of Rosehill, Esq.

DIED—At an advanced age, John Giffard, Esq. one of the leaders in the Dublin Corporation.

PORT NEWS—PASSAGE, MAY 5.

ARRIVED,

5th—Gower Packet.

6th—Gipsy, Ferguson, Ayr, potatoes; Beaver, Hannah, Ulverstone, ditto; Sprightly John, Murphy, Dublin, ballast, for Glandore; Michael, Gregory, Baltimore, potatoes, for Arklow; Auckland Packet.

7th—Sandwich Packet.

SAILED,

5th—Four Brothers, Allen—and Abeona, Bussel, Shoreham, oats; Britannia, Westlake, from Cork, Swansea, ballast; Jane and Betty, Gibbons, from Youghal, Milford, wheat and oats; Eleanor, Evans, from Cork, Llanelly, ballast; Valiant, Jones, from Youghal, Newport, ballast; Margaret, Randell—Two Brothers, Pierce—Commerce, Butterfield—Anna, Lowday—John and Jane, Stephings—Dolphin, Ballentyne—Concord, Hollis—Hyacinth, Murphy—and Vine, Essery, before mentioned; Mary Ann, Rogers, from London, Milford and Caermarthen, m. goods; Dolphin, Vaughan, from Cork, Bristol, oats; Lark, Hannington—and William & Thomas, Smith, from Cork, Newport, ballast; Blue-Eyed Maid, Chittenden, Portsmouth, oats and provisions; Elizabeth, Atwood, London, ditto, ditto; Beehive, Foot—and Rising Sun, Budd, Portsmouth, oats; Mary Ann, Howell, Caermarthen, hides; Fortune, Jenson, Arundahl, ballast; Bee, Lloyd—and Providence, Nicholls, Milford, ballast; Prince Regent, Hughes, London, provisions; San Domingo, Redmond, Newfoundland, provisions and passengers; Ocean, Challicombe, Newport, horned cattle; Expedition, Whelan, Dungarvan, timber; Cluster of Pearls, Jennings, from Cork, Liverpool, bones; Æolus, Thomas—and Maria, Key, Quebec, ballast and passengers; Queen, Davis, from Cardiffe, Kinsale, coals; New Expedition, Edwards—Venus, Lowther—Unity, Kerr—and Speculator, Gilbert, Milford, horned cattle; Mary, Power, Newport, ditto; William, Beer, Swansea, ditto; New Delight, Moran, Newport, horned cattle, sheep, horses, &c.; Michael, Parle, Milford, horned cattle and sheep; Friends, Richards, Newry, ballast; Camden Packet.

6th—None. Put back—Michael, Parle—and Friends, Richards.

7th—Swan, Dunn.

Wind S. past 7 morning.

WILLIAM KELLY,

TAILOR & WOOLLEN DRAPER,

GRAND PARADE,

BEGS to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has just received a most fashionable and elegant Supply of SUPERFINE CLOTHS and CASSIMERES, of the best description, with every other Article in his Line, which he is determined to offer for sale on the lowest possible terms for *Ready Money*. He also continues to *make up Cloths*, whether purchased from himself, or at any other House, in the most tasteful and fashionable manner, on at least as low terms as they can be made up elsewhere *for Cash*.

Waterford, May 8, 1819.

JAMES LARISY

HAS FOR SALE,

ABOUT TWENTY TONS OF

PRIME ENGLISH OAK BARK,

Which he will dispose of on reasonable Terms.

Waterford, May 8, 1819.

TO BE SOLD,

THE SMACK BEAVER,

OF ULVERSTON,

Burthen about 17 Tons, Nine Months old,

Well adapted for Pleasure, Fishing or Coasting, with all Materials complete—now lying in the Dock. Apply to FRANCIS SMITH.

☞ *A Quantity of best SEED POTATOES for Sale, on board.*

Waterford, May 8, 1819.

TO BE LET, IN LOTS, OR TOGETHER,

ABOUT ONE HUNDRED ACRES of the LANDS of KNOCK-HOUSE, situated on the Road leading to DUNMORE, about Five Miles from Waterford, One from Woodstown, and Two from Dunmore.

As Leases for ever will be given to improving Tenants, these Lands will be found worth the attention of those who would wish to erect BATHING LODGES. There are some beautiful Situations for building on the Ground.

Apply to WM. MARCHANT, Esq. Kiltra, Wexford—or to WM. MARCHANT ARDAGH, Waterford.

April 21, 1819.

WATERFORD:

Printed and Published by BENJAMIN PERRIN, Chronicle-Office, Quay.

Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle.

No. 12,395. *TUESDAY, MAY 11, 1819.* *PRICE FIVE PENCE.*

O'NEILL & KEHOE

OFFER FOR SALE,

98 *Chests TEA (from last Sales),*
10 *Hhds. Refined SUGAR,*
20 *Baskets CHEESE,*
30 *Casks SALTPETRE, and*
150 *Barrels Stockholm TAR,*

Which, with their present Stock of SCALE SUGARS, SPIRITS, SPICES, &c. &c. will be disposed of on the most liberal Terms.

Waterford, April 17, 1819.

TO BE LET,

FROM THE 25TH MARCH INSTANT,

THE LANDS of BALLYVILLY, either in the Whole or in Divisions, as may be agreed on, containing about 150 Acres, and situated about four and a half Miles from Waterford.

Proposals to be received by MRS. RAMSEY.

March 6, 1819.

In the Matter of WM. PENROSE WATSON, and JOHN PENROSE, Bankrupts.

BY Order of the Commissioners in this Matter, to be sold by Public Auction, at the ROYAL EXCHANGE, Dublin, on SATURDAY, the 15th day of May, a well-secured ANNUITY of £200 a-year for ever, arising out of several Premises in the City of Waterford.

For further particulars apply to IVIE and BURKE, Waterford—or 119, Grafton-Street, Dublin.

April 21, 1819.

COMMUNICATION WITH FRANCE.

SOUTHAMPTON AND HAVRE-DE-GRACE REGULAR PACKET, EVERY TUESDAY.

WEEKS & MARCH gratefully acknowledge the liberal Support of their Friends and the Public last Season; they will endeavour, by assiduous Attention to their Comforts, to deserve a Continuation of their Favours. Their large and elegant Packet, the PRINCE COBOURG, commanded by JAMES PAGE, an experienced Navigator and Seaman, being thoroughly refitted, and having fresh Bedding, will continue to sail every TUESDAY, not earlier than Noon, and seldom later than 3 o'Clock, for HAVRE, and from HAVRE every FRIDAY. The good qualities of this Vessel are so well known by Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry, that WEEKS & MARCH merely beg to add, that her Three separate Cabins contain Twenty-four large Beds; a Skylight so constructed as to admit Air in the worst Weather; a Fresh-Water Tank; and a Patent Water-Closet, entirely separated from her Cabin, and free from any interruption. This Packet was built in 1816, expressly for that purpose. WEEKS & MARCH beg to assure the Public, that the greatest Attention is paid to Cleanliness, and that her Beds are free from all Damp; her Fittings in every respect superior. Having purchased the late Mr. FITZGERALD's YACHT (an entire new Vessel), and having fitted her elegantly with Ten separate Beds, they will let her for any Port in the Channel, or for any stated Period. She has every desirable Convenience.

The Public are respectfully informed, that from DUBLIN, by the way of BRISTOL and HAVRE, to PARIS, a distance of One Hundred and Ninety Miles Land Travelling is saved. The Road is excellent throughout; the Conveyances three daily; the Coaches excellent; the Charge no more than Twenty-five Shillings inside; the Time Twenty-two Hours from HAVRE to PARIS.

This is the best Route to the SOUTH of FRANCE.

N. B.—Letters addressed to WEEKS & MARCH, Cobourg Packet-office, Southampton—or to Mr. BRAY, 53, Lower Thames-street, will meet due attention.

WATERFORD MARKET PRICES—MAY 10.

	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Butter, first quality, (new)	90	0	…	00	0	per Cwt.
— second,	00	0	…	00	0	
— third,	00	0	…	00	0	
Tallow, rendered, (Russia)	75	0	…	82	0	
Lard, flake,	00	0	…	00	0	
— casks, rendered,	68	0	…	72	0	
Beef,	00	0	…	00	0	
Pigs, singed,	48	0	…	50	9	
— scalded,	40	0	…	47	0	
Pork Offal,	28	0	…	32	0	
Pigs' Heads,	32	0	…	34	0	
Newfoundland Fish,	18	0	…	22	9	
Oatmeal,	16	0	…	17	0	
Flour, first quality,	00	0	…	00	0	per Bag.
— second,	44	0	…	47	0	
— third,	32	0	…	38	0	
— fourth,	28	0	…	30	0	
Wheat,	38	0	…	40	0	per Barrel.
Barley, malting,	18	0	…	20	0	
— shipping,	15	0	…	17	0	
Oats, potato,	13	0	…	13	6	
— common,	12	6	…	13	0	
Coals, Whitehaven,	0	0	…	0	0	
— Newport,	3	6	…	3	8	
— Swansea,	3	6	…	3	8	
Tallow, rough,	9	0	…	10	0	per Stone.
Potatoes, by weight,	0	4½	…	0	6	
— by measure,	0	10	…	1	0	
Beef,	0	4½	…	0	8	per Pound.
Mutton,	0	7	…	0	9	
Veal,	0	6½	…	0	8	
Pork,	0	4	…	0	5	
Fresh Butter,	1	4	…	1	9	
Malt Whiskey, per Gallon,	11	6	…	11	10	

Corn Returns for the Week ending on Saturday last.

00 Barrels Wheat,	Averaging	£0 0s. 0d.
00 — Oats,		0 0s. 0d.
84 — Barley,		0 17s. 10d.

TO BE LET, IN LOTS, OR TOGETHER,

ABOUT ONE HUNDRED ACRES of the LANDS of KNOCK-HOUSE, situated on the Road leading to DUNMORE, about Five Miles from Waterford, One from Woodstown, and Two from Dunmore.

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Apply to WM. MARCHANT, Esq. Kiltra, Wexford—or to WM. MARCHANT ARDAGH, Waterford.

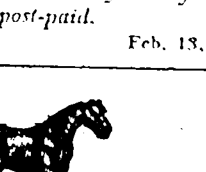
April 21, 1819.

MONEY TO BE LENT.

FROM £500 TO £8000.

Apply to GEORGE IVIE, Waterford—if by Letter, post-paid.

Feb. 13, 1819.



ALLGOOD

TO BE LET TO MARES THIS SEASON,

AT THE BRIDGE HOTEL STABLES,

FROM 10 TO 3 O'CLOCK:

Bred Mares, Five Guineas; all others Two; and a Crown to the Groom.

HE was got by *Master Goodall*, out of *Folly*, by *Wary*: is now near six years old, peculiarly good tempered, and considered to be one of the highest bred Horses in the United Kingdom. He was decidedly the best runner of his day, winning the Madrid's, Lum's, Kirwan's, Wellington's, &c., which has never been done by any after three years old—beating *Wire* and *Sir Roger*. He has by his Sire the *Sir Peter* blood, and by his Dam the *Wary*, now allowed to be the best.

Particulars of Pedigree may be seen in the Racing Calendar, and with the Groom.

Waterford, April 10, 1819.

CHALLENGER

WILL STAND THIS SEASON

AT CASTLE RICHARD, NEAR LISMORE;

Bred Mares, 4 Guineas; all others, 2 Guineas; Groom, 5s.

GOOD GRASS AND PROPER CARE, AT 1s. PER NIGHT.

CHALLENGER was got by *Gauntlet*, Dam by *Tugg*, on *Clarinda*, by *Baggot*, out of *Cherre*, own Sister to *Jim well*, by *Archer*. *Clarinda* won the Mares' Plate three years in succession, carrying 10 stone over the Course. The only one of the Breed trained was the famous Mare *Ellen*, which Mare, when two years old, could give 7lb. to any of the year, and won eight times. *Gauntlet* was got by *John Bull*, Dam *Celia*, by *Volunteer*.

CHALLENGER is a beautiful bay Horse, 15 hands 3 inches high, 5 years old, of great strength, perfectly sound and free from Blemish, and from his great Bone and Sinew, Shape and Figure, no Horse is more likely to get fine Stock.

April 3d, 1819.

DUBLIN MARKET NOTE,

For the Week ending Friday, May 7, 1819.

	From s.	d.	To s.	d.	M. Price s.	d.
737 Wheat, per Bar. 20 Stone,	37	0	47	0	43	9½
27 Bere, per Bar.	17	0	20	0	19	4½
65 Barley, per Bar.	20	0	24	0	20	3½
9825 Oats, per Bar.	11	0	19	0	16	1½
8801 Flour, per Cwt.	12	0	29	0	0	0
850 Oatmeal, per Cwt.	11	0	20	0	16	2½
0 Peas,	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sold to Bakers only.						
0 Barrels Wheat	0	0	0	0	0	0
6817 Cwts. Flour	20	0	29	0	24	0½

Average Price of Wheat and Flour 61s. 8d. per Sack.

Receipts of Flour 12400 } 1st, from 25s. 0d. to 29s. 0d.
Sales of Flour .. 8801 } 2d, from 18s. 0d. to 24s. 0d.
} 3d, from 12s. 0d. to 17s. 0d.

JAMES RIDDALL, Clerk of the Corn Table.

Weight and Price of Bread for the ensuing Week.

Quartern Loaf.... 4lb. 5oz. 8drs....0s. 11 d.
Half Quartern ....2lb. 2oz. 12drs....0s. 5½d.

PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—MONDAY, MAY 3.

[*Debate on the CATHOLIC QUESTION concluded.*]

Mr. CROKER in continuation.—It might be said, it was not surprising that, when a Pretender to the throne was pursuing his aims, not in France, but on the shores of the kingdom, the Legislature should direct an oath to be taken previous to the assumption of office. His only answer was, that the Acts of William and Mary were both re-enacted in 1st George I., made concurrent, and on all occasions directed to be taken together; which was a pretty strong proof of the absurdity of the new Act. The oath of allegiance contained in the Act of 1st William and Mary ran in these words—"I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary," without leaving a blank for the latter words to be filled up as circumstances might require; and he fancied that the bare stating of it was sufficient to shew it was not now in force. The practice of England for the last hundred years could not have been absurd and illegal. If the old qualifying Acts were still of binding force, he (Mr. Croker) was himself liable to all the pains and penalties provided by them, for he had not taken any oath to qualify himself for the office he filled. If he was not liable, then he should say that the Act of George I. gave a new lease of the Constitution, and that the perennial Indemnity Act (he might call it perennial, for it flowered every year,) put every one holding office in this situation—that it allowed them six months for consideration before taking the oath; and afterwards, in case of further non-compliance, afforded them an exemption from all the penalties. The laws he had hitherto observed upon were common to England and Ireland; he should now consider those which related to the latter country only. The Act 33d of the King empowered Roman Catholics in that country to hold all offices under the Crown, on taking a new oath of supremacy, merely expressing a renunciation of the authority of the Pope in all *civil and temporal affairs*. It excepted a dozen or two of officers, such as the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, the Commander-in-Chief, and some others. It declared that none of the persons discharging these offices should be Roman Catholics; and yet they all might be so, for not one of these officers has taken the oaths on going into his office. The present Chief Secretary, his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Grant), had not, and indeed could not do so, for there was no specific oath applicable to the Chief Secretaryship in existence. The law devised a chemical test for trying a man's faith. A Papist was first to be caught—*(a laugh)* and then the oath was to be applied to him. The law said, that a Papist could not hold such and such offices, and that every person who neglected taking certain oaths was a Papist. To this, however, it might be replied, "Yes, but one Act gives the Papist three months time for consideration; another six months; and the Indemnity Act, on the table, till March, 1820." It might be objected, that the Chief Secretary took the Privy Counsellor's oath, which came to the same thing. *(Hear, hear! from Mr. Peel.)* It was a long time, however, before his Right Hon. Friend, the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Peel), had become one of the Privy Council. There was no necessary connexion between the two situations; and at least there was no necessity for the Commander to be a Privy Counsellor and to take the Privy Counsellor's oath. He inferred then, that, according to the due operation of law, both the places he had mentioned might be filled by Roman Catholics. He should go a step further, and say, there was nothing to prevent the Chancellor of Ireland being a Popish Chancellor, because there was nothing in the Acts applying to his office specifically; certainly he was usually a Privy Counsellor—but he was not aware that that office was a place of trust, though he was willing to allow it was—for he was not now fighting the battle on legal niceties—his object in speaking so early was, that his arguments might be fully discussed and canvassed.—*(Hear, hear!)* He might be mistaken in the opinions he advanced—but at least he was honest, and did not mean to deceive others. But there was no mention made of a Privy Counsellor in any of the Acts, and when they had specially described the form of the oath to be taken by officers in the army and navy, and the Members of that House, as well as the mode of making the same, their silence with respect to a Member of the Privy Council was an argument, that it was not meant that office should be the subject of an oath. The Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to argue, that a Roman Catholic barrister might accept the office of a Judge in Ireland, as he might decline, after taking the oath of office, subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation, since by an old Act he was allowed six months for so doing, and the annual Indemnity Act gave him an indefinite period. Mr. Croker then read the Oath of Supremacy, 1st William and Mary, chapter 1, section 7, and observed, that it was very well at a time when Popery, and every one professing the Popish religion, was banished by law out of England. In Sir John Mitford's Act, and in an Act also passed in Ireland about the same period, a new oath was prepared for the Papists, similar, in some respects, to the former, but differing also from it in a material point.—This new oath declared, "That no foreign Prince, Potentate, or Prelate, hath or ought to have any power, &c. in *political* or *temporal* matters." By this means, the Papists escaped the trap, and the Protestants were caught; for the moment that the Protestants admitted the existence of Catholic priests within the realm, a Catholic College, and took the oath that the Pope had no power over ecclesiastical or spiritual matters, they laid a trap for their own consciences. His Hon. Friend, however, would now repeal that oath; he could not admit a grant to the College of Maynooth while that oath pressed upon his conscience, while he must be aware that all the professors within that College derived their ordination from the Pope. But of what avail was the spiritual power of the Pope, so long as he was possessed of no temporal authority? His Hon. Friend had in a previous question brought in a Bill which contained a distinct recognition of the spiritual authority of the Court of Rome. That Bill did not become an Act; he, therefore, could only speak from memory; but he believed that it went to regulate the power of the Pope in all matters of ordination, and that even letters were to be received from Rome in some particular manner. But such a proceeding was worse than laying a trap for the conscience. Having spoken of the oath, he should now make some few observations on the declaration; and on this point he would ask, why a declaration which satisfied the scrupulous consciences of their ancestors would not be satisfactory now—and why a declaration, which was considered sufficient with regard to Counsellors and persons holding official situations, would not be deemed sufficient in points of minor interest? If there were any one class of persons against whom it might be supposed the law would guard with peculiar anxiety, lest they might cherish Popery, that class comprised the sworn servants of the King, the High Chamberlain, and such other officers as were more immediately about the Royal Person, and might be supposed to exercise the highest influence on his mind.—And to say the truth, on this point the law was pretty careful; a declaration therefore was required from them; but the poor sea officer, who had in no way the power of endangering the liberty or constitution of his country, was compelled to take a voluminous declaration against transubstantiation, while those more responsible personages had only to sign the declaration in the 25th of Charles II., which differed from the other, not indeed so much as light from darkness, but fully as much as a light day from a dark day. *(Hear, hear!)* For the severity of these Acts, and the jealousy with which they were enforced, he thought he could see some reason. Every one could see grounds for the oaths of supremacy, in the jealousy which arose on the French marriage contracted by Charles I. Every one acquainted with the history of that period could see cause for the 25th of Charles II. in the Popish plot, which

"Entangled fools, and puzzled all the wise,"

and which created so great a panic. He was not surprised that this panic should be increased, when the whole Country saw the King going in state to mass, and going there not so much with a religious feeling, as from a firm determination to undermine the liberties of his People. It was not surprising that in this panic the law should be changed, and that oaths and declarations originally intended for reflecting and legislative minds, and which required the exercise of great knowledge and casuistry to understand, should be forced upon all classes of the People. When King William and Queen Mary came in and *assumed* the government, as he thought himself justified in saying, because it was contrary to the established rules of succession of this kingdom, was it surprising that they should strive to strengthen their young and struggling power, and take away the indulgence formerly enjoyed—that they would not allow persons to go to the Quarter Sessions before Tory Gentlemen to argue on the necessity of making the declarations? The fleets of Admirals Russell and Montague had been lost, the battle of La Hogue had not been fought, if such a proceeding were admitted; and to obviate the inconvenience that might be anticipated, the law was peremptory that the oaths and declarations should be taken before any individual entered on his office. George I. succeeded to Anne without doubt or difficulty, with as much ease, according to the triumphant expression of his speech, as a son succeeds his father. The first thing, therefore, which the King with wise benevolence did, instead of forcing all to take the oaths, and causing every power in the State to stand still until these oaths were taken, he wisely enlarged the time for taking the oaths. If the Act of William and Mary were wise under the peculiar circumstances of that period, the conduct of George was no less rational. A rebellion soon after followed, which was defeated. The Pretender was then made the bugbear of a party; but the King then granted a new relaxation of six months for taking the oaths.—George II. succeeded without any doubt or difficulty, and the first act of his reign was founded on the acknowledgment, that all these oaths and declarations were so much nonsense as applied to the state of affairs at that moment. The statesmen of that period felt that irritation was as bad as injury, and they adopted the wise measure of allaying that irritation, by placing a greater confidence in the People. Then commenced the Indemnity Acts—they made a trial, and it succeeded—they found, notwithstanding the relaxation of the laws, they found that all remained faithful. They passed the Indemnity Act, which, as Dr. Johnson eloquently said, "Still'd the flutter of many bosoms." In the reign of George the Second, a violent rebellion took place, which only served to prove the radical affection of the People of England to the Protestant religion and the House of Hanover, and to the Constitution of the Country, as founded on these first principles of its existence. *(Hear, hear!)* The Act of Indemnity, however, was still continued, and in the year 1743 it embraced the 30th of Charles II. and several others affecting the Roman Catholics. This regular progress of legislation shewed the *rationale* that was operating on the minds of the le-

different grounds. They will say that their hostility does not arise from general reasoning, but is founded in their dislike of certain principles, which, they suppose, the Roman Catholic religion encourages—of the existence of which they conceive the Roman Catholic religion affords sufficient evidence. This is the source of objection; this is the foundation of the disqualification of which the Roman Catholics have long complained. Those principles they classify under three heads: 1st, that the Roman Catholics disregard the moral obligation of an oath—2d, that they doubt the validity of existing laws—and lastly, that their religion is, in some degree, idolatrous. Let us examine the matter at issue, and see how the question stands. Suppose a Roman Catholic Gentleman, Sir G. Jerningham, for instance, indicted for treason. Suppose the Counsel for the Crown submitted general arguments against the Roman Catholics, as evidence against him—arguments drawn from the Council of Constance and from the decrees of the Lateran. Suppose, in addition to this, that they offered in evidence Dr. Gaudolphy's pamphlet; the history of his reception at the Court of Rome; the conduct of the Pope on the occasion; the revival of the order of Jesuits; and, in some parts of Europe, the revival of the Inquisition! These, be it remembered, are the arguments urged, not against individuals, but against the whole body of the Roman Catholics. If such statements were received as evidence, the Judge who suffered them to go to the Jury ought to be impeached, and the Jury who acted on them would deserve to be attainted. Suppose, on the other hand, Counsel on the part of the Defendant to offer, in evidence, the oaths which, at your request, the Roman Catholics now take; the answer of six Universities (the best authorities that can be adduced), acquitting them of all the offences with which they have been charged; the lists of all the killed and wounded, who have suffered in the general cause; the thanks of Parliament to the Roman Catholics (that is, to those regiments which were principally composed of persons of that persuasion), on account of the courage they had displayed, and the many victories they had achieved. What answer would be made to such testimony as this? But, suppose the Counsel who supported the objection called the attention of the Court to the nomination of Bishops by the Pope. This, it would be observed, was the only point, with respect to the Catholics, on which the Court had a right to inquire; the only matter to the consideration of which the jurisdiction of the Court extended. But, if the Defendant's Counsel produced the letter of Cardinal Litta, and stated, that, in refusing the offer which it contained, those who did so alike refused the security of the subject, and the establishing more firmly the liberties of the Constitution; the Judge would then say, 'It is unnecessary to trouble the Jury, because no case has been made out on the other side.' Here, then, I would state (not questioning, in any degree, the power of Parliament to disqualify; not advancing, on the part of the Catholics, any chimerical or fantastic Claim)—first, that the Roman Catholic had, at least till you took it away, a common law right of eligibility: second, that you, the Parliament, had no right whatever, in justice, to call on him to abjure his religion; third, that Popery, or, more properly speaking, Catholicism, is not evidence either of perfidy or treason; and lastly, that you continue to disqualify him for the things which he has abjured, and call on him to abjure that which does not come within the reach of human jurisdiction. *(Hear, hear!)* To sum up all, that, in thus proceeding, we do that for the performance of which a Judge would be impeached, and a Jury would be attainted. *(Hear, hear!)* We deprive the Roman Catholic, on account of his tenets, of the common law right of eligibility; and we thereby shake the foundation of our own faith, and disobey the dictates of natural and of revealed religion. *(Hear, hear!)* When we maintain that the Roman Catholic religion is incapable of feeling the moral obligation of an oath, when we declare that it is hostile to the duty of allegiance, we assert that the Roman Catholic religion is not divine. Saying that, we argue, that Christianity has not made its way into France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and a great part of Germany. This is what we say. Are we aware of the effect of such an assertion? Do we not thereby express our belief, that the Christian religion has not advanced? And, by so stating, do we not positively deprive it of one great proof of its divine nature? *(Hear, hear, hear!)* Do we not say, that the Pope has been successful in introducing a religion of his own—not the Christian religion; that a man has conquered the Almighty; except where a few persons preserved themselves against the force of his authority? The Philosopher, or the Deist, or the Atheist, hears this, and approves of the doctrine; and, instead of stopping short at this point, we shall presently see where it leads to. We now come to a proposition, which I totally dissent from; a proposition which I recite with a degree of horror; namely, that the result of relaxation has been to produce disaffection, disloyalty, and perfidy, amongst the Catholics. We must, therefore, either give up our argument, or abandon our religion. The fact is, we have contended with one another with such an ardent zeal, that, in the contest, we have forgotten the Gospel. In the conflict, we have forgotten the Godhead, and substituted, in his place, a sort of negative religion; a religion which teaches us to hate a Papist, and which, at the same moment, obliterates from our remembrance the Saviour and the Gospel. It is the natural end of such controversies, that, when men violently contend on religious matters—when they suffer themselves to be hurried away by their passions, in discussing a religious question—they forget the greatest authority of all, and merely think of their antagonist, of the person who is opposed to them! I have said, that, by continuing in this course, we have shaken, in some degree, the strength of our own religion; and certainly we do very much neglect, or entirely disobey, the prime order of natural and revealed religion. The prime order of natural religion is the love of our fellow-creatures. You cannot serve God otherwise than by cherishing this principle. Adoration is not sufficient! Prayer is not sufficient! You can only serve God by loving one another; by assisting, with our best powers, to assimilate every part of his divine system! The Gospel is the same amongst all descriptions of Christians. The great Redeemer came to enforce and propagate amongst the human race that heavenly principle, the love of each other. He came, the advocate of two great principles—the love of God, and the love of Man; supported by miracles, supported by policy, supported by the transcendent excellence of the Christian Religion. We, instead of cherishing both these principles, reject the latter, and stigmatise our fellow-creature as an idolater, as a perfidious being, unworthy of credit or regard. Accordingly, as we reject the claims of our fellow-creature, by perpetuating his disqualification, and pronounce to the greater part of Europe that his religion is his crime, we cast a shade on our own generation; unless the tenets of the Gospel are to be confined to one sect—unless public blessings, the blessings of the Constitution, are to be considered, not as meant for the general good, but as merely intended to be dealt out in the manner of alms and charity, when caprice sanctions the boon—unless these two points can be proved, the disqualification of the Roman Catholics is indefensible. When the Country was plunged in actual war, we were told, that, as a matter of necessity, the subject could not be prudently entertained. Two great points, one, the blessings of the Constitution—the other, the duty which the Gospel enjoined—were evaded on that account. The war is now over; peace prevails in every quarter; and the question is, shall those blessings be suspended for ever? Will you, in defiance of justice, suspend, first, the blessings of the Constitution, and next, the duties which the Gospel has exacted? I know the system is founded on a charge against the morality of the Roman Catholics; but I also know that it is a charge which you do not believe. *(Hear, hear!)* You did not believe it 1797, when by Act of Parliament you declared the Roman Catholics good and faithful subjects; you did not believe it, when you conceded to them the right of voting; you did not believe it, when, two years ago, you enabled them to hold commissions in the navy and army, and rendered them capable of commanding in both; you did not believe it, when you re-established the Pope in Italy. *(Hear!)* You did so; you who refuse to take off those disqualifications! The Papal See was restored by the Protestant Power! You carried the Pope on your back; you viewed him prostrate on the earth; you lifted him up, and made him a substantive power! You declared, for years, that the Pope could control the allegiance of your fellow-subjects; but you found him poor and impotent, unable to contend with any power, strapped to the war-horse of a great Captain, who, for his own purposes, violated that religion which he afterwards affected to support. You found it necessary to restore him to power, and you, a Protestant State, effected that object. Did you, then, restore the Pope abroad, in order to oppress and punish Roman Catholics at home? *(Hear, hear!)* You saw, when you acted thus, that danger was not to be apprehended from that quarter. You saw that Christianity, of any description, was comparative safety, and that infidelity, of any description, was incomparably dangerous. You did not believe your own argument, when you assisted the Pope; you did not believe your own argument, when you helped to restore the Bourbon. You assisted, with all your strength, that nation which made Catholicism formidable, and by that means imparted a new vigour to the Popish religion. You saw that the power of the Pope, abroad, did not supply the place of the living God; you saw, at home, that Popery might be put down, but that Protestantism would not spring up in its room; you saw that the Roman Catholic Church was not idolatrous, nor, what it had long been represented, dangerous; and you felt, at all events, that it was better than a cruel philosophy! You saw that Christianity, with seven sacraments, was preferable to a negation of all religion. War has ceased, and the principles and the dreams of the philosopher are at an end. You saw this, and you seized the opportunity for the revival of religion. Of what religion? The religion of the Petitioners. For what reason? Not because it was a false, but because it was a faithful religion. In so doing, you made that which is of inestimable importance—you made a political conformity in Europe, on the score of religion. Accordingly you find different Princes, Protestant and Catholic, united for one common purpose. By what means? By a Christian confederacy. In order to do what? To sustain a common religion. You said, 'Give the Catholics abroad the full exercise of their faith; let them possess all political rights and immunities; let us raise, and support, and new-create the Papists in Italy; but let us disqualify, and degrade, and oppress the Catholics at home!' But, in doing this, what do you really effect? You do the very thing you have been deprecating. You declare to the great mass of mankind, that religion is a mere artifice, very convenient for the power of a King, but only useful, in respect to the subject, as an engine by which he may be oppressed, and by which his natural rights may be diminished! Now I will contend, that when you establish a political conformity in Europe, you create the necessity of admitting a common law eligibility here. Otherwise the whole proceeding is an artifice, totally unworthy of credit amongst sensible men, and only devised as a coerced means of establishing and upholding a particular portion of power. If you restore the Roman Catholics to their rights, those who oppose them say they will overturn the Constitution. That is to assert, that the Roman Catholic clergy will attempt, when the laity begin to exercise their new power, to induce them, at the hazard of their lives, or rather with a certainty of the loss of life, to destroy the State, with a view to restore or to establish the domination of their church. This idea is founded on a principle wholly & fundamentally false. It supposes that a man will run all hazards, no matter how dreadful, in order to establish the domination of his church; it supposes a violent natural affection for a certain set of principles; it supposes that he is absolutely born in love with a particular doctrine. The argument is carried farther; so far as this—that he will feel the passion for a particular religion operating more strongly in his breast than any other sentiment: that he will prefer and cherish the hope of exalting the power of his church before all other principles. In other words, it is saying, that that man is born a fanatic; it is asserting that he is created mad.—*(Hear, hear!)* But does it follow that the clergy could succeed, if they were so inclined, in producing such a convulsion? The Deity has descended on earth and revealed himself to us, with the Gospel in his hand. That Gospel contains principles and orders of the sublimest morality; principles and orders calculated to remove the evils which some individuals apprehend. The Gospel, which we so much prize, is the Gospel of the Roman Catholics; the God whom we adore is also their God; and the argument is, that the Catholics will, by the force of nature alone, rise against their King, rise against their God, rise against their Gospel! That they will rebel with their clergy, in a cause for which they may expect to be hanged in this world, and damned in the next! Let us suppose, for instance, that Dr. Poynter, a most excellent and pious man, ever studious for the moral and religious instruction of his flock, becomes a traitor when he is entrusted with political power. Let us suppose, that, in conformity with the absurd idea which I have just described, this Reverend Prelate goes to the Duke of Norfolk (who, on being placed in the possession of those privileges which he claims, becomes a traitor also), and says, 'Now you are invested with political power, I suppose you will naturally, as a matter of course, subvert the Government.' *(Hear! and laughter.)* In other words, it was saying, 'Your Grace, I have no doubt, will cheerfully lose your head, in order to make me Bishop of London!' *(Hear, hear! and laughter.)* And, in order to prevent the one from making, and the other from acceding to, such a proposition, you think it necessary to pass an Act of Parliament, and that Act of Parliament goes to the disfranchisement of the Noble Duke's whole race. The doctrine to which I have alluded supposes that kindness poisons and irritates the minds of the Roman Catholics, but that injury and oppression conciliate them. It supposes that in them the ordinary feelings of human nature are reversed; that they hug their chains with delight, but would indignantly rebel against benefits and privileges. It supposes that the Catholic looks for death, that he will fawn on death, when administered by the hands of the common hangman. The argument at last arrived at that monstrous proposition, when an attempt was made to justify a series of pains and penalties, inflicted solely on account of the exercise of religion.—Thus Christianity, instead of presenting an interchange of good works, becomes a state of intolerant ferocity. It is not now a dispute about church or no church—about Deity or no Deity; but, though this is the fact, I will maintain, that, if you attack the Catholic religion, you, at the same time, attack your own! When you attack Dr. Poynter, you, that moment, assail the Archbishop of Canterbury. If that religion be destroyed, it will let loose on Europe the deluge of infidelity; and it will be in vain for those who have raised the storm to go forth in their little barks, and rebuke the overwhelming torrent which will bear down in its course all religion and all morality. In vain will they say, when the mischief has been effected, 'We only intended to beat down the Catholics—to deprive them of certain political rights; we had no idea of encouraging infidelity.' But you will be answered by those who now mark your proceedings—'We do not credit your assertions; you swore that the religion of Europe was a humbug; you all but used that coarse word; you asserted that the Roman Catholics of England were so abominable a sect, that, if they were treated like their fellow-subjects, they would overturn the Government; and you swore so hard, and argued so well, that you conquered your own religion, and our priesthood!' *(Hear, hear!)* When you pleased, when it served your purpose, you resorted to mediation, with respect to Catholic Powers; but, when your own fellow-subjects called for attention, you treated them with negligence.' Is there, then, that essential difference between the two religions, which demands, that those who profess the one should visit those who maintain the other with such severe penalties? Your own sacrifice, though it does not go so far as transubstantiation, proceeds greatly beyond commemoration. If the religion of Europe be totally false, it is not very clear that your own can be perfectly true. *(Hear, hear, hear!)* If the Roman Catholic clergy are so abominable, it is impossible that your own clergy can be entirely pure, at least so pure as to deserve all the emoluments they receive! Considering these points, the Deist and the Atheist will despise your clergy, on a principle of disbelief in their doctrines; and others will dislike them equally, on a principle of hostility. I do not say, that the feelings of the clergy lean to those acts which are likely to produce such a result; but this I will say, that, if you let loose the power of defamation, against the great body of the clergy of Europe, you shake the character of your own, and with it you assail the best interests of religion itself. I wish to avoid every thing that may seem disrespectful to the clergy of our own establishment. As I never will consent to heap insult on the clergy of other countries, I would be the last man to offer it to those of our own church. I lament their opposition to the claims of their Catholic fellow-subjects sincerely. I lament it the more, because I respect them, and because the church is not the institution which I wish to see take so active a part on a question of this nature. I heard read, with concern, certain Petitions offered by the clergy, in which, as I think, a number of false alarms were conjured up; but, while I say this, I must observe, *that I* feel a high respect for the clergy of my *own country*; and, I believe, they in general feel a strong disposition to concur in every thing that is kind and benevolent, short of the granting of this question. I love the mild government of the church of England; it is a holy institution; it tolerates no exclusive right; it combines together the majesty of God with the religion of man. But my affections are not so blindly fixed upon it, but that I can feel veneration for the worship that preceded it. I like the modest pastor; I like the arched roof; I like the venerable cathedral; I admire the pealing anthem; I love to hear the human voice employed in offices of devotion; these adventitious circumstances give a soul, as it were, to piety, and enlist the senses on the side of salvation! *(Hear, hear!)* Toleration has ever been the distinguishing mark of a truly noble mind. The wisest, the most penetrating, and, perhaps, the greatest genius that ever lived—I mean the immortal Newton—him I find a Christian, and a perfectly tolerant one. He also, who, more than any man that ever lived, understood the ramifications of the human mind, and could trace it most accurately through all its workings—the great Locke—he also was a Christian, and most tolerant. These great men gave one glance at the works of God, and that was sufficient to imbue their minds with feelings of unbounded philanthropy. *(Hear, hear, hear!)* Bred as I have been in the doctrines of the Church of England, I feel no ambition to destroy other churches—and I call on those who may have a different feeling not to attempt the conquest of a particular religion, when, at the moment their object is attained, they will destroy a great principle of right. I would rather, with a view to rational human prosperity, tolerate all religions—give to them the same protection, in every respect, and pay a due and proper reverence to all. The severity and acrimony of the contest have, I hope, ceased, and our own good sense, the natural feelings of kindness which we possess, and, above all, the divine spirit of our religion, must produce that desirable conformity which would establish a unity of action throughout the empire, though not exactly a unity of creed. It has been observed of late, that we encourage the growth of claims by fresh concessions: that is to say, if the Roman Catholics procure those civil privileges, they will insist on a share in the Protestant church: or, in other words, if you make a Roman Catholic a Member of Parliament, he will insist on becoming a Protestant minister, or he must have an establishment of his own. This is not the case. We, the Protestants, wished to give him an establishment, but the Catholic refused the boon. The Protestant says, 'It is better your clergyman should procure his livelihood under the law;' but the Catholic rejoins, 'No, I am afraid that he will soon, in that case, get his living under the Minister.' Instead of raising their clergy to an ascendancy, they were desirous of leaving them dependant on the people. It is not, therefore, correct to say, that the views of the Catholic laity, with respect to their clergy, are of an ambitious nature, when they are anxious that they should still be dependant on their bounty. But the Catholic Claims do not originate in the unreasonableness of the Catholic Body: they grew originally out of the laws which were enacted against them, and they increased as a reformation of those laws took place. On the breaking out of the French Revolution, when the power of the Catholic church was put down, when France ceased to be the champion of Popery, a repeal of several of those obnoxious laws took place: and, when you had not in England a political conformity, it was not extraordinary that the policy and propriety of such a measure should suggest itself. It is not, I say, the unreasonableness of the Catholics that called for fresh concessions, but the evident ceasing of those causes which occasioned the enacting of the pains and penalties of which they complain. But, instead of recollecting that those causes belonged to a particular time, you have affixed them as propositions inseparable from the Roman Catholic Body. *(Hear, hear!)* You have said that rebellion is a necessary adjunct of the real presence, and that perfidy and a disregard of oaths are inseparable from extreme unction. *(Hear, hear!)* It is asserted, that the Revolution of 1688 settled this question, and that the principles then laid down cannot be departed from. Sir, the Revolution was a human arrangement, subject to the variation of human affairs. The Revolution was a grand achievement, a noble victory; it was the victory of a great People over a bad Prince; it was the victory of civil and religious liberty over tyranny and arbitrary power. When the Roman Catholics supported that tyranny they had no claim on the Constitution; but, when they took up and maintained the principles of liberty, from that moment they had a claim on the Legislature. It has been argued, that the declaration which excluded them was final; that it was intended as a final settlement of the Constitution. It is just the reverse. The declaration was stated not to have been final, both by the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The House of Lords, at the time of the Scotch Union, considered the question. They debated, whether the declaration was a final and fundamental regulation, or not? and they determined that it was not to be so received. The Act of Union stated explicitly that the declaration was not final, but that it was provisional. The Act of the Irish Union set forth, that the declaration was not final, but provisional. It does more, because it says that the declaration was not merely provisional, but conventional. In order to induce the Roman Catholics to give an ear to the proposition, and to reconcile them to it, the Parliament declared that the exclusion was not final. So that it appears from this, that the declaration was not only provisional, but conventional. It was not an eternal covenant of Protestantism against Catholicity, since the authorities I have referred to do away the idea that finality of exclusion was intended. Therefore, when we propose to do away this declaration, we do no more than we have a right to perform. In the case of Scotland, there is an Act of Parliament, and, I believe, many Gentlemen are acquainted with it, which declares that no finality was intended—that the rigour of the clause was directed not against the Catholics generally, but against those who submitted to the temporal power of the Pope. Instead of being considered as a final declaration, it is there treated as a pragmatical declaration, & therefore liable to be repealed. The House of Lords was not in its constitution exclusively Protestant: what I mean to say is, that the English Peerage is not exclusively Protestant. *(Hear!)* Our Constitution is not exclusively Protestant. By your parliamentary regulations you confide in Roman Catholics; they can vote here if they please; the oath they take entitles them to the privilege of voting; but that oath does not confer conformity, and until they conform according to the express conditions of your formula, they do not cease to be Catholics. *(Hear, hear!)*—What is then your weapon? I mean to ask, what is the weapon which you wield against the body of your fellow-subjects who profess the Catholic religion? You say their moral obligations are not to be relied upon in the same sense that the rest of his Majesty's subjects are. How does this stand? You appeal to the battle of the Boyne, and he to the Gospel. His appeal won't do, backed as it is by an exposition of his tenets, and a manifestation of his acts; his sentiments must be construed according to your views; that is, your assertions must be declaratory of his sentiments, and your toasts the corrective of his bad principles. *(Hear, hear!)* You meet his asseverations by applying to him the terms of some old, perhaps obsolete, oath, some oath which has no precise meaning, or, if it have any, it is a meaning which, if taken in its strong sense, goes not alone to excommunicate the Catholic from the privileges which he seeks, but from the pale of civil society; so that if you take the terms of this oath according to the exposition that some have given them, you not only exclude the Catholics from society to give effect to your own proscription, but you, by your own acknowledged acts, exclude from that society some of the best of its members. The case of Ireland presented a singular anomaly in the legislative system of Great Britain. That the Irish were dissatisfied, was, because they were excluded from the benefits of the Constitution. For what were they excluded? Was it on account of auricular confession? Surely not, that ground was quite untenable in the present state of the world. Were the Catholics not loyal, because the Constitution put a fiat upon their energies? Yes they were: they displayed loyalty notwithstanding their exclusion; they displayed fidelity unshaken by their proscriptions. Why then attribute the evil that you speak of to the opinions of the Catholics?—why not rather attribute it to the system which excluded them?—why, in fact, acquit pains and penalties, and convict the sufferers, who felt as human nature ever must feel under the mortification of exclusion? *(Hear, hear!)* This is no period in the march of the human mind to touch upon topics arising out of this subject in the manner in which they were wont to be touched. We have now firmly established our own religion; we have disestablished that of our ancestors. But are we prepared to say we exclude the Catholics now, as it was said we did their predecessors, because of their idolatry, their want of faith, their perfidy, their dependence? This cannot be so; we do not exclude them upon any such account. On the contrary, we enable them to participate in our burdens; to enter the army, which forms a great a branch of our patronage, which is one of the main props of our Protestant ascendancy.

The Protestants say the Catholics are singularly courteous. They are in common life civil and tolerant; but yet many of them are disinclined to grant those privileges, for the refusal of which they could assign no adequate cause. The Corporation of Dublin had discussed this question, and Alderman M'Kenny had set an example of liberality, in the attachment which he manifested to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and the judicious appeal which he made to the best principles of the Constitution. The Government of Ireland was not also backward in proceeding with this good work. Their Chief Secretary (Mr. C. Grant), and long may he remain in that office! promoted this good feeling. The Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, who also manifested the disposition of a humane and intelligent man, concurred in the opinion of the Chief Secretary. There are, I know, individuals, entitled to respect, who hold different opinions; but still the great mass of the intelligent order of society go with the repeal of those laws; the common sense and common experience of mankind alike demand that repeal.—Will you then, in this state of things, impose on the State, and in this period of advanced intelligence, the heavy task of declaring, that the Penal Laws are eternal, that is, that they proclaim an eternal incapacity upon one class of his Majesty's subjects, and an eternal capacity upon the other to enforce that incapacity? For what is this denunciation to be upheld? What is the State to gain by this perpetual interdict? Does it exclude a part of its subjects to establish a good principle, to punish for a bad one, or to assert that which is just? When were the Catholics excluded? Not at the Reformation; no, nor indeed at the Revolution. They were excluded in 1682, when the Constitution was altogether unhinged, when the trade of the Country was annihilated, and its policy unsettled. The State has the power of enfranchising as well as disfranchising. No enlightened man will build the character of his country upon the exercise of the latter, while so much of the former remains to be effected. This House felt the impropriety of these Penal Laws; it four years ago appointed a Committee to prepare a Bill for their repeal. On that Committee sat the most distinguished Members of the then Parliament; they had the distinguished aid of the Noble Lord opposite (Lord Castlereagh); they had the able assistance of the Right Honourable Gentleman near him (Mr. Canning); they had the great and strenuous aid of that enlightened man, Sir S. Romilly, who was now unhappily no more, no longer able to assist in their discussions. It is melancholy to contemplate the list of the dead! Mr. Ponsonby was no longer among them to assert, on this question, the triumph of truth, reason, and justice, over error, prejudice, and exclusion. *(Hear!)* The living authorities, are, however, great; they are present, and unanswerable. My Right Hon. Friends near me (Sir J. Newport and Mr. Plunkett) can speak of the labours of that Committee. The Noble Lord opposite (Lord Castlereagh) can state what they were; that excellent man who was the liberator of Africa, and who could be no other than the friend of freedom in Europe (Mr. Wilberforce), also participated in those labours, and concurred in recommending that Bill which was afterwards lost. Why appeal to the names of individuals to shew the necessity of altering or repealing these laws? The names of individuals are in this sense justly prized, but the names of nations come with more weight; there are, for instance, Germany, Austria, France, and the Netherlands, who have set you the example in the acts of their respective rulers. There was also the King of Portugal, I shall say nothing against him. But all these have set the example of overthrowing what you call idolatry.—What were your acts? You did not follow such an example; no, you subsidized the idolator; you did it both in Europe and in America; you cared not for his creed when you wanted his services, and then you turned round upon your own subjects and disqualified them for tenets which you knew did not interpose between their consciences and their civil duties, and tenets which formed no bar to your sense of the fidelity of engagements contracted with you by other Powers, of whose attachment you could not have the same reason to be assured. *(Hear, hear!)* There are two subsisting Acts which disqualify our Catholic fellow-subjects; the Declaration, and the Oath of Supremacy. Of the first we ought now to be ashamed, in its present form; of the second we ought also pause, after the opinions which have been pronounced. To charge men with asserting a supremacy, which they abjure in a civil shape, is very ungracious; to force upon men opinions which they declare they do not hold, is very illiberal. Such is it with the Catholics; to declare to them that the spiritual power of the church is capable of dissolving their civil allegiance, is neither more nor less than to abjure all human power, for it is to deny the influence of the ties which operate upon the mind in every state. The Declaration is that which the Protestant ought to repeal; the Oath of Supremacy is that which the Catholic ought to take. *(Hear, hear!)* But it is said, you cannot satisfy the Catholic, and that he will not, nor cannot, obey the injunctions which your civil compacts require. You at one moment say, he is guided by an excess of religious feeling, and in the next by an absence of all moral obligation. What standard, then, do you mean to rear for his allegiance? If the Gospel won't do, why is the voice of a part of the Nation to be decisive? Why say to a part of our fellow-subjects, 'I know you will praise God, but I know at the same time you will damn one another!' I am aware that the last Bill was not popular in Ireland; I know an outcry was raised against it, because this place was exempt, and the other place exempt. One party thought it conferred too much; another that it rendered nugatory what it professed to give, by accompanying it with what was called the *Veto*. When then was the question to be settled? Did Parliament mean to wait until both these parties agreed; until it could satisfy both, was it to refrain from doing justice to either? *(Hear, hear!)* The common law of the land went on a principle of equal justice between the litigating parties; why not adopt the same principle in a case like this, which involved the spirit of religion?—why not deal with it with an even hand?—why punish as well as arraign and condemn the conscientious feelings of those who differ from us upon points of faith?—why not try to view our civil obligations in the affections of brotherhood?—why try the wisdom of God by the presumption of man? This was not a question of empire, but of justice: it was one where the strongest of human feelings were at issue, and the greatest of human interests at stake. It ought to approach men's minds in the true spirit of charity, liberality, and justice. May its advance be strengthened, for whatever is religiously good must be politically safe! The badness as well as the inconsistency of your present system has long been exposed: it is bad in principle, glaringly inconsistent in practice. You confer part of a right, where, if the parties are subject to the immoral influence you ascribe to them, that right must be fatally exercised against you. You confer the right upon a class who may, in some degree, be said to want both bread and liberty, and you withhold it from the superior order of that class, whose character stands justly high in the empire. *(Hear!)* An argument used against the Catholic Claims, and a curious one it is, is, that they as a Body do not want liberty; that the Petitioners are led on by a few who care not for their interests. This is as ludicrous as it is false. One of the Petitions presented to this House contained the signatures of two English families who were lineally descended from those who had signed *Magna Charta*. They are Roman Catholics, their Petition is on your table, and what is its prayer? It is that they may have the privilege of sharing that liberty which their ancestors, at the expense of their blood, procured for their Country. *(Hear, hear!)* Can such a system be good which excludes the descendants of such men, descendants, too, who are unimpeached and unimpeachable in their career in life? This system of exclusion is palpably bad; its existing operation is to alienate those whom it is our duty to conciliate. A law proscribing the Irish, the Scotch, or the English, would be manifestly unjust, but not more so than this law, which made partial selections from the subjects of each, for the purpose of denying them their political rights. The question of exclusion in this empire is one of proportion, that is, as to the number you mean to exclude, compared with the population of the empire. The Catholics of Great Britain form, at least, 1-5th of the whole population of this empire—they have shewn the most perfect devotion to the civil obligations they have contracted among us, they have given the most unequivocal proofs of their steadfast loyalty. Good policy would dictate that such a class should be embodied with the State, not separated and excluded from it. *(Hear!)* In vain is it that you proclaim their admission to the Constitution unsafe; in vain is it that your own train of reasoning drives you to the conclusion, that the Catholic does not believe in your God, or care for your God. I say, if the steadfastness of your religion have weight with you, by granting those claims you strengthen your church: you support, you concentrate the church of Ireland. Will you then say that the security of the church is incompatible with the privileges of the People? If you do, you say that the church and the Gospel differ: so that you place the Gospel on one side, & contrast it on the other with the interests of the People. The church is not placed on so flimsy a foundation—if it was, it could not, it ought not to stand. The Church is in no such danger; it is supported as it ought by the unity of the People; on that unity it must depend for its support, for its proper influence upon the community. The words of the canonical oath have been often quoted, and where they have been said to recommend persecution, while, in fact, they merely recommend fair argument. The Roman Catholics had ceased to exercise the persecuting spirit ascribed to them, and the Protestants had, singular to say, taken it up, or else why perpetuate laws of this kind? Forty years have now elapsed since this question was first agitated in Parliament. In succession, many parts of the Penal Code, which cruelly oppressed the Roman Catholics, were removed. They were felt to be wrong; they were felt to be absurd and cruel. The whole question is now reduced to the naked principle of the right of the State to compel a man to abjure his religion. *(Hear, hear!)* Will any man say that this principle ought now to be tolerated? If no man, as I think, can maintain it, why is this system to be any longer endured? *(Hear, hear!)* Another argument against the Catholics is, that if you confer privileges you give power; so you do. Why not give power to that large class of your fellow-subjects, who have shared your dangers, and participated in your burdens? But do you confer a power which gives this class of your fellow-subjects any unequal influence? Those who assert it does, must go the length of saying that the proportion of Protestants, that is, nearly five-sixths of the population, are feeble and inadequate to the maintenance of their own principles, to the preservation of their own rights. Is that possible? Who has the hardihood to assert it? The Crown of this Realm is Protestant; the chief officers of the State, its whole patronage, are Protestant. Of the representatives of the People, five hundred and upwards must be selected from yourselves; they must be elected by Protestants of your own country; they must imbibe the feelings of their constituents; they must feel that community of interest which cannot be shaken by speculative threats, or by the possible opposition of any weight which it would be in the power if even in the will of Catholics to bring against them. How can a Catholic ascendancy supersede a Protestant ascendancy in this country? Such a change has indeed been ominated, but who has ever attempted to prove it? *(Hear!)* If Catholic property has improved in Ireland, and aided the contributions of the People to the State, it is because your free trade, your galling commercial restrictions, were obliged to give way to the spirit of the times; the Catholic, therefore, improved, but yet his disqualification was continued. An attempt was made to repeal a part of this illiberal system, by an Administration of which a Noble Earl (Earl Grey) formed a distinguished part; for this attempt, that Administration, in 1807, were obliged to relinquish office. The cry of the church is in danger was successfully sounded; but, strange to say, the very same Bill was brought in two years ago by a Noble Lord (Lord Melville), a Member of the present Administration. It was carried thro' the House without a comment; it was read a first and a second time; it was committed, reported, and read a third time and passed, without a single dissentient. It was carried to the House of Lords. No cry of church in danger then; the Mitres nodded unanimous approbation—*(hear!)*—the Royal Assent was given, and the Bill was declared a Law. The spires of the towers of your Universities, the spires of your Henries, reverberated no mournful peal on the occasion. The Clergy and the State met the measure with quiescent approbation, and so far justice was at length done to the naval and military officers who shed their blood in the service of their country. So then those great bodies (the navy and army) are thrown open to Catholics; in them they have effective power. Where then are you to draw the line of demarcation? *(Hear, hear, hear!)*—Are you to give to the forces by sea and land what you deny to civil life; and do you call this constitutional? *(Hear!)* I have heard some of the Petitions read which oppose the Claims of the Catholics. I never heard the discussions to which some of them gave rise, and to which I never contributed, without pain. I dislike the disposition to tell the Catholic, you must remain for ever separated from the State; your oaths are qualified, your allegiance is insecure. The expression of this opinion was generally accompanied by an apparent air of great devotion, a Christian-like forbearance. I dislike this species of candour; it always strikes me as a sort of contumelious humility that scorns the Providence they pretend to solicit. *(Hear!)* Is England to continue this disqualification of one-fifth of her People, to give the remainder the monopoly of their God? The People of the Continent, in their abstract devotion, shew more liberality. A common sense of danger led to a reciprocal feeling of liberality among the Powers who were in danger. France contributed her share, Austria and Prussia did the same. The iron authority of Russia was suffered to decline. We all remember when these nations were the scenes of bloodshed and slaughter; we all remember when France carried her sway to the water's edge of the Baltic; we all remember, that when, from behind the black and portentous cloud which then overshadowed Europe, the spirit of liberty rose and interposed its spell to the power of France, that spirit which England had nurtured, had swept away what it opposed by sea and land. Your courage, your vigour, your humanity, fostered it, and the cloud which overhung Europe burst under its action. Suppose after this great consummation of your efforts, after this divine interposition in your cause, some spirit should arise and proclaim to you, that the Allies of Heaven were a pack of idolators, what would you say to the inspiration of the message and the justice of the designation? *(Hear!)* It was the principle of toleration and universal freedom that was inscribed upon your banners, which crowned them with success; it was that principle which nerved your arm, and cemented your alliance. Where then is the result of your triumph to be found, if not in the exercise of the generosity and justice of your principles? When your predecessors, the Plantagenets, conquered, they confirmed the liberties of the People over whom they obtained rule; when their successors, the Tudors, conquered, they gave equal laws and equal liberties to their People. You have now conquered, and will you be less just or less generous to yourselves than your ancestors were to their enemies? A new glory remained to be shed over the House of Hanover; the glory of emancipating your fellow-subjects. *(Hear, hear!)* Then you can look in the face the Plantagenets and the Tudors; then you can look in the face the best and proudest of your ancestors." *(Hear, hear, hear!)* The Right Hon. Gentleman concluded by moving—

That this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider the state of the Laws regarding his Majesty's Subjects professing the Roman Catholic Religion, so far as the same require qualifications for the enjoyment of civil offices, and the exercise of civil functions, with a view to determine whether, and how far, the same may be repealed.

After an interval of a few minutes—