



expedient for Leeds to have two Burgesses in Parliament; now he (Lord Castlereagh) could not agree to this, without at the same time agreeing with his (Lord John Russell's) principle, that the representation ought to be founded on wealth and population. Now this was a novel principle, and was, he thought, going back to those ideas which the Noble Lord had consented to give up; and so far was he (Lord Castlereagh) from agreeing with him to extending the right of suffrage to all householders paying scot and lot, that he thought that the mode of all others to which he should have the greatest objection. There was, he believed, no instance on record, where a right of voting had been established by Act of Parliament, at least since the Act of Union, at which time the Crown ceased to exercise the right of summoning some places and withholding it from others. As this would be creating a new principle of conferring the elective franchise by Act of Parliament, and would be a complete departure from the three precedents already established, he would put it to the Noble Lord, whether, for the sake of an abstract proposition—a proposition too which was not only denied, but which would certainly be strongly opposed—he would risk the loss of the measure altogether. Having stated to the House his reasons for preferring the district reform to the principle of transfer, he should not oppose the second reading of the Bill; but he trusted that in the Committee it would receive such alterations as would enable him to give it his support.

Mr. TIERNEY said, that with respect to the measure proposed by his Noble Friend, he was certain there was nothing which would have given greater satisfaction to all reasonable and dispassionate men, than the prospect which it held out to them. He was certain that in this he spoke the sentiments of all rational, sound-thinking men; such persons thought that this was one of the means, in a small degree, of improving the Representation, but would in a great degree show the disposition of the House to make that reform. But all were now disappointed, and all they were to expect was, simply, that the elective franchise at Grampound should be merged in the neighbouring hundreds. The Noble Lord says, for God's sake keep to precedent! but this precedent was established only a very few years ago. (Hear, hear!) Before he proceeded, he begged to guard himself against the idea, that any feelings in regard to place were to influence his conduct, or any, in that House. They were to do their duty—the other House would do what they considered them—and the Country would decide between them if there should be any difference. Without going extravagant lengths, or seconding any clamour either for or against reform, the measure of his Noble Friend came recommended to him on this ground—that it would be a recognition of the principle, that where favourable opportunities offered to amend the Representation, the House would avail itself of them. The question for them to consider was this: by the disfranchisement of Grampound the House were reduced two in number, and therefore it was to be said whether they should go on with the reduced number, or keep up the old one. He should say, keep up the old one. He utterly denied that Grampound being once disfranchised, they had any more to do with Cornwall than any other county in the kingdom. (Hear, hear!) No man would deny that great changes had been wrought by the lapse of time and the course of events—great fluctuations and shifts of both property and population. These fluctuations had thrown an immense mass of population to other places than those which they occupied when our Representative System began. Going back to that period, would any man have ventured to say, that Grampound should, and that Leeds should not, be represented? He would contend that they were now in that situation, and that they had not only to consider what places most wanted Representatives, but in times like the present they ought also to consider how the public feeling would be most gratified by the choice to be made. Now he would ask, what was the cause of the clamour (for to a certain degree it might be so considered) for Parliamentary Reform? The cause, undoubtedly, was such entire masses of men being unrepresented, and they now had an opportunity, *pro tanto*, at least, to remedy that complaint. But by the plan of the Noble Lord opposite, no new class of voters would be created, but some of the old voters would have two votes instead of one. He could not conceive why the nation should have excited any alarm, unless those who felt that made up their minds that nothing in the shape of Parliamentary Reform should ever be granted. The Noble Lord had really advanced nothing against the measure, but arguments founded on what was likely to be the conduct of the other House. If it was to be said that House was never to entertain any question introducing, or even touching on Reform, let it be said so at once; but if they wished to avail themselves of every fair opportunity for correcting the abuses which had crept into the Representation in a long course of time, he maintained that a more favourable one could never present itself than the present. The Noble Lord could not doubt that there was a large body of people in the Country who were as anxious for the preservation of property, and as zealously attached to the principles of the Constitution, as the Noble Lord himself, who in their consciences believed that a certain degree of improvement in the mode of exercising the elective franchise was indispensably necessary to the tranquillity, security, and welfare of the Country. (Hear, hear!) The propriety of disfranchising Grampound was generally admitted, and the only

question was, whether its former rights should be thrown into some of the counties, or the great town. He concurred in opinion with his Noble Friend (Lord J. Russell) that it would be more satisfactory to give it to one of the latter, and Leeds appeared to be the most eligible that could be fixed on. The Noble Lord (Castlereagh) desired that he would not oppose the second reading, but was candidly admitted, that in the Committee it was his intention to get rid of the whole matter by the extension of the measure, by throwing the right into the adjacent hundreds. It had been said, by some of the speakers, that the larger of voting votes for the election of Members to sit in Parliament to great numbers of people, with no other qualification than paying a house of the value of £5 a year? But this was not a country where the experiment had been tried with the best success;—where too it had, in various instances, been carried to a much greater extent than was proposed at present, with the most beneficial consequences, one of which he (Mr. Tierney) should always consider the means it afforded for the vent of public opinion and interest on questions of general importance and interest. He most conscientiously believed, that if Manchester enjoyed the privilege of sending two Members to Parliament, and were governed by discreet and humane Magistrates, this would form a strong pledge for its peace and contentment in future. (Here Lord Castlereagh smiled.) The Noble Lord smiled, and treated this remark with sovereign contempt; but notwithstanding it was, and would be, his conscientious belief. Notwithstanding, he preferred bestowing the boon on Leeds, because there would necessarily be a sort of awkwardness in granting it to Manchester in the first instance. He could assure the Noble Lord, that in the decision to which he had come, party feelings did not at all interfere, for he was not at all sure that his side of the House would gain by the transfer; at least, if Leeds returned two Members, he thought they would be very well off if they got one of them. (Lord Castlereagh.) He thought the proposition of his Noble Friend was one which the House would do well to entertain, and to get rid of it on the grounds adduced by the Noble Lord, would be steering a course which would be any thing but satisfactory to the Public. The adoption of it would take from visionary reformers one of their strongest arguments—"The House of Commons will never do any thing to reform itself;" it would be depriving them of their most powerful weapon. But a greater advantage resulting from it would be, that it would conciliate the minds of the middling classes, who would hail with joy the commencement of self-reformation. But he could say he was no hope of the attainment of his Noble Friend's object after the speech of the Noble Lord; but for his own part he should gladly take all the good that was to be got. He had no doubt that that night's discussion of the subject would produce a disappointment in the public mind to-morrow; therefore, as there would be an opportunity of considering the question after the holidays, he entreated Gentlemen to inquire into and endeavour to ascertain the opinions of their Constituents and the Public on it in the mean time; and if they returned with an impression founded on what they saw, that the proposition of his Noble Friend was one which it would do credit to the House to entertain, and diffuse satisfaction through the Country to adopt, he should indulge the hope that it would receive the better support. (Hear, hear!)

Mr. W. WYNN said, that all parties were agreed on the necessity of reforming the gross abuses which had taken place in the giving of votes in the Borough of Grampound, and all concurred in the expediency of the first part of the Bill for taking away the right of franchise from that place. The question then was, what was to be done with it? He by no means agreed in the reasoning of the Noble Lord, for transferring it to the adjacent hundreds. The three former instances quoted by him were not at all similar in their circumstances to this. But even if they were so in every respect, and admitting, as he certainly did, that precedent ought to be allowed great weight where it was applicable, still he could not acknowledge that the House was bound by the determination of other Parliaments, but that this Parliament was quite free to exercise its own judgment and wisdom on the particular case, and if it saw that a different course was advisable, to pursue it. (Hear, hear!) In the three former instances of disfranchisement, there were great numbers of Electors to whom no guilt had been brought home. It had been reasonably said, will you punish the whole of the Electors for the guilt of a part? Accordingly it was not done, but pure blood was let into the body by the admission of the adjacent hundreds to a participation of the elective right. But this case differed materially from the others, there was so much greater degree of guilt in the Borough, that the same argument could not in his opinion be with any propriety used in regard to it. If the right of returning Members to Parliament were taken away from Grampound, no reason whatever existed for conferring it on the adjacent hundreds; they should no more be considered in the distribution than the inhabitants of any other place in the Kingdom. (Hear, hear!) Besides, it would be inconsistent to throw the right into the hands of those who already enjoyed votes for the County. (Hear!) With respect to the district to which it was most advisable to transfer the right, he preferred the proposition of the Hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Beaumont). The imperfect state of the Representation for the county of York was a great evil, which

impressively demanded to be removed. The elective franchise was scattered over a great extent of space in that large county, that it was really useless to many invested with it, because it was not possible that all the freeholders in the county could be collected to one point to give their votes within the time limited by law. This was an evil long felt, and which would be increasing every day. Any one who looked at the population returns would be convinced of that; and if that evil, which had absolutely broken down the Union in that district, were not remedied, the plan of dividing the county of York into counties, and giving the Eastern and North Riding the return of two Members, and the West Riding also the return of two Members, would be a great improvement on the present state of the representation of that county. In consequence of the former modes of punishing borough corruption, all these cases should stand on their own grounds, and he considered it would be improper to carry the right taken from Grampound to a district already fully and more than fully represented. (Hear, hear!)

If the House were against the plan he had recommended, he should choose, as the next best, the proposition of the Noble Lord (Lord J. Russell). (Hear, hear!)

Mr. HOUME SUMNER said, that the constant answer of those in the House who opposed Reform was, "Show us a specific instance of imperfection in the present system of the Representation." Now, he thought that if ever a clear case to establish that imperfection was to be acknowledged by the House, the present was that case. (Hear, hear!)—and if they neglected to avail themselves of the opportunity it afforded to correct and amend what was proved to be abused and defective in the system, it would give but too just a handle to those who imputed to them that they would never do any thing to correct their own errors. He had to express his thanks to the Noble Lord who had introduced the question in so able a manner. The objections of the Hon. Member for Montgomeryshire (Mr. Wynn) to extending the right of suffrage to the adjoining hundreds were insuperable. The proposition of the Hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Beaumont) was that to which he felt most inclined. He preferred this alteration, because it was consistent with the principle on which the representation of that House was formed, giving the elective franchise to property. He hoped too that that was not the only case to which the principle of disfranchisement would be applied. A Bill had been in very considerable progress in the last Parliament for disfranchising the borough of Penryn, which had been proved to be quite as bad as Grampound, and he sincerely hoped it would be taken up again.

Mr. BEAUMONT said, that to prevent misunderstanding, he should explain the amendment he intended to propose in the Committee. Its object was, that the county of York, for the purpose of being properly represented, should be divided into two counties. His reasons were something similar to those which had been urged already in the debate. This plan had less of innovation, and would enable the franchise to be more easily exercised in that County, by diminishing the expense attending voting there at present. He thought that nothing had fallen from the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) which should bind him to oppose his proposition, and he was resolved to persevere in the amendment.

Mr. CANNING said, that if the Bill on the table had been introduced merely for the disfranchisement of Grampound, and transferring the right which that borough had enjoyed to some other place, leaving it to the Committee to fill up the blank with the name of the place, he should have felt no great anxiety to express his sentiments. But it was expressed in the preamble, that it was a Bill for erecting (among other purposes) Leeds into a borough. The propriety of that, therefore, was the question before the House. He agreed with every Gentleman who had spoken, that the borough of Grampound must be disfranchised, that was, deprived of the right of sending Members to Parliament. But the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Tierney) seemed to go still further than the Noble Lord in his eagerness to punish the borough, for, in being disfranchised, he thought that the place was wholly extinguished, as much as if no such place had ever been in existence. But the Noble Lord fell into no such supposition, because in his Bill he provided for the preservation of the right of voting to the pure Electors, and admitted them to vote for the County. This was a singular feature in the measure, and one from which could be derived the propriety of the plan advised by his Noble Friend (Lord Castlereagh). If he were obliged to choose either, he could have no hesitation as to which of the modes of transfer proposed on the opposite side of the House he should give the preference. He certainly preferred that of the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Beaumont). To this Bill, in its preamble and its enactments, he must give the most decided opposition. The Noble Lord had professed, in framing it, to steer clear of all wild theories of reform; he apprehended, however, that the principle on which these theories were founded was the right of population to proportionate representation—which very principle, he believed, was recognized in the Bill, for looking to its preamble they would find it said, that Leeds, being a place of great and increasing wealth and population, it was expedient, &c. Looking at the details, it would be seen that they carried this principle into practice to a very great extent. He knew of very few boroughs in the kingdom with elective rights so extensive as were there confined

to Leeds. Of this he was sure, that if Parliament appointed the limit there laid down, and established as the standard for determining the participation of the elective franchise, so far from the measure diluting satisfaction throughout the County, the consequence of it would be a perfect fusion of discontent in many places, which would perfectly well satisfied about, but which would then desire to be put on an equal footing with Leeds. He was sure that the Noble Lord's amendment would do some time to do so, but he was sure that the suspension of any bill just now to consider the details of the plan of reform he had managed to propose, his Bill. He confessed he was not a member of Parliament, Reform, and would not sanction the principle of it one title beyond the necessity required. He submitted to the House, that in the present case, as the consequence of an existing evil which could not be suffered to continue. The necessity of some step being taken, he would not greatly apprehend that the right taken from Grampound to a district already fully and more than fully represented. (Hear, hear!)

Mr. D. GILBERT said, that the two hundreds adjacent to Grampound, to which it was proposed to transfer its forfeited rights, contained a body of gentlemen, and a population, generally respectable in the extreme. He therefore thought, that their Representatives, if they were to have them, would be fairly chosen as those of many Counties. Of the two other plans, he incomparably preferred that suggested by the Honourable Member for Northumberland (Mr. Beaumont). For himself, he looked on those methods which would materially innovate on our old Constitution with great apprehension and distrust; and he entreated those Gentlemen who thought differently, to look to the course of history, ancient and modern, and then to say whether it was possible that any body of men, directly delegated by the People, could exist with the other branches of the Constitution. No! their power would overbear every thing they would sweep away the Aristocracy, overturn the Throne, and effect a certain termination of such an order of things would be a military despotism. He did not mean to say that he apprehended such consequences from disfranchising Grampound. But his opinion was, that if the House thought it advisable to spread the right enjoyed by Grampound over the two adjoining hundreds, the existence of the small boroughs in the neighbourhood would be an impediment whatever to carry that design into execution.

Mr. J. NEWPORT objected to the extension of the right to the hundreds, because Cornwall enjoyed more than five sixths proportion of the Representation already. (Hear!) On this occasion, it was the duty of the House to look about for some portion of the population not represented under the existing system—and where could it direct its view rather than to York, here? The Noble Lord (Castlereagh) seemed to have forgotten the grounds of representation on which he had acted at the period of the Union with Ireland, in adjusting the claims of that Country; those grounds were population and taxation. So accurately had the estimates been founded on population, that on one occasion, when the population of two Boroughs had been found equal, his memory greatly failed him if recourse had not been had to something like a ballot, or casting lots, to determine the preference, a proper attention having been previously given to taxation. He thought the principle wise and sound. (Hear!)—and indeed in this respect the Noble Lord had been the greatest practical reformer that had ever appeared in this Country. He was concerned that he had in some degree quitted those grounds. On this question he differed altogether from the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning), and so far from viewing it with jealousy, he looked on it with peculiar favour, because it involved the principle of Parliamentary Reform. (Hear!)—To take a wise advantage of such occasions was the best method of correcting those abuses, which, in a course of time, had crept into ours, as well as all Constitutions.

Mr. WAIRE felt some disappointment as to the manner in which the Bill had been received by the Members opposite. It appeared to him that no great sagacity was necessary to foresee the future fate of the Bill, which, as he expected, would resemble that of a similar Bill introduced in the last Parliament by the Member for Cumberland. Ministers appeared to smile on it, and treat it kindly in that House, but its progress was effectually checked elsewhere. He could not conceive the assumption which was detectable from the greater part of the debate, that the House was so wise and virtuous as to be incapable of admitting a change in any degree. He thought the general sense of the House and the Public required that every opportunity should be seized that fairly offered itself for altering and improving the Representation. He recommended a more grave consideration of the measure before the House than had been manifested by the debate. He referred the House to the consideration of the general satisfaction expressed by the declarations of Ministers respecting the corruption of Grampound. As the case was made out, even by the acknowledgment of the House, he would support the Bill, not only on the ground of improvement in the representation, but as an example of the House's power to do as it pleased. W. SMITH said he would confine himself

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### The Waterford Chronicle.

THURSDAY, MAY 25.

The London Journals of Saturday were almost exclusively occupied with Parliamentary proceedings. An important discussion took place in the Commons, relative to the Grampound Disfranchisement Bill, the details of which are given at full length. The House is perfectly agreed, that Grampound should be disfranchised, but different opinions are entertained as to the transfer; the Bill proposes the transfer to be to Leeds—Lord Castlereagh to the Hundreds—Mr. WYNN and others to the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is pretty evident, that the ultimate measure will only extend the right to the Hundred, and that Reform will by no means be carried too far.

The House of Lords adjourned from Friday last till yesterday, and the House of Commons to this day.

Something was said in our last publication relative to the celebrated ATTA PACHA. It appears by late accounts, that this Albanian Chief had been summoned to Constantinople, by the GRAND VIZIER, to explain his conduct, but that he had refused obedience, and had raised the standard of

\* The first volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Naples, is just published. It does not contain a single word about Vesuvius!