



DEBATE ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

(Continued from First Page.)

...and he was satisfied that nothing effectual could be done until such a course was adopted.

The Right Honourable Gentleman concluded by declaring his intention to support the motion.

Lord W. PAULSTON supported the motion of his Noble Friend, on the ground that Birmingham and other great towns required adequate representation.

The Marquis of BLANDFORD—I shall feel it my duty to support the motion of the Noble Lord, although I am free to confess I do but look upon it as a job to the whole.

Mr BRIGHT expressed a desire to see the representation in that House restored to the ancient constitution.

Mr Secretary PEEL said so long as he had held a seat in Parliament, and frequently as the House had been engaged in the discussion of reform, it had seldom happened that he had taken a share in the question.

Feeling that the subject had been discussed by persons of pre-eminent abilities, he had been content to give a silent vote on the question.

At the same time, although he had not taken an active part in the debate, he had weighed the question rather as a witness than a partisan, being convinced by the powerful arguments of Mr Burke and his Right Hon. Friend Mr Canning, that reform could not be introduced without danger to the constitution.

The arguments of Burke and Canning had proved that they could not introduce reform upon any principle of democratic representation.

Some exaggeration had occurred, but their arguments were decisive in his mind as to the danger of the experiment.

Mr Canning had argued that the constitution of that House was founded on prescription. It was a part of the constitution.

Heard, hear, they had the House of Lords and the King, and the House of Commons was only a branch of the constitution.

If they adopted reform, they would give the House of Commons a power inconsistent with the constitution of the House of Lords, and our limited monarchy.

The right hon. secretary saw nothing to induce him to vote for the scheme of reform. It had been said that reform would have the effect of discouraging war and a profligate expenditure of the public money.

He doubted very much whether that would be the effect. The example of free republics in ancient times did not afford many proofs of a desire on the part of the people to avoid war.

Genoa and Venice would not prove that popular governments were always the best. The right honourable secretary did not believe that the wars of this country had been carried on against the common sentiment.

There might have been periods when the people became tired of war, but they had generally been clamorous for it. He had read the beautiful speech addressed in 1780 by Mr Burke to his constituents at Bristol.

Mr Burke did not succeed as a candidate at the election, and one of the strongest objections was that he had done every thing he could to dissuade the government from a war.

Mr Burke suffered unpopularity on that account, and could not succeed with his constituents. In the war of 1793 it was impossible to say the feeling of the country was for war.

He remembered Mr Fox moved a resolution condemnatory of the war, and found only 36 members to support him. The number which opposed him was 278.

This was a proof that the people were desirous of war, and that parliament did not force them into war against their consent. The adoption of the wild scheme of universal suffrage would not, in his opinion, incline the house more than it was inclined at present to protect the people from oppression, and to give every facility to the exertion of their energies and industry.

Speaking of universal suffrage, he could not help being struck by a circumstance which had come to his knowledge in consequence of a question which had been put to him on a former evening by the honourable and learned member for Clare, respecting the law of a country, which had the benefit, if benefit it were, of acting on the system of universal suffrage.

He was anxious at all times to speak of the United States with respect, and it was not from any feeling of ill-will or dislike that he was now going to draw a contrast between their institutions and our own, which was not very favourable to the former.

It would be in the recollection of the House, that the Hon. and Learned Member for Clare had asked him whether he had heard of a law which had been passed by the Legislature of one of the United States—he meant Georgia—by which, under the pretence of erecting a guard against infection, a quarantine law had been passed against every mar of colour in the British dominions.

Since that question had been put to him, he had an opportunity of referring to the law, of which that enactment undoubtedly formed a part. In Georgia, where the plan of universal suffrage was in full perfection.

Mr O'CONNELL—No, no; there is in that country a slave population. Mr Secretary PEEL apprehended that every free man in Georgia had a right of voting, and therefore, as far as the whites were concerned, the legislative assembly of Georgia owed its origin to universal suffrage.

Making allowance for the influence of slavery in that country, he did not think the House of Commons would have passed such a law as he should read. (The right hon. gentleman accordingly read an enactment in which it was said, if any free slave should teach another slave to read he should be punished with fine, whipping, and imprisonment.)

He did not think that House would inflict the punishment of fine and whipping on any one who might teach a free person of colour to read. With respect to the proposition of the Noble Lord, it appeared to him that great objection existed to his limited plan.

The Noble Lord proposed they should add to the House of Commons six members from towns to be mentioned, and that in case of corruption in boroughs, the right to return members to Parliament should cease.

Several gentlemen had properly contended in opposition to the measure, that it was a departure from the act of union. When the number of 40 Commons was named for Scotland, it would not be consonant with the act of union to add six to the English representation.

If they had six added Scotland had a right to the same addition, and Ireland the same. Hear, if they were that night to consent to admit six more representatives, he was sure they would receive applications from other great towns.

That six super-numerary members were to be appointed appeared at least to be a novel proposition. If they added super-numeraries to any establishment, the application for admissions would be numerous indeed.

This novelty was not essential to the prosperity of Manchester, Birmingham, or Leeds. The Noble Lord admitted that nothing could be more extraordinary than the rapid prosperity of Manchester. He could not accept the proposition of the Noble Lord as an amendment upon the motion.

He also opposed the motion, because six new Members for the manufacturing and trading interests would induce the landed interest to send more Members. The Noble Lord had proposed that they would transfer, in cases of corruption, the franchise to great towns, but why should they bind themselves down to any specific mode of proceeding before they knew what the offence was?

When bribery was established, it would be time to deal with it. It would be improper for any minister to pledge himself to second the intentions of any party. He should not become a partisan, but preserve a steady middle course, leaving himself at full liberty to act for the benefit of the country.

Mr BROUGHAM said, he felt a high gratification at the temperate discussion of the important question before the house. He lauded it as an auspicious circumstance to the great cause that the minister of the crown had delivered his sentiments on the question of reform with a candour and temper such as he had never before seen the subject treated with on that side of the House.

Hear, hear, he should not depart from the example of moderation that had been set him, whilst he stated his own opinions, which in many particulars were different from those of the Right Honourable Gentleman. The Right Hon. Gentleman having deviated from the resolution before the House into the question of Parliamentary Reform generally, he found it necessary to follow him, though he should rather have confined himself to the specific proposition which any man might support though an enemy to Parliamentary Reform generally.

Hear, hear, he would not say that if the constitution of that House were changed, and a greater portion of popular feeling infused into it, that it would give a greater security against the senseless expense and indescribable calamity of going to war; but if he could believe that parliamentary reform would weaken that security—that it would be lessened by one hair's breadth by a greater infusion of popular feeling into the representation, that alone would be sufficient to make him pause and review the opinion of his life on that most important subject.

It was nothing to admit that it would not increase the security against war; but at all events it would not lessen it. He was decidedly of opinion that the American and the French war, were both improper, and should not have been entered into—neither spoke much for the wisdom of our ancestors; but men were led on by an absurd, a criminal, he would say, a wicked feeling, which he was glad to see was on the decline, called national glory, which was won by tears and groans of generations, visiting the children whose representatives that House now are; and who in sorry and almost hopeless misery, are reaping the bitter fruits of their fathers' folly.

Hear, hear, the feelings of those times were not confined to the house, but spread over the people. So far for the comment of those wars. Did the representatives of the people seek to control the popular delusion by their higher wisdom?—Did the members who had no constituents, who acted without any popular impulse, manifest a higher wisdom? It was said those members of the house who had constituents represented the feelings of the country, and those who had none represented its wisdom—a laugh. Was that seen on those occasions? No such thing. The utmost that can be proved is, that the people were as bad as the parliament; but no one would contend that parliament was not as bad as the people—hear, hear.

The parliament might perhaps be said to be urged on by the people, because they had the people with them; but even the Cornish portion of the parliament did not protest its going astray—a laugh. But the people opened their eyes long before the parliament—hear, hear. And should Mr Burke be unpopular at Bristol for opposing the war, that arose from local circumstances. He did not wish to speak disrespectfully of Bristol, nor of any of its contractors, but during the American war—a laugh, but every one knew there were local reasons for making an opposer of the war unpopular at Bristol. But it was perfectly certain that with the people of the country the American war lost its popularity.

The French war had also lost its popularity. One reason for this was, that those who put taxes generally feel the pressure more than those who lay them on. From these instances it appeared, that though a more popular representation could not prevent the war, it would bring it to a more speedy close. Hear, hearing, as he did for the honour of America, and joining hearts with the Right Hon. Gentleman in respect to the American States, he deeply lamented that the state book of any of the States should be disgraced by the laws the Right Honourable Gentleman had quoted; but that they proved a just indignity against Parliamentary Reform, or even against universal suffrage, he utterly denied. He denied that there was even the shadow of a shade against popular representation in those dreadful laws. If he were even to advocate universal suffrage, he would say it is because the suffrage is not universal—it is because those people have no representatives, that the page of the statute book is blackened with such iniquitous enactments. By whom were those laws passed; not by men who represented the people—but by men who did not represent the people. Not by men elected by the people—no, but by men who were not elected by the people; and they were passed by such legislators against men who dare not utter even a whisper against the horrible cruelties of the oppression under which they suffer. Hear, hear. He hoped the penalty for teaching reading or writing to a slave was too atrocious to be endured. He did not wish to say anything disrespectful of that house, but he could not be sure that that house, if placed in the same situation as the legislature of Georgia, would not act in the same manner. He feared that there is one reason he had for thinking to say what had formerly been done in Barbadoes, of all our West India Islands, that which had the best character for good feeling and conduct. It was enacted that if any white person should kill a slave in any way that in this country would be deemed manslaughter, he should go free; but, if with malice aforethought he should kill and murder any slave, he should for such offence pay a fine of £100. Hear, hear, hear. He might ransack the laws of Georgia, and find nothing equal in atrocity to this. Such was the effect in every country of that degrading passion of fear when conscious injustice gave it full dominion in the guilty

heart. Had we no instance nearer home? He was so gratified at seeing his Honourable Friend, the Member for Clare, in his proper place, that he should not make any allusion which might produce painful recollections. Hear, Mr Canning had suggested that a reformed House of Commons would overwhelm the House of Lords, and endanger the crown. He never could perceive the danger. What gave power to Parliament, but the will of the people to support the constitution of King, Lords and Commons? Hear, what was the great object of the legislature their security? The great bulk of the people were attached to the constitution and obedient to the laws; and if tolerably well treated, would be found by and orderly, and not at all disposed to a revolution. 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Table with 4 columns: Stock, Price, and other financial data. Includes 'PRICE OF IRISH STOCKS' and 'The Waterford Chronicle' logo.

The Waterford Chronicle

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1830.

The London Mail of Monday has arrived.

THE ELECTION—FEELING OF THE COUNTY.

We have received communications from several quarters, describing that the feeling of indignation in every part of the County has risen to the strongest possible degree in consequence of the result of the Election, and that this feeling is exasperated still more in consequence of the means by which that result is obtained.

But the popular feeling must be condensed and properly directed. Corruption and political profligacy must be encountered and put down; concentrations of public principle will be immediately effected, and public Clubs formed for that purpose.

BRIBERY.

In reply to the several communications on the subject of bribery which have been received, we are authorised to state, that instructions will be transmitted through private channels to the quarters in which they are required.

INSULT TO PUBLIC FEELING.

On the formal announcement of Lord George Beresford's return, which was proclaimed only on Tuesday morning, the joybells of the Protestant Cathedral again commenced ringing, and continued to do so at intervals. Nothing is omitted to taunt and insult the already outraged feelings of the public.

"HONEST JACK LAWLESS."

This distinguished patriot left our City yesterday evening, on his return to Dublin, and was accompanied to the Mail Coach by a numerous body of the most public spirited of our fellow-citizens.

DINNER ON SUNDAY LAST.

On Sunday last, such of the friends of the Independent Interest as remained in town, agreed to dine with the citizens who have taken so active and disinterested a part in the present contest.

PHILIP BARRON, Esq., President. ROBERT CURTIS, Esq., Vice President. Messrs Lawless, Steele, D. Ronayne, and W. J. O'Connell were invited as guests.

After the cloth had been removed, the President rose and stated, that the first toast on his list was THE PEOPLE. Hear, hear, hear. All power, even the power of Kings, emanated originally from the people, and was held only for their good.

The President rose to propose the next toast on the list, which was THE KING. The Irish people had at all times, and in the worst of times, distinguished themselves for their fidelity, and it had even been termed, their 'desperate fidelity,' to their sovereigns. Insurrections and rebellions, it is true, had been frequent in Ireland; but these insurrections were not against the Kings, but against the infernal faction who oppressed this country, and who were equally the enemies of the King and the people.

His Majesty, King George the Fourth, and may he ever continue to be sensible of the genuine and warm loyalty of his Irish subjects—three times three. The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex.

The PRESIDENT stated he felt great pleasure in proposing the next toast on his list, which was, the health of his talented and esteemed friend on his right, Counsellor Ronayne. Loud cheers. Who, in addition to being talented, could also lay claim to the far more valuable character of an honest, unobscured, and unchangeable patriot.

Counsellor RONAYNE rose amidst loud applause. In all times and in all circumstances, he would be found at his post. The country has been shamefully and disgracefully abandoned by those who ought to stick by her in the time of trial.

Mr PHILIP BARRON thanked them most sincerely for the kind manner in which they had received his name. There was no one who valued more highly the good opinion of honest men. Though he was not fond of taking a forward or promiscuous part, he would not, however, shrink from any post where he might be wanted, or could be of any use.

Mr PHILIP BARRON stated he had nothing to say to the toast, having so fully expressed his sentiments before. He had acted undeviatingly through evil report and through good report, and nothing should induce him to forego those opinions to which he was so long and so firmly attached.

Mark Saurin has got an appointment, with a salary of £1500 a year?—would they send Mr Major to Clane—Sergeant Lacey to the North—and Barker and Doherty to Borrisokane, to dilate on the distinction between "protection" and "persecution?"

Mr CURTIS—I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for this distinguished mark of your approbation. As an elector of the County, and as a citizen of Waterford, I shall be always at my post, and ready to assist in any measure calculated to promote the interests of the people and of the County at large—loud applause.

Mr CURTIS again rose and proposed—Mr JOHN BARRON and the independence of the County. Mr JOHN BARRON returned the meeting his warmest thanks for this additional mark of their esteem. To the citizens of Waterford he owed a deep debt of gratitude.

Mr LAWLESS commenced by complimenting the ladies he saw present. He never saw an Irish assembly, or indeed any other assembly, which was not benefited by the presence of the ladies. Applause and laughter.

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the same time sealed their own doom. They had aroused and arrayed against them all that was honest and virtuous in the community.

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to Waterford, people generally, much has been done for the present contest. The men who have taken so active and disinterested a part in the present contest, are the friends of the Independent Interest, and the friends of the people.