

PARLIAMENT. HOUSE OF COMMONS—MONDAY, MAY 8.

CIVIL LIST. The Order of the Day for the further consideration of the Resolutions of the Civil List being read. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that before he moved the second reading of the Resolutions, he should shortly explain the circumstances under which they were offered to their consideration. In comparing the last establishment, in 1816, with the former arrangements, it was necessary to remark, that at four former times had Parliament made payment of the debts of the Civil List, and four times without accounts or investigation, on the mere statement of the fact in a Message from the Crown—and thus four times had voted a permanent increase of the Civil List. In 1787, a very considerable improvement in the Civil List arrangements took place, and permanent rules were laid down for the administration of its revenues. It was thus the Civil List charges were divided into classes, to be paid in regular succession, and on this principle it was hoped that such a system of economy would be carried into practice, as would prevent the recurrence of embarrassments. If Mr. Burke, the illustrious author of that Bill, had gone a little farther, his hopes would probably have been well founded; but though he divided the ordinary expenditure into classes, a power was given to make occasional payments to any amount. Though no limits were set to the contingent expenses, there was no deficiency in the Civil List thenceforward, till the breaking out of the French war—but after that, all the contingent expenses were so increased, that in 1790 there was an arrear of £900,000. At that time extensive accounts were laid before Parliament—the debts were paid, and further provision was made for the Civil List expenditure. From that time forward, though the ordinary expenses of the Civil List exceeded the sums allowed for them, it was not found necessary to call for a direct provision for them, as the large sums at the disposal of the Crown, in the shape of Droits of Admiralty, &c. afforded a fund to supply those deficiencies. Yet in 1804 the authority of Parliament was again resorted to, and estimates were framed for the future expenditure of the Civil List. In 1811 and 12, the subject came again under investigation, and an excess of £124,000 per annum was found to have taken place. Between 1812 and 1816 a further increase of expenditure took place, and a greater excess happened than in any former years. A Committee was then appointed, which sat three months, and the arrangements in consequence of its report were brought forward in the House by the Noble Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. That Bill related so much of Burke's Bill as regarded the payments according to the order of classes, and directed that the demands of each class should be answered by appropriations at the beginning of each quarter. The advantage on the score of economy from this arrangement was very considerable, because the different departments of the Household, being thus enabled to deal with ready money, enjoyed an advantage thereby, which they had never had under any other system of the Civil List. It was provided in a complete manner for the comfort and convenience of the persons, many of whom were in narrow circumstances, who depended on the Civil List. The distress which some of the officers suffered who were five, six, or seven quarters in arrears, might be easily conceived. In both these particulars, the arrangement of 1816 was an improvement, but with respect to the Public the advantage was still more considerable, by its economy in comparison of former times. The expenses of the Civil List, since 1816, had been less by £150,000 than the average of the three years before. In proposing the establishment at present of a system similar to that of 1816, he was proceeding on a principle already sanctioned by Parliament, of providing a sufficient, but not an extravagant allowance, retaining such a control over the expenditure as would prevent the recurrence of future debt. The Establishment of 1816 he should therefore propose entire, with the exception of the reduction of the first class. That class contained allowances to the amount of £268,000 a year, being the allowance for the Windsor Establishment, the prize purse of his Majesty, the allowance to her late Majesty, and the prize purse of the Prince Regent, exercising the functions of royalty. Of these allowances, the King's prize purse of £60,000 a year was all that would remain; and as this class alone was the only one in which the circumstances connected with the demise of the Crown had made any alteration, it was the only one in which he should propose any change. There would be thus a saving of £238,000, with the exception of such provision as the liberality of Parliament chose to make for the servants of his late Majesty. After expressing his conviction that no new circumstances could be shown to call for delay, he concluded by moving that the Resolutions be read a second time.

Lord J. RUSSELL rose and said, that it was with considerable pain that he undertook the ungracious task of moving, that the Second Reading of the Resolutions should be postponed, in order to afford time to appoint a Committee, closely to investigate the subject of them. It made him apprehensive of the fate of such a motion, when he recollected that neither the eloquence nor the wit of his Hon. and Learned Friend (Mr. Brougham) had been able to persuade

tions to this system, the only two phrases used against him (for arguments there were none) were, "a stipendiary King," and an "insolent King." As to the first phrase, it might well have been brought into play when the proposal was first made in the reign of Charles II. to abolish wards and livery, or when the sum was first fixed for the Civil List for William III. To bring it up now was rather extraordinary. Who were they who used the phrase, but those who brought down from time to time the excesses of the House—hold, all the items for food and grocery which had been read by the Right Hon. Genl. (Mr. Canning) to excite their horror; those who had brought forward all these details to justify the payment of debts, the very least of which had been contracted on account of the Royal Household; for they had in the accounts 18 and 30 thousands for foreign missions, and large sums for other public services, among which was the sum of £3000 for an entertainment given on the return of Ferdinand VII. to Madrid. (Hear! and a laugh.) As to the phrase, "insolent King," it seemed to have great force, as it had been repeated often with an apparent conviction that every one would start with horror at the idea it conveyed. It seemed to proceed from the notion that the Crown, when it stood alone, was impopular. They who thought so were totally mistaken. Even the most violent political writers, Mr. Cobbett, for instance, who might be supposed to spare nothing, always spoke with respect of the Crown. It was the Crown, not the Ministry, that the Ministers, when they wished to raise a cry for themselves, called on the People to rally round, well knowing that they fared best when confounded with the Monarch or the Throne. He was thus far from thinking that the Crown would suffer by being separated from the expenses of the Civil Government, and those who looked to the expenses now classed together with the maintenance of the Crown. There was the secret service money of the Home Department—that extremely popular branch of the public expenditure. (A laugh.) That the payments of Oliver, Castles, or Edwards, were derived from the same fund which supplied the expense of royalty, was, according to the Ministers, as aid to the splendour and dignity of the Throne.

Mr. WARRIE was by no means disposed to utter, or to countenance, any denunciation against the splendour of royalty. On the contrary, indeed, no man could be more anxious to support that splendour; but he objected to any degree of expense unnecessary for that purpose—and believing that such expense was included in the Civil List, as it was at present arranged, he was desirous for a full, fair, elaborate inquiry upon the subject. He therefore seconded the motion of his Noble Friend.

Mr. HURKISSON thought that the proposed arrangement could not be objected to upon due consideration, if it were not desired that we should have no Civil List at all. He was prepared to contend that there was no ground whatever for the proposed inquiry, or for any objection to the proposed arrangement of the Civil List; unless it were maintained that the establishment of the King should be less than that of the Regent, or that his Majesty was not entitled to spend so much in his present capacity, as he was enabled to do in that of the Regent. (Hear, hear! on the Ministerial Benches.) This proposition, he presumed, the Noble Lord would not attempt to assert; but even if he did, he was still called upon, in order to sustain his motion, to show that precedents existed for an inquiry of this sort.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that in addressing the House upon a subject of this nature, at a time of such general and grievous distress—at a time when our agriculture was so materially depressed, and so likely to become worse—at a time when our commerce was in the condition so forcibly described by an Hon. Friend near him (Mr. Baring)—at a time when our manufacturers were nearly starving—at a time when the discontents arising out of such circumstances were such as to break out in various quarters into acts of unjustifiable violence—at a time when the public revenue had fallen to such a most rigid economy as imperiously to call for the most rigid economy in every branch of the public expenditure—he could make no apology for occupying the attention of the House, while he submitted the observations which such a state of things naturally suggested to his mind. He called upon the House to inquire upon this subject, for the satisfaction of the Public, for the credit of the Crown, and for the vindication of its own character. If a due inquiry were instituted, the Country would be contented with the grant, although that grant might not be more than 1000 less than the sum now proposed. But the saving would, he was persuaded, be considerably more, if a thorough investigation were allowed to take place upon this subject. Of the fallacy of the estimates to which reference had so often and so confidently been made on this occasion, the House might judge from this fact, that although the estimates of 1815 amounted to £1,448,000, the Act of 1816 was founded upon an estimate introduced, making a deduction of £129,000, and the Right Hon. Gentleman had then said, that the ground of this deduction was the depreciation of the value of money. The Noble Lord, indeed, had given other reasons for this difference in the amount of the estimate for the two years, and had referred to charges for additional Ambassadors, and for keeping the gardens. But he (Mr. Tierney) knew not, nor could any man know, what real payments had been made. In every point of view, therefore, there was no sound method of arriving

at a knowledge of the sum which was or ought to be granted, but by a Committee of Inquiry. It was said that the average of the seven years ending in 1811 was the true criterion by which to form an estimate of the Civil List. This he distinctly denied. He would call to the recollection of the House the great expenses of his late Majesty, arising from a large family, the expenses of the Board of Works, incurred not in repairing, but in improving the stupendous structure of Windsor Castle, and in building Kensington Palace for the then Princess of Wales, the expenses of his Majesty in removing his family from London to Windsor & Weymouth. None of these circumstances applied to the present reign, and a scale of expenditure, suited to that period, ought not to be adopted in the present reign. The House would not discharge their duty to their Country, if they did not watch with the greatest jealousy the proceedings of his Majesty's Ministers. In that part of the Report of the Committee in 1815 which respected the charge for Ambassadors, the Noble Lord (Lord Castlereagh) had himself acknowledged an error of £25,000. Now could he (Mr. Tierney) be sure that there was not now an error of £50,000? Four most essential years, and many changes had taken place, and it was most incumbent upon the House to pause and inquire, unless they were ready to place implicit reliance upon his Majesty's Ministers, and to assent to whatever the Crown might expect at their hands. They were called upon to vote £850,000 for the Civil List Establishment of Great Britain, and £200,000 for Ireland; but no inquiry had at any time taken place with respect to the Irish expenditure. The accounts of the Civil List had become so complicated, so many sums had been taken from one head and added to another, that it was extremely difficult to arrive at an accurate knowledge of the subject. There was another view of this question, which he considered to be most important. The Right Hon. Gentleman had stated, that the sum of £60,000 per annum appropriated to the Prize Purse was the only sum that properly remained to the Crown, and he (Mr. Tierney) would have wished that this sum had been charged on the Consolidated Fund, instead of the Civil List. It was not placing the Crown in that proud situation in which it formerly stood. Formerly, the King was considered as the father of his People, and a gross sum was given him, which he might expend in acts of beneficence. Now, even his Majesty the Queen could not find a place in the Civil List; and in a Bill providing for the Royal Household, the Queen of England was excluded, although recognized by the Lord Chancellor, and, happily for her, represented by his Hon. Friend (Mr. Brougham). He would not press this topic further at present, because it must necessarily become the subject of future discussion. In considering the question of placing the sum of £60,000 at the disposal of his Majesty, it was material to understand how much of that sum was already in his Majesty's possession. The House were proceeding entirely in the dark. There were the Revenues of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the former, he believed, amounting to £10,000, and the latter to £15,000 per annum. If to these sums were added £6000 a year for the £288,000 which had been appropriated from time to time to the Prize Purse, the whole amount would be ninety-one thousand pounds per annum, being an increase of fifty per cent. upon the gross sum of sixty thousand pounds per annum. The mischief of enabling his Majesty's Ministers to apply large sums out of this extraordinary revenue must be obvious to every one, and the House would see how easy it would be, at the eye of a General Election, to take £20,000 out of the Prize Purse for the purposes of corruption. He made this statement with great pain to himself. He admitted that this was not a time to wound the feelings of his Majesty; but he felt that he should not discharge his duty to the Country, if he imputed the conduct of Ministers, in consenting to a few minor retrenchments, and discharging a few unhappy clerks, while they that their eyes upon the impudent grant which they were called upon to vote to his Majesty. He had discharged his duty to the Country, and he trusted that the House would discharge theirs.

Mr. CANNING argued at considerable length in support of the motion of Mr. VAN STUART. The House then proceeded to a Division, when there appeared—For the Amendment, 157—Against it, 256—Majority, 99.

On our re-admission to the Gallery, we found Sir J. NEWPORT on his legs, protesting against that part of the Resolutions which referred to the Civil List of Ireland, on the ground that no inquiry whatever had taken place with respect to it during the last reign. Whatever might be said for the Civil List of England, there was not even the semblance of an inquiry into that of Ireland.

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his counter-signature, and in the interview granted, that Rev. Prelate assumed a right to refuse, without accounting for the cause. The Petitioner affirmed, that the decision was not founded on any incompetency or incapacity to discharge the functions of his order, because the Bishop had at his request made a distinct disclaimer of that. Subsequently, however, the Learned Bishop allowed that the refusal was founded on the fact of his having made use of certain words in a speech delivered in the hearing of the Public. What the words were alleged to be, the Noble Lord said, would presently be seen—whether they were ever spoken—and what the effect of them would be, if they had been spoken. The Petitioner affirmed that he had never spoken them. He was answered, that persons who had heard him said otherwise. His Lordship, after commenting on the severity of proceeding on evidence which there was no possible opportunity to rebut, said that the Petitioner went on to state that his only hope of remedy was grounded on their Lordships' consideration of the Petition, as he was instructed that the law afforded none. The Petitioner, the Noble Lord continued, not only had various documents to produce in corroboration of the facts on the face of the Petition, but thought it necessary to state all the facts which had come to his knowledge, that might serve to explain or account for the proceedings of the Rev. Bishop. He, therefore, set forth, that his Diocese had most candidly, at the Petitioner's request, informed the two other Prelates, that he had no objection to him whatever on the score of moral character. He had even gone a step farther than he desired, and described to those learned and reverend individuals the reasons of his withholding his counter-signature. The Petitioner lastly alleged, that the consequences of this step had fallen most heavily on him, and had destroyed his prospects in his profession. He still, however, held his curacy, which was a matter of surprise, because if he had committed any canonical offence, which rendered the counter-signature improper, that should also be a reason for his being deprived of the curacy. Having said so much on the allegations of the Petition, he should observe that it was, he supposed, no great objection to a man in this country that he was a warm politician. (A laugh.) The inquiry he had made into the life and conversation of this individual proved most creditable to him. He had learned that shortly after being ordained (we believe in the year 1814) he had been appointed to a curacy in the county of Devon, the duties of which he had most exemplarily performed—that he never was absent from it above a week or ten days; and in consequence received a letter from the wife of the Rector, who was disabled by illness from writing himself, stating her husband's satisfaction at having procured a Curate so diligent and conscientious in the performance of the duties devolved on him. And some time after, when the Rector died, the parishioners waited in a memorial to the Bishop of the diocese, praying that the Petitioner might be appointed to the vacant benefice; and though the object of their application had not been obtained, yet his meritorious conduct had not been without its effects on his mind. The power claimed and exercised on this occasion would have, if allowed, the preposterous effect of enabling a Bishop to prevent preferment in another diocese in a way he could not in his own. In such a case, a Bishop should be compelled by process of law to state his reasons of refusal before another tribunal; and if he did not give his reasons, there should be another power to compel the institution. But he was told that there was no superintending jurisdiction in case of a refusal of counter-signature; and even supposing that it was conscientiously and justly executed, yet this was an enormous and arbitrary discretionary power. If it was to continue, it should be considered what injury, without means of prevention or redress, might in that way be done, not only to a great number of respectable individuals, but to the rights of their Lordships' own property in livings, as patrons; for though Mr. Jones honourably surrendered the presentation to the patrons, yet the law did not oblige him—and if he had perseveringly insisted on the rights which he had been invested, the patrons having had no opportunity to present anew, the livings would have been left to the Bishops eventually. But he could not refrain from expressing other observations to which the petition gave rise. The discretion had been harshly and injudiciously executed; the reason alleged for its exertion was the delivery of the words to this effect by the Petitioner, in a speech at a County Meeting—viz. Nine-tenths of the Clergymen of the Church of England, in signing the eighth article of that Church, which contains an approbation of the Athanasian Creed, and its damnable clauses, signed what they did not believe. The Petitioner affirmed he had not used this language; and, indeed, judging from the context and the tenor of the whole address, the

words must have been incorrectly reported; and inserted in the passage. The Petitioner offered proof of his assertion, and referred to these newspapers in which the speech was reported at the time, and you will find no such thing—look to the evidence of persons who were present, and they will say that they did not hear the words—look also to the whole tenor of the argument, and you will find that this would not arise out of it.—The Noble Lord then referred to the statements of three gentlemen as bearing out the denial of the Petitioner, one of whom had sat next him at the Meeting; the second was Mr. Sergeant Pell, who had attended it; and the third was a clergyman (as we understood), and a relative of Sir Vicary Gibbs. He stated his impressions of Mr. Jones's conduct in a letter, and appeared to be rather against the Catholics than for them. He did mention one fact which was not in favour of Mr. Jones, but which was very far from justifying a proceeding which completely stopped a man in his career to the distinction and emolument which his profession afforded. The Noble Lord then read an extract from the letter, which, he said, had been submitted to the Bishop of Exeter, without producing any effect. He then described the general nature of the speech which had set forth, that his Diocese had most candidly, at his request, informed the two other Prelates, that he had no objection to him whatever on the score of moral character. He had even gone a step farther than he desired, and described to those learned and reverend individuals the reasons of his withholding his counter-signature. The Petitioner lastly alleged, that the consequences of this step had fallen most heavily on him, and had destroyed his prospects in his profession. He still, however, held his curacy, which was a matter of surprise, because if he had committed any canonical offence, which rendered the counter-signature improper, that should also be a reason for his being deprived of the curacy. Having said so much on the allegations of the Petition, he should observe that it was, he supposed, no great objection to a man in this country that he was a warm politician. (A laugh.) The inquiry he had made into the life and conversation of this individual proved most creditable to him. He had learned that shortly after being ordained (we believe in the year 1814) he had been appointed to a curacy in the county of Devon, the duties of which he had most exemplarily performed—that he never was absent from it above a week or ten days; and in consequence received a letter from the wife of the Rector, who was disabled by illness from writing himself, stating her husband's satisfaction at having procured a Curate so diligent and conscientious in the performance of the duties devolved on him. And some time after, when the Rector died, the parishioners waited in a memorial to the Bishop of the diocese, praying that the Petitioner might be appointed to the vacant benefice; and though the object of their application had not been obtained, yet his meritorious conduct had not been without its effects on his mind. The power claimed and exercised on this occasion would have, if allowed, the preposterous effect of enabling a Bishop to prevent preferment in another diocese in a way he could not in his own. In such a case, a Bishop should be compelled by process of law to state his reasons of refusal before another tribunal; and if he did not give his reasons, there should be another power to compel the institution. But he was told that there was no superintending jurisdiction in case of a refusal of counter-signature; and even supposing that it was conscientiously and justly executed, yet this was an enormous and arbitrary discretionary power. If it was to continue, it should be considered what injury, without means of prevention or redress, might in that way be done, not only to a great number of respectable individuals, but to the rights of their Lordships' own property in livings, as patrons; for though Mr. Jones honourably surrendered the presentation to the patrons, yet the law did not oblige him—and if he had perseveringly insisted on the rights which he had been invested, the patrons having had no opportunity to present anew, the livings would have been left to the Bishops eventually. But he could not refrain from expressing other observations to which the petition gave rise. The discretion had been harshly and injudiciously executed; the reason alleged for its exertion was the delivery of the words to this effect by the Petitioner, in a speech at a County Meeting—viz. Nine-tenths of the Clergymen of the Church of England, in signing the eighth article of that Church, which contains an approbation of the Athanasian Creed, and its damnable clauses, signed what they did not believe. The Petitioner affirmed he had not used this language; and, indeed, judging from the context and the tenor of the whole address, the

