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IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1834.

Mr. ROEBUCK, in moving "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the political condition of the Colonies," said that his excuse for moving forward the motion at the present time was the unusual and extraordinary position of the colonies to which the motion related. In order to induce the House to accede to his request for this committee of inquiry, it would be his business, in the observations which he should accompany it, to prove the following, among other things:—

1st.—That the provinces were at that moment in a state nearly approaching to open revolt; that Lower Canada particularly, as far as words could go, was actually in a state of revolution, the House of Assembly, their House of Commons, having formally seceded from all communication with the Executive, and also having expressly declared their intention to impeach their present Governor, Lord Aylmer. 2dly.—He should endeavor also to show that the present disturbed state of these colonies was the result of a long series of unconstitutional government, and that the actual outbreaking of the people at the present moment, sprang immediately from the extremely rash and petulant behavior of the present Secretary of the Colonies, who unfortunately for this country, after having successfully landed Ireland into a ship, had employed the same qualities to the same end in our transatlantic possessions. 3dly.—His last object, after having pointed out the evil, would be to suggest the remedy, and to that end he should endeavor to explain why he desired a committee of inquiry. Every one tolerably acquainted with the history of our colonies knew that the constitution or form of government now enjoyed by the Colonies was conferred on them by 31 George III., c. 31. The province of Quebec was by that act divided into the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and in imitation of the form existing in England, a triple power was created in that province, consisting of—1st, the Governor, who was supposed to be analogous to the King here—2d, the Legislative Council, supposed to be analogous to the House of Lords; and 3d, the House of Assembly, analogous to our own House of Commons. The Governor was an officer chosen by the Executive, and responsible to the people of England. Next came the Legislative Council. These councillors were appointed by the King, and for life. They were usually old official persons appointed to the office of councillor, as a reward for services, or for certain other purposes to which he should immediately advert. Lastly, the House of Assembly did really represent the people, at least in Lower Canada. One of the grand causes of all the bad government that had so long tormented these provinces was the composition of the Council, and that of the Legislative Council. These bodies hitherto had been two in name, but one in fact, the persons composing the one being the majority in the other; so that the persons composing the Executive Council could at any time put a stop to all the proceedings of Government, and follow to the utmost the sinister interests which they and their dependents wished to forward. Besides, these people formed a special society, and surrounded and hemmed in the governor, so that no one out of their tribe or party could reach him. They actually governed the country, disposed of all its places of profit and distinction, and not only ruled but insulted the people. While such was the nature and conduct of this petty oligarchy, he thought the House to consider the peculiar position of the people over whom they domineered. That people were in habits of daily, nay hourly intercourse with the republicans of the United States of America. They saw cheap government, and yet perfect protection—they saw the governing body having interests identical with the people, and possessed of their ever-advancing spirit of improvement, aiding all enterprise—in fact, performing the true functions of a government. With such a sight before them it was not wonderful that the Canadian people had imbibed the free spirit of America, and that they bore with impatience the insolence, the ignorance, the incapacity, and the vices of a nest of wretched officials, who under the fostering domination of England had constituted themselves an aristocracy, with all the vices of such a body, without one of the redeeming qualities which were supposed to lessen the mischiefs of the aristocracies. It was of a people thus: high spirited, pestered, and stung to madness by this pestilent brood that he was now about to speak. Some years after the constitution had been conferred upon them, and after repeated solicitations, the two provinces were permitted to provide for their own expenses, and consequently to rule the expenditure of the Government. It was curious to see what various forms, during the last twenty years, the desire of the official tribe to be freed from supervision had taken, and to how many various ways they had attempted to compass their end, and in all of these, be it remembered, they had been regularly supported by the Government at home. The House of Assembly, acting on behalf of the people, had been driven to various devices to maintain their necessary and legitimate control. To this end, as they had no money bill to pass annually, and as their chief expenses were comprised in their civil list, they had very wisely determined to pass the estimate of the civil list yearly. It was quite astonishing to learn what an outcry this determination raised amid the official tribe. Disloyalty, disrespect to his Majesty, and every evil quality that could possibly be found for the occasion, were attributed to the House of Assembly. And what he really did: it all meant? Simply this—the official tribe saw that by this means an annual supervision was insisted, and they were nearly vexed thereat. The people's representatives, desirous of complete control over the expenditure, determined to vote their money by instalments. As usual, the tribe employers set up a howl. This was destructive of the prerogative—dreadful, unbearable, republican, and cheap. The governors joined with the officials, and the Government at home joined with the governors. The whole business of the state was completely stopped, and confusion and every description of ill feeling between the people and the provincial go-

vernment necessarily followed. During the administration of Sir James Craig, certain members of the Assembly offended the governor by things said in the house, in their character of representatives. The governor arrested five of them and put them into the common gaol at Quebec; and one, who was afterwards a judge, he punished a whole year. They were eventually turned out of prison, unable to learn what was their offence, or to obtain a trial. This was one class of acts. He would now mention another. For many years the representatives of the people had endeavored to obtain from the executive an account of the moneys in the possession of the receiver-general of the province. This demand, wise, necessary, and important as it was, was steadily refused by the executive, and by some more steadily than that immaculate person, Lord Dalhousie. What was the result? The Assembly, after repeated refusals, evasions, and deceptions on the part of the executive, determined to lay on no more taxes, and thus drive the Governor to draw upon the Receiver-General. The result, by too truly verified their worst anticipation. The Governor, thus compelled, and no longer able to shelter the Receiver-General—Sir John Caldwell, did draw upon him, and then it was discovered that this servant of the Crown had disposed of £100,000 of the people's money, not to account? Was he punished? No such thing. He still possessed the property acquired by the money of the people; and was, moreover, a legislative councillor, and had lately been active in abusing that very nation whom he had before so unmercifully robbed. He had already observed that the war between the two parties had manifested itself in various shapes; all these, however, it was impossible for him then to describe. All that he was then desirous of effecting was to create a complete and civil conception of the sort of feeling that existed among the colonists. He wished to make the house understand that for years this unhappy country had been in a state of trouble and combustion, created and continued by this small band of official persons, who unfortunately, by means of the Legislative Council, and by the assistance of the home Government, had been able to keep in check the great body of the nation, with their representatives at their head. Change unfortunately took place in the way of this unprincipled tribe of official persons, another means of dividing the people, and thereby of strengthening their own pernicious power. In Lower Canada, the immense majority of the people were of French extraction. They spoke the French language, and were of the Catholic persuasion. Incessant had been the efforts of the party which he had so often characterized to make this difference of language and religion the means of discord and hatred among the people. In order to strengthen their own hands they had endeavored to create an English, as opposed to the French party; and in private as well as public life, even in the courts of justice they had endeavored to introduce this cause of jarring discord, of vulgar, and therefore of bitter animosity. Such was the state of the popular mind in Canada when the right hon. gentleman opposite became Secretary for the Colonies. It did so happen, however, that Lord Ripon, during the last five months of his administration as Colonial Secretary, had begun to be sensible of the real condition of the colony, and had begun partially to act in a way to conciliate the people. Hopes were thus raised among the Canadian people that the evils under which they had so long suffered were about to be removed. Now, before he described what the right honorable gentleman had done, let him ask, what course any man really cognizant of the condition of the people would have pursued in so peculiarly critical and delicate a position? Above all things he would have abstained from language that was likely to irritate or disgust the colonist. The right hon. Secretary, however, had assumed a dictatorial tone and manner; he had arrogated to himself the situation of a master, and had dealt with a generous and high-spirited people, as if they were willing to wait upon his nod, and bow down in abject submission before his supreme decrees. He had insulted the people's representatives—he had threatened them with coercion—he had thrust upon them his determination of maintaining monarchical dominion, and had insisted so firmly upon maintaining the King's prerogatives untouched, that he had seriously endangered them all, and had really rendered it doubtful whether the power of England could be maintained even a very few years longer. The House was, doubtless, by this time aware that the House of Assembly in Lower Canada had formerly seceded from all communication with the Executive; that they had passed a vote of determination to impeach Lord Aylmer, the Governor-General, acting under the command of the right hon. secretary, and that they had expunged from their journals the dispatches of the right hon. secretary, as being of a nature so insulting and derogatory to their own dignity and honour, as to be unfit to remain upon their records. But, it might be asked, what were the circumstances which had led to this deplorable result? He would briefly state them.—During an election for the city of Montreal a riot took place, and three offending Canadians, persons totally unconnected with any of the election proceedings, were shot by the military. Certain of the officers commanding were deemed culpable by the great body of the people, and it was necessary to have them brought to trial. In that country the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General acted as prosecutors, and claimed an exclusive privilege of prosecuting all offences committed against the Crown. But in this case it was notorious that the law officers were sent from Quebec to shield the officers. Those persons who deemed the officers guilty sought to have an advocate to aid the prosecution, besides the law officers thus belittled; but this was refused, and it was now said by this disappointed people (with how much justice it was not for him to say) that the military officers were, by the favour of the law officers, saved even from trial. The grand jury, which it was asserted were packed, ignored the bills; and then the governor, in direct opposition to the feelings of the people, issued a general order, praising the officers and the soldiers who had thus killed the unoffending passengers. The public mind

was wrought into a flame by this proceeding, and the House of Assembly spent much time last session in prosecuting a very minute investigation of the matter; and the publication of the evidence laid before them did not a little tend to heighten the exasperation of the people, and to sharpen their jealous feelings against the Executive and the Judiciary. While the public were thus in a state of fermentation from these various causes, the right hon. secretary came into office.—The first matter in which he had given such bitter offence to the people of the province was that relating to the address of the House of Assembly respecting the Legislative Council. The evils complained of in the composition of the Legislative Council were, that as now constituted that body had interests diametrically opposed to the interests of the people. That neither by birth, by predilection, nor by property, were they connected with the people of the country, and the subject of the House of Assembly was to make them so. The House of Assembly proposed to the Right Hon. Secretary, through the Governor, that in order to learn what really were the wishes of the people, a body of persons should be called together, after having been elected by the people, in order simply to determine this single matter—viz. what alteration they desired in the Legislative Council. This plan was proposed—1st, to learn distinctly the opinions of the people; 2d, to insure a quiet and deliberative consideration of a very grave matter; for as the representatives in this case would be charged with one matter alone, and acting under a very serious responsibility, it was believed that they would be the more likely to give it a singular and complete attention. Now, this body thus proposed to be called together was unfortunately termed a convention. The Right Hon. Secretary immediately called it a Nation's Convention, and straightway there dawned before his imagination the recollection of the French Revolution and the disastrous year of 1793; and the revolutionary leaders and deeds of that day all rushed upon his mind, and in an agony of terror and indignation he penned a pithy despatch to Lord Aylmer, respecting the proposal of the House of Assembly. He would now beg the House to weigh this matter more carefully than the right honorable gentleman had done, and to endeavor to learn how monarchy and monarchical institutions were to be destroyed by the simple, and, he thought, extremely proper method suggested by the house of assembly. It appeared that the House of Commons, itself supposed to be a democratic body, proposed that alterations should be made in a particular portion of the provincial government—what alterations it did not, however, specify. Thus, then, in order to learn what those alterations should be, the house of assembly proposed that a body of persons should be elected by those most interested in the matter, and by those most certainly best able to judge of the wants and wishes of the people, viz. the people themselves, in order to suggest the requisite changes. It was a wise and considerate proceeding, and in no way deserving the rebuke and reproaches which the right honorable secretary too rashly hazarded. Had the right hon. secretary considered for a moment, he must have been aware that the people of Canada were not copying revolutionary France, but quiet and well governed America. Would he not (if acting wisely and calmly), even if he differed from the House of Assembly, have expressed in very temperate language his dissent—have stated quietly his reasons for dissent—have pointed out some other, and what to him appeared a wiser plan? But he did none of these things. He at once, and without disguise, accused a whole body of representatives, who had been acting in the solemn discharge of a sacred duty, with desiring to overthrow the constitution of their country. He accused them of wishing to introduce republican measures, as if that epithet he at once condemned the proposed measure; and then, without further ado, he violently threatened them with a second edition of his Irish rebellion bill. Now what was the answer of the House of Assembly to this rash and inconsiderate menace? Just what any one acquainted with the people would have expected—just what any high spirited body would have given—and, for his part, had they given any other, they would have had his contempt, and not as now his sympathy. (The Hon. Gentleman here read forty-nine and fifty of the resolutions of the House of Assembly.) It appeared that certain persons proposed to have an elective council, and hereupon the right hon. secretary declared that the more rapidly the one and the other were got rid of the better. If they could not maintain their dominion over the colonies without also maintaining a scourge, their dominion was a curse, and if the people were wise they would cast us and the legislative council off at the same time. But here was no such necessity. He assumed that the government of England had no intention hostile to the interests of the people of the colony. The right hon. secretary, however, was not content with thus declaring war against the Assembly generally. He took care to quarrel with them in a matter peculiarly relating to their own privileges. The House of Assembly resolved that all members accepting place should vacate their seats, thereby making their constitution in that particular similar to our own. Some time since Mr. Moudlet, being that he thereby vacated his seat, and called upon the Governor to issue a new writ for the county of Montreal. The Governor refused to issue the writ, and reported his refusal to the right honorable secretary, who thereupon sent him the following dispatch. (Here the hon. gentleman read the dispatch.) It was quite evident that the right hon. secretary was egregiously in error when he asserted that the House of Commons never arrogated to itself that power. The sneering comparison of the knowledge and prudence of the House of Commons and of the House of Assembly was more fitted for the flippant critique of a reviewer than the grave document of a responsible officer; and that comparison, too, was made in favour of a body

who passed, *namine contradicente*, the resolution he had above quoted, who expelled Wilkes, and who, twelve years afterwards, expunged the record of that expulsion from their journals. The result of all this impudence on the part of the right hon. gentleman was, that the provinces were in reality without a Government; the three bodies of the Legislature were at open war, and no communication existed between them. By a denial to the people of their just demands they had been insulted. The resolutions of the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Stanley) had been rejected by the Assembly as being derogatory to them, and in the Executive the governor was powerless, and had utterly lost the confidence of the people. In addition to this, the judiciary was vehemently suspected by the whole province; so that, in fact, the administration of justice might be said to be at a stand. Was it not the height of madness to allow the confusion to continue? He had made out an sufficient case for the house to grant the committee. He had shown beyond all doubt that the provinces were in a state nearly approaching to revolution. He had explained that the cause of this great excitement was a belief existing in the minds of the people of the colonies that their Government was a bad one. He hoped, therefore, whatever else the right honorable secretary might say on this occasion, he would not oppose the resolution with which he intended to conclude. Let him recollect that the great republic of America, with her swarming children, adventurous, wary, and sagacious, was the close neighbour of the Canadian subjects; that 13,000,000 of enthusiastic Republicans would watch with intense interest, and with selfish views, any dispute that took place between the colonies and the mother country. Let him also be certain that if any rupture took place between them, the colonies would ask, and would indubitably receive assistance from their all powerful neighbors. And on what terms would that assistance be granted? But on one only—that the Canadians became part of the great federal republic. And when this event should take place, who was there that on surveying the vast possessions of that already Britton formidable power, but would tremble for the fate of England? With a coast unquelled in the whole habitable globe—with wise and beneficent institutions—with a well-instructed and sagacious people, where should that country fix the limits of her power—where find a check to her ever-whelming force? The fleets of England would dwindle into insignificance; her naval supremacy would shrink into obedient servitude to her transatlantic offspring. The day was not far distant which would see this prophecy fulfilled. If he rashly strove into rebellion the provinces of Canada. Yield to their wishes, on the other hand, and it would bind them to England by the gentle but firm bonds of friendship—friendship, and in the more northern territories of that happy continent a rival to the United States in force, in commerce, and in happiness. Gentle treatment, wise conciliation would affect this; but any rash and impetuous attempt of their desires would revive the disastrous days of 1774. The hon. and learned gentleman concluded by moving for the appointment of a select committee to send loud cries of "Hear, hear."

Mr. HUME seconded the motion.

The question having been put,

Mr. STANLEY said he trusted his best thanks to the hon. gentleman for the advice he had given him, and for the opportunity he had afforded him of informing the House of the present state of the Colonies. The hon. gentleman had conducted his statement to Lower Canada, and had omitted to state that in Upper Canada the greatest harmony existed between the Governor and the House of Assembly, and the people. The hon. gentleman complained, first, of the executive council, and next of the legislative council. The committee of the House of Commons that sat in 1823, reported on those abuses, and government had need every means in its power to provide a remedy, which every member should have a committee, for the hon. gentleman would prove in the committee, for the hon. gentleman should have an amendment containing the inquiry into perfect satisfaction; but the government both in this country and in Canada was on its trial, and all the charges should be inquired into. (Hear, hear.) At this time there were six officers in the executive council, and but three in the legislative council. He proceeded at considerable length to point out the labours of the Common's committee in 1823, the evidence then adduced, and the recommendations professedly by the said committee. Mr. Neilson was examined in support of the Canadian claims. He was particularly questioned on the subject of the legislative council, whether or not it ought to be elective. His answer was, that if it were elective it would be to make it dependent upon the popular vote, a result that Mr. Neilson said he should not like to see; on the contrary, he wished to see that Council constituted by means independent of the people. That witness also declared that the form of government was a good one—that it only required to be properly administered. The Common's Committee of 1828 recommended an increase of the Legislative Council; in 1834 it was increased to 33; and, instead of many being official men, there were now only seven who held government offices; twenty-seven were wholly independent of the government, and the others did not hold stations that compromised their independence. He was prepared to prove these facts before the committee; he would there submit the names; and if the facts were not as he represented the government had been greatly deceived. (Hear, hear.) In 1828 there were six Canadians in the Council; in 1834 there were eleven. In the year 1828 there were eight out of twenty-seven dependent on the government; in 1834 there were seven out of fifty-three members. Therefore, the complaints made, and the suggestions offered, by the report of 1828, had been in that case tolerably fully observed. As to his merit in these matters, since he had held the seals of the colonies, he had only endeavored to follow up what had been commenced by his predecessor (Lord Ripon). His despatches had been complained of. After the resistance and the exit of the House of Assembly, he had felt it to be his duty to speak plainly—he had not intended to express himself discourteously. (Hear, hear.) He had no alternative but to resist the preposterous pretensions

of that assembly—pretensions that, if listened to, must have led to the restoration of the balance of the constitution in Lower Canada. The maintenance of this resistance did not originate with him; it was begun by his predecessor, though he, undoubtedly, as a member of the government, had approved of such resistance. On the question of finance, the pretensions of the assembly were of the most preposterous character—they required to have the entire control of the revenue and the accounts, even to voting the salaries of the judges and the governor—a power which, he maintained, ought not to be vested in a popular assembly. Before the government would consent to surrender the local revenues to such authorities, it was required that the judges, &c. should be rendered independent of that power, of the consequences of being paid by its annual votes. The judicial part of the government ought to be entirely independent of any such assembly. (Hear, hear.) He was glad that the hon. member for Bosc (Mr. Roebuck) succumbed by his cheer such sentiment; because in doing so he sanctioned the whole course of conduct of the home Government. All that the government required, previously to the surrender of the revenues, was that the judiciary and the governor should, as far as regarded appointments and emolument, be rendered independent of the Assembly. The Common's Report of 1828 recommended that the judges should be made independent of the Assembly; the government, in the plan it proposed, even exceeded that recommendation, submitting that the Legislative Council and the judges should be rendered independent of the popular vote. But all propositions to establish a civil list on equal conditions, were resisted by the assembly of Lower Canada, though a similar plan, on like conditions, was acquiesced in by Upper Canada. Worn out by such resistance, the government had no alternative; they were obliged to pursue the course they had chosen. Something, to be sure, was proposed, namely, that the judges should be appointed for life, but no provision was made for the salary, therefore for remuneration they were to be dependent on the Assembly. Was not such a legislation a mere mockery? The bill, of course, was useless, but still the surrender of the revenues was required, and that not being conceded, an address was adopted, praying the King to dissolve the legislative council, and desiring that unless such a step were adopted, all intercourse with the British Government would be considered to be at an end. To acquiesce in the claims of the assembly would be to abrogate the government in the Colonies. To show the spirit with which the assembly acted, they six or seven times rejected Mr. Moudlet, although as often re-elected, on the ground that he had accepted office under the crown; it was a singular office, in the nature of a "privy" councillor. This was a singular arbitrary proceeding. Not only were there inadequate grounds for the Assembly's complaints, but the government had employed the recommendations of the Common's of 1828, which it was on election afterwards, and two of three years were unfortunately killed. The plan was fairly assembled, and the hon. gentleman through the contrary had been asserted. One bill for number was presented—that was ignored, but since a writ for Moudlet had been postponed, on the ground that no election could take place, on the allegation of the riotous state of Canada. That pretence was most preposterous; as another point, religious differences, they had unfortunately prevailed to a painful extent in Lower Canada; and all evidence showed the difficulty of adjusting them. No one would more ardently resist all interference with the religious duties and principles of the French Canadians of the Solitaires than himself; but, however, desirous they might be to preserve their feudal privileges, the British Parliament had a duty to perform, to protect British interests, capital, and subjects. (Hear, hear.) He saw no remedy for all the evils, but the union between the two Canadas. The measure, he admitted was violent, and he was not prepared to propose it at present; but unless British interests and capital met equal protection with those of the French Canadians of Lower Canada, that measure he was persuaded must be the result; and if it were rendered requisite, he hoped that the British Parliament would shrink from extending such protection. To show the reluctance of the French Canadians to do justice, he would ask what had been the effect of the Canadian "Well-to-do" act? (Mr. Roebuck—Tear down "Arts," "The Tea use" act. The opportunity afforded by it had not been adopted. Thus when the proposition of subjects and capital was British, could the injury and insecurity be allowed to continue? As to making the legislature non-elective, that would be to sacrifice British interests. He was not to be awed by menaces or influence, come from what quarter it might; and as he had offered constitutional resistance he should continue to do so, for the protection of British capital and interest. With respect to the council, there was as correct a proportion of the several inhabitants as could be ascertained. The government at home and that of the Colonies were upon their trial; and all that was asked was the fullest and freest enquiry. (Hear, hear.) Previously to concluding, he said, he should however ask the house to enable the government to make the judiciary of Canada and the Governor independent of the votes of any variable body as the Legislative Assembly. In that he thought he was not making too much; it was only requiring what took place in England? As to the state of Lower Canada—or the "revolt of words," as it had been justly termed—it must be recollected that it was nothing more than such a revolt; but the government was prepared to show before a committee, that it had not neglected its duty, and he would assure the house that it would endeavor to discharge its duty faithfully towards Lower Canada. He should agree to a committee of inquiry, but he would more an amendment of the terms of the notice, namely, that it be to inquire how far the grievances pointed out in the report of the House of Commons, in 1828, had been remedied, and how far the recommendation of that report had been complied with.

Lord HOWICK seconded the amendment.

(FOR CONTINUATION SEE FOURTH PAGE.)

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—THE UNION.

The debate proceeded with increasing heat and interest till past ten o'clock the evening morning (19th). Many members on both sides signified themselves to an extent that never could have been expected. The result of the convivial resolution at Lord Castlereagh's house, already mentioned, was actually exemplified and clearly discernible in an unexampled zeal, an uncongenial energy, unparalled for rancour, and an unusual animation broke out from several supporters of government, to an extent which none but those who had known the system Lord Castlereagh had skillfully suggested to his followers, could in any way account for. This excess of ardour gave to this debate not only a new and extraordinary variety of language, but an acrimony of invective, and an absence of all moderation, never before so immediately practised. This violence was in unison with the pugnacious project of anticipating the anti-unionists in offensive operations—some remarkable instances of that project were actually put into practice, and are not unworthy of being recorded in the Irish chronicles.

Mr. Bushe, the present Chief Justice of Ireland, was as nearly devoid of private and public enemies as any man. Endowed with superior talents, he had met with a corresponding success in an ambitious profession and in a jealous country. His eloquence was of the purest kind, but the more delicate edge, the deeper cuts the irony, and his rebukes were of that description; and when embellished by his ridicule, coarse minds might bear them, but the more sensitive ones could not. Mr. Plunkett's satire was of a different nature—his weapon cut in every direction, and when once unleashed, little quarter could be expected. His satire was, at times, of that corroding yet witty nature, that no patience could endure; yet, on this debate, both these gentlemen were assailed with intertidal by a person whose talents were despised, and the price of whose sedition glared in an appointment to the highest office at the Irish bar—a barrister without professional practice or experience, and who was not considered susceptible of black letter. As a statesman he had no capacity; and as an orator he was below even mediocrity, from an embarrassed pronunciation which seemed to render any attempt at elocution a most hopeless experiment. Such was Mr. St. George Daly, appointed Prime-Sergeant of Ireland in the place of Mr. Fitzgerald, raised over the heads of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and from a simple briefless advocate, elevated to the very highest rank of talented and learned profession.—Mr. Daly, however, was a gentleman of excellent family, and common sense, and what was formerly highly esteemed in Ireland, of a "fighting family." He was proud enough for his pretensions, and sufficiently conceited for his capacity; and a private gentleman he would have remained, had not Lord Castlereagh and the Union placed him in public situations, where he had himself too much good sense not to feel that he certainly was over-esteemed. This gentleman is particularly noticed, as on this night, he, in some points, overcame the public opinion of his incapacity, and he surprised the House by one of the most clever and severe philippics, which had been pronounced during the discussions upon the Union, more remarkable from being directed against two of the most pure and formidable orators in the country.

The contempt with which Mr. Daly conceived his capacity was viewed by the superior members of his profession, the impatience he himself felt for the ostensible situation he was placed in, the cutting sarcasms liberally lavished on his experience and his infirmity, in lampoons and pamphlets, combined to excite an extraordinary exertion to extricate himself from the humiliating taunts that he had been so long experiencing. Mr. Daly's attack on Mr. Bushe was of a clever description, and had Mr. Bushe had any vulnerable point, his assailant might have prevailed. He next attacked Mr. Plunkett, who sat immediately before him; but the materials of his vocabulary had been nearly exhausted; however, he was making some progress, when the keen sting of Mr. Plunkett was seen to assume a curled sneer, which, like a legion offensive and defensive, was prepared for any enemy. No speech could equal his glance of contempt and failure.—Mr. Daly received it like an arrow—it pierced him—he faltered like a wounded man—his vocal infirmity became more manifest, and, after an embarrassed pause, he yielded—changed his ground, and attacked by wholesale every member of his own profession who had opposed a Union, and termed them a disaffected and dangerous faction. Here again he received a reply not calculated to please him, and at length he concluded one of the most remarkable speeches, because one of the most unexpected, that had been made during the discussion. Every member who had been in the habit of addressing the house, now once who had never spoken, on that night made warm, and several of them eloquent orations.

Mr. Peter Burrows, a veteran advocate for the rights of Ireland, wherever and whenever he had the power of declaring himself,—on this night made an able effort to uphold his principles. He was a gentleman of the bar who had many friends, and justly;—nothing could be more ungracious than the manner, nothing much better than the matter of his orations. His mind had ever been independent to crime, and his opinions too intractable for an arbitrary minister; on this night he formed a noble and distinguished contrast to those of his own profession, who had sold themselves and the representation for a mess of pottage.

The House had nearly exhausted itself and the subject, when about seven o'clock in the morning, an incident the most affecting and unexpected, occurred, and which is too precious a relic of Irish Parliamentary chronicles not to be recorded.

The animating presence of Mr. Grattan on this first night of the debate was considered of the utmost importance to the parties; it was more than raising the standard of liberty in parliament. He had achieved the independence of his country in 1782, and was the champion best calculated at this crisis to defend it—his union of spirit, of talent, and of honesty, gave him an influence above all his contemporaries. He had been ungratefully defamed by the people he had liberated, and taking the calumny to heart, his spirit had sunk within him, his health had declined, and he had most wisely succeeded in disgust from parliament, at the very moment when he was most required to defend both himself and his country. He seemed fast approaching to the termination of all

family objects, when he was induced once more to shed his influence over the political crisis.

At that time Mr. Tighe returned the members for the close borough of Wicklow, and a vacancy having occurred, it was tendered to Mr. Grattan, who would willingly have declined it; but for the importunities of his friends.

The Lord Lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh, justly appreciating the effect his presence might have on the first debate, had withheld the writ of election till the last moment the law allowed, and till they conceived it might be too late to return Mr. Grattan in time for the discussion.—It was not until the day of the meeting of Parliament that the writ was delivered to the returning officer. By extraordinary exertions, and perhaps by following the example of government in oversteering the law, the election was held immediately on the arrival of the writ—a sufficient number of voters were collected to return Mr. Grattan before midnight. By one o'clock the return was on its road to Dublin; it arrived by five; a party of Mr. Grattan's friends repaired to the private house of the proper officer, and making him get out of bed, compelled him to present the writ to Parliament before seven in the morning, when the House was in warm debate on the Union. A whisper ran through every party that Mr. Grattan was elected, and would immediately take his seat. The Ministerialists smiled with incredulous derision, and the Opposition thought the news too good to be true.

Mr. Egan was speaking strongly against the measure, when Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore (now Judge of the Common Pleas) walked out, and immediately returned, leading, or rather helping Mr. Grattan, in a state of total febrility and debility. The effect was electric. Mr. Grattan's illness and deep chagrin had reduced him to a form, never symmetrical, and a visage at all times thin, nearly to the appearance of a spectre. As he feebly tottered into the House, every member simultaneously rose from his seat. He moved slowly to the table; his languid countenance seemed to revive as he took those seats that restored him to his pre-eminent station; the smile of inward satisfaction obviously illuminated his features, and remission and energy seemed to kindle by the labour of his mind. The House was silent.—Mr. Egan did not resume his speech.—Mr. Grattan, almost breathless, as if by instinct, attempted to rise, but was unable to stand—he paused, and with difficulty requested permission of the House to deliver his sentiments without moving from his seat. This was acceded to by acclamation, and he who had left his bed of sickness, to record, as he thought, his last words in the Parliament of his country, kindled gradually till his language glowed with an energy and feeling which he had seldom surpassed. After nearly two hours of the most powerful eloquence, he concluded with an undiminished vigour, miraculous to those who were unacquainted with his intellect.

Never did a speech make a more affecting impression; but it came too late. Fate had decreed the fall of Ireland, and her patriot came only to witness her overthrow. For two hours he recapitulated all the pledges that England had made and had broken—he went through the great events from 1780 to 1800, proved the more than treachery which had been practised towards the Irish people. He had concluded and the question was loudly called for, when Lord Castlereagh was perceived earnestly to whisper to Mr. Corry—they for an instant looked round the house—whispered again—Mr. Corry nodded assent, and amidst the crisis of question, he began a speech, which as far as it regarded Mr. Grattan, few persons in the house could have prevailed upon themselves to utter. Lord Castlereagh was not clear what impression Mr. Grattan's speech might have made upon a few hesitating members; he had, in the course of the debate, mused the question of adjournment; he did not like to meet Sir Laurence Parsons on his motion, and Mr. Corry commenced certainly an able, but towards Mr. Grattan, an ungenerous and unfeeling personal assault.—It was useless—it was like an act of a cruel despotism, and he knew it could not be replied to. At length the impatience of the House rendered a division necessary, and in half an hour the fate of Ireland was decided.—

The numbers were—
For an adjournment, Lord Castlereagh had... 138
For the amendment... 96
Majority... 42
This decision, undoubtedly, gave a death wound to the Irish nation. Many, however, still fostered the hope of success in the Opposition; and Lord Castlereagh did not one moment relax his efforts to bribe, to seduce, and to terrify his opponents. The Anti-Unionists, also, lost no opportunity of improving their minority; and the next division proved that they had not. The adjournment was to the 5th day of February; the Union propositions, as passed by the British Parliament, were, after a long speech, laid before the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh; on that day Mr. Bagwell, of Tipperary County, seconded from government—the present Marquis of Ormond had also divided from it, and the minority appeared to have receded numerous acquisitions. Mr. Saurin, Mr. Peter Burrows, and other eminent gentlemen of the bar, now appeared to make the last effort to rescue their country.

Lord Castlereagh, upheld by his last majority now kept no bounds in his assertions and in his arrogance; and after a debate of the entire night, at seven the ensuing morning, the division took place. It appeared that the Anti-Unionists had gained ground since the former session, and that there existed 115 members of the Irish Parliament, whom neither promotion, nor office, nor fear, nor reward, nor ambition, could procure to vote against the independence of their country—though nations fall, that opposition will remain immortal. Lord Castlereagh's motion was carried in the extreme—he did not more expressly for any adoption of the propositions, but that they should be printed and circulated, with a view to their ultimate adoption.

This was opposed as a virtual acceptance of the subject; on this point the issue was joined, and the Irish nation was on that night, laid prostrate. The division was—
Number of Members... 300
For Lord Castlereagh's motion... 158
Against it... 142
Of Members present, majority... 43
Absent... 27
By this division, it appears that the government had a majority of the House of only eight, by their utmost efforts; 27 were absent, of whom every man refused to vote for a Union, but did not vote

at all, being kept away by different causes; and of consequence eight above a majority carried the Union; and of the 158 who voted for it in 1800, 28 were notoriously bribed or influenced corruptly.

Although this was ominous to the ultimate fate of the nation, the contest still proceeded with unremitting ardour—numerous divisions took place before the final catastrophe—in numbers, government made no progress, and never could or did obtain a majority of fifty on the principle of a Union. The details of the subsequent proceedings are not within the range of this desultory memoir.—The speech of Mr. Foster, the Speaker, against the measure, occupied four hours—a defence to his opinion, and a respect for his true patriotism, caused a dead silence throughout the entire of his oration—on any other occasion, that oration would have been overwhelming; but the question was, in fact, decided, before he had, in the committee, any opportunity of declaring his sentiments.

Some very curious facts occurred during the progress of the discussion which may be worth recording. The house was surrounded by military, under pretence of keeping the peace, which was not in danger, but, in fact, to excite terror. Lord Castlereagh also threatened to remove the Parliament to Cork, if its proceedings were interrupted. But, unfortunately, the Anti-Unionists had no efficient organization, no decided leader; scattered and desponding, they did not excite sufficient external exertion; destiny seemed to resign the nation to its fate; their own brethren forsook them. The Bishops' Troop, Loughlin, and others, debased by the Viceroy, sold their country, and basely betrayed their flock, by promoting the Union—the great body of Catholics were true to their country, but the rebellion had terrified them from every overt act of opposition—all was confusion—nothing could be effected against Lord Castlereagh, who had one million and a half to bribe with, under pretence of compensation—besides, the secret service money of England was at his command, and that was boundless. Had the proposal been made two years later, all the wealth and power of England could not have effected the annexation.

The subject is now ended—posterity will appreciate the injuries of Ireland. The only security England has for the permanence of the Union, is a radical change in the nature and the genius of the people; or a total change of system in the mode of governing. How blind must those governments be which suppose that Ireland ever can be retained permanently by the coercive system! Eight millions of people, whose lives cannot be precious to them, never can be permanently yoked to any other nation, not much more physically powerful, and not near so warlike, save by a full participation of rights and industry; with employment, protection, and any means of subsistence, the Irish might be the easiest managed people on the face of Europe; naturally loyal; naturally tractable; naturally adapted to labour; it is a total ignorance of their character abroad, with a system of petty tyranny at home, that destroys this people; governing by executions has the very opposite effect from the intended; death is too common to have much terrors for a desperate peasant; hang 100,000 every year, it would make no sensible diminution of the Irish population, and certainly would add nothing to the tranquillity of the country; on the contrary, every execution increases the number of the dissatisfied—who can be contented with the execution of his kindred? The only guardians of that devoted people, the only persons who could direct or guide them, are now, by the Union, far ever taken away from them; their landlords now reside in other countries; no labourers are now employed on the old demesnes that supported them. What are they to subsist upon? An idle population can never cease to be a disturbed one; and, if it is possible to convince the English people that the state of Ireland most soon influence their own condition, much will be effected; if England should be convinced that Ireland has been plundered, by a British Minister, of the only certain means of ensuring her tranquillity (a resident Parliament)—that the plunder has been without any beneficial operation to England herself—great progress will be made towards a better system. Half the time of the Imperial Parliament is now occupied upon a subject of which nothing but local knowledge can give a competent idea; and it is the opinion of the wisest and most dispassionate people, that now rest upon the state of the connexion, that either the Union must be rendered closer, and more operative for its professed objects, interests must be more amalgamated, and the nations dovetailed together; or the Union be altogether relinquished; the dilemma is momentous, but the alternative is inevitable.

THE WILLIAM FAWCETT.
The investigation respecting the burning of this fine vessel has elicited, we understand, no circumstance which can lead to a discovery of the cause of the fire. Great sympathy is felt among the mercantile interest of Dublin for Captain Fawcett, whose personal loss is considerable, and who, as a seaman and a gentleman, is universally esteemed.

INCENDIARISM IN THE ROYAL PARK AT WINDSOR.
It appears that the English incendiaries have extended their operations to the actual residence of the King. It is stated that during the last week the plantations in the Royal Park at Windsor have been frequently set on fire, and considerable damage done. The authorities at Windsor have been unable to discover the slightest clue to the perpetrators. A Police Inspector has been sent from London to institute an inquiry.

GAMBLING.—A few evenings ago an Italian, while playing his martingale at rouge et noir, was suddenly taken ill, but persisted in playing his last stake, 5000 francs, which he lost. His features became convulsed, his face changed to the hue of drab, he sank on the floor, and in a few minutes ceased to exist? The gentleman who related this dreadful fact said that he had once beheld a similar spectacle in St. James's street, on a Sunday evening, but that he would take care not to complete "the three warnings."—London Paper.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE.—The Paris correspondent of the True Sun says: "I am extremely sorry to announce that Lafayette is sinking fast, not in public estimation, but in health. His constitution, good as it is, must, I fear, ere long give way to the effects of advanced age, and cruel political disappointment. The government are trying everything to persuade him to go into the country for the benefit of his health." The veteran patriot's demise at Paris would somewhat shake the stability of the Percal cabinet.

REVERSAL OF THE SENTENCE PASSED ON MR. RADFORD-ROE.

Lord Denman, assisted by Lords Kenyon and Stauford, and several of the learned Judges, sat this morning at ten o'clock, for the purpose of hearing arguments on writs of error. The first case called was that of the King at the prosecution of Nicholas Mabou, Esq. v. Richard Radford Roe, Esq.
The particulars of this very peculiar case were, some years since, frequently before the public; and it will be recollected that Mr. Roe was a barrister practising in the Four Courts at Dublin, and that in the year 1829 he was indicted, at the instance of Mr. Mabou, for subornation of perjury, in procuring a person called Mary Weston falsely to swear that the prosecutor was indebted to her in a sum of money amounting to £60,000. The trial was held before the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the jury, under his lordship's directions, found the defendant guilty; and after several ineffectual motions for arrest of judgment, on the ground of informality in the indictment, and want of evidence on the trial, which were argued for several days, the court overruled all the objections, and refused the application. Mr. Roe was consequently sentenced to be transported for seven years; upon which this gentleman appealed to the House of Lords by writ of error, and the case was appointed for hearing this morning.

On its being called on, the agent for Mr. Roe stated to their lordships that the house had been good enough to assign Mr. Follett as counsel for Mr. Roe, and that learned gentleman unfortunately had not returned from circuit; and the very short notice he had received of the case being heard, rendered it yet more unfortunate for his client, as he had not had time to retain other counsel.

Lord Denman expressed the regret their lordships felt at the absence of counsel; but, as the case was called on, they felt it right to hear what the Attorney General had to urge in support of the conviction and judgment.

The Attorney General addressed their lordships at great length, contending that all the proceedings were in strict conformity with the statute (Irish) 17 and 18 Charles II., under which it was laid. Upon this point he felt great confidence; but even if that did not prove his case, he had further to submit that the defendant having elected to go to trial on the plea he had put in, he necessarily waived the right to take advantage of technical objections to the indictment.

Lord Denman, after some remarks, submitted to his learned brothers the question of whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it was their opinion that the conviction was legal, ought to be sustained, or whether it was invalid.
The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, after consulting for a considerable time with the other judges, said, "We are unanimously of opinion that the conviction could not be sustained; that the indictment was not framed in conformity with the statute of Charles; and that the defendant had not been permitted to adopt the line of defence he was legally entitled to. For these reasons they were decidedly of opinion that the judgment of the court below ought to be reversed."

Lord Denman then moved their lordships that the judgment should be reversed. The noble and learned lord said that it must be a matter of deep and lasting regret that the defendant should be wrongfully confined for the long and painful imprisonment of nearly four years. It ought, however, to be remarked, that the defendant had himself considerably contributed to this delay, by signing no less than thirty distinct grounds of error, as well as by an application to be brought up to plead his own cause. This delay, however, their lordships had allowed, but it appeared that Mr. Roe could not command the pecuniary means of defraying the expenses attending on such a proceeding, and their lordships had no funds to appropriate to such a purpose. The judgment of their lordships, however, was, that the judgment of the court below be reversed, and that Mr. Roe, who is confined in Newgate be immediately discharged.—Standard.

UNION BETWEEN THE SYNOD OF ULSTER AND THE SECESSION SYNOD.
The idea of a junction between these two bodies has been often suggested; and, latterly, has undergone more direct consideration. On the 7th inst., a meeting took place in this town—we believe a breakfast or tea party, in the Temperance Hotel, at which a number of individuals, attached to each body attended, when it was agreed, that another meeting shall be held, on the 26th instant, in Dr. Hanna's meeting-house, "for prayer for the furtherance of this important object." The resolution appoints that Dr. Hanna shall open with prayer and singing; that Professor Edgar shall read and expound a portion of Scripture; that Mr. Cairns, (Professor Cairns, we suppose,) shall also pray and sing, and that Mr. Morgan shall conclude the proceeds with a prayer and benediction. The names of the Rev. Messrs. Henry, (Armagh), Coulter, Moffat, (Saintfield), Bellis, and some others, are mentioned as having been present. We have not learned whether any means of a more direct and business-like kind than the above have been contemplated, or effecting the junction spoken of.—Northern Whig.

THE WANDERING JEW.—An old man, named Francis Brimmond, pretending to be the "Wandering Jew," was arrested lately at Elich, in France, where he had availed himself of the pious credulity of many who lodged and entertained him. On being searched there was found upon him 25,000 francs in gold, which he had the impudence to assert was lent him by Jesus Christ, to defray the expenses of his journeys, but the Police Magistrate replied that the real "Wandering Jew" never had more than five sous in his pocket, and consequently took charge of this fund till due inquiries could be made.—Galassini.

FIDELITY OF THE DOG.—At a tavern called the Throats Nest, in the Scotland road, Liverpool, was a dog that belonged to a poor Italian, who wandered about with an organ and monkey. The Italian died and was buried, in the cemetery of the Catholic chapel, adjoining the tavern. For some time hunger alone induced him to leave his master's grave, but when the tavern was opened he became an inmate. Every morning, directly as the doors are opened, he may be seen going to the burial ground—where "All forgetting, by the world forgot" the poor Italian sleeps. A few days ago a monkey was taken into the parlour, and it was a singular sight to see the joy the poor creature manifested on the appearance of a member of the country of his old friend Jacko.—Derbyshire Courier.

COBBETT'S LIFE OF ANDREW JACKSON.

Barke called nobility "the cheap defence of nations." Look at our half-pay list; look at our pension list; look at the retired allowance list; look at this very family of Pakenham. We find this man had nine brothers, and sisters; one a lieutenant-colonel in the army; one a captain in the navy; one in the church; so far for the men; and, as to the women, I could be bound to read them all out if I had time; but, we know that one of them was the wife of Wellington. A pretty dearish defence of nations! I should think all this, but, not to waste any more words upon the subject, here we have all this swaggering nobility, this hunting down from "William de Pakenham," in the time of Edward the First, to the present time; and only think of their paying their moities: "Gloria virtutis umbra," that is to say, "Gloria is the shadow of virtue," a saying which we can hardly understand, the meaning of; but, the more senseless, the more, it excites the disgusting wonderment of stupid and base people. When a public robber gets into a carriage, with three or four Latin words written on it, and with the other insignia which he chooses to have put all the base part of the people, and that is not a small part, look upon him as something or other a wonderful deal better than themselves, unless this feeling be changed; I believe the people be cured of this baseness, nothing that can be done, even the most able and industrious, and by sealers, will ever render them better of them than now are. However, that which I have here libelled, will do real good in America; it will make the people there resolve to guard against all crafty and subtle approaches of aristocracy, which has always been begun by suffering wealth to be drawn into a small number of hands. When once that is done, then the sitting party begins; and then come all the surms under which we are now labouring. I shall be told that I have always been an advocate for government of the lords, and commons, and for bishoprics amongst the lords. Now, this is very true; and my argument always has been, those things which have had in their nature along with which such such power, possessed by so comparatively small a country; and such an immense mass of national resources of all kinds, to be gathered with a degree of reputation for integrity, frankness, and all public virtues, never surpassed by any other nation, and, indeed, never anything like equalled.

Well, then, ought you not to cherish those orders now? Are they not what they always were? Have we not still orders, marquis, earls, viscounts, to the time—? Stop; yes, my friend, you have dukes, marquises, earls, and viscounts; but those that we have now are no more like those in former times, than a French car is like those in town pipes, or than a Chinese peach (I mean the green bear that a white thistle) is like a French plum, or an early Melon. A peach is a peach; and, as words, more words, are quite as good as the more numerous and longer words that are used, to keep the word in all that has thought necessary.

Well, but in what do the present lords differ from the lords of former times? In every thing, except in the shape of their bodies; and the necessity of receiving their settlements, though with the latter I do not agree, that I am not admitting so much. The population of England, when called on in the war, and especially in defence of their country, were commanded by the lords; and the lords found, from their own experience, that the service, and their own pockets and interests, was the business of the lords; and they were not to be trifled with, in the war, and especially in defence of their country, were commanded by the lords; and the lords found, from their own experience, that the service, and their own pockets and interests, was the business of the lords; and they were not to be trifled with, in the war, and especially in defence of their country, were commanded by the lords; and the lords found, from their own experience, that the service, and their own pockets and interests, was the business of the lords; and they were not to be trifled with, in the war, and especially in defence of their country, were commanded by the lords; and the lords found, from their own experience, that the service, and their own pockets and interests, was the business of the lords; 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HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

On referring to our advertising copy... the Spring Show of the Water-Society will be held on Wednesday...

PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS.

The following are some of the notices and orders of the day:
TUESDAY, APRIL 15.—Mr. O'Connell—To revive the committee on the Dublin Ship Canal.

LATE MISSION FROM IRELAND OF THE NUNS OF THE PRESENTATION ORDER AT NEWFOUNDLAND.

It is almost universally known to Catholic Ireland that the Right Rev. Dr. Fleming, Bishop of Newfoundland, came over here last summer to seek for assistants among the Irish priesthood...

FASHION AND TABLE-TALK.

Mr and Mrs P. W. Tottenham, and Miss Tottenham, have left Dublin for their seat, Woodville, county Wick.

EMIGRATION TO NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

The following document has just been issued from the Colonial Office:
DOWNSING-STREET, APRIL 6, 1834.—Numerous applications have been received from persons desirous of emigrating to New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land...

THE MARKETS.

Table with columns: Market Name, Item, Price. Includes Waterford Markets, Flour, Bacon, Butter, etc.

PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS.

FRIDAY, APRIL 18.—Mr. O'Connell—On going into committee to supply to move the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the state of the currency...

PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS.

TUESDAY, APRIL 22.—Mr. O'Connell—Select committee to inquire and report on the means by which the execution of the Parliament of Ireland was effected...

PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS.

FRIDAY, APRIL 25.—Mr. Atwood—On going into committee to supply to move a resolution, that it is expedient to authorize the issue of notes under £5 by all persons and bodies of persons duly licensed for that purpose...

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