

to the public; and which must risk the character of a high and illustrious individual. And the honorable and learned gentleman strongly urged ministers to avoid such investigation unless forced upon them. It had now been forced upon them; negotiation was at an end; for the transactions of the last 48 hours had proved how little was to be gained by negotiation; and how little the illustrious individual was inclined to be guided by the wise advice which the honorable and learned gentleman may be presumed to have given her. She had rather chosen to adopt the lamentable, and, he would add, criminal, advice of some persons about her, and had, as the honorable and learned gentleman last night declared, permitted garbled and untrue statements of what had passed to go forth; statements calculated only to inflame the passions of the lower orders. (Hear, hear.) The members of government had also been accused of offering her majesty money, and had been charged with acting unconstitutionally in doing so. It should be recollected, that no provision could be made for any of the royal family, whether queen or otherwise, unless recommended by the crown. In all contracts made with foreign powers, on the subject of a subsidy, the sum was first named by the crown, in the understanding that an application was to be made to parliament. He had thought it was the intention of her majesty to reside abroad, and, in that event, it was becoming in parliament to make the same provision as when she left the country. As it had been understood that the royal parties were to continue separated, the provision was proper, and was regarded as final, especially, as by the settlement of marriage, the queen was entitled to 50,000*l.* a year. No proposition had been made to the queen to surrender her rights, as ministers must have been aware that no such renunciation could be made, and no act of the queen to that effect could be valid. The object of the arrangement had been, to put a stop to all conflict, both at home and abroad, betwixt the parties. As the queen was not to live in this country, it was proposed that she should not bear a title that could raise a perpetual question as to her public situation with the representatives of the crown, in foreign countries. The honorable gentleman had a document in his possession that proved no idea had been entertained that the queen should surrender her legal rights. No attempt had ever been made by the government, that foreign powers should hurt the feelings of the queen. No wish existed to deprive her of any of her comforts. On the first day of the session the house had been informed that measures had been adopted to prevent any pecuniary embarrassment. A communication had been made by the first lord of the treasury, to the queen's bankers, since her arrival in the country, that there would be no interruption to her income pending the discussion in parliament; and that she was at perfect liberty to choose any residence she might think proper. The members of the royal family were not entitled to reside in the royal palaces, and most of them had houses for which they paid themselves. He concluded by moving, that the papers delivered to the house be referred to a select committee to examine and to report upon them to the house.

Mr. Brougham (amidst a general call) then rose. He assured the house that the noble lord had not risen upon this question with more pain than he now did; with reluctance he could not add, for who could feel any otherwise than satisfaction, that the hour was at length arrived when he might freely, fully, and openly, defend those interests to the best of his abilities; although he must do so, unfortunately, under the consciousness of his inadequacy to so great a task. It was to parliament that the illustrious lady, who was the subject of the debate, addressed herself; but it was to the high court of parliament, and not to any selected band of mutes, that she made her appeal. Her sagacity, not inferior to that of any person in public or private life, whom he had ever met with, her natural propriety of conduct; a propriety maintained under circumstances the most dangerous and hostile to domestic harmony and domestic virtue, satisfied the mind of her majesty, that an open investigation could alone answer the demands of justice. Would those who heard him, possessing, as he knew they did, the feelings of men and of gentlemen, with a living spark of honor animating their breasts, severally blame an error, if an error it was, which, under the guidance of perhaps not absolute wisdom, her majesty had been induced to commit? (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) He would appeal to the house, as her majesty had done, whether it was fair or just to make outward appearances a ground of accusation. Why, then, was her case to be made dependant upon the sentence of a tribunal of which she had never before heard, and before which she could offer no defence? She well knew, indeed, that, from the mode of proceeding suggested by the noble lord (Castlereagh,) she could expect neither relief nor consolation. It was a public trial that she desired, and it was to the High court of parliament that she made her appeal. He, of course, knew not whether a bill of attainder, or a bill of pains and penalties, was in contempla-

tion, or might be the result of the proposed inquiry. The noble lord, he apprehended, would hardly take for his model the proceedings in lord Stafford's case, and still less would he dare to derive a precedent from the reign of Henry VIII. (Hear, hear.) No former administration—not that of Mr. Pitt himself—would have ventured upon a measure that indicated so entire a departure from the common principles of our jurisprudence. He knew nothing of the materials which were to constitute the subject of inquiry; his knowledge was confined to the exterior of a green bag. (Hear, hear.) In that bag was contained, not only all the documentary evidence, but all the evidence of any kind which could be adduced before a committee. He had reason to believe, that no living witness would be brought forward for any other purpose than that of verifying certain signatures. It was, indeed, a lamentable circumstance, that a lawyer of no common rank might probably be found among this latter description of witnesses. Previous to that ill-fated hour which led the learned gentleman, to whom he alluded—a gentleman distinguished by the rank of king's counsel, and universally esteemed for his character and abilities—to take up his residence at Milan; no man would have imagined that such a task would have been undertaken by such a person. It was extraordinary that an expectant master in chancery would stoop to this employment. For what had he exchanged his practice at the bar? To mingle with idle gossips, to hear the stories of bargemen, to register the tales of cast-off mistresses and discarded servants: truly an undignified employment. To be engaged month after month, in noting down the minutes of a sort of evidence, with which courts of justice, to their misfortune, were too familiar, but which, to their honor, they always reprobated, was a singular instance of departure from the ordinary course of professional avocations. In this way, however, and from sources thus impure, had been accumulated and brought together all the contents of that green bag. This was the mass of evidence on which her majesty's accusers alone relied; and when he had made these personal allusions, he did it with the feeling of one professional man filled with regret at the humiliation of another, blushing at once for the profession and human nature. (Hear, hear.) It was lamentable that the base work should not have been left to other hands—to hands accustomed to the same degrading employment—to hands which not even this low and dirty office could further sully. But the noble lord thought proper to contend, that all proceedings before a committee would be indifferent as to the result of an ulterior inquiry. He called on every man who heard him to lay his hand on his heart and declare, whether in his own case, he would put his trust, or rest his final hope, on a committee. Admitting that something in the nature of a preliminary investigation ought to take place, it was not to the keeping of a committee that he would entrust so sacred a charge—the charge of a queen's honor and fair fame. The noble lord seemed to have supposed, that it had been charged against the government as unjustifiable on their part to have made the proposition to the queen, when the parliament alone could make the grant. He (Mr. Brougham) was aware that the offer was to be considered in the same way as if it had been made to any foreign power, when it was usual for ministers, in the first instance, to enter into the engagement, and afterwards come to parliament to carry it into effect. But he (Mr. Brougham) must assert, that he still viewed it, as he had always done, as nothing more or less than calling on the queen to say, "Give me 50,000*l.* a year, and I will admit that I am guilty, or, at least, not quite innocent." (Hear, hear.) She was not only to abandon her own title, but she was not allowed to take any other belonging to any other branch of the royal family. What was that but to say, "I admit myself to be unworthy of that family, and ought not to be permitted to bear its name?" (Cheers.) That the queen might not only abandon all her rights, but the very name of the family to which she belonged. If other propositions had been made to her majesty, which did not wear even the appearance of an acknowledgement of guilt—which, as a woman of honor and of unimpeached character and conduct, she might safely accept—which would not have been discreditable to the government to offer, and to which, in justice, the queen might have yielded—he would have been the first to have given his humble advice that her majesty should rather go a step too far than not go far enough to lend herself to an honorable, but a private and amicable, adjustment. (Continued cheers.) His reason was this, in this question the interests of the royal family was most deeply concerned, and the interests of the constitution in proportion. Not merely was the queen's character at stake—not merely must the treatment she received in this or that instance be investigated—not merely must the inquiry extend to this or that illustrious house with which she was connected; but all the private history of all those exalted individuals to whom she was related, might, (he did not say must,) be forced into the conflict. Then, the house must

give him leave to say, it would have another such session as had been known eleven years ago, when all public business was suspended, when all feelings of ordinary political interest were annihilated, when the common state gossip of the day was stilled, when parties ceased to engage, and political rancor had been overwhelmed in the great engrossing topic of the private life, habits, and failings, of one of the noblest personages in the realm. Who should assert, what course men bound by professional ties to regard nothing but the safety of his client, (he referred not to members of this house, and therefore had no allusion to himself or his learned colleague) might think it necessary to recommend? Others must be trusted—their royal client must rely upon the skill, the knowledge, and the prudence, of others; and who should decide that absolute necessity might compel them to advise a proceeding, of which some idea might be formed by those who had marked what had passed in this country eleven years ago? He then must be a sagacious man who could assert what course necessity might compel; and he must be a bold man who would say that, if here, in the situation of professional adviser to the queen, he would hesitate for one moment in securing his client, even at such a desperate expense.

An advocate, be it remembered, had but one point to look to: he was ruined, disgraced, degraded; he might even belong to a Milan tribunal, if he looked to any other interest than that to which his character was pledged. (Hear, hear!) But he must be a much bolder man still who, with all these prospects before his eyes, would plunge the country into such fatal inquiries, if there were even a bare possibility of avoiding them. (Continued cheers from the opposition benches.) Let it not be forgotten that there were three parties who took a deep interest in this discussion: first, the king, who was most desirous that the inquiry should proceed—who felt that he had nothing to dread from disclosures, and who was unfortunately impressed with the idea that, in his high office, it was necessary for his vindication, that something should be undertaken. Next, the queen, who acted nearly, if not entirely, in the same spirit—who thought it requisite for her own security, for the clearing of her own honor, that the inquiry should be persisted in to the end. She shrunk not from it, but courted it; she was prepared to meet it; she had come from safety into—he would not say jeopardy, but—trouble, vexation, and anxiety, in going through the whole of this painful, and, in his view, afflictive and frightful investigation. Both of these high parties would instantly reject the advice he was now tendering. But there was a third party, whose wishes he hoped the house would not consult; he alluded to those out of doors, who were possessed of a greedy and diseased appetite for slander, and who only gave up their chase of vulgar, private scandal on some such emergency as the present, where the allurements were increased by its affecting the most exalted individuals in the land. Those who laboured under the infliction of such a morbid desire, and those who basely made a profit, by pandering for its gratification, had a direct interest in urging forward the inquiry, and most bitterly would they be disappointed if it did not proceed. In the humble performance of his duty, he felt called upon here even to thwart her majesty's inclination, and he would tell her, "Madam, if negotiation yet be possible, rather go too far, and throw yourself upon your country and upon parliament, for your vindication, than not go far enough. If yet it be possible to avert the ruin which this course, if persisted in, will bring upon the nation, do your utmost to postpone the calamity." (Cheers.) If he might advise those who stood in a similar situation with regard to the king, he would say to them, "Act like honest men, and disregard all consequences: tender that counsel to your sovereign which the case demands, and do not fear that parliament will abandon you, or the country desert you: even party will not disgrace itself to the lowest level, to which corrupt and unprincipled factionists can descend, by taking advantage of your faithful and fearless discharge of a noble and disinterested duty. (Hear, hear.) Do not apprehend that even a political calamity will attend you; but, if successors must be appointed to your places, be assured that they will not be found within these walls." (Loud cheers.)

The late Mr. Whitbread and himself were the only persons who had seen the whole of the documents it contained, and they had been increased. The Milan board sat for ten months to fill the green bag for the accusation, but he did not say that ten months, or ten weeks, would be required to blow the report of that board in the air. He would assert that it would be necessary to examine evidence as to the character of the accusatory witnesses. One of them, he knew, had committed a felony, and had been discharged by the queen from her service: and the evidence to prove this was a peasant who must be followed and found. Other cases of connexion between the witnesses could be, and must be, established; and, though the advisers of the queen might be disposed to

bring only those that were actually necessary, this preliminary operation, of itself, must occupy weeks, if not months. He, therefore, who thought that even six or eight months would complete the great subject, was most egregiously deceived; but, if it were only four months, his prayer and entreaty to the house was, that it would spare the country from the suffering which such an inquiry would inflict. He would now go to the proceedings of the Hanoverian minister—the minister of a court most likely to be swayed by the government of England.

The Hanoverian minister, Baron Ompteda, who had been most graciously and hospitably received by the queen, who had insinuated himself into her confidence, who had partaken largely of her liberality, who had passed several months at a time under her roof—this man (not indeed the envoy to this country, but to the holy see) was discovered, not merely spying into her actions, bribing strangers to watch her, and even bribing her own servants, but it was found that he employed a smith to pick the locks of her writing desk, (shouts of hear,) in order to examine any papers that might be in her possession. (Hear, hear.) Unluckily for him, that which he found, demonstrated the innocence, instead of the guilt, of the illustrious personage. (Hear, hear.) A young naval officer, to whom the transaction became known, demanded personal satisfaction; and at length, the baron was expelled from the Austrian territories, not indeed for picking locks, but for refusing to fight a duel. Baron Ompteda must necessarily have been influenced by a base spirit, when he engaged in so abominable a transaction in order to conciliate the favor of his employers; he entirely acquitted those who sent baron Ompteda on his mission to the holy see.

Baron Reding was now the Hanoverian minister at Rome, and his conduct towards her majesty was also worthy of remark. The moment it was notified by the bishops to the chief of the consistory of Rome, that her majesty's name was not inserted in the Liturgy, the body guard, which had previously been allowed her, was immediately withdrawn; they pretended that she came concealed as the countess of Oldi. But baron Reding, the Hanoverian minister, went a great deal farther. He would not call her by the title of "queen," he would not call her by the title of "princess of Wales," but he sometimes called her "Caroline of Brunswick," in so many words, without the epithet of "princess," which she certainly was entitled to before her marriage; and at other times he called her by a different name—a name of which the house had never heard, "Caroline of England." Every Englishman who entered his excellency's society must have heard him talk in this manner of the consort of his sovereign, who, he was persuaded, had too much the feelings of a gentleman, of a prince, and a man of honor, to allow any individual to insinuate himself into his favor by treating a female rudely and disrespectfully. (Hear, hear.) Her majesty had commanded him to call for a full, fair, and open investigation. The speaker the beginning of it was, the more completely would she be gratified—the more ample it was, the more decided would be her satisfaction. But, that it would be a short investigation, he, who knew the course of such proceeding, felt to be impossible. He implored the house to consider how far more virtuous an act they would do, by avoiding such an investigation, rather than by showing their constancy and perseverance in steering, however successfully, through these accumulated difficulties. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Canning said, that in all the discussions which had taken place before this crisis, he had looked to the situation of the queen, as to that of the nearest and dearest friend. To his sovereign he owed the duty of a privy counsellor; to her majesty he owed every esteem and respect. The wish nearest his heart was, that this extremity could have been avoided; his next wish was, that her majesty might come out of this inquiry with honor to herself, and satisfactory to her friends. An honorable member (Mr. Tierny) had said, that no compromise could take place without injuring the king's honor, or insulting the queen. Another honorable member blamed government, because they did not themselves bring in a bill of pains and penalties. But this was not the duty of ministers; they had not undertaken the task of bringing forward those charges; they were not the collectors of the evidence to be laid before the committee. (Hear, hear, hear, from the opposite benches.) They felt it their bounden duty to lay them before the house. What was the first step taken by ministers? They recommended a compromise, which the honorable and learned gentleman now advised. That honorable gentleman (Mr. Brougham) knew this had been offered, and his assistance to bring it about had been since requested. If that had been accepted, it would have spared the house the painful duty which now devolved upon them. The proposal was said to be revolting, and a modification was recommended. Why was not the modification proposed before? It was now, he feared, too late to propose any. An honorable and learned gentleman had expressed his regret at

the failure of all amicable arrangements; and it was but just to the honorable and learned gentleman to declare, that he (Mr. Canning) believed that he had undertaken the management of the business with every sincere and ardent desire to bring about a favorable result. But it was a pity that the honorable and learned gentleman, before he had set out from London, did not so much as tell them that those terms could not be heard without indignation; or surely that which it was right to speak at St. Omer's could not be unfit to be spoken in London. He deprecated the idea of a bill of pains and penalties against her majesty. Parliament were not called upon to become the accusers of her majesty; and, said he, "I, as one individual, so help me God, never will place myself in that situation." He regretted that all hopes of conciliation had failed. Inquiry was challenged. If there should appear matter of crimination, there must be an open inquiry; the illustrious person should have the full opportunity of defence. His first wish was, to avert inquiry; his next, that her majesty might pass through the ordeal clear and triumphant. Never had he been involved in difficulties so distressing as those which he had felt during the whole of this discussion.

Mr. Tierny said, it was impossible that any man of good feelings could come to this question without the deepest anxiety. His only satisfaction was, that he had nothing to do with the negotiations, which seemed to have brought all the parties concerned in them into a piteous plight. (A laugh.)

Mr. Wilberforce said, there was nothing, he would say, but the absolute despair of any reconciliation or adjustment in this case, which would compel him to abandon the course he now felt it his duty to adopt, with a view of preventing the dreadful discussion with which they were threatened. (Hear, hear.) He believed there was not a man in the house who did not participate in his feelings of wishing, if possible, to prevent the matter from going on. (Hear, hear.) He proposed that they yet paused for a day or two, before proceeding farther in this business, (loud cheers,) in order that the parties might have time to cool. (Hear, hear.) The honorable gentleman concluded with moving that the further debate on this question be adjourned till Friday next, (loud cheers.)

Lord Castlereagh expressed his willingness to accede to the wishes of the house. It was impossible for him, however, after the experience which he had had, to hold out any sanguine expectations of an adjustment, or to make himself responsible for it.

The motion for adjourning the debate to Friday next, was then agreed to. Adjourned at one o'clock.

London, June 29.

Our readers will see from the proceedings in parliament, that the negotiation between his majesty's ministers and the queen, as we stated in yesterday's paper, has failed. The correspondence, by the king's command, was laid upon the table of both houses, and ordered to be printed. They are, in all, ten papers. The two first are genuine copies of the letter of the earl of Liverpool, dated the 10th inst. and her majesty's answer, the substance of which was stated, but not accurately, in the papers ten days ago. Her majesty was not called upon to renounce the style and title of queen. The next was a letter from lord Liverpool, to say, that though they had not received an answer to the proposal of the 15th April, made to Mr. Brougham, they were still ready to receive any proposition that her majesty might be graciously pleased to make. To this her majesty answers, that this proposition of the 15th of April had never reached her hand till now; but the desire which she had to yield to the wishes of the two houses of parliament, would dispose her to receive, with the most serious attention, any proposal that his majesty's ministers might now make to her consistent with her honor and dignity; that it was important to her majesty, that her name should be restored to the liturgy, as the withdrawing it contrary to the statute, had the appearance of tending to some parliamentary or legal proceedings against her, and that must be removed as an equivalent resorted to as the means of removing that impression.

That a suitable royal residence should be provided for her, such as her apartments in Kensington palace, which she had never given up, and that then she would be prepared to receive further proposals.

To this lord Liverpool replied, that the withdrawing her majesty's name from the liturgy, had no view to any parliamentary or legal proceedings, but was grounded on the precedent that the queen of king George I. was not included in the liturgy; and that, as to a royal residence, there was none at this time unoccupied, her majesty's former apartments in Kensington palace, being in the possession of her royal highness the dutchess of Kent; but his majesty's ministers had directions to supply her with the means of such accommodation as her majesty might be pleased to chuse for herself. To this the queen replied, that the omission of the name from the liturgy of the queen of king George I. was