

arisen from the collection of tithes appear to require a change of system, which, without diminishing the means of maintaining the established clergy in respectability and usefulness, may prevent the collisions of interests and the consequent disagreements and dissatisfaction which have too frequently prevailed between the ministers of the Church and their parishioners.

It may also be necessary for you to consider what remedies may be applied for the correction of acknowledged abuses, and whether the revenues of the church may not admit of a more equitable and judicious distribution.

"In your deliberations on these important subjects, it cannot be necessary for me to impress upon you the duty of carefully attending to the security of the Church established by law in these realms, and to the true interests of religion.

"In relation to *Ireland*, with a view of removing the causes of complaint which had been so generally felt, and which have been attended with such unfortunate consequences, an act was passed during the last Session of Parliament, for carrying into effect a general composition for tithes; to complete that salutary work, I recommend to you, in conjunction with other amendments of the law as may be found applicable to that part of my dominions, the adoption of a measure by which, upon the principle of a just commutation, the possessors of land may be enabled to free themselves from the burden of an annual payment.

"In the further Reforms that may be necessary you will probably find, that, although the Established Church of *Ireland* is by law permanently united with that of *England*, the peculiarities of their respective circumstances will require a separate consideration.

"There are other subjects hardly less important to the general peace and welfare of *Ireland*, as affecting the administration of justice in the local taxation of that country, to which your attention will be also required

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

"I have directed the estimates for the service of the year to be laid before you: they will be framed with the most anxious attention to all useful economy. Notwithstanding the large reduction in the estimates of the last year, I am happy to inform you that all the extraordinary services which the exigencies of the times required have been amply provided for. The state of the revenue, as compared with the public expenditure, has hitherto fully realized the expectations that were formed at the close of the last session.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In this part of the United Kingdom, with very few exceptions, the public peace has been preserved; and it will be your anxious but grateful duty to promote, by all practicable means, habits of industry and good order amongst the labouring classes of the community.

"On my part I shall be ready to co-operate,

to the utmost of my power, in obviating all just causes of complaint, and in promoting all well-considered measures of improvement. But it is my painful duty, to observe, that the disturbances in *Ireland*, to which I adverted at the close of the last session have greatly increased. A spirit of insubordination and violence has risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the authority of the law and threatening the most fatal consequences, if not promptly and effectually repressed.

"I feel confident that to your loyalty and patriotism I shall not resort in vain for assistance in these afflictive circumstances, and that you will be ready to adopt such measures of salutary precaution, and to entrust me with such additional powers as may be found necessary for controuling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative Union between the two Countries, which, with your support, and under the blessing of Divine Providence, I am determined to maintain by all the measures in my power, as indissolubly connected with the peace, security and welfare of my people."

His Majesty having quitted the house in the same state with which he entered, the commons withdrew, and their lordships adjourned during pleasure.

In the Lords, the Address was moved by the Marquis of Conyngham, and seconded by Lord Kinnaird. In the Commons, by the Earl of Ormelie, seconded by Mr. John Marshall, the representative of Leeds. Some debate arose in both Houses—in the Upper, the Earl of Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington, attacked the foreign policy, which was ably defended by the Premier. In the Commons, O'Connell, Cobbett, and the repealers, assailed that part of the Speech which referred to *Ireland* with unusual animation and bitterness—the first of these characterized the Speech as 'bloody,' and declared that it would occasion a universal wail throughout *Ireland*. The division in the Commons was

For Mr. O'Connell's Amendment	40
Against it	423

Majority for Ministers 383

#### "THE FIRST SCENE OF THE REFORM PARLIAMENT.

"Fontaine tells us of a motherly crab who exclaimed against the obliquity of her daughter's gait, and asked whether she could not walk straight. The young crab very reasonably pleaded the similarity of her parent's method of stepping, and asked whether she could be expected to walk differently from the rest of the family? The moral of this is, that we must not be too critical upon the first step of the new Commons. Undeniably it is a very one-sided, sinister movement, but it is the

family gait, the crooked way of the race, from which this Parliament is legitimately descended. After all, the crab is its mother's child—a chip of the old block. In looking at the Reformation we must never lose sight of its source. The new constitution is the offspring of the defunct, the product of corruption, and must we not expect to find in it some of the taint of the blood? We say this in mitigation of the angry feeling with which its first backward step is surveyed. When any proceedings of this sort are observed, let the reflection be to whom the body owes its being, of what stock it descends, and what propensities belong to the parentage. The late Parliament confessed its own rottenness, and judged itself fit, in this state, to work out its own complete purification. With the tenderness of a patient for his own flesh it excised the cancer, and it did not cut deep enough. But yet we have improvement. The old House was not fit, was too extensively tainted for a complete self-reformation, but it has produced a body having less vice, and more energy to eradicate it. Thus we may proceed by degrees, casting slough after slough, fining upon fining, till we arrived at a tolerably pure representation, and the strainer of the Ballot—that most perfect filterer—will marvellously accelerate the process. But the beginning is bad. 'New brooms' says the proverb, 'sweeps clean;' but this is not a new broom, and has made a stroke of very dirty work. It is seen in its first act to be a passive tool of all work in the hands of Ministers. The first proceeding of a House boasting the representation of people, jars against the feelings of the people. The first scene is one of trickery and falshood. The Reformed Parliament puts up for its head-piece the *caput mortuum* of Toryism. This is a sorry sight! The genus of abuse must feel at home again seeing Mr. Manners Sutton in the chair. The corrupt parliament gave him a pension, the Reformed Parliament gave him employment. Lord Grey did not think him entitled to a Peerage, and his colleagues pronounced him best qualified for the chair of the Commons. They would not send him up to the Lords, but as he finds his way into the Commons, his pre-eminent merits are said to entitle him to preside in it.

It is but justice to Mr. O'Connell to say that he was the only man, having experience of the Speaker's deserts, who boldly spoke the truth on the subject. The whole affair has been a tissue of *tracasserie*. Ministers, with all their host, could not have reasonably dreaded the defeat of any respectable man, such as Mr. Abercrombie or Mr. Littleton; nor could they honestly have deemed their nomination in this matter essential. They should have left the House free to choose a Speaker, and, as