



Mr. BANKS moved for a new writ for the Borough of Colchester, in the room of Peter William Baker, Esq. deceased.—Ordered.

Mr. BROUGHAM moved for a new writ for the Borough of Winchester, in the room of Calverley Hewick, Esq. deceased.—Ordered.

Mr. HORNBY moved for leave to bring in a Bill to regulate Grand Jury proceedings in Ireland.—Lecture given.

The SPEAKER acquainted the House, that the House had been present in the House of Peers, at the opening of the Session that day, by Commission from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and that the Lord Chancellor, being one of the Commissioners, had delivered a Speech on that occasion, of which he had obtained a copy, and which with the leave of the House he would then read.

Sir THOMAS ACLAND, after some preliminary observations of an apologetic nature, said, he thought he might state, that for five and twenty years the House had not heard a Speech from the Throne that gave them such satisfaction as the one which had just been read, and which gave them an assurance of peace throughout Europe, indeed he might almost say, throughout the whole civilized world. He regretted that his Royal Highness had been prevented from making his appearance in Parliament, and giving himself that assurance and receiving those congratulations, to which, from the proud situation of the country, he was so justly entitled. [Hear, hear.]—The sound of Peace was one which had long been nearly a stranger to our ears, and if, when the documents should be laid before the House, disclosing the particulars of the arrangements, it should appear that these arrangements were of a nature to add to our honour and national glory, he hoped the address of congratulation which he intended to submit to the House would not be found too warm for the occasion. The object for which the Allied Powers had been contending during the last two years was peace, and peace alone. It was in this spirit that the Allies first appeared before the gates of Paris, and demanded a renunciation of those principles which for more than 20 years had desolated the face of Europe. In that spirit they came in the right of conquerors to that happy city; and the only severity which they inflicted on the conquered, when they had power in their hands, was to remove the man, who was the author of so many disasters to the French themselves, as well as to Europe. The situation in which that man was then placed had allowed him to avail himself of the facilities which it afforded him of exciting fresh disturbances, and of renewing the military principles which had been put down. The conduct of the Allies to France was the fairest that could possibly be—they had met, on fair and equal terms, her who had been in her days of success offered fair and equal terms to any of her opponents—they had only demanded back from her the conquest which she had made from her neighbours. He was proud that this country had taken the lead on that occasion. Not only was this laudably observed, but when it was necessary soon after to assemble a Congress, to heal the breaches and repair the disorganization occasioned by the conduct of France, she was invited to meet the other Powers, and to assist in repairing those breaches of which she had been the cause; and the different Sovereigns went to Vienna in good faith, and with the intention of enforcing all those restorations which justice demanded. But they had not long sat, when Bonaparte burst again from his retreat, and again rekindled the flames which he had already cost so much blood to extinguish. He entered France with a sort of military avation, availing himself of the surprise and apathy of the People. Europe saw this return with the indignation which it deserved, and followed up that indignation with measures of corresponding energy. The Allies renewed hostile operations—this country joined heartily in the cause—it felt that, if it did not, all the exertions of twenty years would be thrown away and lost.—When the question came last Session before the House, a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Grattan we believe) had advocated the cause of Europe in a speech distinguished for the most brilliant eloquence—he had put his shoulder to the wheel—and he recollects the effect which that speech then produced on the House. The result was fortunate. A fearful anxiety, and almost a gloom, had prevailed during the preparations; but, thanks to Almighty God, the same success which had already crowned the just efforts of the Allies was again vouchsafed to them on the plains of Waterloo. It seemed as if it had been the struggle between the good and evil principle; and as if the evil principle had put forth all its power in one great effort. He was not saying too much, perhaps, when he stated, that there was only one man, and the troops of one nation, which could have stood the shock of that day, in which all the former achievements of our great commander were surpassed. What was the result? The King of France was again restored to his capital, and it afforded again the hope of peace to Europe. Bonaparte, as was usual with him in danger, retired from it, and abdicated; and the next opportunity which we had of seeing him again was on our own shores—not as a conqueror, but begging admission into our country, and claiming our protection. It was a painful sight, when we considered what he had done, and what he might have been, to see him supplicating admission into that very country which he had so much retailed.—He could not but congratulate his Majesty's Government on the course which they had then pursued. The enemy was in their power, and they had treated him with all the kindness which was capable of receiving; but while they treated him with kindness, they had not neglected the safety and security of Europe—or allowed the existence of any thing which might possibly awaken, in the follow-

Chief or his associates, the hope of violating the peace of Europe, which they had already so often disturbed. Such was the course of events up to the period when they had met; and the Speech of the Prince Regent informed them of what events had since taken place. The terms of the Peace had been arranged and secured, and subsequent measures had been entered on for securing the repose of Europe; and they were also informed, that those principles of moderation and firmness, and those precautionary measures, to which we were peculiarly indebted for the success of our armies, were to be adhered to. There were some circumstances arising out of the communication, deserving of their notice and of their congratulation. Having a person to deal with desirous of peace, and whom we had as yet no reason to suspect of bad faith—having some degree of certainty of securing the object of our wishes, a spirit of moderation and firmness ought peculiarly to have guided the conduct of his Majesty's Government and the Allies—the spirit which we had shown before ought not to have deserted us. But experience had shown us the propriety of not leaving France in the possession of more power than was consistent with the repose of Europe, and of taking such precautions as would enable us to repel any aggressions which France might be again induced to make. We had shown Europe that the cause of justice, for which we had fought, did not desert us in the hour of success. We had shown this in depriving the French of the statues and pictures of which they had unjustly filled others. The French themselves prized them as a remembrance of their trophies, which the Allies had not had courage to take away—they were taken away now for ever.—[Hear, hear.]—This was due to those from whom they had been taken—it was due to the French themselves to prevent them from having before their eyes a constant temptation to disturb the world. We ourselves had nothing to get—we stood there, as we had often done, the friends of the Fine Arts and of the weak—[Hear, hear.]—and it did not appear that all those stores of art there was one piece which had come into our possession. That we might have obtained some of them, if we had ever blundered a wish, there can be little doubt; but this we had properly declined.—[Hear, hear.]—This was indeed a most gratifying circumstance; and France had, indeed, to speak in the language of our great Commander, received a great moral lesson, which would not soon be forgotten. It was scarcely necessary to remind the House, that we had claimed nothing for ourselves beyond what we had had at the Treaty of Paris.—It was gratifying, after all was done, to think that all our measures were merely for safety, and not for aggrandizement. When, therefore, I call on the House to concur with me in an Address of Congratulation, I think I may say, that a more glorious era never occurred in the annals of this country.—The only period which could properly admit of comparison, was that proud one to which Englishmen were accustomed to look back with exultation—during the reign of Queen Anne. We had been fighting on both occasions in the cause of Europe—we had been opposing the same system—and we had now a General who, if he did not surpass, was at least equal to him who in the former period gained such honour to his country. What we had obtained then fell short of what was desired. Yet there was one good omen for us—a peace of moderation had been followed by a tranquillity of 25 years.—Better terms might have been obtained in that war, some years before, than those which were at last obtained; but no Member could point out a period when we had an opportunity of removing that military principle against which we combated before the time when the Treaty was signed. There was one point more to which he would allude. At the peace of Utrecht we obtained in the Assiento Company a monopoly of the Slave Trade. It was hardly necessary to contrast our conduct at this time.—Our exertions for Africa had been at length successful, and Ministers had obtained a recognition from the French Ministry of an entire and unqualified abolition of the Slave Trade. In calling on the House to concur in an Address of warm congratulation, he believed he was speaking the sense of the country in general. He wished to call the particular attention of the House to that part of the Address which mentioned the difficulties and distresses of the country, in consequence of those struggles which had at length been successful.—We could not fairly judge of the difficulty and distresses of the country as connected with that cause, except we considered, at the same time, the dangers and difficulties from which we had been delivered, in consequence of those struggles. Supposing matters had turned out otherwise—supposing victory had been on the side of France—that we had had an apparent peace and a real war—we should have been in the same distress, only, in all probability, twenty times worse than that we are now in. We ought to consider what would have been the alternative if we had made peace, for the benefit of the Ruler of France, and not ourselves. We ought to consider, with respect to our distresses, that unless it had been increased by any misconduct on our part—that if it was such as could not have been avoided, that it was not the part of wise men to complain, because the great blessings which they had obtained were accompanied with some evils.—What other country was in a more enviable situation? Was France the object of our envy? or Prussia and Saxony? Even Austria and Russia were so situated with respect to their finances, that we had reason to congratulate ourselves that we were not as they were. What was the state of the country at the end of the American war? Could Ministers then have come down to the House and told them, as had been done that day, that the repose and commerce of the country were in a dis-

trusting state? And yet what had been done by an enlightened Minister in the short space of 10 years? Then, like wise men, we ought to bear in mind that we should soon recover from any temporary distress. But if there was cause for not despairing of our situation, and looking at the darker side of the picture, there was at least cause to look into that situation with the utmost attention. It was with the House and his Majesty's Ministers to recollect what exertions the country had made during the last 25 years; they had borne the pressure in an unexampled manner—they had borne it, because they believed their duty to their country required it, and because they had hopes that on the return of peace they would be at rest. They had shown great confidence in the measures of those who had conducted matters to such a successful result.—He thought his Majesty's Ministers would admit that they had a claim to all attention. He said this without meaning to impeach the sincerity of Ministers, and believing that they would give us all the relief in their power, consistent with our security. This was the feeling of the country, and Ministers would not do their duty if they did not act in such a manner. There were many persons in the country in great and serious distress; whether the cause was temporary or not, if it admitted of a remedy, that remedy ought to be adopted. Many persons had been entirely thrown out of employment, from the removal of the capital at the disposal of Government. Many of those who had exerted themselves in the cause of their country, were now labouring under great difficulties.

At it, or, o, s, a, n, o, p, e, n, e, t, e, c, c, u, r, r, e, r, e, l, i, c, t, e, H, a, n, c, i, n, e, m, e, s, p, a, r, t, e, r, r, e, t, u, r, i, a, u, d, i, t, o, r, i, u, m, i, n, c, i, s, a, u, s, o, m, i, c, a.

The Honourable Gentleman concluded by observing, that he thought he could not discharge his duty better to those who sent him there, than by calling on the House to congratulate his Royal Highness on the state of security in which the country was now standing; and he accordingly moved an Address, respecting the speech of his Royal Highness.

Mr. METHUEN rose to second the Address. We were not now called on merely to congratulate the Prince Regent on the gallant conduct of our troops, but to congratulate him on the prospect of a lasting and glorious peace. The Honourable Gentleman paragonised the conduct of the Duke of Wellington. By him the Genius of Napoleon had been defeated—he had placed us in a situation which was perhaps the proudest in our annals.—We had now the reward of our exertions. By our example Europe had been recovered, and our country was indebted for existence to that very British whom he had so often reviled. Now was it to Europe alone that the rage of tyranny had been overthrown; the Kingdom of Candy had also been delivered by us from a sanguinary Tyrant. What Englishman did not consider the sacrifices of the country amply repaid by the result? But now that our dangers were past, Government ought to do all in its power to relieve the pressure of the public burdens. Let them keep a strict watch over the public resources and over their application.—The agriculture of the country would soon rise from its present state of depression—depression which by no human circumstances could have been prevented.

Mr. BRAND said, he should trespass but for a short time on the attention of the House, because he felt himself placed in a peculiarly disadvantageous situation, from having to follow the Hon. Baronet who had opened the debate, in a speech as remarkable for eloquence as for moderation, which had been terminated by an Address conceived in a temper equally unassuming. [Hear, hear.] As to the parts of the Address which he had been able to catch as it was read, there were more in which he should differ from the Hon. Baronet; and if that Hon. Baronet had put also into the Address some other sentiments which were contained in his speech, there would have been no occasion for some of the observations which Mr. B. had to make. The Hon. Baronet had expatiated on the difficulties under which a large proportion of the community laboured, but he had inserted in the Address no pledge that an inquiry should be entered into as to the causes and the possible remedies of these distresses. This was an omission which he should propose to fill up, for he thought it necessary that, on the first day of the Session, a pledge should be given by the House, that it would institute the necessary inquiries. Another subject, which was neither alluded to in the speech of the Hon. Baronet, nor in his Address, was one of great importance. While the Hon. Baronet had spoken of the energy and zeal displayed in the late war, and the advantage to be derived from the downfall of the tyrant, it was surprising that he should have been satisfied so long to have been kept in the dark as to the arrangements and treaties which had been concluded in consequence of the cessation of hostilities. In this the House had been misled by his Majesty's Ministers, at a time when compliance of such vast importance to this country and to the interests of mankind had been determined on, that Ministers should have so long delayed to communicate them to Parliament. This conduct he was a loss to explain; it seemed to him to be disrespectful both to the People and to Parliament. [Hear, hear.] The arrangements of the Treaty he should not anticipate—they would be the matter of future debate—but when a Treaty came including points doubtful in national law, and arrangements which seemed hostile to the constitutional law of the country, they should have been investigated at the earliest possible period. He should explain himself—by these arrangements the country was to keep up a vast military force, which was in contradiction, if not to the letter, at least to the spirit and meaning of the Bill of Rights. These

arrangements included many difficulties in a national point of view; for if a large foreign military force was to be kept up, a large domestic military establishment was necessary to supply its deficiencies, and thus the Parliament of England was precluded from reducing in time of peace its standing army to those limits which it deemed consistent with economy and constitutional security.—But laying aside all considerations of foreign policy, they might turn their eyes to the lamentable state of embarrassment and distress in which the inhabitants of Great Britain were involved.—[Hear, hear.]—By some persons this was considered a state which admitted of no relief; but he did not doubt, by serious application to the subject, by a right attention to economy in all the large branches of the public expenditure, that the taxes which were now so oppressive, from their magnitude and the priority of their operation, vast, immediate, and permanent relief might be afforded.—[Hear, hear.] Of an inquiry into the causes of the evil which all saw and lamented, a pledge should be that day given by the House. This was the great point in which he differed from the Mover of the Address, though he agreed as to the existence of the evil, left unconstitutionally the remedy to the pleasure of the Ministers, while he bore contribution. He wished to leave it in the hands of the House of Commons.—[Hear, hear.] Those who had suffered most by the present distresses had anxiously looked forward to the opening of Parliament for an expression of the sentiments of that House, and the opinion of well-informed men as to the possibility of relief. He should therefore call for an expression of a determination to inquire into the subject, the effect of which in quieting the minds of the sufferers could hardly be calculated by those who had not witnessed the sufferings. He should therefore propose an addition to the Address, by way of Amendment, to which he hoped much objection would not be made. The Amendment proposed by the Honourable Member was to this effect:—And also to represent to his Royal Highness, that it was the duty of his Majesty's Ministers to have advised his Royal Highness, with the least possible delay, to have convened Parliament for the purpose of communicating those important Treaties with the Allies and with France, which, after having been acted upon for several months, are now about to be laid before this House—and that the length of the late prorogation was the more extraordinary, as a time when the unexampled domestic embarrassments, as well as the important foreign relations of the country, required an early meeting of Parliament; and to express his Royal Highness, that this House will speedily revisit a careful review of our civil and military establishments, according to the principles of the most rigid economy, and a due regard to the public interests; and also, at an early period, to take into its most serious consideration the present state of the country.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL animadverted on the unprecedented delay which had taken place in communicating the late Treaties to Parliament. The contents of the Treaty they knew, as it were, by report, but the distresses of the country they had not witnessed. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Noble Lord opposite (Lord Castlereagh) had not thought proper to meet the House till that late period. This, however, would appear less strange to those who had read the despatches of the Noble Lord; when they saw in those documents how his Lordship reprimanded some Sovereigns for misconduct, and Nations for misbehaviour to their Sovereigns, it might be wondered how the Noble Lord had condescended to meet the House at all. [A laugh.] It was strange that, in the speech which gave them an account of the affairs of Candy and Nepal, there was no allusion to the cause of the present distresses. This was the more unaccountable, because, during many years, when it was represented that the effect of such unbounded taxation would be in the end ruinous, the answer uniformly given had been a reference to the flourishing state of the country. But now, after glory on glory, and victory on victory, all this prosperity had vanished.—The farmer could not pay his rent—the landlord could not pay his taxes—and from the lowest labourer of the land, to the Peer who stood next the throne, all felt that their prosperity was gone, except, indeed, those who were paid out of the public purse. The country was not quite satisfied with its trophies, and began to consider whether the situation which we had attained was worth all the past expenditure, and whether the object which it was the duty of every English Minister to seek had been obtained, namely, the reduction of France to such a state, that it could ever again be formidable to this country. It was to be remarked now, that, after all our victories, France remained in the possession of as much territory as she had at the time when William III. thought it necessary to unite all Europe against her. At home, however, our condition was infinitely worse—and the country was threatened with a perpetual income tax. As to the Slave Trade, which it seemed was not abolished, no one rejected at its destruction more than he. But was the prosaizer due to our Government? They would remember, that in the former treaty with France the slave trade was not abolished—and in the debate on the subject, the Noble Lord opposite (Lord Castlereagh) evinced the greatest tenderness for the feelings of the French on the subject, and spoke of the impropriety of forcing the doctrine down men's throats with the bayonet. [A laugh.] That trade was now abolished; how had this happened? Had the benevolent Lord succeeded in persuading his royal subjects they were in the wrong? No. A man who was loaded with abuse by all parties, and who no doubt deserved it all, had abolished by a stroke of his pen this traffic—and it did not seem to have made, a

bit the more unpopular. He should be slow, however, to allow either our Government, or Louis, any praise on this head; but he had looked blank and had acquiesced—but the good was done by their enemy. Another point at which he was astonished in the speech of the Honourable Mover (Sir T. Acland), was the expression of the established faith of the Bourbons! [Hear, hear.]—How many eloquent speeches had been delivered in that House against the bad faith of that very family. It might be said they had learnt morality in adversity; but in the very last year the bad faith of Louis XVIII. in the non-payment of Napoleon's pension, was the pretext though not the cause of his flight. The Secunder (Mr. Methuen) had made use of an expression still more unjustifiable—he had said he was glad this country had become the rallying point of legitimacy! Luckily it was but of late years that this country had assumed that title.—He had a particular reason to rejoice, that the same opinion had not prevailed a century ago—his own family in that event must have stolen into obscurity, branded as traitors and stripped of all the honours with which the crown had loaded them. But to take a wide view, what would have become of the family on the throne—our gracious Sovereign, instead of wielding mighty armies, and holding the balance of Europe, would have been the possessor of a petty electoral sovereignty in Germany, instead of wielding mighty armies, and holding the balance of Europe, would have been in some petty Germanic squabble. Such would have been the case, if the regular succession to the throne had not been disturbed by Act of Parliament. The praise of the principle of legitimacy—paramount and irresistible, could not fail to be obnoxious to the ears of the Prince, as it was to every friend to British liberty and our Constitution.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER expressed his gratification at the elegant manner in which the Address had been brought forward, as well as at the manner in which it had been received by both sides of the House. As to the objections which had been made to the conduct of Ministers, in not bringing before Parliament at an earlier period the Treaties which had been concluded, he begged the Gentlemen to look at the principal Treaty, and they would find it was concluded on the 20th of November, and that two months were allowed for exchanging the ratifications. The ratifications were exchanged on or before the 20th of January, and about that time they were actually exchanged, with the exception of some articles which were not yet exchanged. The great delay complained of had been ten days, which was to be deducted the time which was necessary for the conveyance of the ratifications to London from Paris, which was the place where they were exchanged. A further deduction was to be made for the time required for the printing of the papers. These papers would extend to a very considerable bulk, as they comprehended all the diplomatic arrangements of Europe, and amounted to no less than sixteen or seventeen Treaties or Conventions. If these were all printed and laid before the House within ten days after the ratifications had been exchanged, he did not think any considerable delay could be said to have taken place. The next point to which their attention had been drawn by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Brand), was the internal situation of the country—Mr. Brand was the internal situation of the country—a subject which had deserved and received much attention from his Majesty's Ministers. How successfully some of his Majesty's Ministers had laboured abroad it was not necessary for him to say; [hear, hear] but he might say, that those who remained at home had not been less busily employed. For himself, he could say, that he had never spent a summer of less relaxation or more anxiety in his life. [A laugh.] He would not attempt to palliate the distress which it was felt, nor deny the necessity of inquiry; but the Speech, in his opinion, laid out all the pledge which the country could desire, in recommending the utmost economy, consistent with public safety, and the high situation in which we occupied in Europe, and which he hoped no one would wish us to relinquish. As to the immediate cause of our present distress, there would be so many opportunities of recurring to the subject, that he should not but lightly touch it. The intercourse between this country and the Continent had been so long impeded, and such difficulties thrown in the way of our intercourse, that the prices of the necessaries of life had been affected by those difficulties, and the memorable scarcity of 1811 had struck such terror, that for many years we felt an apprehension of its recurrence. In consequence, the prices rose here to a height never known before, and a vast capital was turned to agricultural purposes on account of the encouragement then given. When our intercourse with the Continent was renewed, the value of the agricultural produce, which the exertions which had been made had raised the capital employed had raised, was reduced to a level with the foreign markets. The large sums which had been raised in loans during the last three years must have had an effect. The amount of the sum thus borrowed, which was 142 millions, of which 42 millions were borrowed by the sinking fund, so that an addition was made to the funded debt of 100 millions. Such a sum, when produced a derangement in the ordinary course of trade, which must have been felt. As to the measures to be applied, undoubtedly economy would be the best plan. [Hear, hear.] and he was confident that he had paid the utmost attention to the subject, and that the estimates were brought forward, and he hoped they would not be condemned in any part. The Gentlemen would investigate the causes of the distress in all the branches of ex-

penditures, so that it might be seen what were absolutely necessary to the interests of the country, and what could be dispensed with. He concluded by expressing his opinion, that the Address was sufficiently explicit.

Mr. BROUGHAM said, there was one point in the Speech at which he had been surprised, which was the allusion to the prosperous state of the country in its arts, commerce, &c. An exception was made by the Right Honourable Gentleman as to a considerable class of the community—a very considerable class, indeed, it was—no less than the whole landed interest of Great Britain, whose distresses were unabated, notwithstanding our unparalleled victories, and our triumphs over all our enemies. If it should, on inquiry, be found, that not only a great exertion must be made from the system on the score of our agriculture, but that bankruptcies prevailed in an alarming degree, if not in the principal branch of commerce—in the whole home trade, the internal market of the country, Ministers would incur a very heavy responsibility; yet, he believed, it would in reality be found, that the whole home market was at a stand—shops were seen without a customer, and books covered with debts, of which not one per cent. could be recovered; yet the war was at an end, after victories such as could never have been expected. He was led to believe that, among the 17 Conventions, which they were to be presented with, would be found one in which Spain and Portugal had agreed to relinquish the Slave Trade. As Bonaparte had abolished the Slave Trade in France, all Spain and Portugal were bound to relinquish that detestable commerce. He hoped, therefore, to find not only an Asiento contract, which would be felonious by the present law, but an abolition on the part of Ferdinand, in order to the prosecution, religious and civil—in his territory, in this contemptible tyrant (Louis Charles)—contemptible in every respect, but the portentious sequel of doing mischief, which he possesses in consequence of our having raised him to the throne, which he so unworthily fills—whose highest crime was his usurpation of his father's crown.—[Hear, hear.]—He was now the grand slave trader out of Europe, as he was the grand trader of slaves in Europe. He (Mr. B.) hoped, that we had insisted on the abolition of that trade; and that Portugal, whom we had so saved, and over whom we could exercise some influence, at least had abandoned the dreadful traffic. Treaties to that effect were no doubt to be found among the 17 Conventions. The Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that he reserved himself for a future occasion, upon the details of the flourishing state of the revenue, which was again alluded to in the address of the Honourable Gentleman. But he (Mr. B.) could not help taking notice, in what had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman by way of intimation upon this subject of revenue. As we formed an exorbitant in the late contest (as spoken of in the Address), and as an immediate consequence of what the Honourable Gentleman, who had so eloquently alluded to in the Address, he (Mr. B.) had unfortunately heard with more regret, than perhaps adjustment, that the most oppressive of all the taxes that had been imposed upon the nation—the heaviest and most obnoxious of these burdens under which the country had groined—that most oppressive and tormenting Income Tax was to be continued. It was for this we were fighting, not only our own battles, but those of other nations. Our fortitude and perseverance had led to this happy consequence, that we were not merely to bear the other burthen which had been so heavily laden upon us, but we were to be borne down by this most tormenting of all taxes—a tax which was still more oppressive on the details than in the bulk; and this, it was said, was necessary, merely on account of the flourishing state of the country.—[Hear, hear.]—If this odious tax could be dispensed with—if there were any other means of going on without it, no man in his senses—still less would the Right Honourable Gentleman, on the very first opening of Parliament, intimate an intention of removing it. Such an intimation surely could arise only from the consciousness of there being no other possibility of extricating on the financial affairs of the country. He (Mr. B.) however, did trust, that this early hint, which had been so plainly and unequivocally given of this intention of Government, would not be lost upon those Gentlemen who were Members of Parliament—at least those who had constituted; [A loud laugh, and cries of hear, hear, from both sides of the House.] and he confidently hoped that he had of those steps being adopted which were taken last year, with such final and complete success. [Hear, hear.] and which, if followed this year, would perhaps have restrained the Chancellor of the Exchequer from giving this notice. The Honourable Gentleman opposite supposed that there were no means of relieving the landed interest, because their estates were so interwoven with the national prosperity, that it was impossible to separate them from other objects. But he (Mr. B.) could not help expressing a hope, that the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite would possibly find that there were means of separating them, and that some reasonable relief would be afforded to the distresses with which we were thus afflicted. The Right Hon. Gent. had alluded to some branches of the revenue which he pointed out would undergo revision and retrenchment. [Hear, hear.] In all the branches of ex-

penditures. From the manner of the Right Hon. Gent. he must presume that the appointment of his hopes upon this subject was not more general than he had expected. He would move himself with the thought, that the Honourable Gentleman would seriously set about a trial of some part of the revenue and finance, with a view to mitigate as much as possible the severity of those taxes now imposed upon the country. Was then Tax, but all the other War Taxes were to be continued? Was the country to understand from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that, at a season when corn was almost a drug in the markets, and for which no price could be obtained at all, and when the most grievous burthens were imposed upon the harry growers; was it to be said, that under such circumstances the War Malt Tax was to be continued? Was it to be said, that the landholders were still to pay a per cent. Property Tax, and to endure to times of peace all the hardships, to which they had been exposed in war? Was the Malt Tax of 38s. per quarter, laid on during the war, still to continue during peace? If this were the state of things, he trusted the House would not separate without hearing a notice from some of his Honourable Friends, who were conversant with this subject, for bringing the question of Malt Tax immediately under the consideration of the House. Before he concluded, he begged to allude to one point, and the more so, because it formed a part of the Address under consideration. He meant that part which pledged the House to measures of economy. That part of the Address and Speech of the Honourable Gentleman must be taken to mean, such a rigorous investigation of the amount of our enormous establishments, both at home and abroad, as would lead to this result—that our expences would be reduced to the smallest amount possible, consistent with our existence. For it was a robbery of the People of this country—it was a cruel mockery of their sufferings, to tell them, after 25 years of distress and misery, and when the long looked for peace was at length arrived, that they were still to endure the expences of war, without the benefits of peace; and for what purpose? For the purpose of fulfilling the engagements of the late Treaty, of appointing new governors, new secretaries, new clerks, of establishing new sources of patronage, new causes of clamour to the People, and new quarters from which danger may be portended to their rights. [Hear, hear.] The Honourable and Learned Gentleman concluded by cordially supporting the Amendment. [Hear, hear.]

Lord MILLTON agreed with his Honourable and Learned Friend, that the time would come when it would be necessary for the House to manifest its sentiments, not in speeches but in acts. He had been requested, for the first time, that an intention existed of continuing the Property Tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not indeed stated whether his plan was to have a limited duration. But the Right Honourable Gentleman would recollect that his declaration of to-night was directly contrary to the positive expectation he had held out to the House. The declaration then was, say only one year, the Property Tax for one year, just to wind up the expences of the war, and we will be satisfied. He (Lord M.) wished now to know whether the Property Tax was to be given to wind up the expences of the war, or whether it was to be looked to as a source of permanent revenue? The Noble Lord concluded by voting for the Address, and warmly supporting the Amendment.

Mr. PRESTON drew a feeling picture of the present miserable state of the landed interests of the country, and warmly supported the Amendment.

Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY said, that however desirous he was to go into a consideration of those topics relative to the foreign policy of this country, he should for the present abstain from the indulgence of that desire, from a persuasion, that he should have frequent opportunities hereafter of discussing that subject. The speech, however, of his Right Honourable Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, rendered it impossible for him to give a silent vote in favour of the Amendment that had been proposed. At least, he was desirous of all having it supposed that he had approved of all the sentiments which had been expressed on the other side of the House. It seemed to him extraordinary in silent approbation, or at least, that they should concur in adopting that new system of policy which his Majesty's Ministers had adopted recently, in contradiction to their own repeated declarations.—Down to the moment when the House last separated, his Majesty's Ministers had always declared that the war was carried on against Bonaparte individually, and those immediately connected with him; and they took occasion repeatedly to deny, in answer to the country of this, which had come from this side of the House, by saying that they did not make war upon France to compel her against her will to admit upon the Throne the pretence of a Bourbon, however, this new policy had not only been adopted but avowed, and the war commenced for the purpose of dispossessing Bonaparte of the Throne. British and foreign armies had united their efforts, for the sole purpose of placing the Bourbon Family upon the Throne of France, without regard to the wishes, the desires, or the feelings of the French nation. He, for our, could not concur in the approbation which had been expressed of that new policy. It was not necessary for him now to enter into a full discussion of the policy, the infidelity, and the injustice of this measure; for the time would come, when he should have the op-

portunity of a more elaborate expression of his dissent from such a policy. For the present, he should only observe that, as it appeared to him, no new ground had occurred since the last meeting of Parliament, to justify the change in the determinations expressed by the British Government upon this important subject. No change of circumstances had occurred when they thought proper to avow this new system—nothing whatever had occurred to authorize them in adopting a policy, which, at the moment it was embraced, they had strenuously disapproved. It might be proper to call to the recollection of the House, that about nine months since a letter arrived in this country from Lord Castlereagh, addressed to the Noble Lord opposite, which showed that, even at that late period, a distinct intimation was given to Bonaparte that no thing was farther from the intentions of the British Government, than to take part in restoring Louis XVIII. to the Throne of France. This determination was expressed repeatedly from the Convention of St. Cloud, down even to the Victory of Waterloo; and even when the Deputation was sent from the Provisional Government of Paris, to Sir Grace the Duke of Wellington, the like assurances and declarations were made by that Noble Duke.—A distinct intimation was given to five Deputies sent on that occasion, that the British Government intended not to interfere in any way whatever with the internal affairs of France. However, from the time of the Convention taking place, a totally new policy was adopted. If it were to be said, that that new policy was adopted because the British Government found itself in a new situation, in which they found that policy necessary, he (Sir S.) must say, that the strongest reproach was due to Ministers for not having kept their words with the French nation. It seemed to him, that Ministers had acted most reprehensibly in this part of their conduct.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose, he said, not with a view to protract the debate, but to make a few observations upon the language held by some Gentlemen on the other side. That those Gentlemen might have been misled by the merits of the late Treaty, when laid before the House, and brought under discussion, he was prepared to expect, and he would always be disposed to treat any difference of opinion upon that or any other subject with deference and respect, while he would be ready to enter into the fullest consideration of any difficulty that affected the country. But he could not on this occasion the House had that night heard, and he had thought the Honourable and Learned Gentleman (Mr. Brand) might be forward to animadvert upon attacks from the Ministers of Great Britain who had themselves, in the course of their independent statements, whatever might be the nature of their Government, with which, by the way, he was not disposed to interfere, were in any way connected. [Hear, hear! from the Ministerial side.] This disposition to abuse foreign governments proceeded from a want of materials to indulge in the Government of this country. The Administration of the Ministerial side of the country. [Hear, hear!] on the Ministerial side of the country, the learned Gentleman's comment upon the Address was a mistake to state, that that Address did not propose to pledge the House to any thing. For, without entering into any consideration of the details of the late war, such as would be reserved for the discussion of another day, Address proposed to create a permanent character, so important to all its results, and so satisfactory in the accomplishment of all the great objects of the war, as this country had never before witnessed. Then, as to the dependents upon which the Learned Gentleman dwelt, he would ask, where was the justifiable ground for such gloomy views? That some change should take place in the situation of any country, and especially in a country whose interests were so complicated as those of Great Britain, upon a transition from war to peace, was naturally to be expected. But the change which this country had witnessed from the late peace was different from the other. Indeed, from that which might have resulted from any of the Treaties which Government to conclude at different periods of the war. He agreed with his Learned Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the importance of considering our internal situation, but he saw no ground for the intimation to create dismay, much less that despair which the Learned Gentleman seemed anxious to excite. It was impossible to conduct the country from a war so peculiar in its nature, and so prolonged in its duration to a state of peace, and so unexperienced an extraordinary change. The transition to peace from the property of the war, for the every branch of our trade and commerce, must give birth to very material alterations. The transport of the new situation into which the country had entered, must occasion results such as every thinking man, aware of the consequences attending upon any country in passing from war to peace, was prepared to expect. But still, the effects of the change that affected this country, were extremely exaggerated by the Learned Gentleman. He was aware that the distresses of the country, which he was not disposed to dispute, should be fairly considered, and every practicable remedy applied. It was only against the exaggeration of those distresses that he protested, and he concluded, that they were not such as to excite any apprehension of the necessity of a change of a war distinguished by the degree of energy, courage, and glorious achievement on the part of the country, far exceeding that which belonged to any war in which we had ever been engaged. [Hear, hear.] But when Gentlemen would dispose the country to give ground, which he was not disposed to do, and compare its circumstances with the state of our condition at the termination of the American war. Could the speech from the throne of that day be congratulated Parliament upon the prospect of any thing but our own peace, and the safety of our country? What could we expect, if the House had that day heard the speech which the Learned Gentleman had just read, and which he congratulated Parliament upon the prospect of any thing but our own peace, and the safety of our country? What could we expect, if the

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