



AND
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HEARTS RESOLVED AND HANDS PREPARED, THE BLESSINGS THEY ENJOY TO GUARD.—SMOLLET.

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(From the Dublin Mail.)

LORD STANLEY'S BILL.

We this day resume our observations upon this great and vital measure, and intended to have done so by a fair comparison, upon their intrinsic merits, of Lord Stanley's and Mr. Pigot's Bills; but a ten years' experience of Radical villainy only teaches us how infinite are the resources of its falsehood, and how incapable we are of appreciating the extent of its baseness. We are not yet permitted to see Mr. Pigot's bill, and this leads us to the performance of another duty, perhaps as useful—that of exposing a system of treachery and deception in the Queen's advisers as despicable as any to be found in the whole annals of fraud.

It is already known to our readers how the present Whig Master of the Rolls, and the present Whig Justice Peirin, of the Queen's Bench, framed and introduced a bill in 1835 to remedy the same evils in our registration system, and by the same means of annual revision and appeal to the judges against improper admissions, as Lord Stanley now seeks to correct: and that that bill being sent to the House of Lords, with a multitude of others, in the last days of August, 1835, was dealt with by their Lordships as became the character of their own house, and the Ministerial manœuvres of that day.

It is also known how this same Sir Michael O'Loughlin, and that noble offshoot from the Howard tree, Lord Morpeth introduced a similar bill in 1836, which, although unopposed in any one of its healing provisions, was not entrusted to the Lords, lest, peradventure, their Lordships should take the Ministers at their word, and make them the unwilling instruments of an act of so much justice.

And lastly, it has been seen how, in 1838, the same Lord Morpeth, aided by the present Lord Chief Baron Woulfe, repeated the same lumbag, having learned in the O'Connell school, of which his Lordship is now one of the most distinguished pupils, to care as little about outraging common sense as common honesty; content to pay the price of character, as a public man, for the gratification of laughing at those who had the folly to trust to his professions.

Such was the history of Radical Reform, and such the efforts of Radical virtue to correct the admitted vices of our registration system at the commencement of the session of 1840. It was then tolerably apparent what the object of the O'Connellites had been, at all events, subsequent to 1835. The system of fraud and perjury established by the Irish Reform Bill, cooperating with the system of falsehood and intumescence inculcated and practised by the priesthood of Rome, was working too beautifully for the democrat agitators to permit its interruption. It was too clear and valuable a "beneficial interest" to the Irish traitors, lay and Maynooth, to suffer its diminution by Saxon interference. But its enormities were so glaring—its rank offences so smelted to Heaven, that something must be done. The public mind of England would not tolerate the continuance of such a nuisance. Therefore, said the honest Radicals, let us pretend to do something—let us compound a medicine which we need never administer—let us frame three bills which need never pass.

Vexed by this treachery to the principles of Lord Grey, and stung by this fraud upon his own measure, Lord Stanley—who had carried the Irish Reform Bill in 1832, and who, in doing so, had, over and over again, declared that he considered the registration system in both countries as an experiment to be adopted or discarded as the result of a trial should

indicate—determined that the ministerial subterfuge should succeed no longer, and that the British legislature should, at all events, have the fair opportunity of declaring itself upon the subject.

With this object, he took the course of a gentleman. He inquired of Her Majesty's Government meant to introduce any bill in the present session upon the subject of the Registration of Voters in Ireland? It was distinctly announced that the Government had no such intention; and, on the 25th February, his Lordship applied to the House of Commons for leave to introduce a bill of his own.

Did Lord Morpeth, who, upon that occasion, complimented Lord Stanley upon the tone and spirit with which he introduced his measure—did Lord Morpeth then intimate, by one word, any intention of the Government to deal themselves with the enormities of the Irish Registration? Not he, indeed! On the contrary, his whole speech was an admission that nothing was to be done, or suffered to be done in that matter by the Government or any one else.

On the 26th of March the same Noble Lord spoke again upon the same measure. It was in giving (to use his own words) "his downright and decided opposition to the further progress of that bill"—that was upon the debate of its second reading. Had the government in the interval awakened to any just sense of the O'Connell iniquities? Had they been at all ashamed, by the activity of Lord Stanley, into a tardy effort to atone for past neglect? Not they. Secure in their accustomed measuring-cast majority of two or five, they considered themselves equally secure in their Irish abominations; and, believing themselves strong enough to perpetuate them: *ali*, on the 26th of March Lord Morpeth thus expressed himself:—

"He and the Government admitted that there were abuses connected with the system of registration in Ireland, nor did he stand up there to defend them, but they thought that this bill would provide a just and adequate remedy, and that the circumstances were not yet favorable to induce the Government to renew attempts to propose what they would term and consider adequate remedies for the undoubted abuses of the existing system of registration."

Thus it was perfectly clear that on the 26th March last the Government, having full knowledge of the introduction of a measure for the purpose, and upon consideration of the whole case, had come to the resolution that "the circumstances were not yet favorable to induce them to renew" any measure of their own.

But circumstances very soon became favorable? A majority of 16 against Lord Morpeth! His Lordship never recollected that during his Secretaryship in Ireland there were very many Whig gentlemen who had not had the advantage of an O'Connell education.

Confounded by this result, the Ministers and the agitators were equally in despair. For the first time since their compact alliance, a gleam of light which threatened to be but the breaking of a perfect day. What was to be done? Were Gibson's toils and Tighe's anxieties to be all thrown away? Were the dear "fictitious" to be thus exterminated, and the "Love's Labor" of the Priests so cruelly "lost"? Can you suggest nothing, O'Connell! "my honorable and learned friend," in this distressing emergency?

Oh, yes! O'Connell could, and did.—He suggested to those hopeful members of the English nobility, the Lords John Russell and Morpeth, that "the circumstances had become favorable"—that, there being a majority of the House of Commons in favor of cutting off the Johnny Moroneys, now was the moment for their pure and honest Lordships to interfere; and while making a show of lifting with one hand their exterminating

sword against the perjurers and paupers of "the gem," they might cast a shield with the other over the dear innocents; so that when the blow fell, they might be more frightened than hurt. Enchanted with the proposal, Lord John finds "the circumstances favorable," and promises Government measures for the amendment of the law throughout the empire.

That these measures should ever become law was never dreamed of by the respectable partisans to this flagitious conspiracy—the object and intention of the fraud was never so much as attempted to be concealed. As soon as Lord John Russell had introduced his English bill, it was thus announced to the Irish Repealers by Mr. O'Connell, in his speech at the Corn Exchange, on the 14th April last:—

"The people have the Government with them on the subject of the Registry. Lord John Russell has brought in a bill to amend the law of Registration in England, which will give the house the legitimate excuse of postponing the Irish bill until the English one be settled—(cheers.)"

And the other contracting party to this honorable engagement, the Government of the Queen of England seemed still more disposed to publish its own share in so creditable a transaction. We extract the following passage from the Radical Spectator, announcing the disclosures made by the Evening Post and Pilot, the accredited organs of the Melbourne and O'Connell sections of the Government, relative to this compact conspiracy against Lord Stanley's bill:—

"The Dublin Evening Post, the semi-official paper of the Irish government, has published a letter from its private correspondent in London, announcing that the ministerial measures respecting registration and the right of voting are brought forward at the present time merely for the purpose of embarrassing Lord Stanley. The Dublin Pilot, heretofore passing as Mr. O'Connell's peculiar organ, and the editor of which suffered imprisonment on Mr. O'Connell's account, has these remarks on ministerial hollowness:—

"To be sure, we needed not the announcement of the Evening Post to have discovered that a love of place, and not a love of Ireland, or any care or anxiety for the furtherance of her interests, has been on this, as on most other recent occasions, the spring and motive of ministerial activity.

"The principle was plain enough—alas! it was too plain; but the difficulty was to have proved it. Well, what says the private and confidential London agent of the Post? This—plainly and fully enough—that measures for remodeling the franchise of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are now simultaneously brought forward by Ministers, for the purpose and with the intent, not of benefiting the country, but for the sake of embarrassing the debate upon Lord Stanley's bill; the result of which debate is to decide the fate of the present Government. Oh, most wise, most prudent, most careful, but most true confession! The indiscretion of the Post has now too plainly let slip the motive of the Government in the present instance; and therefore it has strengthened and given authority to those generally received opinions which now, alas! so universally prevail, that the administration of which Lord Melbourne is the head seeks as its first, its chiefest, almost its only object—place; that to that object it will sacrifice the consistency of its principles, the prosperity of its supporters and the advocacy of those measures without which this country cannot advance. Why, oh! why will the Post thus force upon the public mind at such a moment a truth so plain, but yet so dangerous?"

But even this was not enough. It was not sufficient to defraud the noble mem-

ber for North Lancashire of the fruit of his great labour and exertion in framing and bringing forward an honest bill, for the redress of the crying grievances which afflict Ireland, by taking into their own hand the management of a measure, which it was their malignant determination to extinguish. This was not enough for our present noble governors. The means must be worthy of the end. They were to do all the good by bills framed by themselves—and how do they proceed? Their next move is to substitute two bills of Mr. Pigot's for Lord Stanley's one.—Where are those bills? How long have they been promised? One of them we may have before the next debate, as it has been ordered to be printed. But where is the other? What has become of the "beneficial interest"? What has our Solicitor-General been about the last two months? Answer these questions, Mr. Pigot. No; it is apparent, from the following report of the latest proceedings in the House, that Mr. Pigot will answer nothing:—

"Sir J. Graham wished to ask a question of the hon. and learned gentleman the Solicitor-General for Ireland. About ten days ago, the hon. and learned gentleman had obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the registration system in Ireland, and he had also notified to the house that he intended to introduce a second bill, to deal with the subject of the new definition of 'a beneficial interest,' including the erection of an appellate tribunal for the assistant barristers registering votes in Ireland. He had brought in the first of these bills, but it was not yet printed, though the order had been made. He had also obtained leave to bring in the second bill, but he had not introduced it as yet. He begged to remind the hon. and learned gentlemen of the promise which he had made to him upon that occasion. He (Sir J. Graham) had said that it was most desirable that these bills should both be in the hands of members before the house was asked to take another step in the bill of his noble friend, the member for North Lancashire. The hon. and learned gentleman had given his assurance that both these bills would be in the hands of members in a few days. Ten days had elapsed, but they were not yet forthcoming. One of them might be printed and delivered before Thursday; but, unless he presented the second bill either that night or the following day, it was impossible that it could be in the possession of members on Thursday, when the debate would come on. He wished, therefore to ask the hon. and learned gentleman whether to-night or to-morrow he would present the second bill for the definition of the beneficial interest?"

"Mr. Pigot—I can't introduce the second bill either to-night or to-morrow. The first will be ready by Thursday."

"The hon. and learned member resumed his seat amid loud cries, of oh, oh."

Sir J. Graham—Then I am to understand that it is not possible for us upon Thursday next to have the second bill?"

"Mr. Pigot made no answer."

Was not Lord Howick right on the 19th of May, when he thus spoke of the same honourable and learned Precursor?—

"What said the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Pigot)? Did he say that the present state of the registry was satisfactory? Did he say that there were not great and crying evils which urgently demand reform? Far from it. He said that he himself was ready to undertake the task of that reform, but the learned gentleman was somewhat late in undertaking the task—(laughter.) He could not feel great confidence in that bill being brought in at this period of the session—that bill which, if he rightly understood, was not yet in existence, and with the provisions of which he was at this time occupied—(hear, hear.) He