

The Waterford Chronicle.

This is the Foundatory Slave that makes the Oppressor. — TACITUS.

No 503

TUESDAY, JULY 13, 1830

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PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

(From the Special Reporter of the Freeman's Journal.)
London, Tuesday, July 8, 1830.

It is only now, at the very demise of the Parliament, that Irish business is being done by the House of Commons. Last night

"THE IRISH ARMS BILL"
was brought forward about ten o'clock, in a very thin house. I saw only five Irish members in the house during the discussion, and these are, Mr. O'Connell, Lord Killean, Mr. A. Dawson, Mr. Jephson, and Mr. Spring Rice. Now, a more despotic Act of Parliament cannot easily be conceived than this very one; it prohibits any arm, upon any pretence whatsoever, from carrying fire arms. It is an Act, which a ministry would dare bring forward against any part of the British empire except Ireland; that wretched country which British ministers govern worse than they do the barbarous and uncivilised herds of Indians over whom they rule. A very interesting discussion arose upon the subject of this Bill, but not a word of it appears in the London morning papers that I have seen. As soon as Lord F. L. Gower had proposed the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. O'CONNELL rose and said— I object, Sir, to this bill, because I consider it unnecessary and partial, and because I think it unjust, impolitic, and unconstitutional. I am as desirous as the Noble Lord (F. L. Gower) to see Ireland quiet, and it is for this reason that I object to this Bill. The true way to govern a free people is not by force, but by conciliation; not by despotic laws, but by justice. Hear, hear. I ask, then, is this law just— is it conciliatory? It is not, Sir, another Irish ingredient which the Noble Lord means to throw into the cauldron of discontent which the Irish Government are heating every hour in Ireland? But it is also an unjust law, for it confounds the peaceable with the turbulent—the sober and industrious with the outlaw and highway man. By this act no man in Ireland can carry arms, even in self defence. If a gentleman wishes to go a journey by night, and that he carries pistols to protect himself against footpads, he, under this act, will incur a penalty of £50 and a forfeiture of his carriage and horses. I am as anxious as any man can be to deprive bad and vicious men of arms; but this act will not have this effect. It will deprive the peaceable and good of those weapons which they have merely for protection, whilst the miscreant whom the Noble Lord would come as will still keep his arms to the terror of the King's peaceable subjects. Hear, hear, hear. There is, Sir, another reason why I object to this Bill. If the people are governed well, there is no necessity for an arbitrary and unconstitutional law of this nature to keep them quiet. Hear, hear, hear. Will the Noble Lord promise the House that he will disarm the turbulent yeomanry of the North? Hear, hear, hear. The cry has already been raised in that province by members of the government, by gentlemen who usually sit behind the Right Hon. Secretary, and style him their "Right Honourable Friend"—and this for party and electioneering purposes—hear, hear.— Will the Noble Lord induce his political friends to dismount from office these factious and evil disposed men, who are straining every nerve to mar the effects of the Relief Bill, and to perpetuate rancour, animosity, and religious warfare between the Protestants and Catholics of the North of Ireland? Hear, hear, hear. The shout of strife has been already raised, and again are we to have a revival of deadly feuds, and a recurrence of party outrages in the North. Why does not the Noble Lord prevent this?—and he and his confederates can do it if they please. Let them but dismiss the factious from their pay, and that moment will Orange riots cease to stain the character of the province of Ulster—hear, hear, hear. I arraign the Irish government as a party to this unfortunate state of things. Since the passing of that measure, which they themselves carried through Parliament, the government have not done one act calculated to give it practical effect; on the contrary, the old system of favouritism and partiality is kept up, and instead of rendering the Relief Bill effective, the Irish government have as far as in them lay, rendered it abortive. The people themselves, however, see their own interest—they are beginning to look through the screen and to perceive the base motives of those who so long had kept, and still would keep, them divided, and they are becoming daily more and more kindly and friendly to each other—hear, hear. But, I repeat it, all this good has been achieved in despite of the conduct of the Irish government. Are not the same wretched hacks, the same factious miscreants still retained in office at the Castle of Dublin?—Hear, hear. Is not the factious of that base faction, which for centuries passed as an incubus upon the energies of the people of Ireland still in power in that unfortunate country? Are not the streams of justice still poisoned at their source by the same noxious party which for one hundred and forty years destroyed every kindly feeling in Ireland? Do not I see the same intolerant underlings—the same bigoted partisans—the same violent incendiaries still exercising authority and influence in the administration of affairs in Ireland? And how then can it be expected that the people should be quiet, and amenable to the laws? Pray the people will, and they will be loyal and obedient—hear, hear. But the people are to be ruled with a rod of iron—if partiality and favouritism are still to continue. I call the Noble Lord, not at the despotic Acts of Parliament he can devise, will make Ireland peaceful or happy—hear. The same system of misgovernment, of which I have been complaining, extends also to the bench.—Why is it that men of no ability, briefless barristers, are promoted to the ermine? If the Government wish to make the people obedient to the laws, they will see them properly administered. Now, can it be

imagined, that the laws will be respected, when men are made their dispensers who have no professional character—whom the people have shown no confidence in by giving them employment during their career at the bar—whom only merit consists in their servility to the minister—their subserviency in this House. Hear, hear.— A vacancy will soon occur upon the bench in Ireland, and I hope Government will show their desire to have the laws respected and obeyed, which can be accomplished only by having them well and impartially administered—by overlooking parasites and appointing some lawyer of character and eminence to the vacant seat. Hear.— There are at the Irish bar many men of this description, out of whom I should judge may easily be selected. There are, Sir, at the bar men of integrity, of great professional eminence, of high moral character, of independent feeling—any one of whom would reflect honour upon the bench, and make justice palatable to the people. There are, Sir, such men as Mr. Holmes and Mr. Perin, of the Protestant bar—and Mr. O'Leighen and Mr. Ball, of the Catholic bar—who never mix themselves up in the business of party or of faction, and who have risen by splendid talents and assiduity—and not by favour or servility either to the court or to the bench—to the highest professional rank at the bar. Such men as these would reflect dignity upon the ermine. Instead of being dignified by it, they would make the laws respected by administering them impartially. I do not, of course, presume to dictate to the Government whom they should appoint to the vacant seat on the bench. My naming any one might be a sufficient cause with the administration to pass him over; but I throw out the suggestion, and I tell ministers, and I tell this house, it is by doing justice to the people—by promoting men for their professional talents, and not on account of their abilities in intrigue—hear, hear—and by putting an end to the scandalous system of partiality that has hitherto prevailed in Ireland, that they can pacify that country, and not by such despotic enactments as this Bill before the House. Cheers. There is, Sir, another topic upon which I would wish to suggest a few hints to the Irish Government. There is in that country an armed police, paid by the people better than the brave army of the empire, for the sole purpose of sabring them into violence and disorder. The whole of this establishment requires an immediate revision. The manner in which the policemen are appointed, and the motives which influence the appointments are also mischievous and irreparable. In no other country but Ireland would such a profligate system be tolerated for one day. Will it be believed that in Ireland men are put into the police, just because they ought not to be there? This is a startling statement, but it is a literal fact. In Ireland men are appointed peace conservators, solely because they are known to be peace resistors. It is not the man of quiet, peaceable, and industrious habits, who has no political creed, and who has not stained his hands by shedding the blood of those who differ from him in religion, that is ever appointed to a situation in the Irish police. No, Sir; the qualifications for office in that country are cruelty, violence, partizanship, orangeism, a thorough contempt for the laws, and a rooted hatred to the people. Is it not most mischievous that these men should have the entire control over the country?—Hear, hear. The half-civilized, half-military captains of this body have a degrading authority over the resident, unpaid magistracy—the respectable country gentlemen of Ireland. This system of surveillance is degrading to the magistracy, and renders it contemptible to the commission of the peace. I say again, Sir, the whole system requires revision and a speedy amendment. The system of dismissing magistrates in Ireland is also insulting to the gentry of that country. Who would hold the commission of the peace—what gentleman of rank, and independent fortune and spirit, would consent to be insulted with a magisterial commission, if the Chancellor, or the government, are at liberty, in a capricious moment, or from party, unworthy motives, to dismiss a magistrate, without even condescending to assign a reason for so doing?—Hear, hear. This is no ordinary case. It has occurred in Ireland. Gentlemen were insultingly deprived of the commission of the peace, because they had the courage to support me at the Clare election. I regret exceedingly that the session is so near its close, for otherwise, I would most assuredly have called upon the house to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the government in the cases I allude to. Then there is the Subletting Act still unrevoked—still unamended. That act is, in my opinion, the most unjust, the most impolitic, the most unwarrantable that ever yet obtained the consent of Parliament. It is an act passed by the aristocracy, for the purpose of doing a ray with small farms.— Now, even admitting—which I by no means do, but for the sake of argument—that this is an object to be desired, still the advocates of it must admit, that in order to obtain a speculative good, they must do immense immediate injury.— Have I not then a right to denounce this act, as outrageous in its principle and mischievous in its tendency; and have I not also a right to complain of the government and of the Members of this House for not even amending this cruel law?— In my country, a few days ago, a meeting was held at Killarney, and it was there stated that the distress of the town was greatly increased by the inundation upon them of two hundred starving men and women who were banished out of their little tenements upon Lord Healy's estate, by the operation of this very Subletting Act. There also is the Vestry Bill, about which I have already so often addressed the House; that at present I shall only say, if I have a seat in the next Parliament, I will again and again bring the subject before the house. Then there is the grand jury system—the greatest system of abuse and peculation that ever disgraced any country. Why, Sir,

should a few gentlemen, appointed at the mere whim of a sheriff, be suffered to impose a tax of one million a year upon the people, and that, too, in a great degree for their own private uses?—Hear, hear, hear. And last, and worst of all, there is the oppression act—the most infamous that disgraces the statute-book of this empire.— Would the people of England for one hour submit to such an outrageous, such a despotic law? Can it be wondered at that the people of Ireland should be clamorous and disquieted, when a law exists in that country that empowers the Lord Lieutenant, at his mere will and pleasure, and without any cause but his own caprice, to disperse any assembly, even of four persons, no matter how constituted, and never may be the motive of their meeting, and the object of their discussion; and yet the remedy for the evil which the Noble Lord proposes is the arms bill? I have thrown out these suggestions for the government and for the legislature, and should I have the honour of a place in Parliament next year, there is not one of these subjects that I shall not bring—day after day, night after night, hour after hour—before the house, until something is done for the real benefit and good of the people, and for the effectual tranquillization of the country.—Hear, hear.

Lord F. L. GOWER said he rose to state that his only object in bringing forward this bill was to advance the prosperity by promoting the peace of Ireland. That object could not be attained better than by taking arms out of the hands of mischievously disposed persons. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman, the Member for Clare, and he (Lord Gower) had the same object in view—the peace and prosperity of Ireland; but their notions of the means by which this good could be obtained differed. He (Lord F. L. G.) was satisfied the bill before the House was calculated to promote the peace of Ireland, and therefore he proposed it to the consideration of the house. He hoped his not replying to all the arguments of the Hon. and Learned Member would not be considered as offensive to the Learned Member, or as admitting the exact accuracy of all his statements; but it would take more time than could be spared at this period of the session to travel over all the ground that had been traversed by the Hon. and Learned Member.

Mr. HUME—It is extraordinary that the Noble Lord, the representative of the Irish Government, should have sat down without replying to and endeavouring to explain the (rightful) charges of corruption and partiality which my Honourable Friend (Mr. O'Connell) has made against that Government—hear. If the state of things in Ireland be as my Hon. Friend has stated, and the silence of the Noble Lord seems to imply, either that it is true or that he could not contradict it, it is no wonder that the people of that country should be violent and turbulent. On the contrary, it is to me very surprising that they are so quiet under the load of grievances of which they have so much reason to complain—hear, hear. Treat the people of Ireland well, treat them quietly, and not like a conquered country, and then you may dispense with oppressive Acts of Parliament—hear. But the system of Government seems to be—first, to drive the people into rebellion, and then to pass a law making it a crime to carry arms. I say again, if His Majesty's ministers give the people of Ireland protection—if they afford them justice against local oppression, they may safely intrust arms into their hands, as is the case in Scotland. It is time for the people of England to look to this—Ireland, which ought to be, and which, if properly managed, would be a great support to the empire, has been on the contrary for many years a drag upon England, owing to the misgovernment of that country. Why is it necessary to keep up a standing army of 30,000 men perpetually in Ireland? Simply because the people of that country have been driven into crime and desperation by a series of misrule. As long as factious men—as long as intolerant incendiaries are suffered to govern, in reality, that country, so long will it be necessary to enact such laws as this long before the chair. If the people are treated properly there is no danger in their carrying arms; and if they are treated badly, for one would think it fortunate that they had arms in their hands to protect themselves against unjust government.—Hear.

Lord FRANCIS LEVESON GOWER said, when the time arrived at which it would be necessary for him to defend himself from the charges of the Honourable and Learned Member for Clare, he would be then prepared to show that he had never lent himself to a system of partiality in Ireland. At present, however, he would not enter into a discussion upon the subject. The Bill was then read a third time and passed. It is to continue in force only for one year.

WELSH JUDICATURE.

The Welsh judicature question also came before the house. Mr. O'Connell spoke at considerable length and with consummate ability upon it; and Sir Robert Peel complimented him highly by stating, that he supported the clause (for its amendment) principally upon the grounds suggested by the Honourable Member for Clare.

TOLLS AND CUSTOMS.

The committee of tolls and customs are still sitting. Yesterday, the examination of Mr. Conway was resumed. The picture he drew of the system of outrage and extortion which had prevailed in the counties of Waterford, Cork, Tipperary, and Kerry, made a deep impression upon the members of the committee. He also stated that for 1800 he would put down the taxation of illegal tolls in every part of Ireland. Lord Gower thanked him warmly for his valuable testimony and for the labour and expense he had been at in putting an end to the shameful system of toll collecting that hitherto prevailed throughout Ireland.

Mr. Moore, of Dublin, was also examined but through the management of Mr. Moore, strangers were, in this instance alone, prohibited from being present during the examination of the witness. However, I have been able to learn the particulars. He admitted he had not known any thing about the business for the last sixteen years—he praised the market juries and the clerks of the market, and said it was necessary to watch the big market in order to prevent fraud &c. Mr. Jephson and Mr. Alexander Dawson pressed the worthy Alderman hard, to know what fraud could be committed in the big market, and the witness was obliged to admit he knew nothing at all about the matter—and admitted his evidence. You may suppose the sensation that met all their might will restore the system of abuse in which they were engaged. John Charles Balfour had a very liberal and full ground of hope on this head. Mr. Whitehead, of Drogheda, was examined on this day—his evidence was, of course, again the usual or a combination of tolls at fairs and markets, and especially in corporations.

Mr. SPRING RICE has not reported as yet from the poor laws committee. If not greatly misinformed, the report will confirm the opinion I offered some days ago relating to that committee. A rate for the maintenance of the aged and infirm will be recommended, and that is all. What a piece of lumbering this! Why, if the young and able bodied get employment, will they not support their aged and infirm relatives? Any man who knows anything of Ireland, must answer in the affirmative. Mr. Rice would feed the sick and aged, but the young and healthy will order to die in the ditches, or first make them sick and infirm, and then relieve them. What a legislator working for place and for his noble father-in-law, the worst landlord in Ireland?

There have been crowded meetings of the Whigs for the last four days at Lord Hilland's. The ministry cannot stand.

Mr. O'CONNELL presented a petition from Coolock and Santry, against the additional taxation of Ireland.

Mr. O'CONNELL presented a petition from John Swift, a suitor proctor, complaining of the mode of apprenticeship adopted by the Court of Probate in Ireland. Apprentices were bound to the register of the court, who had received fees from 200l. to 500l. and finally to 1000l.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 7.

THE APPROACHING ELECTION.

On the motion of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, the House resolved itself into a Committee on the Exchequer Bills' Bill. In the Committee,

Mr. HUME said, as the great subject of complaint at present was the burdome nature of our taxation, he would venture to suggest to the country at large, that the means of reducing it would soon be placed unceasingly in its power. On analyzing the constitution of the House of Commons, he had discovered that it was still in the power of Englishmen, if they were true to themselves, to return a majority of Members to it, independent not only of the boroughs, but also of the Government itself. There were eighty County Members, who ought, one and all, to vote for the interests of their constituents; but he was sorry to say, that there were not more than fifteen of them who regularly supported propositions for retrenchment.—From Wales there were twenty three Members returned by the popular voice. There were also sixty four Members returned by the freedom of boroughs, who, if they performed their duty honestly, would take care to return most honest representatives. There were fifty three Members returned by seat and lot; a more extensive right of suffrage could not exist, and it must therefore be the fault of the electors, if the representatives of these places did not attend to the wishes of the people. He found that there were twenty-seven Members returned by householders and householders conjointly. Such persons must be independent in their circumstances, and therefore, if not corrupt themselves, would return independent representatives. There were sixteen Members returned by resident freemen, six by townships, and twenty-five by some other right of suffrage, which the Hon. Member mentioned, but which was not heard in the gallery.— In Ireland, there were seventy-five Members freely elected by the people, making a total of 303 Members, who might be compelled, if the electors would only perform their duty, to support every proposition for promoting economy in the national expenditure. He had thus proved, that if the electors would only perform their part at the next election, they might get a House of Commons pledged to support all practical reductions; and why such a House of Commons, he had no doubt that our annual expenditure might be reduced from fifty-four millions to forty-four millions. If Members were only prepared to do their duty to the country, they need not be afraid of meeting such a House of Commons. Indeed, from every view that had recently taken place, he was inclined to think that the present Ministers when they had good measures to propose, found themselves trammeled in carrying them into execution by knots of borough members, who sent down their eight or ten Members each to protect their individual interests. Hear, hear, hear. A House of Commons honestly chosen by the people, would enable Ministers to laugh to scorn the efforts of these conspirators against the general welfare. If the Duke of Wellington and the Right Honourable Baronet opposite would act with manliness and resolution on the principles of economy which they professed, he should not be sorry to see them released from the trammels which now confined them, for he could assure them that he had no desire to see

them removed from their places, so long as the devoted themselves with heart and soul to the public service. He had seen several cases lately—the Bar Bill, for instance—in which, though their measures were good, they had been in great danger of being left in a minority. This was owing to two causes—the first was, that they were controlled, as he had before stated, by the borough members, and the second was, that the people of England had at the last election suffered themselves to be bought by individuals, who, in fact, were the most servile of slaves, their votes being sold by a party who, with an unscrupulous House of Commons, would not only be a minister. The loss of a position was the day for that election had gone by. He hoped that the House would not be misled by the Minister that the time had not yet come in which it was not necessary for the Minister to be a rogue. (Laughter, by which Sir R. Peel pined very heavily.) The Hon. Member then reverted to the state of the representation in Scotland.— There were forty five Members returned from that country, out of which number only five or six acted as independent men. Now, if the people of Scotland had seen the sense of a real representative system, a very different set of Members would be returned in Parliament. Instead of five or six home Members, they would have forty out of the forty-five members to advance the public interest. He really did hope, that when the Noble Duke found himself stung by the Aristocracy of that country, he would see that the best mode of getting rid of the swarms which they would then would be by giving additional power and privilege to popular interests.— Where did the House generally find the Scotch Members at present? Packing the Ministers for what they could get from the Treasury for themselves and their dependents—a laugh—and not at all regarding the advantage of the country. Look at the Irish Members. Were they better than the Scotch? Not a whit. When any great public question came on, they were either out of the way, or, if in the way, were with a few splendid exceptions, regularly found among the supporters of Ministers. Hear, hear. He hoped that from this day henceforward his Majesty and his Majesty's Ministers would only adopt such measures as were calculated to meet the wants and wishes of the people. If they did that, they would have an easy task of conduct to pursue.— They would no longer be in doubt whether upon this or that particular question they would be lost in a majority or a minority, points on which honest confessors that of late has often been a labor to form an opinion beforehand. Hear.

To him, indeed, the issue of such points was only matter of curiosity; but to the leader of his Majesty's Government in the House of Commons it must have been matter of opinion of character. For that reason he would advise Ministers to throw themselves at once for support upon the people. He hoped that when Parliament next assembled, it would see the situations of some of the Ministers better filled. There were many good men among them, but he wished to see more, for, as matters stood at present, the Right Honourable Baronet had the whole House on his shoulders shone. Hear. He trusted that this would not be the case again;—he trusted that the different parties in the House would, in the next Session, be all of them more effective than they had been during the present; he trusted that he should not see again a Bill three times reported, and then abandoned, a matter whether it required reform in the law, or duties in the customs.

Sir R. PEEL said, he had listened with great attention to the remarks which the Honourable Member for Aberdeen had just delivered to the country for the purpose of securing to the Government a large and overwhelming majority, by which he thought that Ministers ought to be supported. A laugh. The Honourable Member had spoken, and had stated truly, the difficulty which Ministers once but in carrying measures by which they believed that the interests of the public might be more advantageously forwarded. He himself, who was not without a strong conviction, that the removal of all individual interests opposed to what they considered the public interest, would stand by the election with the Hon. Member had just delivered, it would be found that the constant body had also a peculiar regard to its private interest, and that the representation was, in consequence, compelled to consult very closely its wants and wishes. In the course of the present Session Ministers had proposed several measures which they thought calculated to promote the general welfare of the people. Take one of them, the Beer Bill, as an instance. They had deemed it desirable to destroy the monopoly of beer; but it somehow or other happened that there were several Honourable Gentlemen, who, though they affected to agree with the principle of the Bill, were nevertheless with considerable opposition. That was a practical instance of the fact, produced upon the House by the mere mention of several bills—which, according to the Hon. Member for Aberdeen, ought to be disregarded, but which members, by some strange fatality, could not avoid to bring which would be the principal support of those who possessed them. Gentlemen had looked to the amount of votes at the next poll, and with that view had voted for the continuance of a monopoly which they all in the first instance had been ready to condemn. Under such circumstances he did not think that the Hon. Member for Aberdeen should have given the House such a representation as he had just administered to it. The Hon. Member had taken the opportunity of a general election, which was just approaching, to issue, after the manner of a no-glittering foreign potentate, a general exhortation to the electors. Hear, and a laugh. The Hon. Member must of course be believed from all anxiety about his own body.

THE WATERFORD CHRONICLE

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT. HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, JULY 2. There are a very interesting discussion upon the general vote of £1,126,531 to defray the expenses of the Irish miscellaneous estimates...

place Society invariably prevented as far as they could. His plan was one of sound policy, liberal, and fair play—bears—while that of the Society was, hypocrisy, disingenuousness, and national illiberality.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE. FRENCH PAPERS.

We have received the Paris papers of Friday. They contain a Telegraphic dispatch, dated Tunis, the 29th ult., of which the following is a copy. The Capricieuse, which sailed from Sid-Ferruch on the 23th of June, has arrived with despatches.

NEWS FROM SOUTH AMERICA.

NEWS FROM SOUTH AMERICA. LATEST FROM COLOMBIA.—The Packet brig Medina, at New York, twenty-five days from Cartagena, furnishes the following intelligence: The Medina sailed from Cartagena on the 6th May.

LOSS OF THE PACKET SHIP ROSTON.

LOSS OF THE PACKET SHIP ROSTON. By the packet ship George Canning, Captain Allyn, which arrived at Liverpool on Friday from New York, we have received American papers to the 28th ult. inclusive. They contain a political news of interest.—We extract the following:—

QUALIFICATIONS OF CANDIDATES.

QUALIFICATIONS OF CANDIDATES. (From the Freeman's Journal.) We are gratified to perceive that our respectable contemporary, the Evening Packet, concurs precisely with us in the views we have expressed regarding the qualifications of candidates.