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The Garland.

LINES,

Occasioned by the death of the Rev. Andrew Thomson, *D. D., Minister of St. George's, Edinburgh.*—By Thomas Atkinson.

I.

A Star is quenched!—A light hath passed away!
Genius is dust!—the soul's proud temple, clay!
—There were wild looks of wonder on each face,
And breathless awe had left a moistened trace
On manly cheeks that no light cause might pale,
As even the busiest paused to hear the tale
That fell in half-spoke words from many a tongue,
Which, while it uttered, o'er their sadness clung,
As if it sunk from its own mournful sound;
And men half breathed, or, wondering, gazed around
To see if life and sunshine still were theirs,
And muttered thoughts that shaped themselves to prayers;
For he—who yesterday was full of life,
Armed for the Truth and eager on the strife,
The giant Chief of more than mortal power—
Was stricken down, the victim of an hour!
Swept, like a forest oak, by one wild blast,
Which harmless o'er the weaker willow past,
And stretched at length, without one sign to tell
That canker there had gnawed its hidden cell;
But with a bourgeoning, as broad and green
As ever spread in beauty o'er the scene:
Yet there he lay—the mighty and the good,
Prostrate and powerless—silent and subdued!

II.

A Star is quenched!—A light hath passed away!
Genius hath withered into festering clay!
—No!—though that Star hath set to our dimmed eye,
'Tis but to blaze athwart a brighter sky;—
Genius hath only left its earthly cell
In fitter mansions for the soul to dwell.
Earth hath one being less upon its sphere,
Whose life spoke the great lesson—"'Tis not here
The noblest powers can reach their highest aim!
They must return to heaven, from whence they came;
There they alone shake off the taint that still,
While linked with man, they gather from his will."
Heaven hath its own again!—sublimed, refined
Returns the spirit to its sainted kind,
Where only, perfect made, the just abide,
And saints and angels mingle side by side;
Live in the light of the Redeemer's eyes,
And give new gladness even to the skies!
—Yon orb of light, that spreads o'er night's dark face
The borrowed lustre of a higher space,
Sets from our eyes, to rise to other men—
The soul in Heaven alone is se[e]n agen;
Its loftier pathway knows no cold return,
Its flame on earth no more comes back to burn!

III.

Unquenched the Star from earth that turns away,
'Tis of effulgence' self a dimless ray!
—Yet shall we—wanderers in the darkened space,
Where now, by deepened gloom, its path we trace—
Not sadly look upon the blank—wide—dim,
Which in our horizon of hope by him
Is left—where once the blazing pillar showed
The path a mighty spirit took to God;
Leading, through all that makes us worthy here,
On to the fitness for another sphere.
Answer! ye tribes of swart or pallid men,
Who now have drank the stream of life agen,
Untainted as from Inspiration high,
It came like waters from a cloudless sky,—
Without the stain of earth or human hand,—
To wake to life the verdure of a land.
Answer! 'Twill be with tears that men but shed
When mighty ones are numbered with the dead.
Answer! 'Twill be with sobs the softer give
When son or sire have ceased to love or live.
Answer!—But not till ages have rolled past,
Will there be heard of these the least or last;
While the meek Neophyte shall bless the name
Of him who *gave* The Bible *as it came.*

IV.

A Star is quenched!—A light hath ceased to blaze!
Where other tribes on other bright orbs gaze.
—Lo! where the southern sky in beauty spreads
O'er lands and isles, where, starward, dusky heads
Turned for long ages, to behold in these
The Gods they feared, or, prostrate, sought to please;
But now where missioned truth sheds Gospel light—
Than these, their Gods, how lovelier and more bright!
—Methinks I hear the coming grief, which yet
Will speak in sadness of the priceless debt
Tribes yet unborn shall owe to him who now
Wears as a coronal upon his brow
Of glory, souls—by him enfranchised through
The Grace and Truth he valued—*for he knew.*—
Where Kalmuck hordes o'er boundless steppes career—
Where Caffres *now* direct the peaceful steer—
Where Australasian tribes ascend to man
In being's scale,—afar in shut Japan,—
And where Himalay pours a thousand streams,
That name will yet be heard, when, 'mid the themes
Some Scottish preacher fondly dwells upon,
He speaks of them who, all too early gone,
Fired in his countrymen the holy flame
To give to distant lands Jehovah's name.

[*Remainder next week.*]

MISCELLANEA.

QUARREL OF FOX AND BURKE.

Mr. Pitt in the beginning of this year [1791,] proposed to go to war with Russia, in support of the Turks. The ostensible cause of quarrel was the maintenance of the balance of Europe; and the main point in dispute, the occupation by Russia of the fortress of Oczakow. The sense of the nation was decidedly against the quarrel; and the Minister was reduced to feeble majorities in Parliament. Mr. Grey took the lead on this question, supported by Mr. Fox; and pressed the Minister with the vigour and ardour of eloquence and increasing numbers. No great public question could now be discussed without encountering the French Revolution. Mr. Fox, in the course of a debate on the Russian armament, as the affair of Oczakow was called, pronounced the new constitution of France "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty that had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." Burke immediately rose in a state of violent agitation;—it was three in the morning; cries of "Question!" resounded from all parts of the House; and, for the present, he was compelled to give way, trembling with disappointed rage. The question of constitution for Canada stood for discussion on the 21st of April. Burke had, in the mean time, ruminated over Fox's eulogy on the French constitution, and his own interruption by the House, until these thoughts sunk deeply and rancorously into his heart. It was rumoured that Pitt took advantage of this mood, and stimulated him to attack "the English advocates of revolution and republicanism" in the discussion in the Canada question. Fox called on Burke on the morning of the day; stated to him in confidence the favourable expressions of the King; his hopes of office; the rumours that Mr. Pitt had encouraged him to attack the English friends of the French revolution, in order to prejudice him (Mr. Fox) in the King's mind; and, in conclusion, asked him to put off his intended speech from the Canada discussion to some subsequent occasion. Burke denied any concert with Pitt, yet he refused to postpone his speech; and the two friends met and parted amicably—but for the last time. On the 21st of April Mr. Pitt moved the re-committment of the Quebec Government Bill—such was the title of the Bill which was to enact a constitution for Canada. Mr Sheridan moved its postponement; after a skirmish of out-posts, in the course of which Mr. Fox adverted to the insidious whispers of his being a republican, and Mr. Burke disclaimed being instigated by Mr. Pitt, or having any views injurious to Mr. Fox, whom he called his friend, it was put off to the 6th of May. On that day the house having gone into a committee on the bill, Mr. Burke immediately rose. After a few observations on the immediate and proper subject, he digressed wildly to the rights of man; the Unitarians; the clubs of London and Paris, and the hardships of the King of France, with M. de la Fayette, his chief jailor. A member called him to order, and the chairman drew his attention to the question. Mr. Fox deprecated the call to order in a tone of irony, which proved that he regarded the conduct as designed to hurt him. Burke resumed, and compared himself to M. Cazales, who could never utter a word without uproar in the national assembly. This allusion to the great royalist champion in France proved how much he was acted upon by a sort of chivalrous vain glory. Several members now called Burke and each other to order. A scene of indescribable confusion followed. Pitt and Fox alone were heard at some length. Burke again rose, controlling his agitation under a tranquil air, and commencing in a governed and solemn tone which imposed silence; towards the close of a mournfully eloquent speech, he said, that though it cost him his friends, he would still say, were it his last breath, "Fly from the French Revolution!" Fox here whispered to him, "there was a difference of opinion only, but no loss of friends." Burke harshly replied. "Yes, there was: he knew the price of his conduct; their friendship was at an end." Fox rose; but so deeply affected, that some moments passed before he could speak; tears trickled down his cheeks; the whole house shared his emotion; he then proceeded to vindicate himself; and alluded to Burke still as his friend, in a strain of tender, grateful, reverential friendship, of which the eloquence and deep feeling can be traced even in the imperfect remains published as his speeches. Having alluded in a tone of complaint and kindness to "the severe and injurious terms applied to him by his friend;" the latter said, loud enough to be heard, "I do not recollect having used any." Fox, taking advantage of the expression, instantly turned round to him and said, "My right honourable friend does not recollect them; from this moment they are obliterated from my mind and memory for ever." The generous overture was rejected, and they left the House of Commons that evening with the understanding that they were to be strangers to each other for the rest of their lives.—*Cabinet Library.*

From the London Court Journal.

The Tunnel of Semiramis.—All Europe is looking forward with anxiety to see if the great undertaking, the object of which is to unite the two shores of the Thames by a subterranean gallery under the bed of the river, will be completed; if so, it will be in the present times a work of art truly singular in its kind. Yet, notwithstanding this idea has brought, so much honour on the English engineer, the great Semiramis, nearly 3894 years ago, accomplished a similar work of art, on an immense scale, under the Euphrates, which Philostratus mentions in general terms, but of which Diodorus of Sicily, gives a minute description, which we trust our readers will find interesting.

After this fortunate and highly gifted woman, and Queen of the Assyrian empire, had, by the foundation of Babylon, in the year 2064 B.C., rendered her name more immortal than that of her husband, Ninus, who founded the well known city of Nineveh; she caused two magnificent royal palaces to be erected on the most elevated spots of either shore of the Euphrates, which flowed through the midst of Babylon, from which she enjoyed a splendid view over the largest city of antiquity. An arched stone bridge, 400 toises in length, built with all the perfection of hydraulic architecture of the present day, formed the communication between these two palaces. But not satisfied with this open passage, the queen wished to be able to pass unseen from one shore to the other. The plan of a subterranean gallery was soon formed; but Semiramis constructed an infinitely more expensive, but much more secure tunnel than Mr. Brunel. One of the lowest parts of Babylon was chosen, and a reservoir excavated 300 stadium (thirty seven and a half miles) square and thirty five feet deep, into which the river was conducted, when the erection of the tunnel commenced on dry ground and in open day. The length of it was something about four hundred toises; its inner width, fifteen; and its height, not reckoning the arch of the vault, twelve feet. The arch and side walls were formed of burnt bricks, which, being twenty bricks thick, made at least twelve feet, as their bricks by accounts were larger than ours. After the completion of the work, the whole tunnel on either side was smeared with boiled bitumen, till it acquired a coat five feet in thickness (four Babylonian ells.) The river was then conducted into its former channel, and the two outlets of the tunnel enclosed with brazen gates, which still existed in the time of Cyrus, 558 years B. C., or 1506 years after their erection. Diodorus concludes thus:—"The whole work was completed in seven days." According, therefore, to the simple calculation, at least fifty thousand skilful workmen must have been employed during these seven days. But, as regards the excavation of the reservoir, the dispositions must have been much more gigantic, it being easy to calculate that with the employment of two millions of workmen, it would not be completed in less than ten years.

Spain.—"Spain is the land of robbery and starvation: every body is robbed—no body gets a full meal. It is a more dangerous service to travel in a diligence from Madrid to Seville, than to perform the voyage of Columbus: if you are not robbed, you are starved, probably—and worried by vermin into the bargain. This comes of despotism! Spain, under a good government, might at this moment supply all Europe with corn, and in return for it, be supplied by every luxury under heaven at their own doors: instead of which the corn rots on the ground for want of market; and the misgoverned people are too glad to get a dinner of peas rubbed with onions, washed down by the best white wine vinegar.—*London Examiner.*

Matrimonial Consolation.—A younger brother had espoused an old and ill-tempered wife, but extremely rich. He used to say,—"Whenever I find my temper giving way, I retire to my closet, and console myself by reading her marriage settlement."

Montesquieu's Opinion of the Union.—In Hardy's *Life of Lord Charlemont*, (p. 36) that patriotic Nobleman is represented to have described the opinion of the profound author of *L' Esprit des Loix* upon this subject in the following terms:—

"In the course of our conversation, Ireland and its interests have often been the topic, and upon these occasions I have always found him an advocate for a union between that country and England. 'Were I an Irishman,' said he, 'I should certainly wish for it; and, as a general lover of liberty, I sincerely desire it; and for this plain reason, that an inferior country, connected with one much her superior in force, can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom, unless she has, by her representatives, a proportional share in the legislature of the superior kingdom.'"

St. George's Society, New York.—The anniversary of St. George was celebrated in New York on the 23d ult. by the members, with their many highly respectable guests, dining together at the City Hotel.—On the toast "*The President and Members of the German Society,*" being given from the Chair, Philip Hone, Esq. President of that Society, returned thanks as follows:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I thank you in the name of the German Society, for the honor which you have conferred upon that Institution, and, personally, for the compliment which entitles me to address you.

I owe to my ancestors the honor of presiding over the respectable Society which I represent on this occasion. I rejoice in the opportunity which it affords me to unite with you, and with the representatives of other national Societies, instituted to relieve the wants, and ameliorate the condition of their countrymen; and I trust I am reasonably proud of the German blood which flows in my veins. But I rejoice still more, and my pride is greater, in being a citizen of the United States, and a native of the city of New York; as such, I cannot refrain from congratulating this respectable company of Englishmen, on the increase of good feeling between the citizens of our respective countries. This good feeling arises from several causes. The political state of Europe has placed your country in a posture deeply interesting to a people descended from the same common mother—speaking the same language—and governed by the same laws. Our commercial intercourse is divested of those causes of jealousy which have sometimes disturbed its harmony. Our shores are visited by a different description of persons from those who formerly skimmed over the surface of the land, unknown and unnoticed, and sought no information but such as tended to confirm their prejudices. We are now honoured by the visits of your statesmen, who do not disdain the study of our youthful and vigorous institutions; your men of literature—too enlightened to be prejudiced, too liberal to be uncandid; and your merchants, whose sagacity leads them to discover the advantages resulting from a free and friendly intercourse between the two nations. And we also, tempted by the facility of communication, which overcomes in a great degree the dangers and difficulties of a barrier so formidable as the Atlantic, are sending you by weekly instalments, a better sample than formerly of the intellectual wealth and personal respectability of our population. This is as it should be; it will serve to make us better acquainted, and that alone is necessary to make us like each other more.

Further remarks would detract from the force of this sentiment, and I beg leave to conclude by offering a toast in accordance with it.

The Sailor King and the *Soldier President*—May no contest arise between them, but those of mutual benefits and kind offices.

Curiosities of Chess.—We record the following anecdote as a warning to such of our married readers as may be in the perilous habit of playing chess with a wife. Ferrand, Count of Flanders, having constantly defeated the Countess at chess, she conceived a hatred against him, which came to such a height, that when the Count was taken prisoner at the battle of Bovines, she suffered him to remain a long while in prison, though she could easily have procured his release. Our Charles I. was thus occupied when informed that the Scots had finally resolved to sell him to the Parliament; but he was so intent upon the game that he finished it with great composure. Innumerable are the similar instances that might be adduced to prove the deep fascination which this bewitching game exercises over the mind of those who lend themselves to its seductions.—*National Library.*

From the London Atlas, April 3.

On Thursday last, (Maunday Thursday) the Bishop of London confirmed the juvenile branches of the nobility at the Chapel Royal. At Whitehall, the King's bounty was given to the people arranged at two tables. The sub-almoner, attended by yeoman bearing the gold dish, with small red purses containing the alms, (sixty-one silver pennies) formed a procession with the boys and girls of the Westminster national school; the whole in scarfs, with nosegays, &c., and in state dresses. After the sub-almoner's prayer, be distributed to each poor person present a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings, a piece of linen and of cotton cloth, a purse containing a sovereign, and another with the silver pennies. Wooden dishes with bread, were then laid on the table; then followed meat to each person, two salt salmon, two salt cod, 18 red and 18 salt herring, to each person, with four loaves.—Flagons of ale with wooden cups, completed the equipments of this good old English feast, and recalled the days when eating was considered the highest gratification, and quantity of food the best test of prosperity or *well-fare*, as the Saxons called it.

MORAL AND POLILICAL STATISTICS OF ITALY.

(From the Paris Constitutionnel.)

At the moment when war appears to be imminent, it is useful to direct the attention of France to the countries which may become its theatre. No country has a stronger claim on our sympathies than the Peninsula of Italy. The Sardinian States comprise what may be called French Italy. Turin is a mixed city—the Italian impress is almost effaced; the language, customs, physiognomy, the organization, both administrative and military, every thing, in fact, in Piedmont, affords evidence of the vicinity and influence of France. Thus the kingdom of Sardinia is that which is watched by Austria with extreme solicitude.

There the King is above the law. He annuls private transactions and contracts. He reverses the judgments of the tribunals, but he recognizes the sovereignty of Rome—as a submissive vassal, he accepts all consequences of that servitude. The civil estate is in the hands of the clergy. The colleges, the public establishments, have Jesuits for their superiors and directors.

The numerical force of the Sardinian army is 60.000 men; but its real force does not consist of more than 20,000 soldiers under arms. The population of the country, not including the island of Sardinia, is about 3.600,000; the revenue 60,000,000 francs; the territorial extent 18,180 square miles.

The Lombardo Venitian kingdom may be considered as the German Italy. Upwards of 100.000 Austrian troops, well armed, without any connexions in the country—without regard for its inhabitants—bear with all the weight of foreign domination upon the Lombard population. A greedy administration oppresses every part of these fine Italian provinces, in order to extract the gold, which it incessantly throws into the treasury of Vienna—a species of vessel of the Danaides, which all the money of Italy would be insufficient to fill. The Austrian Proteus-like police, sometimes in its regular uniform, at the church or at the theatre, and sometimes under the livery of the valet or the embroidery of the master, in the chair of the professor or in the pulpit of the preacher, is to be found in all assemblies and seated at all tables.

Switzerland is to Lombardy what France is to Piedmont—a dangerous neighbor. The Austrian Government, carefully guarding all the avenues, fearing that the principles of liberty may find a passage, has established against their invasion a species of *cordon sanitaire.* The canton of Tessin is menaced with an approaching invasion.

The extent of the Lombardo Venetian kingdom is 17,800 square miles, the population 4,930,000; it is from this population that Austria receives annually the enormous sum of 122,000,000 francs, and that it levies an army of 50,000 men, torn from their native country, to be dispersed through the garrisons of Hungary.

The Piedmontese and the Lombards sympathise; their cause is the same; both are good soldiers.—Napoleon, who knew them, rendered them that justice.

Beyond the Po are two small duchies, which Austria considers to be both annexed to its kingdom of Lombardy, and a sort of Roman province where it keeps a garrison.

The population of the duchies of Parma and Placentia do not exceed 900.000. Placentia, the second city in point of population of the duchy of Parma, is militarily occupied by the Austrians; and, as at Milan, the cannon are mounted on the *Place Publique.*—The population, Lombard, in its character and habits, is still regulated with regard to its civil interests by the Code Napoleon.

In the Duchy of Modena, the Duke, a man of Austria and of the Jesuits, directs all the acts, all the measures of his Government, against intelligence and wealth: the civil and criminal regulations—every thing, are subject to the *regime* of his good pleasure. Greedy of money, the Duke has made confiscation the order of the day. At Reggio, a town compromised in the events of 1820, there does not exist a family which has not been struck in the persons of some of its members. The model of a tyrant, the Duke Francis d'Este, seems to make on his 4₁5.000 subjects the experiment of every kind of oppression; and in his States, every palace, every house, is a species of isolated prison, the satellites of which prohibit the entrance of any member of the family. The social ties have also been broken at Massa and Carrara, as well as Reggio; and as at Modena, a veil of mourning extends through the whole duchy.

Tuscany, separated from the north of Italy by the chain of the Appenines, forms the point of the passage from Austrian Italy to Italian Italy,—sharing with one its manners, and with the other its government—the model of a supportable despotism, or the arbitrary mode, with forms; but a precarious State, which has no other guarantee than the individual character of the Grand Duke. Mr. Ch. Didier says rightly, the Tuscans are free like the deer in a park, provided they do not take it into their heads to go away from the inclosure, where it might be difficult for the lord to enjoy the chace by hunting them.

The population of Tuscany is about 1,300,000; the extent of the country is 6,300 square miles; the revenue 17,000,000 francs: 4000 soldiers compose the whole army of the Grand Duke.

The greatest, finest, and most fertile country of the peninsula, the kingdom of the two Sicilies, occupies the east shore of Italy: 7,420,000 inhabitants cover an extent of 31,800 miles. The annual revenue is 84,000,000 francs; which serve to support 30,000 bad soldiers, and administration much worse; and blind despotism, from which every denunciation, even if anonymous, obtains credit; which imprisons—exiles upon suspicion, and causes to roll upon the scaffold the head of every one accused; for, let him be declared innocent by a solemn judgment, or absolved from all criminality, yet Matheis, the Intendant of Calabria, convicted of having (to serve his vengeance), suborned false witnesses, will in secret inflict horrible tortures, and kill his prisoners. Thus, in the times of Acton and Caroline, a state junta, composed of venal tools, pronounced, with closed doors, upon the fate of the accused, who were never confronted with their accusers, whose names are always kept secret.—In this unfortunate kingdom the confessional is erected into an inquisition; conscience is subjected to tortures; every penitent must not only denounce himself, but, still more—denounce his friends and his relations; nor can the absolution be obtained but at this price. Since 1821, the kingdom of the two Sicilies has been subjected to this atrocious system. Unfortunate is the nation conquered in its contest with power.

Between the kingdom of Naples and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, on a surface of 13.000 square miles, vegetates and begs a population of 2.600.000 souls, under the sword of 6.000 soldiers obedient to the voice of priests, who know every year how to extract from this misery, 6,000.000 Roman crowns. One city only, Bologna, was conciliated; because it was feared by Rome, and because the word liberty, twice traced on the arms of the city, is deeply engraven in the hearts of the Bolognese.

This melancholy Papal Royalty has dug in the centre of Italy a deep abyss, in which the liberties and the civilization of a nation of twenty millions of people, are engulphed; nor can they extricate themselves from it, till the abyss has been filled up by means of the annihilation of the temporal power—from which the spiritual power of the Pope ought ever to be disengaged and purged. This epuration is not only the wish and the want of Italy: it is also the want and the wish of Catholic Europe; even Austria herself has constantly manifested it; faithful to her old Ghibelline enmities, it is to Laics alone that she confides the care of her temporal security in the Lombardo Venitian kingdom: she does not permit the clergy to transgress the limits of the spiritual attributes.

Two influences prevail in Italy—that of France and that of Austria. Through one, under the influence of the mildest climate, and with the most fertile soil, Italy is without manufactures, in the midst of all the elements of industry; without commerce between two seas, bordered by ports, roads, gulfs, and isles of refuge; without political existence, though having a population of 20.000.000 intelligent and brave people. Through the other, she would rapidly re-ascend to those times, when the instructress of the rest of Europe, astonishing and vivifying by her opulence and her intelligence, Italy held the sceptre of commerce, of science, literature, and the arts.

A liberty imposed by foreigners, is nevertheless costly and transitory; but the Italians will not accept of any other liberty than that which may enable them to give to themselves what their own hands may root in the soil of Italy. But if any hostile power attempts to extirpate it, another power—France—will render that effort unavailing; and that will be its right, as it will be its duty; for, having solemnly proclaimed the principle of non-intervention, it has solemnly engaged to cause it to be respected.

Forgiveness.—He that cannot forgive others, breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man hath need to be forgiven.—*Lord Herbert.*

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Extracts from Lord John Russell's speech on the second reading of the Reform Bill:

His hon. and learned friend (Sir E. Sugden) had alluded to the speech which he (Lord John Russell) made at the commencement of the debate, and to the reference to the commonalty; and his honourable and learned friend had given a strange interpretation to the word "commonalty," for he interpreted it to mean 'the barons,' (Laughter.) If this were correct, instead of Peers being intruders in their interference with that House, they were the true representatives of the people, for after all the barons and the barons alone were the real commonalty, (according to his hon. and learned friend,) and possessed the right of voting taxes.—But he begged his hon. and learned friend to come down a little later when he referred to the constitution of the House. The statement he (Lord John Russell) had made was, that this was a question of right.—that those who asked for reform had the letter of the law in their favour, and such being the case, possessed a fair claim that the House of Commons should truly represent the people. That was a proposition which it required no great degree of ingenuity to establish; it was supported by the very words used in acts of Parliament, and by the well-known language of the constitution. What did our ancestors in 1688? First they declared that elections ought to be free and uninfluenced; and, in the next place, two or three years afterwards, they passed an act very contrary to the theory of the right of persons of wealth and property to nominate members of that House; they specifically enacted that all such nominations were contrary to the laws and constitution of the realm, and that they were null and void. Such was the manner in which our ancestors, at the period of the revolution, read and understood the constitution of the realm. If there were time, he could show that great part of the abuses now complained of in the representation,—those abuses which limited the return of members to a small number of persons—had grown up since the accession of George II. When Ministers determined on reforming the system, the first question which they had to ask themselves was this—and he put it to all who affecting to approve of reform opposed the bill—"Is it fit that the direct nomination of members by individuals, and that the sale of seats for money, should continue to be part of the constitution of the House?" If the hon. member for Cornwall said such nomination and purchase of seats ought to continue in a reformed House of Commons, he told the hon. member that such a reform as he could propose would not be a final reform. (Hear.) He would never deny the advantages that in particular cases might have arisen from nomination and purchase of seats for money, as in the case of Mr. Ricardo, who by the disbursement of £1000 a-year, was enabled to communicate to the House the results of his very valuable labours and extraordinary intelligence on various subjects. But if you were to form a plan of reform on this ground,—if you permitted nomination and sale of seats to continue,—in the very first year of a reformed Parliament, if we do not do it others would rise and say such franchises were contrary to the laws and constitution, and they would have an argument which it would be impossible to resist. (Hear.) Having come to the conclusion that they ought not to permit the practices in question to continue any longer, this question of disfranchisement followed as a natural and necessary consequence of that conclusion. Gentlemen a[l]so talk of the hardship of disfranchising voters such as those of East and West Looe, but he denied the hardship, and contended that the privilege which they at present enjoyed was one which they were not qualified to exercise. The real question was briefly this,—was it for the public good that the owners of boroughs should continue to nominate members of that House, and, having once decided that it was not, it would be only a mockery to say to 200 or 300 voters of inconsiderable boroughs, "you shall have the right of sending members to Parliament." (Hear, hear.) As to the rule of selection with respect to boroughs to be disfranchised, no doubt, as his hon. and learned friend observed, there was no positive law why places with 2,000 inhabitants should send one representative to the House, and places of 1,900 inhabitants should not. But a similar objection would exist wherever ministers had drawn the line. (Hear.) It was a matter of prudence and expediency where to draw the distinction; and ministers thought it would be reasonable to say, that boroughs possessing fewer than 2,000 inhabitants should not be represented. His hon. and learned friend, said, in consequence of the preponderance of the landed interest in the new plan, the due influence of the commercial and monied interests would be lost in the house.—He did not agree in this—he thought there would be no difficulty in persons of wealth making their pretensions and obtaining seats in Parliament. His hon. and learned friend also intimated that the national credit might be destroyed by the bill,—but in arguing against it he had himself given reasons, which proved that this could not be the case: his learned friend said "if you destroy the national credit, you not only ruin the upper classes but a number of persons of small property"—true, but the bill gave persons of small property an interest in elections, and thus tended to bring forward a class interested in maintaining the national credit.—(Hear, hear.) * * * * *

—It was said that the effect of the bill would be to give a preponderancy to the landed over the other interests, and in the next sentence it was added that the measure would produce the triumph of the democracy. These were conflicting statements. When arguments were resorted to in this vague way, in the hope of catching up a vote or two from opposite sides—when commercial men were threatened with a preponderance of the landed interest, and the aristocracy were a armed with apprehensions of the mob, it must be apparent that such opposite objections, proceeding from the same lips, were either not well considered or insincere. (Hear, hear.) Look at the conduct of members of small boroughs; they were generally found voting against economy and retrenchment in the teeth of the popular wish. He found by a reference to certain curious tables, that of the representatives of boroughs with a population under 2.000, thirty had voted for economy and reduction, and ninety six against it. On the other hand, in the case of boroughs having 5 000 inhabitants and upwards, although the election was generally close, 66 members had voted for, and 47 against retrenchment. When the people saw the representatives, who were in fact sent to that house by popular influence, voting in direct contradiction to the members for the small boroughs upon such a point, what conclusion could he come to except that the borough members were neither really nor virtually the representatives of the people. (Hear, hear.)—He had now done with the provisions of the bill; and he had only a few words to say with respect to the real question before the house. His Majesty's Ministers were anxious to frame such a plan of reform, as would bind firmly and kindly the different classes of society together (hear, hear,); and which would secure a representation, on which that house and the country might safely rest. (Hear, hear.) He did not mean to say that the plan proposed by them might not be altered, but he felt that if, in the committee, it were materially altered, so as to deprive it of the character which he had just described, he should feel that neither himself nor any other friend of reform, would think themselves precluded, at any future time, from bringing forward those parts of the measure which had been thrown aside, and which they considered to be essential. (Hear, hear.) If any alteration were proposed, which would not interfere with the great objects that ministers had in view, he felt no hesitation in saying, that to such alteration no opposition would be given. (Hear, hear.) But if alterations were called for, that would not satisfy the country, such a course would only lead to a prolonged struggle, instead of conciliating the feelings and affections of the people. (Hear, hear.) They lived certainly in extraordinary times. (Cheers from the opposition.) The honourable baronet, the member for Cornwall (Sir R. Vyvyan), who had strenuously opposed this motion, and who thought that he could in some way or other direct the mighty mass of the public opinion which was now in action,—that