

LONDON.

MONDAY, MAY 17.

The whole of the evidence taken before the Bank Committee of the House of Commons is now before us, and from the hasty inspection of its contents, which we have been able to make, it does not appear to differ materially from that which was taken before the Lords' Committee...

1. To what further period, in the opinion of the Bank, ought the restriction on cash payments to be continued? 2. Have the Bank any suggestions to offer with respect to any assistance that can be afforded to the Bank by legislative enactment, or otherwise, for facilitating their resumption of cash payments?

We shall proceed to lay before our readers the substance of the Resolutions agreed to by the Court, in consequence of the queries.

The first resolution assumes that the restriction on cash payments was altogether a measure of state necessity, and that the object for inquiry now is, not when the Bank will be prepared to resume payments in specie, but whether the Public will be able to bear that reduction of the circulating medium, which a speedy adoption of the measure would render indispensable.

The resolutions next state, that, according to the most accurate computation, the amount of specie in circulation previous to the war was about thirty millions; and that the whole of this amount (or whatever the amount may have been) has been exported. It is denied, that in its issues the Bank has ever been influenced by considerations of profit; on the contrary, it has always endeavoured to limit the amount, and the Directors think, "that in all circumstances are considered, it may justly admit of a question, whether instead of complaining of an excess, there is not rather ground for surprise that the amount has been so circumscribed."

They next advert to the successful endeavours made by the Bank, during the favourable state of the exchanges in 1816 and 1817, to collect a sum of treasure, which, in addition to what was already in its coffers, would have been sufficient to meet the opening, if the hopes which were then entertained had been realised. Among these hopes, they mention the prospect of Government liquidating its debts due to the Bank before the 5th July, 1818, the day on which the Restriction Bill was to have expired. "That the system of Finance," they add, "which it has been thought proper to adopt, has not favoured the subsequent liquidation of those advances, is in no degree attributable to the Bank."

Proceeding next to the more immediate questions of the Committee, they observe, that, after the most mature deliberation, the Court are of opinion, that "in order to the re-establishment of a metallic currency, it will be necessary that the Bank should not only be provided with a sufficient fund to meet the demands which may be made upon it with reference to the amount of its notes in circulation, but a supply must also be obtained nearly, if not fully, equal to the amount of specie in the country previous to the year 1797."

We do not understand, from this, whether the Directors mean to say, that the Bank must have the same quantity of specie as was estimated to be in the country before the war (namely thirty millions), of that quantity which the country was supposed to possess previously to the restriction. The two periods, we apprehend, would give very different results, though they seem to be used synonymously in those resolutions. Whatever the sum may be, however, the Court of Directors very justly observe, that the question is, "from what sources, and in how short a space of time, such a sum is likely to be obtained?" They then assume it as a matter of certainty, that "little is to be expected at present from South America," and that, therefore, "it is to the Continent of Europe the country most chiefly look for supplies." In deliberating on this most important subject, the Court of Directors assume it to be an incontrovertible proposition, that every attempt to bring in and retain the precious metals, while the exchanges are below par, must be unavailing. They consider, that a country can be said to be growing rich in gold and silver only when it receives them as the balance of exported goods actually paid for. This, they contend, is not the actual condition of England, and observe, that the returns from the Custom-house books are no sure criterion of the productiveness of an export trade, because adventurous persons often export produce and manufactures, for which they receive little or no return. "Whatever the balance of trade may be," they add, "the balance of payments is greatly against the country;" nor do they think there is much encouragement to expect any material amelioration in the exchanges for the present. They

further state it as their opinion, that they "cannot discover any solid foundation for the notion," that the Bank, by reducing its issues, can obtain a favourable turn in the exchanges, and a consequent fall in the price of the precious metals. Gold, they affirm, is not superabundant in the Continent, and a new competitor going into the market for an enormous sum, must materially enhance the price, while the quantity would remain the same.

They finally assert the willingness of the Bank to meet the wishes of Parliament, with respect to the removal of the restriction, whenever it shall be thought for the good of the Country that it should be removed; but that "to expect the Bank to issue gold at £3 17s. 10d. per ounce, however high the price in the market may be, would be to impose a heavy loss upon the Corporation, without rendering any adequate benefit to the Public."

Having thus expressed their sentiments, they decline giving any precise answer to the first question, because the resumption of cash payments, with safety to the Country, must depend upon circumstances which it is impossible for them to foresee, and over which they could exercise no essential control. With respect to the second question, they are not aware of any legislative enactments which could at the present moment be of advantage in respect to the ultimate object; but, for reasons already assigned, they deem it highly desirable, that, prior to the removal of the Restriction, the Government debt to the Bank should be gradually reduced to the extent of ten millions.—Contd.

On Saturday, a private meeting was held at the London Tavern of three or four dozen of principal merchants, to consider the propriety of calling a general meeting to petition Parliament against the removal of the Bank Restriction. Mr. Bainbridge, of the house of Pugh and Bainbridge, a gentleman of great wealth and high commercial character, was in the Chair. It was resolved to call the public meeting for to-morrow. It is supposed similar meetings will take place all over the Kingdom.

It does not appear from the evidence before the Committee of Parliament, that the circulating medium is much larger than it was before the Restriction in 1797. It was then calculated at about 42 millions; it is believed to have since exceeded 48 millions; at present, it is thought to be several millions below that amount. It is, therefore, evident, that the Restriction has not been abused—that whatever effects have arisen have not been the consequence of an unduly extended currency.—Ibid.

Say that thirty millions of Bank-notes are in circulation. Of these twenty millions have been issued to Government on securities such as Exchequer Bills, and ten millions are employed in commercial discounts. Over the latter, the Bank has a complete control, as they return every two months, no bills being discounted at a longer date. Over the twenty millions issued to Government, the Bank can have no control whatever. The securities are not paid at short intervals, but are more in the nature of a mortgage. These notes, issued to Government, go into Bankers' hands, who discount with them. The Bank, therefore, desires that Government will repay it ten millions, which will give it a control over two-thirds of its notes. It will then discount more liberally to merchants than it does at present; but the private Bankers will discount much less. The circulating medium will be more concentrated in the Bank, and less in the hands of the Public. The Bank will then discount more extensively and liberally, it is true; but having the return of two-thirds of their notes within the space of every two months, it will be enabled to force down the price of gold, regulate its issues by the foreign exchanges, which are affected by various occurrences abroad; over which this Country has no control. If, then, an unfavourable state of exchange arises, the Bank will suddenly contract its discounts to prevent the demand for and exportation of gold. Hence the amount of the circulating medium may fluctuate excessively, an occurrence which all agree is the greatest evil that can happen in a commercial country. A prudent respectable merchant, who may have embarked £20,000 of private fortune, may suddenly find his usual resources stopped, while he has goods on hand and engagements to the extent of £100,000. To save his credit, to obtain money, he must sell his goods at any price, send them abroad to any market, however bad, there to effect his payments. Thus, if he loses 20 per cent. on his £100,000 of merchandise, his private fortune is gone, he is ruined man. This is not an imaginary case. The proceedings of the Parliamentary Committee have, this year, produced many actual examples. Thirty and forty per cent. have this year been lost on goods forced upon the market. Similar were the effects on landed property three years ago. Instances occurred of estates which had been bought at, say £10,000, (half the money having been borrowed) selling at £20,000, in consequence of a forced sale by the mortgagee, some country banker, suppose, who perceived the approaching demand for cash. Equally calamitous has been the effect of the Restriction Committee on commerce since January last. No business is doing. Every man hit upon by his pocket, looks around, and calculates what will be his situation when the restriction happens, for a great resolution it will be in the mercantile world. Agricultural produce languishes as well as mercantile. All classes are pressed for payments, while money is locked up.—Ibid.

Hence it is plain, that the repayment of considerable balances by Government to the Bank can only have in view the contraction and extension

of the currency by fits and starts, as the affairs of the Continent and of other parts of the world may vary; and as a fluctuating currency is of all things the most pernicious to trade, it is necessary to proceed with caution. Gold was at the highest price, the exchanges the most against us, when we were sending the largest sums to the Continent. In the height of our expenditure in the Peninsula, gold was at £3 8s. which is now at £4 6s. the standard price being only £3 17s. 10d. the price we desire to attain. We have reduced the commodity nine parts out of the ten of excess, and a short time may reduce the other tenth part also. Let us not in impatience and peevishness draw down calamity in attempting to remove the small part yet left. Time, which may already do us much, will do that also. Let the Mint regulations be altered; let silver be made not to doar with reference to gold, and with reference to the relative values of these two metals in other countries, as it is at present; by which it sends the gold out of the country. This is a point which we are astonished has been so slightly noticed by the Committee and the Public, a point of paramount importance, as we think.—Most men wish to see gold restored, but very few press for the period of restoration. Nothing is more false than the assertion, that the Public at large desire to precipitate the resumption of cash payments. A premature resumption is the object of faction alone, with the design of distressing the Government. Let us calculate on what will be by what has been done by time in respect to the price of gold. Let not theorists press on a crisis merely that they may boast of their wisdom. As the fact is established beyond question, that the currency has not been unduly augmented, that it does not exceed the amount at which it stood before the restriction, we will ground our fears upon the abuse of the privilege or the chance of a danger. A Morning Paper says, a counter party intends to petition against the restriction. It will be amusing to see of whom that party consists. Not of merchants, bankers, farmers, manufacturers, shopkeepers, certainly; not of persons in any respectable business. It is notorious to every one that mixes at all in the world, that gold coin is an object of desire no where, though many good people, terrified by theorists, wish to see it again as a sign of security, good health, not with the wish of using it. But it is said to be their own accommodation, that the advocates for the continuance of the restriction have in view." Undoubtedly it is.—The Public at large desire it for their own accommodation, desire it as a continuance of that accommodation under which the nation has triumphed, and prospered, and it wished till the institution of the Parliamentary Committee. Should it be found necessary, impositions from persons of more respectability, petitions of a more commanding tone and character, will be presented against a rash resumption of cash payments, than ever were before witnessed. But we place a full reliance on the wisdom of Parliament.—Ibid.

The Congress of the Bank began now to assume a serious aspect. A meeting took place on Saturday, and the following may be relied on as a copy of the names of the committee by which it was convened:—

Mr. Lombard-street, 14th May, 1819.

(Private.)

"A very general feeling of anxiety and alarm being expressed at this time by the mercantile class, on the measures to be proposed and adopted in Parliament, upon the Reports of the Secret Committee of Inquiry into the state of the Bank of England, you are, at the desire of many respectable persons, most earnestly requested to give the advantage of your presence at a meeting of merchants, bankers, and traders to-morrow, (Saturday) at the City of London Tavern, at twelve o'clock, to consider and determine on the propriety of a more general or a public meeting, or of preparing a Petition for general signature to both Houses of Parliament, against any measure tending, by a forced, precipitate, or undue contraction of the currencies of the three Kingdoms, to embarrass trade in general, distress the value of property, and to injure alike the public credit, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce."

As all strangers were carefully excluded, we can only repeat what passed from oral information, which must, of course, be received as imperfect. It is said, that not more than thirty persons were present, though other accounts make the meeting to have consisted of double that number. Mr. Bainbridge, of Warwick-square, took the Chair, when one of the Gentlemen addressed the company on the cause of their being assembled. He said, that he viewed with feelings of alarm, which he knew to be common to all classes of commercial men, the principles recommended in the two Parliamentary Reports on the subject of our paper circulation. The adoption of those principles must prove the destruction of our commerce; and the overthrow of all productive industry; inasmuch as it would impose on the Bank of England the necessity of enlarging or limiting its issues according to the state of the foreign exchanges. These exchanges were influenced by a thousand accidental, unknown, and temporary causes; and the whole property of the Country, therefore, would be subjected to such a standard. As far as he had authority for the practical conclusions to which both Committees had arrived. On the contrary, it appeared in the evidence before the Lords, that the amount of the circulating medium was not greater now than before the suspension of cash-payments. How, then, could any diminution of that circulating

medium be necessary when there was a real debt of £3,000,000 to be collected, and an existing debt of £280,000,000? No time should be lost in petitioning Parliament against any measure founded on these reports, as this example we are in no doubt to be followed by other mercantile bodies, and as the discussion of the question, he thought it reasonable to know, would certainly not be postponed beyond Friday next. A Mr. Cripps, a country banker, and a few others, also addressed the meeting. A series of resolutions were then read and approved of. Immediately afterwards Mr. Bainbridge is stated to have quitted the chair, and in his absence a vote was passed for publishing them in the papers. Mr. Bainbridge, leaving of this, returned to the meeting, and is reported to have objected to the signature of the resolutions. It should seem, however, from the advertisement which has been sent to us, that he had acquiesced in adding his name to a resolution for calling another meeting to-morrow.

Since our last publication, we have received Paris Papers of Thursday and Friday last. The total of Caillon and Marinet for a conspiracy to assassinate the Duke of Wellington still occupies the attention of the Assize Court of Paris. Marinet, one of the prisoners, appears to be a man of respectable family. He has had a good education, and has practised for some time as an advocate. Caillon was a soldier. During the proceedings in the second day Marinet made some remarks on the want of faith which was observed towards him, in not allowing him the benefit of a safe conduct, which he says was ensured to him in a letter from Lord Wellington to Lord Kinaird, previous to his departure from Brussels to Paris. The existence of his safe conduct was denied by the Advocate-General, who, in his speech, alluded to the honour of Lord Wellington. The allusion, however, seemed to have had no very advantageous effect on the audience, for it was followed by a general expression of contempt, both from the Counsel and the multitude assembled to hear the trial. On the following day, Count Wionozoff, the Russian General, appeared as a witness, and, evidently referring to the conduct of the Counsel and audience, passed a high eulogium on Lord Wellington, and said, that having commanded the army of occupation in Prussia, extended over seven departments, the alliant Duke had received more justice from the inhabitants of those than in the Assize Court of Paris. An allusion is attempted to be made by Caillon. On the fourth day, the Counsel on both sides delivered their opinions. The Sitting was adjourned to the following day, when the President was to sum up the evidence.

It is remarked in the Papers, that the host of the Swedish Ambassador was illuminated with more than usual brilliancy on Wednesday night, to honour the anniversary of his Sovereign's coronation. The Queen of Sweden had a private conference on Thursday with the King of France, not improbably for the purpose of engaging his Majesty to intercede between her husband and the fate with which he is said to be threatened by those Savarigns who pledged their own faith and the faith of combined Europe for the support of his dynasty on the throne of Sweden.

The Journal des Debats gives a timely notice of the strength and resources of the Kingdom of Sweden. The Swedish army is 125,000 men, while that of Norway amounts to 19,000. Such a force, under an experienced General, in a country so eminently capable of defence, as Sweden is, will, we doubt not, have more influence on the policy of the enemies of Bonaparte, than any considerations which may be derived from his having been called by the general wish of the People to the supreme power, or from the assurance, that, under his administration, the agriculture and manufactures of Sweden have progressively improved, and the prosperity and liberty of the People have been promoted.

A Dutch Mail arrived this morning, with Papers from Brussels to the 16th instant. The wife of a Physician at Frankfurt stabbed her husband in bed, and inflicted upon him seventeen wounds. The crime has made a great impression, and people assimilate it to that of Saurd. The reasons for this opinion, however, are not noticed.

CORN EXCHANGE, May 17.—Having a large supply of Wheat, fresh in this morning, from Essex, and but few millers disposed to purchase, our sales were very heavy, and what few samples were disposed of were at a decline of full 4s. per quarter from last Monday's prices, and a considerable quantity remains on hand, which could not be got off at the above abatement. Barley is also 4s. per quarter cheaper, and almost unsaleable, the malling season being nearly over. Oats are 2s. per quarter lower, in consequence of the multitude of the arrivals, particularly from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Beans are 2s. per quarter cheaper, and for which article there is little or no demand.

Irish Stocks, May 20.

Bank Stock, 100 shares, £1000 0 0
Gov. Deb. 3 per cent, 100 shares, 834 10 0
Do. Stock, 3 per cent, 100 shares, 107 6 0
Do. 5 per cent, 100 shares, 107 6 0
Do. Stock, 5 per cent, 100 shares, 107 6 0
Do. 5 per cent, 100 shares, 107 6 0
Treasury Bills, 5 per cent, 100 shares, 107 6 0

Exchange, 12 1/2.

WATERFORD: Printed and Published by BENJAMIN PIERCE, Chronicle-Office, Quay.

TO BE LET, FOR THE BATHING SEASON, FURZBERG, OR FURNISHED, THE HOUSE OF DROMINA, with such Part of the Gardens as may be required. It is within Six Miles from Waterford, Two of Dunmore, and Two Hundred Yards from the Sea. The Tenants can be accommodated with Grass, Milk, Butter, Vegetables, &c. &c. Application to be made to JOHN STAPLETON, Esq. Drogheda, May 21, 1819.

PROCLAMATION, BY THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR, & SHERIFFS.

WHEREAS several Persons have for some Days violently assembled themselves, and committed Acts of Violence upon the Persons and Properties of respectable Inhabitants of this City, under a Pretence that they had Employment and Food—and whereas we have received Information, that further tumultuous Meetings are threatened to be held, and Violence to be committed against a number of peaceable and respectable Citizens—and whereas such illegal Proceedings are punishable by the most severe Penalties of the Law; Now we, Sir SIMON NEWPORT, Deputy Mayor, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for this City, and HENRY ACCOCK and WILLIAM WEEKES, Esqrs. Sheriffs, do hereby prohibit and forbid any Persons, exceeding the number of Three, to meet or assemble themselves in any part of this City or its Liberties; and we direct and order all Persons to remain in their Houses, or at their lawful Occupations, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril. And we give this further Notice, that we are determined to support and enforce the Laws, to the last extremity, if necessary, and to punish in the most severe and exemplary manner all those who shall dare to violate them. In this Emergency, we call upon all classes of our Fellow-Citizens, for their Co-operation and Assistance in the Prosecution of the Public Peace and Tranquillity.—Given at the Town Hall, Waterford, the 19th of May, 1819. SIMON NEWPORT, Deputy Mayor. HENRY ACCOCK, Sheriff. WILLIAM WEEKES, junr., Sheriff.

TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION, by Mr. JAMES RIDDALL, Clerk of the Corn Table, in the afternoon, on SATURDAY, the 29th of May, 1819, a well-secured ANNUITY of £200 per Annum, charged on Free Simple and other Property in the City of Waterford. May 20, 1819.

O'NEILL & KEOHE OFFER FOR SALE, 98 Chests TEA (from last Sales), 20 Hhd. Refined SUGAR, 20 Baskets CHEESE, 30 Casks SALT-PETRE, and 1500 Barrels STOCKING TAR, with their present Stock of SCALE SUGARS, SPIRITS, SPECIES, &c. &c. will be disposed of on the most liberal Terms. Waterford, April 17, 1819.

MONEY TO BE LENT, FROM £500 TO £8000, Apply to GEORGE WILK, Waterford—if by Letter, post-paid. Feb. 15, 1819.

WATERFORD MARKET PRICES—MAY 24.

Table with 4 columns: Commodity, Price, Unit, and Remarks. Includes Butter, Tallow, Pork, Beef, Mutton, Sheep, Oats, Potatoes, &c.

WATERFORD: Printed and Published by BENJAMIN PIERCE, Chronicle-Office, Quay.

TO BE LET, FROM THE 25TH MARCH INSTANT, THE LANDS OF BALLYVILLY, either in the Whole or in Division, 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.

FOR QUEBEC, NORTH AMERICA, THE FAST-SAILING BRIG THOMAS, JONATHAN DREWRY, MASTER; RETURNING 300 TONS. Also, the fast-sailing Copper-bottomed New Brig CONSTANTIA, WILLIAM BURTEN, MASTER; RETURNING 300 TONS.

BOTH these Vessels have superior Accommodation for Cabin and Steerage Passengers, and every Attention will be paid to the Health and Comfort of those who go out in them. One of these Vessels is now in Waterford, and will be ready to receive her Passengers on or before the 14th of May, and is expected to sail on the 25th of the same month (wind and weather permitting) for Quebec on or before the 5th of June, and get ready for sea with as much expedition as possible. Security First, has made an arrangement with a Person of high respectability in Quebec, by which all Passengers going out in the Vessels will be put immediately into the way of getting their Grants of Land without delay on their arrival. For Freight, or Passage, apply to SAMUEL BURTEN, junr., Ross Thomas Green Jacon, Greenstreet, Waterford; Moore & Ludlow, Ship Agents on the Captain's board, Waterford, May 11, 1819.

DUBLIN MARKET NOTE, For the Week ending Friday, May 21, 1819.

Table with 4 columns: Commodity, Price, Unit, and Remarks. Includes Wheat, Flour, Oats, Potatoes, &c.

HOUSE OF LORDS—MONDAY, MAY 17. (Debate on the Catholic Question concluded.)

Earl GREY in continuation.—By the Act of Settlement, no person holding an office of trust under the Crown could have a seat in Parliament; that Act was shortly afterwards repealed. The appeal to the Privy Council, in the manner it was secured by the Bill of Rights, was also shortly repealed. The Triennial Bill, although in fact the Constitution of Parliament, was repeated in the first of King George I. a measure difficultly justified at the time by strong necessity, but which in its future tendency had had, as he thought, a most injurious effect.—All those Acts had been successively repealed, and yet the Noble and Learned Lord had talked of the Constitution as being an inalienable and permanent substance. At the Revolution, the right of petition was most steadfastly insisted upon—would the Noble and Learned Lord say that this right was the least constitutional of the whole? and yet that Noble and Learned Lord was one of those who had no objection to lay his unbalanced hands upon the rights of the People, to restrict them of their liberty, though he could not listen to any proposition which had for its object the constitutional extension of their civil rights! Was Parliament to be "estopped," to use the legal term of the Noble and Learned Lord, from extending the boon of the blessings of liberty, by the provisions of the laws to which he alluded? The permanency of the provisions of those laws was shaken by the subsequent facts—their "intangibility" was set at rest by the same criterion. The authority of a great and venerable name had been resorted to (Lord Hardwicke's) to support the Noble and Learned Lord's view of this question. To the doctrine laid down by that great authority he expressed his full assent. But he was at a loss to see the reason for the introduction of that authority at this moment. The real question was now, whether the Catholics could with safety to the Constitution be admitted to the enjoyment of those privileges from which they were debarred by former laws, enacted under particular circumstances? The result must turn upon Age or No to that proposition. The Protestant establishment, on the principle of its present basis, was formed at the Revolution. Some of the Acts passed before, and some after, the Restoration.

The Corporation Act and the Test Act were very important to show the object of the Legislature at the time. The Test Act was directed against the Duke of York, the next heir to the Throne; it was enacted for temporal purposes, the necessity of which had for years ceased to exist. It was in the reign of the 30th Charles II. that Catholics were excluded from holding seats in the two Houses of Parliament. This was the Act which the Noble and Learned Lord seemed to think a measure of deliberative wisdom and prospective caution. If the Noble and Learned Lord could express his astonishment at certain opinions upon points of law, he must excuse him (Earl Grey) from re-echoing the expression of that astonishment at hearing a lawyer of his rank attribute the praise which he did to the Act of the 30th of Charles the Second. Did he not know that that Act was passed, and justified, and carried, upon the apprehensions excited by the plots of Oates and Bedloe, of the existence of which no man of the present day believed? That Act was founded upon the belief at the time in the scabulous plots of these wretches. After the Revolution, in the 3d of William and Mary, Catholics were excluded from voting at elections. In the first of George I. the Act passed for disqualifying them from holding civil and military offices. The reason of this law was, that a powerful party had afforded shelter abroad to the family exiled from the Throne. They had adherents both in England and on the Continent. Besides this powerful combination of circumstances, there was then among Protestants, what there was not now, a general belief that Catholics held ungodly doctrines, which the Catholics of the present day had long since disclaimed. The circumstances that had called for the measures of which the Roman Catholics now justly complained had long since ceased to operate; therefore, he contended, that those Penal Laws were no longer necessary, and that they could not be the smallest jot of danger apprehended to the Throne from their repeal. The reasons which induced their ancestors to adopt them did not at present urge their continuance, and the same policy that established the Revolution, and that freedom should be extended to the Catholics, with respect to whom a system of exclusion was no longer necessary, and therefore was most unjust and injurious. In the history of the enactment of some of those laws, feelings would be found to have operated of a character very different from those which were adhered to by the Noble and Learned Lord. There was an Act passed in 1699, the most severe description, the history of which might serve to show the inaccuracy of what the Learned Lord stated with respect to the calm and deliberate wisdom which always marked the enacting of these laws. In 1699 a law was passed, which prevented Catholics from taking property by devise or by purchase. Now he called on their Lordships to mark the temper and spirit in which that law was enacted; a law which, at that time, formed one of the securities of the Constitution, and which, if the Learned Lord's argument were good for anything, must be taken as part of that fundamental settlement which was then established. What did Bishop Burnet say of the manner in which this law was passed? "Those," he observed, "who brought the Bill into the House of Commons hoped the Court would oppose it; the Court, however, depending on the hostility of the Lords, acceded to it. When the projectors of the measure saw their mistake, they wished to stifle it, and they loaded it with unreasonable clauses, in the hope that the Lords would not agree to it. The Bill, however, passed the Lords, without amendment, their Lordships being piqued at the conduct of the Commons." Speaking of this transaction, Mr. Burke said, "Thus were the Catholics loaded with double injustice, proceeding from two parties; who, as if they were merely playing with cups and balls, made a sport of the lives and fortunes of their fellow-subjects." They were bound, therefore, to take with a little caution the assertion of the Learned Lord, that those laws were carefully and deliberately considered; their Lordships could not, he conceived, consistently with their knowledge of this fact, give to statutes which were enacted in this way all the weight which the Learned Lord wished to be attached to them. The great objection to the Roman Catholics arose from, 1st, a supposed connexion of the Catholic religion with an attachment to that family which alarmed the throne; and 2d, a belief that particular tenets in that religion were not only hostile to all free governments, but were at variance with the very existence of society itself, and therefore were not to be tolerated. He would contend, that these causes did not now exist; and when the circumstances which gave rise to that jealousy or suspicion in the minds of their ancestors, which alone could warrant such enactments, had ceased, it was the height of injustice to continue laws, the necessity for which did not exist. The Learned Lord had quoted the authority of Mr. Locke

in support of his argument, and the same course had been pursued by a Rev. Prelate (the Bishop of Worcester), who preceded him. But he had been so completely answered by his Noble and Learned Friend (the Bishop of Norwich), who, in his opinion, and in the opinion of all unbiased men, did honour to himself, and conferred a benefit on the religion which he professed, by the mild, and tolerant, and consequently Christian-like view which he took of this subject, that he need scarcely take up their Lordships' time by further observation on the subject. Yet he could not forbear making one remark on what had fallen from the Learned Lord, when he quoted Mr. Locke's authority in favour of those exclusions. When the Learned Lord cited that great man's opinion in support of exclusions, which were meant to defend the religious establishments of this country, was he prepared to adopt the whole of his opinions (those opinions which he had studied so diligently), with respect to religious establishments, generally? If he would go so far, then he (Earl Grey) would apply to the Reverend Bench opposite—to so numerously arrayed, to join, this night, as he feared, in supporting the principles of the Learned Lord—and he would ask them, did they also hold the same sentiments? He believed they would answer in the negative. Next, when the Learned Lord cited this grave opinion in favour of the exclusion of the Catholics, he would ask, was he ready to adopt Mr. Locke's opinion as to their religion? The belief of Mr. Locke, of Lord Somers, and of other great men, at the time of the Revolution, was easily accounted for; and he had no doubt that they acted from a conscientious feeling. But did the Learned Lord mean to profess, at this day, that there were any Catholics, who maintained the opinion, that faith was not to be kept with heretics; that Princes, excommunicated by the Pope, forfeited their Crowns; or that the Pope could discharge from their allegiance the subjects of Princes who had refused to adhere to the Catholic religion? Did the Learned Lord believe that any such Catholics were now in existence? He knew that he could not declare so monstrous an opinion; an opinion to which experience gave the most decided contradiction. The Learned Lord stated, that he had not heard, from any competent authority in the Church of Rome, a sufficient disclaimer of those opinions. What disclaimer would he have? Those opinions were denied by the Roman Catholics themselves; by the oaths which the Legislature had imposed on them; and by the declaration of the principal Catholic Universities. The existence of those opinions was the ground on which the principles of Mr. Locke were founded; and as he, in every part of his works, promulgated the most general principles of toleration—as he advocated, to the fullest extent, the right to a free and conscientious discharge of religious duties—his authority was, in fact, favourable to the cause of the Roman Catholics. Why was it favourable? Because the ground on which the exception with respect to the Roman Catholics proceeded failed altogether at the present day, and falling, the exception itself must fall to the ground. Therefore, he felt that he had a right to quote the general principles of Mr. Locke in favour of the present motion. The Learned Lord had stated, in the most extraordinary light, the different authorities to which he had referred. In the principles of the Revolution, he could find nothing in favour of liberty—but, in the laws subsequently passed, he could find various reasons for a rigid exclusion. So, in Mr. Locke's work upon Toleration, he could perceive no general principle that could assist their Lordships—but he could discover the weight and value of that particular exception which was intended to justify them in excluding the Catholics from the benefit of the Constitution. In the work of Mr. Locke, who perhaps did more than any other man ever performed to dispel the clouds of error, and to let in the light of truth on the bewildered mind, the Learned Lord could see no argument favourable to the Roman Catholics, although they appeared clear and palpable to others. If the Learned Lord could find a speck that aroused of hostility to the Catholics—if he could perceive a doubtful point, which, he thought, made for his argument—he seated himself on it with delight, and boasted that, in an authority, generally supposed to be favourable to liberty, he had discovered something which militated against the claims of their Catholic fellow-subjects. He (Earl Grey) would argue, that the authority of Locke, in spite of his sentiments at the Revolution, was in favour of the motion proposed to their Lordships this night—and that those obnoxious laws were not to be considered as forming fundamental parts of the settlement, but as accidents arising from particular causes, which were no longer in being, and, therefore, could no longer be fairly quoted in support of such a system. The Learned Lord had said, it was impossible for him to distinguish between spiritual and temporal obedience; and yet, there were parts of the Learned Lord's speech in which

