

§ The Speaker informed the House, that the House had been in the House of Lords, and had heard a Speech read by the Lord Chancellor, one of the Lords Commissioners, to both Houses of Parliament, of which he had, for greater convenience, procured a copy, and which, with the leave of the House, he should then read to them. The Speech was accordingly read, [for which see p. 1.]

Sir F. Burdett

immediately rose and observed that he felt it his duty to take the earliest possible opportunity of addressing the House and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on a subject which seemed to him to be of the utmost importance to the country.

§ *Lord Jocelyn*

rose at the same time with the hon. baronet, but Sir Francis having first caught the eye of the Speaker,

§ *The Speaker*

decided that the hon. bart was in possession of the House.

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Sir Francis Burdett

said he could not forego the opportunity now afforded him of offering himself thus early to the attention of the House, and of proposing, for their adoption, such an Address as, in the situation in which the country was placed, seemed to him to be imperiously and peculiarly called for. In addressing his royal highness the Prince Regent in the language of truth, and telling him what were the feelings of the people of these kingdoms at the present moment, he was conscious of discharging a duty of the most important kind, both to the Prince and the people. From what he knew of the feelings and declarations of the Prince Regent, he was persuaded that he was not one of those princes who wished to hear nothing but what was sweet, pleasing, and agreeable. The conduct and declarations of his royal highness were of a very different kind, and he felt that he should not do his duty to his constituents, to the country, or to the Prince Regent himself, if he let go the present opportunity of addressing his royal highness, and expressing to him what were the real feelings of the country at the present moment, and what were the grievances of which we had to complain. The exertions of the Spanish people against our common enemy were, no doubt, to be regarded by us as of consequence, nor were their losses to be attributed to any failure on our part; and it most afford us pleasure and gratification to know that we had a brave army, who did not disgrace the spirit of their forefathers. But, in the course of the compliments so largely and justly bestowed on our army, we never once heard mention of that word, as the spring of our exertions, the word 'freedom,' to the love of which, in old times, we were so much accustomed to attribute the bravery and courage of our armies. It could not be contradicted, that for the last 18 years, every succeeding year in which the members of that House met each other in their places, was more calamitous than that which had preceded it. He was afraid he might even go farther back, and declare that this had been the case from the very beginning of the present reign—that our calamities had been begun from the commencement of the American war, and had been going on in a progressive increase for nearly half a century. And if, for the last fifty years, the situation of this country had always been growing worse and worse—was it not now time to reflect? Must we not, at 19 length, be convinced that there was something in our system radically wrong? It should be his duty, this being the case, to endeavour to point out to the attention of his Royal Highness in what this fundamental error consisted. The effects of the American war, he contended, were felt at this day, in the war in which we were now engaged. It was a war commenced on the very principles of the American war. A detestation of the principles of liberty which had broken out in France, first involved us in a war with that country; and on the same system, he was afraid, we were proceeding at the present moment. The former war was undertaken, as it was alledged, for the protection of the navigation of the Scheldt, which the Dutch admitted to be a miserable pretext. After that crusade was finished, we now found ourselves engaged in another seemingly endless contest; and he did not believe that any one of the persons who defended it, could say what we were fighting for. Not for liberty—that was a word which never once escaped their lips. Was it for the independence of Spain? No. They talked, indeed, of the enemy

of the sovereign of that country; but the rights of the people of Spain was a thing they never thought of. Those rights of the sovereign of Spain, however, which gentlemen might say we were now contending for, had been, by that sovereign himself, resigned into the hands of Bonaparté, and were now completely frittered away. The Speech on the present occasion, the hon. bart, must, in a peculiar degree, consider the speech of the minister. So long as there was any hope of a successful issue to the struggle by the people of Spain, he had no objection that every assistance in our power should be rendered them. The language held in the Speech, however, on this subject, he did not believe; nor was he by any means convinced that gentlemen entertained those hopes which they expressed. The laurels earned by our gallant soldiers he sincerely rejoiced in. Their bravery had been great, and the honour they had thereby purchased was proportionate; but, after all, the victories they had achieved were barren, and were followed by something very like defeats. It was true that general Hill had gallantly surprised a small division of the enemy: still the French were making regular and rapid strides towards the subjugation of the country; while, for our triumphs, we had nothing to shew. The cause of this 20 failure was the radically vicious principle of supporting despotism in this instance, as we did all over the world,—the attempt to support desperate, falling, and not to be supported, states, instead of the good old British reason of maintaining the cause of freedom. To this it would be said, Do the French proclaim liberty? No; but they endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the people by such concessions a" might please them; while it was a serious fact, that the Inquisition remained in existence in those parts only of the country of which the English had possession. But there was a curious contrast to which he must call the attention of the House. We were fighting strenuously to maintain the Catholic religion in the country of our Spanish allies; though, at the same time, those whom he should conceive to be our more valuable allies at home—the Irish—a generous, brave, and long-suffering people, were, for a trifling condition, withheld from their best and dearest rights. This exclusion of our most natural allies, he could not but consider as an act of gross treachery. The speech of the right hon. gent. opposite, (for so he must call the Regent's speech) contained all faults by being guilty of all omissions. It was not sufficient to call together the supposed representatives of the people of England, and to tell them—(cries of Order, order!)

§ The Speaker

called the hon. baronet to order, and observed the House could not hear such language as applied to itself.

Sir Francis Burdett

said, that nothing could give him greater pleasure than to hear that from the chair; since it proved, that there was a firm conviction that the House of Commons ought to represent the people of England, when to hint a contrary opinion was considered as an insult not to be borne: and yet, on the 11th of May, 1808, a minister was detected in the traffic of seats,—a practice which was not only not denied, but unblushingly avowed to be as notorious as the sun at noon-day; and, therefore, it might have been conceived that gentlemen would not have been over delicate at hearing such things suggested.—The hon. baronet then called the attention of the House to the shackles imposed on the Prince Regent—restrictions, than which nothing more insulting could be conceived, as they supposed that the son was capable of using his power contrary to the interests of his father: but, happily for the country, those restrictions would soon expire; an event to which they would 21 look with anxiety, as the Prince had by many gratuitous professions, long pledged himself to those enlarged principles, and that liberal system of policy, which had raised the nation to the lofty pinnacle of happiness and glory on which it stood at the close of the reign of George II. He had the greater hopes and confidence in the Prince, because he had felt the power which was so much complained of. Able writers had, indeed, written in praise of different forms of government,—the absolute, the democratical, and the mixed; but none had been found hardy enough, in the worst of times, to be the advocates of oligarchy: and the present oligarchy was one of the worst species,—not of a few of the best men, and of the greatest interest in the state, but an oligarchy of rotten borough mongers,—a sort of men known in the history of no other country except our own. The consequences of this destructive system were, that abroad, the monarchs, our allies, were either chased from their crowns, or, after an immense' exhaustion of blood and treasure, held their sovereignties at the will of Buonaparté, or depended for support on a scanty and eleemosynary pittance—Such was their fate. Look at the continent, there was the book in which all might read it. Was it possible that the House could be so insensible and blind to danger, as to flatter themselves within these walls, that by calling themselves the greatest and the wisest, and the best nation, they could counteract evils such as had never before threatened the country?—If the House turned its eyes from the continent, and from abroad, and looked to the internal state of the country, there

was nothing consolatory to rest upon. There existed a system of taxation, the deprivations of which prevented the strictest industry from procuring a livelihood, and generated a pauperism throughout the land,—a pauperism aggravated by pillage. Formerly the exactions of an Empson and a Dudley called forth the indignation of a whole land; nor did our forefathers allow the plea, that they had acted under the sanction or an act of parliament, as any exculpation of their infamous proceedings. But now, look at our surveyors, and our surchargers; whose conduct was such, that the payment of money (however great that evil) was the least inconvenient and offensive part of the system. There were now Empsons and Dudleys in every county; and the trial by jury, which 22 was here more than ever necessary, was before these fiscal tribunals disallowed by special act of parliament, which even denied to the suitors at those courts the assistance of attorney or counsel. In short, the whole land was in a state of terror. Military possession was taken of the country; depôts, and barracks, and fortifications, were formed; and mercenary Germans and foreigners were scattered over the kingdom, as if England could not defend itself, and must have recourse to Germans, who had not been able to defend their own country. The jealousy of our ancestors was such, that a remonstrance was presented to Charles 1, for having 1,000 foreigners in his pay; but now, not only was the country overspread with foreigners, but even our own soldiers were compelled to wear the German dress and whiskers; as if the whiskered face of a German was more formidable to the enemy than the smooth open countenance of an Englishman, though it had been found that the French were never scared by whiskers. But he must say, that the plain red coat excited more respect, and was more associated with our ideas of courage and endurance, than all that military finery and foppery of which the soldiers themselves who were it seemed ashamed. All this evinced such a mass of absurdity and folly, that he was sometimes tempted to acquit ministers of any worse intention, though, perhaps, this was merely thrown out as a blind to more pernicious motives.—Another grievance to which he should call their attention, was the system of military discipline which oppressed the country, and which subjected every soldier for the most trifling misconduct to be corporally punished at the miserable caprice of almost every officer. He was glad to mention this so early in the session; for the reform of it would doubtless form a very important part of its business. There was some justice in its now coming home, as it were, to the backs of our countrymen; for, now, by the local militia system, almost every man in England, every father of a family, was subject to this punishment; so that he had no hesitation in repeating what he had before said in this House, that this was a flogged nation. No exertions of his, the hon. baronet pledged himself, should be wanting to wipe off this stigma from the nation. Some people were pleased to say, that this was a punishment which could not be entirely dispensed with, and that it was only 23 inflicted in few instances. Let the offences, however, for which it was to be inflicted, be defined, so that it might not be an arbitrary punishment; or let a substitute, whatever it might be, be found for it: officers were exempt from such a punishment; and why should the soldier be exposed to it? This was another complaint, under the head of grievances, to which he wished to call the Prince Regent's attention.—Amongst other grievances, to which he felt it now to be his duty to call the attention of the House, and of the Prince Regent, was one which operated both in the nature of a tax, and of a grievance and imposition on the liberty of the subject. A power had been lodged of late years in the Attorney General, by which the law of the land was set aside; and he was invested with an authority of filing criminal informations, as they were technically called. This was a power of a novel and most dangerous kind, one which could not safely be for a moment entrusted to any man. The exercise of such a power could on no principle be reconciled to the idea of law, of justice, or of common sense or feeling. It depended on the humour, or caprice, of the person with whom the power was entrusted. It would be absurd to doubt the illegality of such proceedings. Nothing could be legal which was not defined. How this power had been used, he should not now inquire. It was sufficient for him at present to say, that more informations of this kind had been filed within the last two or three years than in all the period before, since the Revolution, It was impossible not to see, that, in the exercise of this arbitrary discretion, great partiality must take place; that some persons were called up for judgment and others not. In one recent case, he alluded to that of White, for a libel, even the judge had gone the length of anticipating condemnation, before the jury had given their verdict. When the House saw these things; when they saw, that, in virtue of these criminal informations, many persons had, in the most arbitrary and unjust manner, been sent to distant jails, must they not be convinced that the liberty of the press, one of the grandest bulwarks of the freedom of these kingdoms, was in the utmost danger of being annihilated? When they saw the conductors of the press held to bail, time after time, at the pleasure of the person entrusted with the power of filing these criminal informations, must 24 they not be surprized that the press was at all free? This the hon. baronet conceived was another great grievance; and he felt surprized that the persons connected with the press were not terrified into complete silence, after the terrible examples they had seen. Even in case of acquittal, the punishment, in the way of costs, was severe. For though by law they would have been free from any farther expence, in the event of the Bill not being found, yet, by this mode of proceeding by criminal information, they were obliged to give bail, to renew it from time to time, and to proceed till they obtained a verdict of acquittal; so much so, that the costs of

obtaining the verdict of acquittal amounted of themselves to a most severe punishment. From the crown no costs could be obtained. He confessed he saw no ground for any such rule; but, if the crown would carry on unjust prosecutions, particularly if the Attorney General would file groundless ex-officio informations, he thought that the party accused was well entitled to his costs. If such an officer was necessary, an ex-officio filer of informations, he was also of opinion that there was more, or at least equal ground for making his an office for life, as that a judge should be for life. Some of the sentences recently imposed, too, operated most unjustly; as for instance, in the cases of White and Hart, where Hart was sentenced to the same period of imprisonment with White, although Hart was only the servant. There was this additional hardship too, in Hart's case, as he understood it, that he was even deprived the use of small beer, and was confined to the common jail allowance of water. The hon. baronet contended that the unnecessary severity of a government never failed to brutalize the people; and when that was produced, it would be found a never-failing observation, that the conduct of the government was at the bottom of it. The education of a nation consisted not in teaching the people to read and write, though those were advantages which he was far from undervaluing, and which he heartily wished to see afforded to all; but still he must say, that in them did not consist the essential education of a people. These, indeed, were calculated to produce great advantages; but the real education of a nation was produced and matured by the fairness, justice and mildness of its government. By all the various grievances 25 which he had enumerated, more particularly by extending the military character to all, and by the sufferings and burdens under which we laboured, was this education greatly checked, if not annihilated; and sympathy and feeling were almost extinguished from the breasts of our oppressed countrymen.—On these various topics he should move, That an humble Address be presented to his royal Highness the Prince Regent. He had framed his Address with all respect to the illustrious person to whom it was meant to be presented; and at the same time embracing every point which his own sense of duty to his constituents, and to the country in general, pointed out to him as essential. The great and important point, he conceived to be, a full and fair representation of the people in that House. To the want of that full and fair representation of the people in Parliament, he, with full confidence that his assertion was correct, attributed the debt of the hundreds of millions sterling with which we were now loaded, and the numerous other calamities which had been daily accumulating on the country. He was happy to think that his royal highness the Prince Regent had a short interval before he should be entirely freed from the shackles with which he was now loaded, during which he might have leisure to reflect on the different topics to which he had felt it to be his duty to allude in the Address which he now held in his hand. He had the fullest confidence in his Royal Highness, that they would receive his serious consideration; and, on a mind so constituted as that which his Royal Highness was known to possess, he entertained not a doubt that the grievances of a faithful and suffering people could not fail of making an impression corresponding with their weight and importance; satisfied as he trusted his Royal Highness would be, that on a due attention to, and on the redressing of those grievances, depended the lasting glory of his Royal Highness's throne and that of his family. His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio, Sed me vera pro gratis loqui, Si meum ingenium non moneret Necessitas coget. The hon. baronet then moved the following Address:

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, return your Royal 26 Highness the humble thanks of this House, for the most gracious Speech delivered by the Lords Commissioners, by your Royal Highness's command.

"We assure your Royal Highness that we shall, without delay, take into our serious consideration all the matters to which your Royal Highness has been pleased to direct our attention, and endeavour to adopt such measures as are best calculated to meet the exigencies of the times.

"But we should deem it a failure in our duty, were we on this solemn occasion to omit expressing to your Royal Highness with the frankness suggested by a due sense of our functions, the sentiments we entertain on the present situation of our country, and to point out to your Royal Highness the remedy, which, in our opinion, is called for by the evils already experienced, and by the dangers which appear to be impending.

"We always hear with great satisfaction, though not with surprise, that our countrymen in arms, whether by land or by sea, maintain the character of their ancestors; but, we cannot, at the same time, dismiss from our minds all consideration of the little effect with which their valour-has been exerted; and, in the cause, in which it has been displayed, we lament to see nothing characteristic of that love of freedom, for which this nation has heretofore been so highly renowned in the world. In looking through the history of the last eighteen years of war, we find the valour and resources of our country in no instance employed in the defence or restoration of freedom; but almost constantly in endeavours to prevent the oppressed from

becoming free, or to replunge them into slavery, to re-harden the grasp of despotism, and to sharpen the half-blunted fangs of persecution; so that, the British flag, formerly the dread of tyranny, appears, through this long and disgraceful period, to have waved only in hostility to the liberties and happiness of mankind.

"From a line of conduct so repugnant to justice, to the common sense and common feeling of men, the natural results have ensued. In those distant regions, where ignorance and feebleness have rendered the people an easy prey to successive usurpations, we have uniformly been conquerors, and, in overturning one despotism, have, for the purposes necessary to the maintenance of corruption at home, uniformly erected another in its stead; ²⁷ while, in all those countries, where men have attained a knowledge of their rights, and have possessed courage to avenge themselves on their oppressors, we have found few and treacherous friends, and many and implacable foes.

"The Sovereigns, our Allies, subdued not less by that abuse of their power, which we endeavoured to support, than by the arms of their and our enemy, have either been driven from their thrones, or have abandoned our cause and disclaimed our connection, as the only means of retaining even a scanty portion of their former dominions; so that, after having stirred up, in hostility to freedom, almost every sovereign of the continent of Europe; after having expended hundreds of millions in support of that formidable but unprincipled league, we are, at last, reduced to contend alone with the conqueror of that continent, upon a spot, which we have only assisted to desolate and ravage, in defence of sovereigns, who, unable to rely on the affection of their subjects, have sought their personal safety in abdication or in flight.

"To the regret at having seen the national resources exhausted in the prosecution of measures so fraught, at once, with wickedness and folly, we have not, however, to add the shame of having seen the people of this kingdom voluntarily lend their aid to those measures. Their sense of justice and love of freedom revolted at so inhuman a crusade, which, at the outset, they condemned, and against which many had the virtue openly to protest, well knowing, that a war against freedom, in other countries, was, in reality, a war against the people of England themselves.

"To counteract the effect of opinions so obviously just, a system of terror was resorted to; false alarms were excited; spies and informers were hired; plots were invented; constructive treasons were revived, and new-fangled treasons were enacted; the safeguards of personal liberty were removed; fortresses, under the name of barracks, were established throughout the land; and the name and the person of every man were placed at the absolute disposal of those, who, calling themselves the servants of the king, were, in fact, the agents of that rapacious and haughty oligarchy, who had long fattened on the miseries of the country, and who in the progress of the principles of liberty, saw the seeds of a destruction of their ill-gotten power.

²⁸ "Under the operation of this system we have beheld much that remained of our liberties wholly swept away; we have seen practised, under the name of collecting a revenue and in the guise of legal proceedings, acts of oppression and insult, which our forefathers would have perished rather than endure. The dwellings, the books, the most private recesses and concerns of Englishmen, once so sacred, are now exposed to the intrusion and inquisitorial scrutiny of numberless mercenary agents, appointed and removable at the pleasure of the crown. Financial rapacity breaks in between landlord and tenant, and, in violation of every principle of property, makes the crown co-proprietor in every man's estate, having a prior claim upon his tenant.

"Under the name of redeeming the land tax it makes a general confiscation of landed property; while, in the form of a stamp duty, it seizes the bequests of the dead in their passage to the living; so that, at last, there is no man in England who can be said to be the owner or proprietor of any thing, the government having, by degrees, assumed a controul and mastership over property of every description.

"There was a time, in English history, when the extortions of an Empson and a Dudley, though under the sanction of an act of parliament, brought the principals to the block and consigned their subaltern agents to public vengeance in the pillory; but, now we have many Empsons and Dudleys in every county, who, under "the name of surchargers, supervisors, &c. inflict ameracements and fines at their pleasure, the parties so amerced being denied not only an appeal to a jury, but even the aid of counsel or attorney to speak in their defence before those fiscal tribunals, which, to the terror of the people, are established in every corner of the land.

"In exact proportion to the increase of these extortions have we seen the increase of the military force, and the multiplication of means calculated to divest the soldier of all fellow-feeling with the citizen. Cooped up in Barracks and Depots, flogged for the most trifling offences, the former loses, by degrees, all regard for those rights of which he is deprived, all attachment to that constitution out of the pale of which he is placed, and becomes the passive and unconscious instrument of tyrannical coercion. But, mistrustful of Englishmen' 29 feelings, many thousands of German and other foreign mercenaries have been introduced and placed on our military, establishment with privileges not possessed by the troops of our own country; whole districts of England and large portions of the English army have been put under the command of German officers; and, the more effectually to estrange the people from the native soldiers, the latter have, in many instances, been compelled to assume a German garb. The Militia, heretofore regarded as the sole constitutional force of the country, upon the principle, that, as men had most interest, so they would be most stout, in defending their liberties and properties; the Militia, having been long perverted from its legitimate purpose, has, at last, by the interchange of the English and Irish Militias, been converted, with respect to the two countries, into the too convenient instrument of reciprocal oppression; and especially with regard to Ireland, where the just remonstrances and complaints of a generous, a gallant, and long-suffering people have uniformly been met with repulsion and disdain.

"In the institution of the Local Militia we behold all the severities of a military conscription without its impartiality and without a chance of its rewards; and, in the assumed prerogative of calling upon the people to perform military duty under that system of discipline which is now in practice, we see every man in England, when commanded to take up arms in what is termed the defence of his country, liable to experience the degradation and torture of the lash.

"That a people, formerly so proud of their liberties, would be silent under such an accumulation of oppression, and that the communication of indignant feeling would not, in the end, produce resistance, was too much for even an insolent and obdurate oligarchy to expect. Therefore, the Press, never the last to suffer when freedom is assailed, has become, in proportion to the augmentation of these oppressions, more and more an object of jealousy and of vengeance. And, after having beheld the use that has been made of the unconstitutional assumption of power by the Attorney General to file Ex Officio Informations, to accuse, to arraign, to amerce, to hold to bail, to ruin, or to pardon, whomsoever he pleases; after having seen that this accuser, an officer of the crown removable at its pleasure, has also the power 30 of demanding a jury, not taken out of an impartial pannel, but selected by another officer of the crown; after having seen a judge so eager to convict as openly to anticipate guilt before hearing the evidence in defence; after having seen the sentences in cases of political libel gradually become more and more severe, till they have far surpassed in severity those for the greater part of felonies, including long imprisonment, heavy fines, banishment to distant jails, and confinement in solitary cells, going to the almost certain ruin and the probable death of the persecuted parties; after having seen all this, and taken a view of the number of persons thus suffering at this moment we cannot, we confess, see much room for repeating the congratulation of our forefathers upon the abolition of the cruel and accursed Court of Star Chamber, which did, without a Jury, that which is now done by means of a Jury chosen by an officer of the Crown; an alteration which only serves to screen a corrupt political Judge from his due share of public odium, and to deprive the victim of that public compassion, which is always called forth in behalf of those who suffer, from undisguised tyranny.

"To particularise the fatal effects of this course of misrule would, if it were possible, be useless, they being too visible in the multiplied embarrassments and abject state of the country, whether in its affairs at home or abroad. But, to the great cause of all these evils we cannot, without a shameful neglect of our duty, refrain from beseeching the attention of your Royal Highness, who will, at once, perceive that we allude to the want of a real representation of the people in the Commons' House of Parliament. With a fair representation, the people are never in danger; because, from whatever quarter they feel grievance approaching, here is their court of appeal, here their means of immediate redress. Without such a representation, the people are never safe; they have no court of appeal, no friend in government, no means of redress or of protection.

"To the want of such a Representation, to the want of a House of Commons emanating from the peoples' choice and speaking their sentiments, we owe the eighteen years of war against France, lest example should produce a reform of corruption and abuses at home.

"To the want of such a Representation we owe the hundreds of millions of debt, which have debased our currency, 31 sapped the foundations of covenants, annihilated confidence, and added new crimes to our already sanguinary criminal code.

"To the want of such a representation we owe the unpunished rapacity of prize courts, the insults and injuries innumerable against friendly nations, the ruin of commerce and manufactures, and the countless number of paupers, whose state, when contrasted with the luxury proceeding from the public money lavished on placemen and pensioners, would be beyond human endurance without the ever-awing aspect of military force.

"If any thing be yet wanting to work conviction of these truths, we implore your Royal Highness to cast your eyes over the Continent of Europe. Not a Sovereign has there been dethroned, not a state has there been subdued, where the way of the conqueror was not paved by corruption in the government, and by the tyranny which corruption never fails, sooner or later, to call to its support.

"And, when we see the same causes at work amongst ourselves; when we bear the worst sort of corruption not only not denied, but unblushingly avowed and vindicated, upon the ground of its being as notorious as the sun at noon-day, it were presumption unparalleled to hope, that similar effects will not follow.

"To put an end, therefore, to Corruptions and Abuses, by a constitutional Re-formation of the Commons House of Parliament, appears to us to be the only means of reconciling the people to their government, of rekindling their zeal, of invigorating their exertions, and of insuring the independence of the country, and the safety and stability of the throne."

[remainder of debate elided]

§ The question being now loudly called for, strangers were ordered to withdraw. The House then divided on Sir P. Burdett's Address, when there appeared

For it	1
Against it	238
Majority	—237

§ The Amendment of lord Jocelyn was then put and carried without a division.

List of the Minority.

Cuthbert, J. R.

TELLERS.

Burdett, Sir F.

Cochrane, Lord