

from the report of the House of Lords, and whether the other physicians agreed with him in the opinion that he had stated.

Mr. Burke said, it was the examination of *Dr. Warren*. [A general cry of *Hear!* from the other side of the House.] *Mr. Burke* immediately took fire, and with great warmth and vehemence said, were their schemes ripe, that they ventured thus early to betray their sentiments? Were they going to build a weak and miserable machine of government, on that foundation of fraud and falsehood and calumny? Were they going to rob the first physician in this country of his character? He called upon them to shew, how *Dr. Warren* was likely to have given a false, precipitate, and ill-grounded account of his Majesty on oath? By their clamour, they had furnished an unanswerable argument for a fresh enquiry. He knew *Dr. Warren*, he belonged to a society where the *Dr.* frequently came, and always found him an instructive companion, and had ever heard him considered as a man of learning, integrity, and honour; but if he should now find him a desperate quack, unskilled in his profession, and daring enough to deceive the House of Lords, and to deliver an ignorant and unfounded opinion of the situation of his Majesty on oath; he ought to be enabled to ascertain the fact, and it could be ascertained by another enquiry, where *Dr. Warren* might be uncased to the eyes of mankind, and exposed to the contempt and ignominy he deserved, if the imputation were true.

Mr. Burke contended, that a sudden cry was more eloquent than any composition of words, because the genuine sentiment of the soul, betrayed itself in an involuntary exclamation, while words were frequently used for the purpose of concealing men's feelings, and exhibiting a false colour for their conduct to the eyes of mankind.

Mr. Vansittart said, the Right Hon. Gentleman had certainly answered one part of his requisition, but he had taken no notice of the other, which was a desire to know, whether the rest of his Majesty's physicians concurred in the opinion of *Dr. Warren*, which the Right Hon. Gentleman had read to the House from the printed Report.

Sir James Johnstone declared, he was sorry that the Right Hon. Gentleman should prevent them from going upon the most glorious act, that the subjects of a free country could perform, namely, the exercise of their undoubted right to provide a government for themselves, when the natural government was, through accident, or the unfortunate incapacity of his Majesty, no longer able to act.

Sir James protested, that he spoke his genuine sentiments, independent of favour, or any motive whatever, but a sense of his duty. He had never been at St. James's since the year 1761,

nor at Carleton House in his life ; but he thought that a man might be a good Member of Parliament, and do his duty in that House, without either cringing at Court, or sacrificing to the rising Sun.

Besides, how absurd was the expectation of those who wished for a further enquiry. Was it ever known, that two physicians agreed in opinion in the world ! It was impossible to make them agree upon any case ; and therefore it was idle to expect it, for which reason he advised the House, who were the true Physicians of the State, to prescribe for it without farther delay.

Mr. Loveden confessed, that he had received some information from the discussion, but his mind was not satisfied ; he was, he said, always happy when he could coincide in opinion with his Hon. Friend, (*Mr. Bastard*;) but, on this occasion, his Hon. Friend had declared, that his mind was *made up* upon the subject, and therefore he wished for no farther enquiry. Upon a similar principle, viz. because his mind was *not* made up upon the subject, he wished for farther information, to enable him to decide as an honest man ought.

A variety of contradictory reports were in circulation, respecting the state of his Majesty's health, and he could only speak from rumour. In the House of Lords he had heard it declared, that his Majesty was so much better, that there were good grounds to hope for his speedy recovery. He had elsewhere heard directly the contrary ; his only wish was to come at the truth, and that the House should have the whole truth before them.

Lord North said, he rose to take up but little of their time, but as a sudden cry had burst forth, when the name of a physician had been mentioned, to whom he confessed himself greatly indebted ; and as that cry might be differently interpreted by those without doors, from its real meaning, he could not avoid rising to do justice to a character, that might be very materially and very seriously affected, unless some explanation were given, to prevent a false and injurious impression obtaining.

The cry to which he alluded, might, like other exclamations of a similar nature, have proceeded merely from the warmth and ardour of debate ; but as it could not be recalled, it might be understood, as if the other side of the House had reason to doubt the skill and integrity of *Dr. Warren*. Now, as he well knew, that *Dr. Warren* was a physician of great learning, great ability, great honour, and great integrity, for the sake of *Dr. Warren's* character, which could not but be materially hurt, if an idea should prevail, that any part of that House thought him capable of giving false evidence, or disguising the truth when under an examination on oath ; he called upon any one who had the

the smallest doubt of Dr. Warren's skill and integrity, to state what the grounds were, on which he entertained that doubt.

It was fair and candid for those who joined in the cry, to rise and justify it. If no one should rise, when thus called upon, he should take the cry to have been nothing more than a sudden burst of zeal for his Majesty's recovery, and that Dr. Warren's skill was acknowledged to be as undoubted, and his integrity as unimpeached, as if no such cry had been made. His Lordship repeated, that he knew Dr. Warren to be an able, a learned, and an honest man, and that every thing was due to evidence given by such authority.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose immediately, and there being some objection made by the Opposition side of the House, he said, that having before explained on what grounds it was that he objected to the motion, and as the greatest part of the debate that ensued, had consisted either of comments on what had fallen from him, or of matter directed personally to him, it would not be considered, he conceived, as any violent infringement of the Orders of the House, if he wished to speak a second time. He did not rise, he said, to speak of the character or skill of Dr. Warren; his general skill as a physician was generally known and acknowledged; but with respect to the particular disorder with which his Majesty was afflicted, his skill was comparatively little, considered or compared to that of those physicians who had made that disorder their peculiar object of attention; and in saying this, he begged the House to know that he spoke from undoubted authority, the authority of Dr. Warren himself, who, in his examination, told them, that he always thought it necessary to call in and consult others more experienced in that species of practice than himself.

He repeated, therefore, his objection to any unnecessary delay, but after the very extraordinary footing upon which what he had before said had been placed, it became, in his mind, unavoidable that some farther enquiry should be gone into. He had said, that the Report gave them ample grounds for proceeding, and then a Right Hon. Gentleman had got up, and told the House, they were to consider the probability of his Majesty's recovery, to stand exactly as it did four weeks ago; with this difference, that the probability of his Majesty's recovery was the more distant, because a month had elapsed since it had been declared; to that opinion he could not accede; but if the Right Hon. Gentleman thought it a concession, because he did not wish for any farther examination, he was welcome so to consider it. To the best of his belief, the very reverse of the Right Hon. Gentleman's inference was the fact; and when he made such a declaration, from the situation in which he stood, he could not be supposed to speak wholly without information, when he declared, what

he knew induced him to make this suggestion to the House. With regard to their future proceeding, he thought the grounds afforded by the Report of the examination of his Majesty's physicians ample; and that the two facts to which he had before alluded, were sufficient to justify all that he had to propose to the Committee; but when he found matters, under the pretence of supposing that no alteration had taken place in his Majesty's health, in the course of the month past, stated in such a way, as to extort from him what he had just said, and which he had cautiously avoided in his former speech, from a conviction, that the House could not proceed upon private opinions delivered, or encomiums passed by others on particular characters; but must have the grounds of those opinions, and the truth of those encomiums substantiated by an enquiry; he was of necessity compelled to agree to that enquiry.

He begged to be allowed to remark a little on the situation in which they were discussing the subject. The noble Lord over the way, had talked of the ardour and warmth common to debate; he was ready to admit, that to debates on political questions, where men were governed by their partiality (and he meant a laudable partiality to one set of men over another) from persuasion, that their political system was wiser; they might shew a degree of ardour, and occasionally betray warmth; but, in the present discussion, there could be no difference in opinion, because there could be but one wish; he could not, therefore, but very seriously lament the degree of warmth that had been used, where nothing like violence ought to have characterized their discussion. He could not but lament, in particular, that the Right Hon. Gentleman, over against him, had done himself so much injury, as to have betrayed a degree of warmth that seemed to have arisen from his entertaining wishes different from those of the rest of the House.

If the Right Hon. Gentleman had discovered, that the evidence of the House of Commons was not enough to proceed on, and that the report of the Lords was necessary to be recurred to, and if the Right Hon. Gentleman felt the impropriety of delay, was it fair, was it candid, that an argument should be stated on those grounds for further enquiry, and the report of the House of Lords should be quoted, without once stating to the House, that the report was a report delivered, and printed by the House of Lords nearly a month ago?

Having ironically remarked on the great emphasis, which Mr. Burke had laid on this circumstance, he said, contrary to his own opinion as to the necessity, and merely to prevent the House from doing what, he considered as totally irregular and improper, namely, the proceeding to act upon the private opinions of any man, when the grounds of those opinions could be substantiated; he felt himself reduced to the necessity of agreeing to a further enquiry;

enquiry; but the House, he conceived, would institute the enquiry by a motion, more generally expressed than that of the Right Hon. Gentleman; and that they would, from motives of delicacy, proceed, as before, by a Select Committee, who might, he hoped, finish their examination in half a day, or little more; and, as the House might content themselves, with having the report (which would, he supposed, be a short one), read without waiting for its being printed; he hoped they would not lose more than a day or two at farthest. Upon these grounds, he should be happy to withdraw the question of the order of the day, wishing, however, that they might not mistake the principles on which it was that he did so.

Mr. Burke, in reply, said, he always thought it necessary to stand upon his guard, when that Right Hon. Gentleman undertook his defence. The Right Honourable Gentleman, not being able to do any thing by reasoning, had fallen upon his motives, instead of his arguments, well knowing, that it was a safer mode of attack, because every man could judge of the justice of the one, though no one could possibly guess at the truth of the other; and, therefore, the Right Hon. Gentleman had judged him, from the motives within his own breast.

There was, however, so much of malice, in the Right Hon. Gentleman's compassion, and so much of censure in his lamentations, that, he hoped, the Right Hon. Gentleman would be so good as to spare his pity, and to leave him out of his lamentations for the future.

After a preface to this effect, *Mr. Burke*, in answer to *Mr. Vansittart's* question, whether the other Physicians concurred in opinion with *Dr. Warren*, read some extracts from *Sir G. Baker's* examination. He then took notice of *Mr. Pitt's* sarcasm, about the tone and emphasis with which he had mentioned the circumstance of the Lords Report being a month old, and contended, that if the Right Hon. Gentleman prescribed the mode of examination of the Physicians, the House never would come at the truth; because, if learned men were to be examined by ignorant men, the ignorance of the latter rendered the learning of the former of no avail; it being impossible for those, who were not skilled in a difficult profession, to put such questions to skilful men, as should extract the necessary information, which could only be got at, by suffering the learned to discourse at large, and as they thought proper of themselves, and then to extract and collect from the whole of their discourse, what was matter of necessary information.

If there was a difference of opinion among his Majesty's Physicians, why was not *Dr. Monro* called in? The keeper of one madhouse ought to be set against the keeper of another, and by the opposition, they would come at the truth. He knew that

Dr. Monro was to be, that day, consulted by the first Physicians in existence.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had called for good grounds to be shewn, why opinions were entertained, that his Majesty's recovery was more improbable than it had been four weeks ago; he, in like manner, called upon the Right Hon. Gentleman, to shew what grounds there were for the opinion he entertained of there existing a greater probability of his Majesty's recovery now, than there existed then.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had forced him to say something, from his having thrown out a most malignant and unmerited imputation. To charge him with not wishing his Majesty to recover, was as foul an aspersion as could have come from the lowest man in that House; and he, Mr. Burke said, should be the last free-man in it, if he suffered himself at any time, to be *brow-beaten* by that Right Hon. Gentleman. The Right Hon. Gentleman was fond of throwing about his treasons and his ill-wishes: he never would tamely submit to either.

With regard to any warmth that he had betrayed, he had not let a word escape him, that he should be ashamed to have recorded. His voice was weak, and, therefore, he was forced to raise and exert it, but it did not follow that he was in a passion; he might say with one of the Ancients, who had been charged with being in a passion, "let my pulse be felt, and see if it does not beat temperately?" When he spoke of a fact, without being ready to adduce any authority for it, then let him be arraigned by the Right Hon. Gentleman, and bad motives be ascribed to him. He hoped to meet with judges more favourable than to judge him from imputed wishes, when he had argued from authentic information. When he fled from enquiry, then let the Right Hon. Gentleman aim his envenomed shafts at him. He was ready to go into a full and free enquiry at the bar, there he could do justice to himself, but not in a Committee. Let Dr. Warren be placed against another eminent Physician, and a keeper of a mad-house, with thirty patients, against the keeper of a mad-house with three hundred, and, by that means, the House would obtain real information.

Mr. Rolle rose to observe, that all the blame, imputable to the introduction of the name of one of his Majesty's Physicians that day, was imputable to the other side of the House, and not to those on the side on which he was, for that Dr. Warren's name had been first mentioned by the Right Hon. Gentleman himself.

Mr. Pulteney declared himself sorry, that so much warmth had been shewn in the debate; he owned, he was desirous of calling back the House to a proper degree of temper, and was against withdrawing the Question for the order of the day.

He

He considered both sides of the House had been drawn from their object merely by warmth, and that they had thence forgot how much the country had already suffered, and was daily suffering by delay. If any man were to say, that it was impossible for his Majesty to recover, that would be a ground for farther enquiry; or, if any man were to say, that his Majesty was capable of doing public business, that also would be a ground for enquiry; but neither of those things were said. Between the two there might be many shades of difference, but the House had no occasion to meddle with any one of them, and, therefore, he was against the suffering the motion to be withdrawn.

Mr. Fox said, he did not wonder that the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, should have objected against withdrawing the Question of the order of the day. That Hon. Gentleman had not been, he believed, a considerable time in this country, and, therefore, he must be a stranger to the various rumours and reports that had been circulated. Had he known as much of those reports as he did, the Hon. Gentleman would, he had no doubt, have thought the proposed enquiry absolutely necessary.

With regard to the two propositions that the Hon. Gentleman referred to, they were pretty nearly the words he had himself used on the first day that the subject had been mentioned in that House. He had then said, that all his Majesty's Physicians had declared themselves clearly and decisively of opinion, that his Majesty was incapable of meeting his Parliament, and of doing public business; but that his recovery was probable, though no one of them could say, when his recovery was likely to take place. Agreeing, therefore, that his Majesty might recover, and if the probability be, that he would recover soon, that they must submit, for a short time, to a weak Government, or else do an injury to his Majesty, when the time should arrive for him to resume his prerogatives.

If that be the argument, still he should contend, that it was necessary for them to proceed to learn when his Majesty's recovery was likely to take place; for his part, he had not the least doubt of the hopelessness of the case. Before he sat down, *Mr. Fox* said, he should take notice of what had fallen from the Right Hon. Gentleman over the way, and enter his Protest against what must, if continued, inevitably end in putting a stop to all freedom of debate in that House. The Right Hon. Gentleman had talked of warmth, and said, it was allowable, when the political interests of parties were at stake, but not then; that, therefore, his Right Hon. Friend had spoke from his wishes. If such attempts to impute unbecoming motives to Members, for their arguments, were made, unaccompanied with any one reason, in answer to those arguments, it was enough to fire any man with indignation; he made no scruple to confess, that he felt equal warmth with

with his Right Hon. Friend, as much warmth as he had ever felt on any political Question—not from a wish that his Majesty might not recover, he sincerely wished that he might; but from what was more strong in his mind, even than the satisfaction that must result from his knowing that his Majesty was restored to his health, from his desire that the people should be acquainted with the truth.

In such a cause, he was not ashamed to confess himself warm, and to avow his desire, and his determination, to resist an attempt to deceive an affectionate people, and to prevent that House from being deluded, under false pretences, into a mode of Government that would sacrifice the constitution. In such a cause, he felt a warmth superior even to his attachment to Majesty, superior to the love and loyalty a subject owed his Sovereign, an attachment founded in the love of a man of honour to truth, and in his detestation of falsehood.

With regard to the manner in which the *cry* had been given from the other side, when Dr. Warren's name had been mentioned, it was impossible for the friends of that Gentleman, and for every man feeling like a Gentleman, not to feel contempt.

A Physician's eminence, above all other professions whatever, stood upon the most secure and certain footing; no man employed a Physician from favour; no man employed a Physician, because he was of his party, nor because he had given him his interest at an election; but they trusted their health in his hands, because he was known to possess superior skill, and, on that account alone.

He would believe, that the Great Personage alluded to by him, the Lord Chancellor, had an ill opinion of Dr. Warren, when he should hear, that the learned Lord trusted his health, when he should next have the misfortune to be ill, in any other hands. These were not encomiums, but facts. It was the confidence with which people, of the most exalted ranks, trusted their health in Dr. Warren's hands, that made him so unusually eminent as a Physician. The *cry*, therefore, if it meant any thing, must have been meant to convey an insinuation against Dr. Warren's integrity; but as the opinion of Dr. Warren's skill never could rise, so no more could the opinion of his integrity rise, though his integrity, undoubtedly, equalled his skill.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had been pleased to say, that he thought that the probability of his Majesty's recovery, was greater than before, and he had said, that he had been provoked to declare that to be his private opinion. I will not be provoked, said Mr. Fox, to declare any private opinion of mine to the contrary, nor will I assent to that of the Right Hon. Gentleman; but, if the House was to proceed on shades of difference of opinion, as to

to the probability of his Majesty's recovery, which, he thought extremely absurd, he should still contend, that the enquiry should be as free and open as possible. Mr. Fox concluded with calling on Mr. Pulteney to withdraw his motion.

Mr. Pulteney said, he meant to divide the House, declaring, that it was not likely that all his Majesty's Physicians should decide alike; and, therefore, as he considered the proposed enquiry to be nothing more than a design to delay, he would take the sense of the House on the Question of the order of the day.

Mr. Sheridan rose to remind the Right Hon. Gentleman, that he was bound, by his own words, to submit to the proposed enquiry, since he had declared, that if any Member asserted, that there was a greater probability of the recovery of his Majesty sooner than there had been, when the Physicians were last examined, the House ought to proceed to another examination; now, the Right Hon. Gentleman stood exactly in that situation himself, having declared, that he had, from what he knew, reason to believe that his Majesty's speedy recovery was more probable than it had been, and he had also declared, that his opinion had been extorted from him.

Mr. Sheridan added a few words to prove, how material it was, that the Physicians characters should be sacred; employed as they were about his Majesty, and not in any ordinary case, the public had an interest in their characters, and on that depended all the proceedings that they were about to deliberate upon in that House.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that after what had passed, he should be in the singular predicament of feeling himself obliged to vote against his own motion, and he owned he should do it, with the greater reluctance, as he should have the misfortune to differ from the Hon. Gentleman under the gallery, who, he had hoped would have waved his objection to the withdrawing the Question of the order of the day.

He objected to *Mr. Sheridan's* representation of what he had said, as being quite incorrect; he had not, in his former argument, declared, that if any Member could assert, that he had reason to believe his Majesty's speedy recovery more probable than it was, that the House ought to proceed to another enquiry; but he believed, he had said, that if any Member could assert, or suggest, that he had good reason to think that his Majesty would not recover, or that he would recover in any given time, in either case he should think a new enquiry necessary.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he could not help remarking the extraordinary way in which the Right Hon. Gentleman had chosen to say *nothing*, as to his private opinion of the probability of his Majesty's speedy recovery, or otherwise, when, at the same time, he had argued, that they were to consider the probability

probability of his Majesty's recovery, just exactly as it stood when the Report had been made four weeks ago, adding to it, the recollection, that it was now four weeks since the Report was made.

This was the newest way of *saying nothing*, that he had ever experienced. He declared he would not retract any thing he had ever said in that House; but if the examination were ordered, he conceived it must not be at the bar, but by a Select Committee, on account of delicacy and every other consideration. He added, that he was in hopes the Committee, before they left the House that evening, would be able to issue their summonses, and proceed to the examination next day, so that as little time as possible might be lost.

Mr. Fox said, the Right Hon. Gentleman seemed to accuse him of dissimulation. He had said nothing, but that the ground of the probability of his Majesty's recovery must be drawn from the papers before the House, unless a new enquiry was gone into. He had given no opinion of his own as to the present state of his Majesty's health, nor should the Right Hon. Gentleman extort one from him.

Sir Peter Burrell said, he spoke but seldom in that House, but that he always delivered his genuine sentiments. His opinion was, that an examination of the Physicians again was absolutely necessary; but that it ought to be an examination at the bar of that House, and not before a Select Committee. By that means, the reports that were abroad would be effectually and entirely done away; which would not be the case with an examination in a corner, with which he was persuaded the public would not be satisfied.

Sir Peter was of opinion, that no Member of that House would put an indecent or an indelicate question to the Physicians; and, if it was by accident proposed, the House could easily guard against, and prevent it.

Mr. Pulteney still insisting, that the Question should be put on the order of the day, the debate was protracted, but without producing any thing new. *Mr. Rolle*, *Mr. Turner*, *Mr. Vyner*, and others, took a share in the conversation.

Sir Peter Burrell insisted, with much force, that nothing could possibly be gained from a new enquiry, but what would result from its notoriety. The way, he contended, to suppress all dangerous, because indistinct rumours, would be to examine the Physicians at the bar of the House, and not as before, in a Committee.

A division was called for on *Mr. Pulteney's Motion*, that the order of the day should remain; and at seven o'clock the strangers were ordered to withdraw.

After

After the House had been cleared, Mr. Pulteney's Motion was negatived without a division.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved, "That the Physicians be again examined, respecting the state of his Majesty's health; before a Select Committee of the House to-morrow."

Mr. Sheridan, in a speech of some length, professed himself by no means inimical to the tendency of the Motion; but lamented much that mystery which had been observed respecting the Sovereign's health; when it was such as called for an unequivocal account of his Majesty's REAL situation. The people were extremely anxious on the business; and therefore, to do away every idea of mystery, he would move an amendment to the Motion, "That the Physicians be examined at the bar of the House."

Mr. Wyndham seconded the amendment.

The House then divided, when there appeared,

Against the amendment	—	221
For it	—	141
Majority	—	80

The question was then put on the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was carried without a division.

Several Motions, of course, were carried, and the Committee ordered to sit to-morrow.

A Motion was then made by Mr. Pitt, "That the House do meet on Thursday next, to take into consideration the State of the Nation,"—which was also carried; and then the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ABOUT four o'clock the Speaker took the chair; but there not being more than twenty Members present, the House was adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 8.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THIS day the House met.

The Report from the Select Committee, appointed for a further examination of the Physicians on the state of his Majesty's health,

health, not being brought up—it was moved, and carried, that the order of the day, for taking into consideration the State of the Nation, should stand over to Monday next; after which the House adjourned.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 10.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE Speaker having taken the chair at four o'clock, and the order of the day being read,

Mr. Dundas rose to express his concern, in being again obliged to repeat, that the Report of the Committee, sitting on the examination of his Majesty's Physicians, was not yet ready to be laid before the House. As the Committee lost no time in their endeavours to prepare the Report, he trusted no future disappointment would occur, if the order for receiving it lay over till Monday. On that day he had no doubt but it would be brought forward: and if, for their better information, the Members wished to have it printed, that could also be effected by the Wednesday following.

He would therefore move, "That the order of the day be discharged.

"That the House meet on Monday to receive the Report of the Committee now sitting on the examination of the Physicians, touching the state of his Majesty's health.

And, "That the House do meet on Wednesday next, for the purpose of going into a Committee on the State of the Nation."

These Motions being agreed to, the House instantly adjourned.

MONDAY, JANUARY 12.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

AS soon as prayers were over, and the Lord Chancellor had taken the woollack,

Lord Suffolk rose, and said, he intended, as that day, to have made a Motion for the Physicians, who had attended his Majesty in his present illness, to be examined at the bar of that House, and

and all strangers to be excluded during such examination; but having consulted with some noble Lords, he was advised not to make such a Motion in so thin a House. His Lordship, therefore, begged to have as early day as possible. Wednesday was named, which was approved of on all sides of the House. His Lordship gave notice that he should, on Wednesday next, make the above Motion.

The House then adjourned till Wednesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

THE House waited till five o'clock, in expectation of the Committee, appointed to examine his Majesty's Physicians, being able to complete their Report, and present it that day, but it appearing that the hope was fruitless,

Mr. Vyner rose and said, it was with reluctance that he stood up to make the Motion, that he found himself under the necessity of offering to the House; but although the Committee above stairs had applied themselves most assiduously to the object of their appointment, and had exerted every endeavour to expedite the completion of their Report, they had found so much new work upon their hands, and that of too great importance to be passed over, that it had, as yet, been out of their power to finish their business; and therefore they found themselves obliged, either to be guilty of the very gross irregularity of making a Report in part only, or of desiring the House to wait another day; by which time they thought they should be able to conclude their examination, and make their Report whole and entire; what he had therefore to propose to the House was, that they should adjourn to the next day.

The Question of adjournment having been put from the chair, the same was agreed to.

At that moment the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered the House, and desired to be heard a few words before the House separated; a cry of *places! places!* being called, some Gentlemen said, *there is no Speaker in the chair*, (Mr. Grenville having left it as soon as the Question of Adjournment was carried) the Chancellor of the Exchequer then said, as his object was to save Gentlemen trouble, he hoped they would excuse a little disorder; that he had not been able to get down sooner, having but that moment left the chair of the Committee.

As

As the Report, from the circumstances that had occurred during the examination, would be considerably longer than had been at first expected, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed all the Members present, that had the House been sitting, it was his intention to have moved to discharge the order, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the State of the Nation, on Wednesday, and to have moved it for Thursday, which was as early as the Report could reasonably be expected to be printed, and Gentlemen to have read it.

No person, he said, could be more anxious and impatient than he was, on every account, to go into the Committee on the State of the Nation, and proceed to take the other necessary steps for restoring the Government to its due share of energy and vigour; but as the delay of a day was, under the circumstances he had mentioned, absolutely unavoidable; he hoped, what he had then said, however irregularly introduced, would be considered as a notice, that he should, the next day, move to discharge the order of the day for Wednesday, and move it for Thursday.

The House adjourned till to-morrow.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THIS day the Report of the Committee, appointed to examine his Majesty's Physicians, being expected to be made, the House waited patiently till past five, when the Committee above stairs rose, and Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Vyner, with other Members of the Committee, came down, and privately informed the Speaker, and most of the Members present, that they had closed their examination, and that the Report waited only for the last sheets of it to be fairly copied. At half after five the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* brought the Report down, and, after the usual form, was ordered to bring it up to the table. He then moved, "That this Report be now read."

Mr. Burke rose immediately, and objected to the reading of the Report. *Mr. Burke* declared, he would confine what he had to say to a few words, and a few words only; he said, it always gave him pain to differ in opinion from Gentlemen, with whom he was associated, for the purpose of discharging a public duty, and that, on the present occasion, it gave him as much pain so to differ, as it ever had done on any one occasion that had occurred in the whole course of his life; but there was a point

point of duty, and in that duty a point of importance, superior to every personal consideration; it was, therefore, in compliance with that important duty, that he then felt it incumbent on him to rise, to object to the Report's being read, to move for its recommitment, to complain of the conduct of the Committee, and to accuse them with not having faithfully discharged their duty.

The first matter he had to state was, that instead of construing the order of the House, which appointed them, in its largest sense, and extending their enquiry to that degree which alone could be likely to furnish ample evidence, they had narrowed it within the literal construction of the order, and confined themselves to the bare examination of his Majesty's Physicians, without calling before them any of the Surgeons, Apothecaries, and others, who had attended on his Majesty, and by that exclusion had debarred themselves of the opportunity of learning, from the most likely channels of authentic information, the actual state of his Majesty's health, and the progress of that alteration and approach of convalescence, from whence they were to collect their hopes of his recovery.

From this circumstance of their having narrowed their ground, and included themselves within the letter of the law, they had deprived themselves of the possibility of reporting the *whole* truth, and thus, by a partial and imperfect Report, had given what it contained of truth, in such a maimed and mutilated state, that it could not be relied on.

Mr. Burke (on being whispered by Mr. Wyndham) said, he was aware that the Committee had acted under the order of the House, but still, he thought it right to state what he had said, in support of his charge against the Committee; at the same time, he did not rest his complaint to the House chiefly on the circumstance of the Committee having narrowed their ground of enquiry, and confined it too literally to the order, upon the authority of which they had proceeded. There were other grounds of complaint; consisting of the omission of certain material circumstances, tending, in his opinion, to give the Committee a just estimate of the state of his Majesty's health, and of the probability of his cure. Mr. Burke explained these to consist of two points, the chief of which was, that of two of his Majesty's Physicians having been set against each other, and examined as equal in point of skill.

He did not, he said, so much complain of Dr. Warren and Dr. Willis having been put upon an equality, and so considered, (because it was impossible for him to know, whether, in point of fact, they were so or not) but where there was a manifest difference of opinion between two professional persons, in respect to the nature of the King's case; the only way for unlearned

men to enable themselves to decide, which authority ought to preponderate and govern their opinion, was by calling other Physicians before them, and by examining them, collecting, to which of the two so set against each other, the greatest degree of credit ought to be given.

Mr. Burke said farther, that it appeared plainly to him, in consequence of what had come out in the course of the examination, that *his Majesty's life was not safe*, nor had it been safe since he had been put into such hands. He did not mean, by this declaration, that there was any where a treasonable design to take away his Majesty's life. God forbid there should be any such design! He imputed a murderous design to no man, but he repeated it, that it appeared to him, and he believed he might say to others of the Committee, that *his Majesty's life was not safe*, and that owing to no bad design in any person, but to the rashness of those to whom the care of his Royal Person was intrusted. That trust, if he might so phrase it, was of too much sacred importance to be suffered to be executed rashly, carelessly, and improperly. In it was involved the life of the Sovereign and the interests of the people!

Mr. Burke said, he should, on the grounds that he had stated, move to recommit the Report, because it was, in his opinion, highly essential, that having contrasted two Physicians together, the other Physicians ought to be fully examined upon the points in dispute between those two Physicians so contrasted; and if the Committee did not possess sufficient powers to have pursued such examination, they ought immediately to have come to the House and asked for further powers.

He was aware, that his Motion would be attributed to delay; but although the Report upon the table certainly would be found to be of value, it would still be more valuable, if it were rendered more extensive, and it would, at the same time, be more faithful, more fair, and more full, as well with regard to its object, as to the Physicians themselves.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared, he would not take up the time of the House, but should only say a very few words. The Right Hon. Gentleman had begun with charging the Committee with having narrowed their Enquiry; which, when the time that the Committee had sat, and the bulk of the Report on the table, (nearly 400 folio pages) were considered, he did not believe would be the sense of the House.

But the Hon. Gentleman had said, that they had narrowed their enquiry, because, having been ordered by the House to examine his Majesty's Physicians, the Committee had not proceeded to examine his Majesty's Surgeons and Apothecaries; for examining whom, the sense of the House had been expressly

taken

taken before the Committee sat, and the sense of the House had been, that they should not be examined.

Whether the Committee had not examined his Majesty's Physicians for the last week fully, would be seen from the Report. But as from the manner in which the Hon. Gentleman had stated, what he had called the setting two of his Majesty's Physicians one against the other; an impression might possibly be made upon the minds of the House, that the Committee had examined *only two* of his Majesty's Physicians; it became necessary for him not to let the House separate, without informing them, that when the report was read, Gentlemen would find that the Committee had examined every one of his Majesty's Physicians, and that over and over again. They had put to all of them every question that appeared to them immediately to lead to the main point and object, and he was ashamed to say a great many collateral questions besides, that had a very remote relation to the state of his Majesty's health. But there had, in the course of their enquiry, come out the preceding day, a point which was not the point of the King's recovery, not the point of Dr. Willis's or Dr. Warren's opinion upon the probability of that most desirable event, but a point that went to the skill of his Majesty's Physicians; a matter which the Committee was neither authorized nor competent to enquire into. The Hon. Gentleman had himself, at the last moment, when the Committee were about to close their examination, and to dismiss the Physicians, thought proper to introduce collaterally a point, that conveyed a charge against Dr. Willis's conduct, and the single circumstance on which the Hon. Gentleman had then rested the strong language he had just used, of *his Majesty's life not being safe*, was its having come out, that Dr. Willis *had trusted a razor in his Majesty's hand*; a fact, which Dr. Willis most readily admitted, and without the smallest reserve had stated his reasons for having done.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer shewed clearly, that the sort of enquiry, for not having suffered which, Mr. Burke had charged the Committee with not having done their duty; was an Enquiry into the skill and prudence of Dr. Willis, which the Committee had no right to enquire into; and that the circumstance on which he had grounded the strong language, he had used, was chiefly a question of reason and propriety, and not directly in point to the object before them; the Committee, therefore, after being satisfied as to the immediate end of their enquiry, had thought it their duty, instead of frustrating the expectations of that House, and the public, by what they considered as unnecessary delay, to close their examination, and make their Report.

The Hon. Gentleman, he conceived could not be serious in objecting to the Report being read, because it would be impossible for him to introduce the Motion of recommitment, or any other respecting it, unless the Report were first read *pro forma*. Before he sat down, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he would just state, that it had been his intention to have moved, that the order of going into the Committee on the State of the Nation stand for Thursday; but from the extreme length of the Report, he had learned that it would be impossible to have it printed ready for delivery before Thursday morning; and as it was voluminous, Gentlemen could not read it through in time to proceed upon it in the same day, he found himself under the necessity, therefore, of moving, that the Committee on the State of the Nation stand for Friday.

Mr. Wyndham said, he rose in support of his Hon. Friend's objection, but that he would not detain the House more than a very few minutes. The first observation he had to make on what had fallen from the Right Hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer was, that whether the Report was *long*, or not, was a mere relative consideration. The length or shortness of a Report, undoubtedly, depended on the importance and extent of the object, to which that Report was confined, and it mattered not, whether the Committee had sat one day or ten, or what was the number of sheets contained in the Report.

Mr. Wyndham said, they had been ordered to enquire, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and the probability of his recovery, and they were to form their own judgment upon it, and report that judgment to the House. They could have no judgment till they had enquired and obtained information, and that information they were to receive through his Majesty's Physicians. In order to obtain it, they must necessarily ask them questions of all sorts, and not merely as to their knowledge of the present state of his Majesty's health, and their opinion as to his recovery, because that kind of examination would be short indeed, could take up but a very little time, and might be completed by making the number of Questions the same as that of the Physicians.

Mr. Wyndham argued the necessity of sifting the grounds of the opinions of the Physicians, as well as of ascertaining the facts on which those opinions rested. He put the case, that if he knew that a man was in a bad state; what better ground was there, than of learning, whether the opinion of his Physicians had been wrong? Suppose a Physician of superior authority, and who stood alone, was called in, and said, it was true, that a patient was in a bad state, but that the course pursued with him had been wrong, and that another course would be more advantageous; should he not, said Mr. Wyndham, take the opinion

of other Physicians on the subject, and know from them, whether another course would be more advantageous or not? Upon those grounds, therefore, he thought the Committee had neither done justice to the Physicians, nor discharged their duty. The first he acknowledged was a subordinate consideration, but still it was sufficiently important, in his opinion, to warrant his Hon. Friend's objection, and therefore he should support it.

Mr. Burke rose again, not he said, to enter into a justification of his former argument, but to explain such parts of it as the Right Hon. Gentleman had misrepresented. In the first place, he had not complained of the Committee's having narrowed their enquiry, on the ground of their not having sat long enough, or made a Report sufficiently voluminous; but, on account of their too religious obedience to, or rather too liberal and too strict an observance of the order, by the authority of which they had proceeded. Nor had his objection gone to the examining of two witnesses only, but that a difference of opinion having been stated by those two, he had contended, that the other Physicians ought to have been examined as to the grounds of that difference of opinion, whence the Committee might have fortified their own minds, and enabled themselves to decide which opinion was right.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had intimated that much of the discussion that had kept the Committee sitting so long, had been owing to those who had differed in opinion; if the House would have a little patience, he believed, it would be found to be otherwise. With regard to his having introduced a point at the end of the enquiry, which had led to collateral circumstances, not immediately relative or material, he appealed to the Right Hon. Gentleman, whether he had not, in the early part of the Examination, given way to Members of the Committee of greater weight and authority than himself; but when he had done so, he had expressly given notice, that before the enquiry closed, he should put questions of the nature complained of. If then he had been wrong at the end of the enquiry, he had been wrong at the beginning, and ought to have been stopped then. *Mr. Burke* added other explanations, and said, he would not oppose the reading of the Report, but after it was read, he would move its re-commitment.

Sir John Scott desired to call the attention of the House, by one word only, to that part of the Right Hon. Gentleman's speech, in which he had desired the House to have a little patience, and they would be able to decide for themselves. *Sir John* said, he wished the House to attend to that; at present it would ill become him to argue upon the result of an enquiry, or to reason on the contents of a Report, with which the House were unacquainted; but when the proper moment should arrive, he

pledged himself to deliver his opinion upon the subject, and to state why he differed from the Right Hon. Gentleman, and thought the Report contained all the material information, that the Committee, consistently with their duty, and a proper regard to the order of the House, could obtain, and that the Committee had no power to go more at large to those objects to which the Right Hon. Gentleman referred.

The Question for reading the Report was put and carried; and as soon as the Report had been read, *pro forma*.

Mr. Burke moved, that the said Report be re-committed; a Motion, which Mr. Burke prefaced by a few words, which were not distinctly heard.

The Motion for re-commitment was negatived.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved, "That a sufficient number of Copies be printed for the use of the Members of that House," and "That the order for the House, to resolve itself into a Committee on the State of the Nation the next day, be discharged." This being agreed to, he afterwards moved, "That the House resolve itself into the said Committee on Friday, and that the House adjourn to Friday." Both Motions having been agreed to,

The House rose at half after six o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

AS soon as prayers were over, the *Earl of Suffolk* rose, and informed the House, that several of his noble friends having intimated to him, that they did not concur with him in the propriety of the Motion, which he had given notice it was his intention to bring forward that day, in deference to their better judgments he had determined to abstain from proposing it.

Upon the Question put, the House immediately adjourned to Tuesday next.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THIS day there was as full an assemblage of Members, as had been seen since the meeting, and the gallery was filled to an overflow

overflow before twelve o'clock, owing to the general eagerness to hear the Restrictions proposed to be laid upon the Regent.

After the settlement of some previous business, relative to the Colchester Election, the order of the day was read, and the House resolved itself into a Committee upon the State of the Nation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* having moved the order of the day, with the order for referring the several Reports that had been brought up and read to the Committee; the Speaker left the chair, and Brooke Watson, Esq. took his seat at the table.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then rose again, and after lamenting the peculiar circumstances of the country, which called upon them to exercise a Right, that had devolved on them, in consequence, of the melancholy situation of his Majesty, which rendered him incapable of exercising the Royal Authority; said, it was their duty to provide the means of supplying the deficiency; but, in doing so, he trusted it must be the wish of every Gentleman, that they should proceed in the manner the best calculated to give general satisfaction, and the most likely to secure the approbation of the people; which, he had the happiness to know, had generally attended every step they had hitherto taken.

He sincerely wished, that every thing he should have the honour to propose, might be fully discussed, and fairly decided upon; that the nature of the case, the general principles on which they ought to proceed, and the application of those principles, might be clearly and distinctly traced out. In so doing, they would be best enabled to meet the emergency that called upon them and provide for the defect of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority.

The business of the Committee lay in a very narrow compass, notwithstanding the voluminous Reports upon the table. In the Report last delivered, there was abundant matter of confirmation to him, of the propriety and prudence of those measures which he was, as the Committee were aware, prepared to have proposed to them nearly ten days ago. But though there was much material information in that Report, there was no difference in his opinion, in the ground of what he had to offer, but that, on the former day, as well as the present, the Committee had more information before them than enough, to bear out all that he should submit to their consideration. If on the former day, he had had to state the ground on which he intended to have built his proceeding, he should have stated it thus: *That his Majesty was incapable of meeting his Parliament, or attending to public business; that the unanimous opinion of his Physicians, was, that his Majesty's recovery was more probable than the contrary, and that all the Physicians agreed, that it was impossible to ascertain when that so much wished for event might take place, but that those who were more*

immediately conversant with the disorder with which his Majesty was afflicted, had declared, that the majority were cured, and that one of the physicians, the most conversant of any, had stated, that the greatest length he had ever known the disorder to continue, was a year and a half or two years; that the shortest was three months, and the average five or six months. In saying even that, he should have said more than was necessary, for any argument on the principle on which he went. But to whatever duration this space was extended, the Committee had in their contemplation, that they were considering of expedients, *for an interval*. His Majesty may recover within the smallest term mentioned; if he did not, the fact was open to be proved: and if the duration of his illness was protracted, contrary to their hopes; the House would then, no doubt, proceed to a *final* and permanent settlement of the supreme authority. If they considered that the disorder was not in itself incurable, any man must think that the provisions ought not to be permanent.

He recapitulated what had passed on the subject on Tuesday se'nnight, and the line of argument that had been taken, which rendered it impossible for him to avoid giving way to a more narrow and minute enquiry, than had before taken place; and however he might feel pain on account of something that had passed in the Committee, he could not, upon the whole, but rejoice that he had given way, as it now appeared that the argument, on which the Right Hon. Gentleman over against him had relied, viz. that because a month had elapsed since the former enquiry, that his Majesty's cure was to be considered as the more improbable, was not grounded; since, however much the physicians disagreed in other points, they were unanimous, that the probability of the cure rested precisely on the same grounds as before; a circumstance which he was persuaded would give as much pleasure to the Right Hon. Gentleman, as it had done to himself.

With regard to the difference of opinion between the physicians, as to the prospect of a recovery, it appeared to him to depend on two circumstances, by which it could be decided on whose opinion the greatest reliance ought to be placed, viz. the knowledge of the malady in general, or the knowledge of the particular case of the patient. Three of his Majesty's physicians had been conversant with the malady. Two others, who though not so conversant, are well acquainted with his Majesty's habits. These two (Sir George Baker and Dr. Warren) attend his Majesty for two hours each day, the three others from evening till eleven o'clock in the forenoon: now it was natural for those who attended his Majesty most, to be the best judges of his situation; and it was remarkable, that Dr. Warren and Sir George Baker were the least confident of a cure, and the other Doctors
more

more so ; but Dr. Willis, who attended his Majesty more than any of the others, was more sanguine than them all. Sir Lucas Pepys states circumstances, that do not amount to a certainty of a cure, but which prove an abatement of his Majesty's disorder. Dr. Willis is of opinion, that all the symptoms, since his last examination, are more favourable, and that there are considerable symptoms of abatement. In a word, all the physicians agree in the probability of his Majesty's recovery ; that the length of the time has made no unfavourable change, and those who understand the disorder best, think it more favourable.

He said, he wished not to go at length into the particulars of the last Report, on which the Committee might safely rely ; as there were those on the Committee who were anxious to sift with the most scrupulous accuracy, every thing likely to prove his Majesty's recovery. There had, he said, been those who had given little credit to Dr. Willis ; if, therefore, any observations should arise from them, he had no doubt they would be made in the same spirit, and with the same ability as they had made them with in the Committee above stairs. He spoke of the skill, integrity, and good sense of Dr. Willis, which, he said, were evinced under a severe cross examination, calculated to puzzle simplicity, in terms of eulogium, and said, that though being so near the city, the good man was equally untouched by its *mad politics*, and its *low intrigues* ! (*A loud cry of Hear ! Hear ! came from both sides, on this remark*) Mr. Pitt proceeded, and said, that however it might suit with the political intrigues of the times, or be convenient to circulate, just at present, in London and its environs, he would not anticipate the remarks that might be made ; but if there were any such remarks to be brought forward, he desired if they chose to discuss the credit of this or that physician, that they might understand the nature of the imputation, whatever it might be.

In the course of the enquiry above stairs, a circumstance had come out, over which he would not draw a veil of delicacy, as he was not ashamed to bring it forward. If it be stated to the discredit of any physician, that he had submitted to be unduely influenced by a *great personage*, let the Committee know to what physician, the imputation of having consented to give an untrue account of the state of his Majesty's health applied ; if an impropriety of transaction, like that, was imputed, he would not believe it, till it was distinctly *ventured* to be said, and when he used the term *venture*, he did not mean to apply it with regard to the exalted station of the person in question, but with regard to the transaction itself ; nor did he, he repeated it, believe that any man would venture to charge blame of any kind on the respectable personage in question, who had lived for almost thirty years in this country without traduction ; a pattern of the most
unexampled

unexampled affection, domestic tenderness and virtue; against whom the breath of calumny had not dared to send forth even a whisper, and who could not merit it at a moment, when visited by a calamity, which rarely befalls a private person, but which surely is not a little aggravated when it becomes the lot of the family of a person, in so exalted a rank as the Sovereign of the country.

If it was meant to impeach the credit of any physician, he would produce the opinion of Dr. Warren himself, in favour of the conduct of the high personage alluded to. That gentleman had said, "that there undoubtedly appeared some signs of amendment, but that he had been so often deceived by these, that he did not think it proper to make them a ground for his reliance." This was merely a matter of medical opinion, and may possibly be wrong; it was not therefore strange, if *un-medical* people, and among them the personage before mentioned, whose hopes, and whose anguish, were equally alive, should interpret them more favourably, and act in consequence of the immediate impulse; that a wish should naturally arise to have the report be such as should give the public the most favourable account of his Majesty's health. Would any man prove, that an undue influence had been used for that purpose? The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained in what manner the words a *comfortable way*, had been introduced into the report, and then spoke of Dr. Willis, declaring, he was known in the country where he lived, by his character, and by the happiness he had been the means of giving to the numerous families, who were bound to bless him for the good effects of his skill. He spoke of another physician, whose character was likewise high, and declared, that if he wished to draw a true conclusion of his Majesty's state of health, and prospect of recovery, he would wish to draw it from Dr. Willis, more than from any other physician.

Having said every thing he meant to go upon, respecting the report; he came to the main point, and said, the situation they were to provide for, was, for the cessation of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority, a deficiency, for which no previous provision had been made. As the cause of this deficiency, he had every reason to think, would be but temporary, they must deliberately consider what were the objects to which they were to look.

The first object they had to provide for, was to take care that there was a government in the country, equal to its safety, and the dispatch of public business. Out of the nature of such a provision another duty arose, and that of equal importance to the other, viz. to take care that the measure provided, did not go beyond the necessity of the case. The Committee were to provide powers for the exercise of the government, and they must
take

take care to place those powers in proper hands; but, above all things, to recollect, that they were not placing a King upon the throne. They were to remember that the throne was full, that no right any where existed to exercise the Royal Authority, but that which was conferred by that House; they were to take care to provide against any embarrassments in the resumption of the Royal Authority, whenever God, in his providence, should permit the rightful holder again to exercise it. They were to provide only for the necessity of the case, and not to exceed it, and therefore the measures he should propose would be, to invest his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with the whole Royal Authority, to be exercised in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, under such limitations and restrictions only, as should be provided.

The principle, he said, was not new, although the circumstances of the case happened to be unprecedented. No man would say, that the same power that the principal exercised, ought to be given to the delegate. If they referred to Precedents they would find, that no one instance would be met with, of the whole of the Royal Prerogatives having been so delegated; on the contrary, every Precedent that bore the smallest analogy to the present situation, evinced the direct contrary, and that, no doubt, with a view to facilitate and ensure the resignation of the delegate, when the principal should be competent to exercise, or to resume his authority.

He referred them to the Act of Queen Anne, (the Act of Succession) the Regency Act of George II. and the Regency Act of the present King. Let them look to the case of a Sovereign disabled by infancy; was the Regent of the country invested with full and unlimited power to exercise the Royal Authority? Undoubtedly not. In the three Regency bills in the Statute Books, to which he referred; were there not limitations? There were in every one. All the powers might be given, but then they were not given to one person. What was the principle in a case of minority? It was thought unsafe to vest all the powers in one person. He laid particular stress on the Regency bill, in the reign of George the Second, and observed that there appeared, at that time, to have been a wish on both sides the House, to doubt what confidence should be placed in the Regent. They were afraid of making a precedent, and therefore they gave the royal powers among many; appointing a Council, without whose consent the Regent could take no important step whatever.

The Chancellor stated, that the will of the predecessor was, by one of the bills, to be the system followed, while the Heir Apparent continued a minor; a principle, which he owned he thought went too far, although it was a plausible principle, and was apparently most applicable to the present case.

After reasoning upon the three different precedents, and touching upon the short protectorate of Richard the Third, the other protectorates or guardianships in the earlier periods of our history, and demonstrating, by argument, that as in no one preceding instance, all the powers of royalty were given to one person; so in the present instance, which certainly differed most essentially, they ought not to be, nor could they be trusted in the hands of one person, without proving a hazardous, and, possibly, a prejudicial experiment. He said, he spoke without any prejudice on this head, and he should therefore wish to give all power to the Regent, which was consistent with the dignity of the Sovereign in his present situation. He should give all that was necessary for the present safety of the country; and he should withhold nothing, but what might possibly tend to counteract their wishes of giving back the supreme authority, whole and unimpaired, whenever it pleased Heaven to grant the recovery of the Sovereign.

His first Resolution, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he need not trouble the House with, as he had already stated its substance and effect.

His second Resolution, (which he read) was *to restrain the Regent from exercising one branch of the prerogative peculiarly inherent in the Crown, viz. the powers of granting Peerages, excepting to his Majesty's sons, being twenty-one years of age.* This restriction he thought necessary, as the Regent ought to grant nothing which might produce difficulties and embarrassments, when the happy hour of his Majesty's restoration to his health should arrive.

Nor would this restriction, he trusted, be found irreconcilable under the present circumstances. The causes of this privilege being vested in the Crown were *three*;—the *first* was, that, as the fountain of honour, it may issue this reward to high and distinguished merit; the *second* was, that as property and the influence which accompanied it, were fluctuating, and as the dignity of the Peerage would be lost, if that power was supposed to exist elsewhere, it was necessary that it should be infused into the Peerage gradually as it arose;—the *third* was, that it placed a strong check in the hands of the Crown, and this was one of the checks against oligarchy, as others had been devised, by the constitution, against a pure monarchy, and an imperious democracy. Not one of those reasons, he said, could operate against the present restriction. If there were those, who, on the first ground, hoped for the reward of their merits; it would, surely, not be long to wait until the Sovereign had recovered, or until his recovery were more removed from expectation. With respect to the *second* cause, the fluctuation of property; if those, he said, who were understood to be the advisers of the Regent, could

even contradict all their own presages, concerning the revenue and commerce of these kingdoms; it did not therefore follow, that such a change was to take place, either in the landed or commercial interests, as to make a speedy creation requisite within the limits of the proposed delay! On the third ground, he was convinced, that the objection would be looked on as of greater weight. It would be urged, that there was at present a predominant opinion, on certain questions, in the Upper House, which might impede the Executive Government under the authority of the Regent.—But when the remedy to this was examined—when it was seen, that persons must, therefore, be infused into the Peerage, whose opinions the Sovereign, on his recovery, might wish to reject; the inconveniences must then be weighed against each other, and the whole became a matter of conjecture and opinion. He knew that rumours had been spread abroad, that there existed at present a dangerous cabal, a conspiracy, whose aim it was to preserve the powers which they had obtained in defiance of the claims of the Heir Apparent. But when the rank of the Peerage, and their stake in the general interest was considered, he trusted, that it could not be thought, that their prepossession would lead them to oppose any fair or necessary measure, or that they would risk their reputation to *bring in* any set of Ministers. If they should obstruct the Executive Authority in the beginning, they certainly would not, after an interval of experiment, and when the King's recovery might become less probable.—At all events, the remedy was reserved in their own hands, and the House of Commons could, at any time, resolve that the cause of the restriction had lost its force, and the measure its necessity.

He said, he meant to make no professions, but he desired what he was going to say, might be considered as the test of his future conduct; he then declared, that he should not be found an opposer of the just and wise measures of the new Government, which would remain to be discussed hereafter. He urged a great variety of other arguments in proof, that the withholding the power of making Peers for a time, was what they owed to the real interests of the country, and the true Sovereign; that it could not prove prejudicial to the Regent's Government, and that, if it should turn out so, they would have the remedy in their own hands, a principle which coupled with that, of doing nothing beyond the real necessity of the case.

Having repeatedly laid a stress upon this, he said, that upon the first view, the principles he had laid down might be supposed not to confine themselves merely to one branch of the Legislature, and it might be contended, that, as the present House of Commons had proved themselves so loyal to their Sovereign, and attentive to the interests of his people; that his Majesty would be
happy

happy to receive the congratulations of the same House of Commons on his recovery; but a little more consideration would shew that, that would be reserving from the people an opportunity, perhaps, of shewing the sense of the conduct of their representatives, and there could be no danger to the Sovereign in sending them back to their constituents, if the Regent should deem it wise or proper so to do; especially to a people whose loyalty had been so conspicuously manifested by the general and heartfelt sorrow expressed throughout the kingdom, in consequence of his Majesty's melancholy situation and illness.

After fully dilating on the second Resolution, he read the third; which was a restriction, *preventing the Regent from allowing any grant, patent-place, reversion, or annuity for life, except in particular unavoidable cases, such as to Judges, &c.* As this Resolution ran so much upon the principle of the preceding one, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, it was unnecessary for him to go into farther explanation of it.

The fourth Resolution was for the purpose of preventing the Regent from any controul over the real or personal property of his Majesty.

With respect to the real property of the Crown, Mr. Pitt admitted, that it could be little endangered, as, by an Act of Queen Anne, it could be lett but on very short leases. The personal property also, which had been so often mentioned, but with the amount of which he professed himself totally unacquainted, was introduced into this Resolution, only because the old law-books stated, that the personal property of the King was held *jure Coronæ*, "in right of the Crown," on which ground the Prince might possibly be deemed entitled to it, in virtue of the first Resolution.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he scarcely thought it necessary to pass this Resolution, as it was not probable his Royal Highness should interfere with his Majesty's personal property in his lifetime; but, as they were acting upon parliamentary principles, he thought it his duty to submit it to the Committee.

The last Resolution would be for entrusting the care of the Royal Person during his Majesty's illness, where, of course, all men would be unanimous in agreeing, the Royal Person ought to be placed, in the guardianship of the Queen; and, with this trust, his intention was to propose to put the whole of his Majesty's Household under the authority of her Majesty, investing her with full powers to dismiss, appoint, &c. as she should think proper.

Without being invested with this controul, he imagined the Queen could not discharge the important trust committed to her care. He spoke of the Officers of high rank in the Household, which, though their places were worthy the ambition of men of the first rank and

and family in the kingdom, were, nevertheless, only the first menial servants of his Majesty, and actually necessary to direct and superintend the greatest part of his Majesty's Household.

He stated that these Officers, such as the Master of the Horse, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward, &c. were, by many, thought high Officers of State, but the fact was otherwise; they were the menial servants of the Crown, and essential to its dignity and splendour. He argued against new modelling the Royal Household under the present circumstances, and spoke of the anxiety and pain it must give his Majesty, to find all those whom he had chosen to be about his Royal Person discharged. Possibly his Majesty's illness might continue but a few months, perhaps a few weeks; in such a situation, would it, he asked, be delicate and respectful to make a change? Those, who were Lords of the Bedchamber, he admitted, did no great duty at present, but the Equerries did. He owned, that this part of the arrangement was a matter of some difficulty; but when he considered what his Majesty would feel, when he waked from his trance of reason, and asked for those attendants, and was told, that his subjects had taken advantage of his momentary absence of mind, and changed them; he flattered himself no Gentleman would object to such a mark of attention being paid to his Majesty. Mr. Pitt combated, even with violence, the idea, that those noble Lords, with their known purity, and acting in the eye of the public, should attempt to impede the Executive Government, or should form even a neutral body to act from any other impulse than their own conscious propriety. The Regent, it was true, he said, was different from the King, but, at the same time, the Regent ought to have a retinue adequate to the importance, and the high rank of his station; and he meant to move, that he should have such a retinue which would, unquestionably, be some increase of expence to the country; but, as it was unavoidably necessary to appoint a Regent, it was equally necessary to maintain the dignity of the character, and Gentlemen would not, he conceived, grudge a little expence on such an occasion. He recurred again to the power to be lodged in the hands of the Queen, and urged the necessity of considering the rank of the King, the rank of the Prince of Wales, and the rank of the Queen, who was consort of the Sovereign, and mother of the Regent; it was not to be supposed, therefore, that the influence arising from the patronage held by the Queen, would operate to the detriment of the Regent's Government; in his opinion, to conceive as much, would be equally indecent and improper. On the grounds that he had mentioned, he moved,

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee, that for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the King's Royal Authority, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, in such
“ manner,

“ manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances of
 “ the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require ; it is ex-
 “ pedient that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being
 “ resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and
 “ administer the Royal Authority, according to the laws and
 “ constitution of Great Britain, in the name, and on the behalf
 “ of his Majesty, under the style and title of REGENT of the
 “ kingdom ; and to use, execute, and perform in the name, and
 “ on the behalf of his Majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts
 “ of government, and administration of the same, which belong
 “ to the King of this realm, to use, execute, and perform ac-
 “ cording to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and ex-
 “ ceptions as shall be provided.”

The Clerk read all the Resolutions ; when he came to the last, it stated that her Majesty was to have a Council, upon which the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose again, and said, that he had not entered fully into an explanation of the last Resolution ; because, although he had considered it as his duty to state it to the Committee, he meant it to be considered as a separate and distinct object, and so to be, at a fit opportunity, debated and discussed. He would just farther say, that it had occurred to him, that in cases of difficulty and embarrassment, on a subject of so delicate a nature, it might be a comfort to her Majesty's mind, to have a Council to consult, but it was merely intended to be a *Council of advice*, not a *Council of controul*.

The Chairman then read the first motion in form ;

Mr. Powys rose immediately and said, he could not withstand seizing on the earliest moment, to resist the whole system opened by the Right Hon. Gentleman, as a monstrous fabric, tending to mutilate and dismember the constitutional authority of the Crown.

When the Committee of Enquiry, of which he was an unworthy member, first sat, he knew all that was necessary for him to know of his Majesty's situation, viz. that he was incapable of meeting his Parliament, or attending to public business ; that, lamentable as his situation was, it was nevertheless accompanied with the hope of his probable recovery, the time of that recovery was, however, declared to be uncertain.

What was then the next proceeding ? They had voted a Resolution, that it was their duty to preserve the Royal Authority whole and entire. What were they now called upon to perform ? To dissolve, separate, and parcel out that Royal authority, that they had solemnly resolved to preserve whole and entire. What was the Constitutional Authority of the Crown ? He took it to be an assemblage of all the duties of the Kingly office defined by statute. When, and to which of the three estates was assigned the power of bestowing honours ? To the Crown, and that power of
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the Crown, was derived from the same source, from whence that House derived its power. It was an integral part of the power of the people; the moment they took from the Crown the power of bestowing honours; it, therefore, was no longer the Constitution framed by our ancestors.

He was told the political character of the King was entire; good God! was not the political character of the Crown entire! Was it necessary that Government should be new modelled? Were the regal Rights inherent in the person of the King, or were they annexed to the office?

He had heard in another place, that there was an infirmity in human nature, which naturally attached itself to power; the person who said so, was, no doubt, convinced of its truth; but was that infirmity confined to Princes? Was there any thing in the conduct of the *Heir Apparent*, that warranted a suspicion of his labouring under such an infirmity? Those who harboured a suspicion were bound to prove it. Had he acted improperly during his father's illness? Had he ever attempted by intrigues or cabal, to wrest the sceptre from the hand of his father? Had he been guilty of high treason? It was not, Mr. Powys said, consistent with the liberality of the Right Hon. Gentleman, to judge of a man's conduct, in a situation in which he had never been placed.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, there might be bad advisers of the Regent; might there not be bad advisers of the Queen? This country would look at their actions with peculiar jealousy. The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, when the new Government came in, they would have able leaders. Let those who were without offence cast the first stone! But was there no energy left in that House to censure Ministers, and controul their conduct? He flattered himself they should still be competent to grapple with all ill advisers.

In the Resolutions, if there were any thing plausible, and at first sight reasonable, it was in the third Resolution, containing the Restrictions against granting offices, patent places, and pensions; but it all proceeded on the mistaken notion that they were private property; that part of the Prerogative, which was the property of the Crown, he always had considered, and should consider, as part of the public revenue. Were none of the King's Household the political servants of the Crown; and had not the Right Hon. Gentleman declared, that the Regent should have the appointment of his political servants? Did the Hon. Gentleman know how many Members of that House, and how many of the other were on the establishment of the Royal Household? And was that to secure to the King the safety of his Crown against the ambition of the Regent, and his ill-advisers? Why would they vest one power in the Regent and not another; did they suppose that the Regent would abuse it? Did they really

feel that to be the case? Had they not some other object in view? There could be no argument for curtailing the Prerogatives of the Regent, that would not apply to the exclusion of the Heir Apparent from the Regency. If that was the object, let Gentlemen go to it explicitly, and in a manly way, and not in the narrow, mysterious, crooked, mischievous manner they were pursuing!

Mr. Powys read an extract from a political pamphlet, in this part of his speech, which he thought applicable to his argument, and then called on the Committee, not to set up that paralytical power which they were about to establish. The Resolution he charged with being like to excite feuds and animosities, not only in the kingdom, but in the Royal Family, and to arm *mother* against *son*. Was that the way to add energy—to add vigour to the Government? By all this, he must ask, however, what good was to be gained? They were to accept of a present *incapacity* of Government, in the hope of a future *excess* of power. They were to range in the twilight with contentment, in expectation of a superflux of light, when other *planets*, besides the *solar* Royalty, should bless them with their rays! For his part, he loved not either this weakness, or the excess of power. He disliked these ebbs and flows of the Constitution.

Mr. Powys reminded Mr. Pitt, that he had formerly fought under his banners, and fought with success; when he thought, in order to preserve a distant branch of the Government, an attempt was made to introduce a fourth estate, grounded on a wound at the very vitals of the Constitution. He declared, he considered the present system to be equally destructive to the Constitution; and, as he did not want to parcel out any of the Prerogatives of the Crown, at the will of an individual, he would move an amendment. The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, he went by precedent, but the precedents he had quoted, told against him. Mr. Powys said, he would establish himself upon precedent, upon the statutes themselves. The extent of power to be given now, ought to be the same as given in former statutes, and, therefore, he would give those words of the statutes. Mr. Powys accordingly referred to the statutes, and moved his amendment in these words:

To leave out from (illness) in order to insert,

“ And preserving the Constitution of Great Britain undisturbed, and the dignity and lustre of the Crown unimpaired.
 “ His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales be appointed, during
 “ the present indisposition of his Majesty, and no longer, in the
 “ name of the King, and in his stead, to exercise and administer,
 “ according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, the
 “ regal power and government, under the style and title of Regent of the kingdom, and to use, execute, and perform all prerogatives
 “ rogatives

“rogatives, authorities, and acts of Government, which might have been lawfully used, executed, and performed, by the Regent and Council of Regency, constituted and appointed by an act of the 5th of his present Majesty, cap. 27.”

The Chairman having read the amendment proposed by Mr. Powys, Lord North presented himself on one side of the table, and Lord Belgrave on the other; but the Chairman deciding, by calling upon

Lord North. His Lordship began, with declaring, that he could not see what Gentleman had risen, he hoped, therefore, he had not risen improperly. He had heard his name called upon from the Chair, and, on that account, he had persisted in standing up.

It might appear disrespectful; it certainly was not pleasant, and was rather unusual, for any Member of that House to rise, with beginning to complain of any Resolutions, which had, on a former day, received the sanction of the House, and yet, on the present occasion, he felt a renewal of those apprehensions which he had stated himself to labour under, when, instead of proceeding to perform that single act of duty, which the necessity of the case alone required at their hands, they had taken a course, at once novel and dangerous, by establishing a precedent unknown before, of appointing a shadow, a fiction of law, instead of a real, useful, and rational representative of the third estate.

Did it become them, as Members of the House of Commons, in a moment like that, when the Royal negative, which the Constitution had invested in his Majesty, was suspended, to avail themselves of the temporary incapacity of the King, and to attack all the authorities of the Crown while it remained without a shield. When he talked of the Crown, and of the King, he meant to speak of both in that sense, and in that character, which the Hon. Gentleman who spoke before him (Mr. Powys) had distinctly defined. The measures they were now called upon to adopt, contradicted that wise maxim of our Constitution, *that the King never dies*; the King, in his individual and natural capacity, it was true, suffered a demise, but the political capacity of the Crown was, both by Law and the Constitution, always held to be whole and entire; and why was this maxim established, but for a plain and obvious reason?—to guard against, and prevent a fatal interregnum of imperial power. Ministers had contrived to produce that evil, which the Constitution had so wisely and so cautiously guarded against, and had devised the means of the political death of the Crown. Let them ask themselves, what constituted the kingly office? It consisted of duties and functions on the one hand, of rights and prerogatives on the other; neither of them granted to the King for his personal gratification and advantage, but wisely invested in the Crown, as the third estate, for the good and security of the whole. Separate these public

duties and prerogatives, suspend some, and parcel out others, and there existed that fatal interregnum, which the Constitution had forbidden.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had repeatedly told them, in the course of his speech, that they were to expect, that his Majesty's melancholy disorder would be but short, and that they were to consider themselves as providing for only a *temporary* suspension of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority; but let the Committee recollect, that notwithstanding the long and repeated examinations his Majesty's Physicians had undergone; notwithstanding those examinations had obviously been governed by the general and anxious wishes of the Committee, that they might learn, when they might expect the happy moment of his Majesty's restoration, to the full exercise of his authority; it had not been in the power of any one consulted, to give an idea of the probable time, when his Majesty's recovery would take place.

The Right Hon. Gentleman himself had admitted, that unless his Majesty's recovery did take place, the Resolutions he had proposed would not be proper. Undoubtedly they would not. If it was but for a moment, every man, who was a friend to the Constitution, must submit to such Resolutions with regret, because they went immediately to effect the fundamental principles of the Constitution. But if it were admitted, that the Resolutions would not be proper, in case his Majesty's recovery did not take place, he must beg leave to deny, that they were proper at all, under any circumstances, or in any possible case. Nor were they, in his mind, more necessary than they were proper. They were, in themselves, pernicious and dangerous, and must necessarily lead to the utmost confusion.

That House had resolved, that it was their Right and Duty to provide the means of supplying the defect in the personal exercise of the Royal Authority. What could that mean, more than that they were to provide for the interval of his Majesty's illness, by not suffering any advantage to be taken to despoil the Crown of its just and constitutional Rights? It was their duty to take care, that when his Majesty should be capable of re-assuming the Royal Functions, he should find them in as good a state as he left them in; undiminished, whole, and entire. Would any man venture to say, that this would be the case, if the Resolutions, the Right Hon. Gentleman had proposed, should be adopted by the Committee? Indisputably it would not—because the object of the Resolutions was to appoint a person to the regal office, and to separate from that office the Royal Authority.

What was the nature and extent of the Limitations and Restrictions specified in those Resolutions, containing the detail of the general idea stated in the preliminary Resolutions then under

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the consideration of the Committee. By the first of these Resolutions, the Regent was to be restrained from making Peers; a new and unconstitutional limitation of the Royal Authority! The Right Hon. Gentleman had relied pretty much on precedents and their analogy, when he had persuaded the House it was necessary to declare it to be their Right to provide for supplying the deficiency, occasioned by the suspension of the Royal Authority. Could the Right Hon. Gentleman produce any precedent, which, by the most distant analogy, or the most forced construction, could be brought to countenance the restraining the Regent from making Peers? His Lordship declared, he knew of no moment in which such a power had lain dormant in this country.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that this power could not be necessary to the Regent. The King possessed this power, because it was necessary; and the Right Hon. Gentleman had described it as the inherent Right of the Crown. It was, nevertheless, a public Right, and not a personal individual Right. It belonged to the Kingly office as one of the Royal Prerogatives, all of which were supposed to be necessary to the support of Government, and the good of the people governed. If the power of making Peers was necessary to a King, why was it not necessary in a Regent? In Kings, this power had been considered as the fountain of honour, and had been exercised often, to the general satisfaction of the people, as the reward of merit, and the incentive of public virtue. Why then should it be denied the Regent? His Majesty's ill-health, and the uncertainty of his recovery, would, of themselves, make the government of a Regent more precarious, more instable, than that of the Crown; which, from its nature, was permanent; and consequently more firm, more vigorous, and more effectual. Because then, the government of a Regent was naturally and unavoidably weaker than the Government of a King, was it to be made weaker still, by the imposition of unnecessary Limitations and Restrictions, tending to cramp, to embarrass, and enfeeble its powers and authority?

The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, a time might come, when it would probably be necessary to reconsider the business, and then, if his Majesty's recovery did not take place, they might remove the Restrictions now imposed on the Regent, and lessen the Limitations, or take them away altogether. That Parliament could revise, explain, and amend its own acts, was a truth, by no means new to that House; but why should the House create a necessity for such revision, explanation, and amendment, when the creating it would establish a dangerous precedent, and the avoiding it could lead to no sort of difficulty or inconvenience? The last Peerage Bill that was agitated, was

in the reign of George the First. At that time there were many men who deserved well of their country, and were fairly entitled to any honours in the power of the Crown to bestow; but George I. was then old and infirm; the Ministry, though a powerful party, composed of men of high character, great abilities, and great authority in the country, were imagined not to be much in the good graces of the Prince of Wales, the Heir Apparent to the Throne. They had reason to expect, therefore, that when the Prince of Wales came to the Crown, he would create so many new Peers, that their party would be outnumbered in the House of Lords; and thus they would be shut out from a reasonable chance of returning to power, in case it should, on the accession of the new King, be taken out of their hands. With a view to avert this evil, they proposed to limit the Peers to be created in future, and to restrain the Crown from ennobling more than a certain number of Commoners, from time to time. His Lordship said, these motives, he did not mean to assert, were the true motives, but they were those attributed to the Ministry at the time. The Bill in question was so clearly calculated to encrease the importance of the Peerage, that it was greedily grasped at by the Lords of all parties, although they pretty plainly saw the object that was meant by it. The Peers in opposition overlooked the political distinctions of the times, and were glad to lose sight of party in the promotion of a measure, the necessary end and effect of which must have been the exaltation of their own rank and authority in the Constitution. The Lords said, "this Bill may grow out of the secret policy of Ministers; it may be a job for them; but it is so plainly a job for us, that it is our interest to promote and embrace it;" and thence the Marquis of Buckingham, at that time in opposition, gladly undertook to introduce the Bill, and gave it all the support of his influence and abilities. It was carried, in consequence, by a high hand in the House of Lords; but when the Bill came down to the House of Commons, it met with a very different reception. The House felt the insult to themselves, and spurned at a Bill which went to set the other House above its balance in the Constitution. The Bill had been rejected in that House by a majority of *two hundred and sixty-nine*, a number, which his Lordship said, was apt to run in his head. [His Lordship alluded to an incident in his political life.] The House of Commons of that day considered the Bill as an Aristocratic measure, and they rejected it with indignation. In the present case, it might be ten, fifteen years, no body could say how long, they might be under a Regent. It behoved them, therefore, to be cautious how they proceeded. Were they sure, that when it should be thought necessary to take this among other Restrictions off, that they would have the ready concurrence of the

the other House? That House could do nothing legislatively without the concurrence of the House of Lords; and when the time should come, that the House should find it proper to take off the Restriction in question, and to declare, that they thought it no longer necessary, the House of Lords might say, "We beg your pardon, we think it is. We are too wise to part with what you were so unwise as not to withhold. We will not submit to be governed by the fancies of the House of Commons, we are aware of your capricious and changeable temper, but we do not move *arbitrio popularis auræ*. You once thought these restrictions necessary, we think them necessary still, we are aware of the value of what we have obtained, and it rests with us to judge, when it will be most fit to return it." Let Gentlemen, therefore, seriously consider of the future difficulty they might create, by abridging the Royal Prerogative, in so essential a particular, and if they were determined to impose the Restriction on the Regent, let them at least limit its duration, and put it out of the power of the other House to continue it in force, after the time, when it might appear no longer necessary to remain. His Lordship hinted, that it might be proper to date the existence of the Restriction from the 16th of January, and limit its duration to any future day, that to the wisdom of the Committee might seem proper.

The third Proposition, his Lordship said, was for preventing the Regent from granting patent places, offices for life, in reversion, &c. a proposition which he must oppose in the terms in which the Right Hon. Gentleman had conceived it. These sort of places, like the honours of the Peerage, were the proper rewards of merit, and such as the Regent, generally speaking, ought not to be restrained from granting. If any number of offices, which, before the first of November, were only offices held during pleasure, should, by the Regent, be converted into offices for life, or in reversion, his Lordship said, he should admit that such a power ought not to be exercised; because it would be a great diminution of the power of the Crown, which ought not to find itself in a worse state, than it was in before his Majesty's illness commenced, and no principle could establish that without contradicting the Constitution. But no man could say, that the same objection could be applied to the power of making Peers, because, if the Regent were allowed to exercise that prerogative, it would not, in the smallest degree, diminish the power of his Majesty to exercise the same authority, when he should be capable of re-assuming the reins of government.

His Lordship said, he would pass on to the fourth Resolution, which, if he understood it rightly, went only to restrain the Regent from interfering with such acquisitions of wealth or estate,

as from savings, or by any other means, his Majesty might have made personally, since his accession to the Throne. With regard to those, undoubtedly the Regent ought not to meddle with them; but the real property of the Crown was, in his consideration, the property of the public, lodged in the hands of the King for the public benefit. All property of the other description his Majesty might devise and dispose of by will, in like manner as any private gentleman could dispose of his unentailed private fortune.

The last Resolution was, undoubtedly, well worthy a serious and deliberate discussion, because it went to the disposal of a number of places in his Majesty's household, amounting to a vast deal of money out of the Civil List. For the disposal of places, of this description, to be submitted to the trust of any other person than the King himself, or the immediate Representative of the Crown, or for the exercise of so great a power deducible out of the Civil List revenues, to be separated from the other regal authorities, appeared to him to be an unconstitutional, an unprecedented, and a monstrous proposition. The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that a great part of the expences of his Majesty's household was under the pay or controul of the Master of the Horse, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Steward, and that, therefore, their remaining undisturbed in office was actually necessary to the regularity of the Royal household during the continuance of his Majesty's illness; and, that his Majesty's feelings might be much hurt, when, upon his recovery, he should find, that, during his unfortunate infirmity, his subjects had changed his household, and removed his domestics. His Lordship said, he did not wish to deprive his Majesty of his property, nor of his domestics; but could no other way be devised, by which proper attention could be paid to the King, without this vast patronage being vested in any other hands than those of the Regent? The Right Hon. Gentleman had declared, he found it a difficult thing to settle the interior of his Majesty's household, without giving the controul of it to the high and respectable character, to whom the care of the Royal Person was (and undoubtedly, in his opinion, ought) to be entrusted; and yet the Rt. Hon. Gentleman had found a way for the two Houses of Parliament to pass a law without the King, or a third Estate; and that, he must take leave to say, was a much more difficult thing. The Right Hon. Gentleman had, that day, also proposed to make a Regent, and to expect, from him, the duty and responsibility of a King; while he withheld from him the unrestrained exercise of the Royal Authority. Was it possible, then, for the Right Hon. Gentleman to feel any embarrassment in the disposal of the Grooms of the Bedchamber? This reminded him, of the extraordinary powers of an extraordinary order of beings,
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of whom they had all heard, when they were young. His Lordship said, he alluded to witches, and the potent faculties that were attributed to them. They were supposed to be capable of riding through the air on broomsticks, of blasting the most fertile fields, of destroying corn and cattle, and of persecuting their enemies, and killing people at a distance by a thousand ways; and yet, great and preternatural as the power of these witches was pretended to be, he had been told, when a boy, that all their efforts were vain, and all their arts defeated, by the simple circumstance of two straws being put across each other. Do this, and the power of the witch was at an end. Could not, therefore, the Right Hon. Gentleman get over his difficulty? Could he pass laws without a third Estate? Could he form a pageant, and invest it with the Royal Authority? Could he appoint a Regent, and despoil him of regal power? Could he make a King and no King, and yet, was the provision for dispensing with the patronage of appointing the Grooms of the Bedchamber, so difficult, so arduous, so insurmountable, that his invention, his power, his ingenuity, all left him, and he was forced to confess himself incapable? His Lordship said, he was persuaded, if the Right Hon. Gentleman would deem it worthy his endeavours, he would easily surmount this lesser difficulty, after having got over difficulties, that, to his understanding, appeared to have been so much more formidable.

The Right Hon. Gentleman, he observed, had told them, that the Lords of the Bedchamber were formerly intimately connected with the interior of the King's Household, and in the strict sense of the words, domestics of the Sovereign. This might have been the case in George the Second's time; but they all knew, that Lords of the Bedchamber had been *otherwise* employed of late years. They, as well as the higher household officers, were the political servants of the Crown; not appointed for the domestic comfort of the Sovereign, but for his public pomp, and annexed to his retinue, as a part of the pageantry of the Crown.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had assured them, that the patronage to be withheld from the Regent, under this Resolution, would not be abused, and had desired his profession, that *he* would not take part in any factious opposition to the government of the Regency, might be considered as the test of his future conduct. That the exalted Personage, in whose hands this enormous Patronage was to be nominally lodged, would not abuse it, his Lordship said, he was willing to believe, but when he considered, that there was to be a Council to advise her Majesty, he was not quite sure that advice would always be pure and free from the influence of a spirit of factious opposition. He had not, his Lordship said, that nice gift of sight, by which he

could tell, at the first view of a person's countenance, the sincerity of his intentions, but though he had lost his sight, he had not lost his sense of hearing. He had heard the Right Hon. Gentleman's profession of what he desired to be considered, as the test of his future conduct, but the Committee well knew, it was not parliamentary, to rely on the professions of an individual; when a great public measure was under consideration they ought to govern themselves by public principles, and not by personal confidence.

His Lordship remonstrated against withholding so great a part of the Prerogative of the Crown from the person who was best entitled to expect to be entrusted with the exercise of the Royal Authority, during the incapacity of the Sovereign. The Right Hon. Gentleman had denied, that there existed a right in the Heir Apparent to assume the exercise of the Royal Authority, but they had all heard it was admitted to be such an irresistible claim, as could not be rejected without injustice and without violence. What was it then, to which his Royal Highness had such an irresistible claim, that he could not be deprived of, but for reasons strong enough to justify a Bill of Exclusion? It could be no new constitution; it was a claim, he supposed, to something that had existed before. It was not a right to sustain a burthen, to submit to the performance of all the duties, without enjoying all the prerogatives of a King. No restrictions ought, therefore, to be imposed on the Regent; but if any Restrictions were adopted, they ought to be dated from the 16th of January, and be confined to a limited duration. He conjured the Committee to have recourse to their constitutional ideas, and if, during the temporary suspension of the King's personal capacity to exercise the Royal Authority, it was their duty to provide for that defect in the constitution; let them be governed by the necessity of the case, and not exceed its limits. Let them provide, that the people should have a good government: and when they had done that, they would have done all that they owed to themselves, to the people, and so good a Sovereign as his Majesty: to do more, would be a most dangerous experiment. During the continuance of that melancholy malady, with which the King was afflicted, and the bare recollection of which made every man's heart bleed, the people had a right to expect, that they should be well governed. Let it not be said, then, that for fear the Regent should change a Ministry, they were willing to change the Constitution. Let them not be captivated with every light and airy fancy of political speculatists, but let them adhere to what they knew, from experience, to be solid and secure. If they adopted the project suggested by the Right Hon. Gentleman, they would act contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and contrary to the principles of the Constitution.

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His Lordship said, there was no institution of their ancestors, which might not be changed on the suggestion of wanton caprice and loose fancy, if they once gave way, upon so great a point. If they were prevailed on, there was nothing safe, since, upon the same principle that they were now called upon to sacrifice what had been, for above a century, found agreeable to the wishes and taste of the people, they might be desired to alter every institution, the most useful and the most salutary. Let them learn to dread the change of their Constitution, from the mischief that had followed from such a circumstance in other countries.

Spain owed the loss of her Constitution to the complaisance of the *Cortes*; had not their fatal pliability taken place, Spain would have remained free. The foundation was also laid for the ruin of the liberties of Rome, by innovating upon her Constitution. They all knew that Rome owed her freedom and greatness to being under the government of persons annually elected to office, and her victories to short commands. When war was made, or peace proclaimed, in the best times of the Commonwealth, it was done by the Consul or Pro-consul, who headed the Roman armies, and conducted them to the field; but when great men came in fashion, they did all themselves; thus, when Sertorius was in rebellion against the Republic in Spain, and Mithridates in arms in Asia, the Mediterranean infested with pirates, and Rome threatened with a scarcity of corn, Lucullus was recalled, and Pompey invested with the command, and with the conduct of the war; nothing would at that time go down with the Roman people but Pompey; Pompey, it was true, subdued Sertorius, reduced the Mithridates, scattered the pirates, and brought grain to Rome; but by the Commonwealth's departure from the established principles of the Roman Constitution, the Constitution of Rome was undermined. Short Commands were abolished, Cæsar was put at the head of the legions for five years, and his command was prolonged for five years more. Cæsar was undoubtedly a general, but this relaxation of the laws in his favour, and similar acts of complaisance to other great men, put an end to the liberties of the Republic, and gave Rome a master. His Lordship declared he trembled for his country, if the Resolutions were adopted. If they thought any advantage could repay the violation of the Constitution, and acted upon that principle, that principle would be their ruin. He should not, he said, himself probably live to see the fatal effects that might follow, but his posterity would, and there were gentlemen, who sat there, that might one day present, in the bitterness of affliction, the wreck of public freedom, that would follow in consequence of the liberty they had that day suffered to be taken with the landmarks of the Constitution!

Lord

Lord Belgrave rose after Lord North, but it is utterly impossible to follow his Lordship regularly, the Committee happening to be rather in a state of disorder while his Lordship was on his legs. We understood his Lordship to assert, that vesting all the Royal Prerogatives in the Regent, would be to trust too much power in one person's hands during the life-time of the Sovereign. He reasoned a good deal on the Report then upon the table, and upon the competition that had been set up between the skill of Dr. Warren and Dr. Willis. He said, he would not follow the example of others, *et converso*, and say, that Dr. Warren was an improper or a dangerous man to be about his Majesty, because he thought Dr. Willis was not an improper nor a dangerous person to be so employed. He would not take upon him to decide upon the comparative merits of the Physicians, but he was persuaded that if any unprejudiced man were carefully to peruse the Report, he would pronounce the result of it to be, that the probability of his Majesty's recovery was declared to be increased, since the preceding examination of the Physicians who attended him. Lord Belgrave said, the Queen was universally beloved and adored, and that the whole of her conduct, during his Majesty's illness, had been so exemplarily tender, and affectionate, that it must encrease the veneration and regard which all ranks of people entertained for her. His Lordship strenuously maintained the political integrity of the King's character, and said, if that were taken away, or considered as suspended, the Constitution would be highly endangered. He urged, the propriety of securing the Rights of the Crown, and not trusting them to the hazard of events.

He professed a sincere esteem for the Prince of Wales, and declared, he had an implicit confidence in the virtues of his Royal Highness; but in a case like the present, when they were establishing a precedent, and providing an example, as it were, for posterity, they could not proceed with too much caution. There might, hereafter, exist an Heir Apparent, who, equally deaf to the ties of nature, and regardless of the interests of the people, might connect himself with a desperate faction, and, forgetting what was due to his own character, and his exalted station, might afford the nation a melancholy prospect of what they were to expect when he came into power. God forbid, he said, that such an one should exist; but as the transactions of the times would, doubtless, form an important æra in our history, it was their duty to guard against the possible danger of the Regent being surrounded by ill-advisers, and his mind warped by the councils of an unprincipled faction, who had once already made a violent attack on the constitution of their country. His Lordship passed the highest encomiums on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, observing, that when the just and lawful prerogatives

tives of the Crown were in danger, his Right Hon. Friend had manfully stood forth to defend them; and on the recent occasion of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority being suspended, when the liberties of the people were threatened by a declaration of a Right in the Heir Apparent, to assume the exercise of the Royal Authority (a Right that they had resolved could exist, constitutionally, only in the person to whom that and the other House of Parliament should delegate it) his Right Hon. Friend had, with equal spirit, denied the existence of the Right asserted to exist in the Heir Apparent, and after putting the assertion and denial at issue, had obtained a Parliamentary declaration in favour of the people. His Lordship wrought up his panegyric to a climax, repeated his profession of love and respect for the Prince of Wales, and for the Constitution of the country; and after a quotation, in Greek, from the Orations of Demosthenes, concluded with declaring, that he should vote for the Resolutions, as he highly approved of the system which they tended to establish.

Mr. Sheridan began a most pointed, ingenious, witty, and powerfully argumentative speech, with declaring, that he meant not to copy the example of the noble Lord; he rose neither to congratulate the majority, nor condole with the minority, on any former vote of that House, which the noble Lord had extolled as an act of spirit; if the assertion were true, and the fact was, that the vote the House had last come to, had been an act of *spirit*, he hoped they would now proceed to an act of *justice*. He declared, he would not attempt to deprive his Lordship's Right Hon. friend of the character he had bestowed upon him, whether taken from Roman or selected from Greek writers. As to his Lordship's Greek quotation, he lamented that it was rather inapplicable to his purpose, if he meant in its allusion to compliment the Minister. The noble Lord had misapplied the line he had quoted from Demosthenes, who had meant to reproach the Athenians for wasting that time, which they should have spent in effectually opposing their enemy, in fruitless enquiries and examinations of physicians, from the wish of learning an unfavourable opinion of his health; he hoped that was not a very applicable case on the present occasion, and that the enquiries had not been carried on with that view.

He would not, he said, go much at large into the Report then upon the table, though he could not pass by the representations the Right Hon. Gentleman had made of the answers and opinions of the physicians; the Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that the physicians had all agreed, that his Majesty's cure was probable, that he was better, and that there were more or less signs of his recovery. *That* he positively denied; the Right Hon. Gentleman had not quoted the Report, and he would not do it,
but

but he asserted, that the physicians did not all of them state, that there were signs of his Majesty's recovery. Dr. Willis, indeed, did state it, and there was something of the same sort said by Sir Lucas Pepys, but the other physicians declared the express contrary to be their opinion.

Mr. Sheridan took notice of the manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken of Dr. Warren, and charged him with having indirectly endeavoured to attack Dr. Warren's character; the noble Lord who spoke last, had also, he said, followed the Right Hon. Gentleman's example, and in a way peculiarly injurious insinuated to the prejudice of Dr. Warren. On occasions like the present, Mr. Sheridan said, "it was ridiculous to stand upon idle ceremonies, and trifling etiquettes; he would speak out and say, that if there was a witness, who appeared to give prevaricating and evasive answers, that witness was Dr. Willis. In order to see whether he was right or wrong in this assertion, let Gentlemen look fairly to the Reports, and then decide. The Right Hon. Gentleman, when talking of the endeavours to puzzle and mislead Dr. Willis, and perplex the simplicity and plainness of his nature, had looked towards him, as if he meant to allude to his cross-examination of that physician in the Committee above stairs. He knew not that it was either parliamentary or proper, to make what passed in Select Committees above stairs, the subject of allusion in that House; but if the minutes of the Committee were before the House, they would see, that he had cross-examined Dr. Willis, with a view to put his credibility to the test; in consequence of a learned friend of the Right Hon. Gentleman, then in his place, having cross-examined Dr. Warren, expressly, as he had himself declared, for the purpose of impeaching Dr. Warren's credibility.

He argued the different answers given by Dr. Willis at different times, and charged them with various contradictions. When he heard Dr. Willis at one time asserting, that the accounts sent to St. James's did not convey a true state of his Majesty's health, but were considered by him as prescriptions for the public to swallow, and when at another he heard him admit them to be statements of facts, and found from the examination of the other physicians, that no such conversation had passed as Dr. Willis had stated to have passed, was he not necessarily staggered, and inclined to think Dr. Willis a loose and random speaker? When he heard Dr. Willis attribute his Majesty's illness to seven-and-twenty years of extreme study, abstinence and labour, and declare that his Majesty was recovering; assigning as a reason that the physic he had that day given him, had produced the desired effect; what must he think of Dr. Willis, when he heard him assert that his physic could in one day, over-

come the effects of seven-and-twenty years hard exercise, seven-and-twenty years study, and seven-and-twenty years abstinence, it was impossible for him to keep the gravity fit for the subject. Such assertions put him in mind of those nostrums that were to cure this and that; *and also disappointments in love, and long sea voyages.*

He did not, Mr. Sheridan said, impute Dr. Willis's answer to any intention to deceive, but when he heard him roundly declare, what every other of his Majesty's physicians pronounced it impossible to speak to, he must assert that Dr. Willis was a very hasty decider. Having dismissed this part of his argument, Mr. Sheridan proceeded to animadvert on other parts of the Right Hon. Gentleman's speech, and declared he did not wonder, that in speaking of one person whom the Right Hon. Gentleman had thought fit to introduce, he chose to appeal to the feelings, rather than the judgment of the House. That Gentleman, he said, indelicately endeavoured to introduce the name of the Queen, and to provoke the discussion of a subject, that he trusted the delicacy of the House would disappoint him in; and that on that score the House would leave him content with having negatived what had never been affirmed. The dutiful conduct and domestic virtues of that royal person, never had been called in question; he hoped, therefore, they should avoid the discussion, as a matter equally unnecessary and indecent, and when the Right Hon. Gentleman talked of delicacy on the subject, he wished him to reflect on his own conduct in the Committee. Those who would give responsibility to the Queen, those who would take her out of that private and domestic station, in which she had conducted herself so amiably and irreproachably, who would presume to place her in any other station; those, Mr. Sheridan said, were the persons who tear the veil of female delicacy away, and make her, instead of being an object of domestic pity, act incompatible with the duties she owes her royal consort, and unbecoming her feelings. Those, he repeated, were the persons who manifested a want of delicacy, and a want of attention, to the character and comfort of the royal person in question.

With regard to the feeble preference to the Prince's claim, which the Right Hon. Gentleman had admitted, it appeared from the Right Hon. Gentleman's conduct, as if his concurrence with it, was extorted from him by the opinion of the public. The plain question was, what were the motives that induced the Right Hon. Gentleman to refuse the full powers of the Crown, to the person who was to act as its representative? What, but an intention to tie up the hands of Ministers, at a time when they would be most in need of unrestrained authority.

It would not, he believed, be denied, that a Government by a Regent, must necessarily be more weak than a Government carried on by the Crown itself; and that consequently it required every possible degree of additional aid and assistance; but by the line proposed, it was signified to all foreign powers, that they were divided among themselves, and that there did not exist that harmony of heart, and unanimity, so necessary to exist at that crisis.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had resorted to precedents in support of his arguments of that day, but the whole line of precedents he meant to follow, made directly against the inference he meant to draw from it. By the mode the Right Hon. Gentleman had adopted, the balance of the Crown was destroyed, and as far as the balance of the Constitution was concerned, that was destroyed also. Did the Regency bills, referred to by the Right Hon. Gentleman, proceed upon the supposition that the minor could never be of age? Most certainly they did not, nor were the powers of the prerogative withheld. They were all given, not into the hands of one person indeed, but into the hands of many. Mr. Sheridan stated, that at that time (in the reign of George the Second) the Prince of Wales was thirteen, and he was by the Regency bill declared to be of full age at eighteen, and the King was at that time alive and in good health. He reasoned upon these facts, and shewed, that the utmost time the Prince could in that case have been a minor, was five years, and that the probability was, that he would have remained so when he came to the Crown more than two or three years. Towards the latter end of the Right Hon. Gentleman's speech, he said, the true motive of the Right Hon. Gentleman's conduct had manifested itself; he had, on a former day, adverted to it, but not that day, except in the part of his speech to which he then alluded, and that was his belief, that the Regent would change the Administration, and that the Government would fall into the hands of those whom the Right Hon. Gentleman had dared to assert, had been convicted of a confederacy to overturn the Constitution. That was the real spring of all the Right Hon. Gentleman's measures respecting the Regency. If the present Ministers had been intended to have been kept, the limitations, he verily believed, would never have been heard of. The whole of the Right Hon. Gentleman's conduct was, confessedly, governed by party considerations, and by the impulse of his own personal ambition.

The Right Hon. Gentleman talked of the evil advisers the Regent might possibly have about him; was there, in fact, any real cause to dread such a circumstance? If that were the case, might he not ask with the Hon. Gentleman near him (Mr. Powys) was there not vigour enough left in that House, to crush
any

any attempts of abuse of authority, to call bad Ministers to a severe account, and to address the Regent to remove them from his councils. The Right Hon. Gentleman had more than once wantonly attacked that side of the House, as containing a political party; he made no scruple to declare, that he thought it the glory and honour of his life to belong to that party; he, who ~~knew~~ the character of that party, knew that it was an honour any man might covet, to belong to it. Was it a disgrace to have been formed under the Marquis of Rockingham, and under his banners to have combated on behalf of the people with success? Was it a disgrace to be connected with the Duke of Portland, a nobleman who, swayed by no mean motives of interest, nor influenced by any ambitious designs to grasp at power, nor with a view to any other purpose than the welfare of the Country, dedicated his mornings unremittingly to the promotion of the public good? Mr. Sheridan spoke also of his Right Hon. Friend near him, as an individual, whom no man knew, without immediately becoming astonished at the extent of his mind, and the keenness of his understanding, enamoured with his virtues, and attached to him from principle. He said, it was the pride and glory of his life, to enjoy the happiness and honour of his friendship; and asked, if the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox, were the less worthy of the confidence of their country, or more unfit to be Ministers; because an arrogant individual chose presumptuously to load them with calumny.

Were he an independant man, standing aloof from party, and wholly unconnected with it, he could not, with patience, hear the Right Hon. Gentleman's insulting language; but as a party man, boasting himself to be one, how did the Right Honourable Gentleman imagine, he should receive his reflections but with that scorn and disdain, which became a man, conscious of the worth and value of those, with whom he was connected? He reminded the Right Hon. Gentleman, that after that confederacy, whom he had so grossly calumniated, had, among other of their iniquitous proceedings, passed their India bill, and after they had formed their coalition, that Right Hon. Gentleman was ready enough to have joined the confederacy; and a treaty, as the House well knew, had been then set on foot, but the negotiation was not concluded.

He declared, he did not believe the Right Hon. Gentleman was in earnest, he would not injure him so much as to believe him to be in earnest, when he talked of the damages to be dreaded from the evil advisers of the Regent, as to the abuse of the exercise of the powers of creating Peers.

Mr. Sheridan commented on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument, on the subject of creating Peers, with some pleasantry, declaring, he had never before heard, that the com-

merce of the country had swelled to such a pitch, that therefore it became necessary to add to the number of the Peerage; and that another reason was, the prevention of a faction, in the House of Lords, against the Crown. The Right Hon. Gentleman had, he said, made no less than forty-eight Peers in the five years that he had been the Minister, and that yet he had never heard of any faction having been likely to have taken place in that branch of the Legislature. After putting this pointedly, Mr. Sheridan took notice of the Right Hon. Gentleman's having said, he desired it to be considered as a test of his future conduct, and not as a profession, when he declared, that he would not oppose the measures of his successors in office, he desired the House to remark the manner in which that test had been worded, viz. that the Right Hon. Gentleman would not oppose any just or good measures of the new Ministry, which measures were *hereafter to be discussed*. Mr. Sheridan said, the declaration called to his mind a similar one of the Right Hon. Gentleman on a former occasion, which the Right Hon. Gentleman had not adhered to. He declared, he believed the Right Hon. Gentleman was sincere in his intention, though he had not what Dr. Willis declared *he* possessed, the gift of seeing the hearts by looking at mens' countenances. He remembered the Doctor at first told the Committee, "that he could thus see the heart of any man, whether he was sick or not," a declaration that had appeared particularly to have alarmed the Right Hon. Gentleman; that out of the question however, it was not parliamentary to trust to any Gentleman's profession; especially, where the grounds of faithfully adhering to those professions, was expressly left hereafter to be disputed.

He reprobated the idea of reserving the patronage of the royal household, and mentioned the Right Hon. Gentleman's having charged his Right Hon. Friend, (when on a former occasion he quitted office) with having left a fortress behind him. The charge was true, he admitted that his Right Hon. Friend had done so, but then like a coarse, clumsy workman, he had built his plan in open day, and retired with his friends, who served without pay, though their services had been long continued. Not so the Right Hon. Gentleman over the way; like a more crafty mason, he had collected his materials with greater caution, and worked them up with abundantly more art. Perhaps he had taken the advice of the noble Duke, famous for fortifications, and with the aid of that able engineer, had provided a corps of royal military artificers, and throw up impregnable ramparts to secure himself and his garrison. Mr. Sheridan was extremely sportive in this part of his speech. The ambition of the Right Hon. Gentleman would be highly gratified, when he could proclaim abroad, that he had the power of making Peers,

and

and of making and unmaking Kings. In this case, he could have no doubt, but the people would flock to the Right Hon. Gentleman's door, to have the banners displayed on his ramparts. The horse guards, the corps of artillery, and the chamberlain, should attend him, the officers of state should appear in his *suite*, whether to attend him to the capitol, or to hear the thunder of his eloquence without. Those, says he, who dare give the Queen advice to lend her name to the factious government of her son, and contrary to the interest of the Right Hon. Gentleman, shall be proscribed.

He seriously reprobated the person, whoever it might be, that had advised her Majesty to lend her name, to such a proposition as that, then made to the Committee; and declared, that take away the one ground of suspicion, of the bad advisers of the Regent, and the Right Hon. Gentleman had not produced a single argument in support of his system.

He described the power that the Ex-Minister would derive, from retaining the patronage of the King's household, and contended, that the pretext that his Majesty's feelings would be shocked, when he recovered and found his household changed, was ridiculous; he said, the bad advisers of the Regent were to be allowed the power of making war, peace, treaties, &c. and the exercise of various other important authorities.

To talk, therefore, of his Majesty's feelings, when he should recover and find his household changed, was to suppose that he would be less shocked to learn, that the Constitution of his country was changed, part of his dominions ceded to foreign powers, and other essential and important calamities and disgraces entailed on his country; which was like a man, who having been entrusted with the mansion-house of a person (during his incapacity) to take care of; should suffer it to go to ruin, and the winds of heaven to blow through almost every part of it, the enclosures to be broken down, the flocks of sheep to be shorn and exposed to the storms, and all left to ruin and decay, except a few looking-glasses and old worthless gilt lumber, that were locked up in an old-fashioned drawing-room. He said, he had lately heard much of the political capacity of a King, but had never heard that the political capacity of a Lord of the Bedchamber was so inseparably connected with his body natural, that if the former were extinct, the latter could not, without difficulty, be found, when his Majesty should recover, and call back his household officers.

He observed, that Ministers were desirous of making it a condition with the Regent, that they were to have no claim upon him, provided the Red Book remained as it stood at present; let the Court Kalendar continue unaltered, and the Prince of Wales might be Regent. Having put this pointedly, Mr. She-

ridan spoke again of the Minister's pretended regard for his Majesty's feelings, and asked the Right Hon. Gentleman, whether he thought his Majesty would not be hurt, when, upon his returning reason, he should know in what manner his sons, the Heir Apparent and the Duke of York, as well as the other Royal Dukes, had been treated by Ministers during his illness; especially after the gracious declarations they had all heard of in another place. He observed, that the Right Hon. Gentleman had admitted the restrictions to be evils, and had discussed them chiefly on the grounds of expediency; he combated them on that ground, and in the course of his argument, declared, he fully admitted the doctrine of the Lawyers, that the political capacity of the Monarch was whole and entire, but that he must contend, they were acting in direct opposition to that principle, and to what had originally made it a principle in our Constitution.

He said, he had no occasion to reason upon the question, it was enough to state his arguments; they were so evident, that they needed only to be heard to be admitted as if they were proved. After a great variety of sarcasms, and shrewd observations, Mr. Sheridan concluded with declaring, that when it should be known by the public, that the motive for such restrictions was no other, than because the Prince was going to have another set of men than those now in office, they would despise and detest the cunning and the craft, that dictated such a crooked, miserable proceeding!

The *Speaker* (*Mr. Grenville*) confessed, after the partiality the House had shewn for him, and the situation in which it had placed him, nothing could certainly induce him to remain silent on the subject before the Committee, if it was not of a nature the most interesting that ever attracted the notice of the nation.

With regard to the statute of George II. the moment the House found it had the authority, to provide for the deficiency in the executive branch, it also proceeded to legislate, as far as the necessity of public affairs required. When the Crown descended on the son of King James II. the Parliament met, not only to consider whether the King had forfeited his Crown, but whether, on the necessity of the case, they could transfer the Crown to whomsoever they thought the best entitled to it.

He insisted, that acting consonant to the propositions of the Right Hon. Gentleman (*Mr. Pitt*) the Houses acted constitutionally, and according to him acted under the calls of necessity, but without ever acknowledging any right in the persons whom they thought the best entitled to the election in similar cases. The throne, he insisted, was not vacant, but full; and therefore that King could not be deserted, to whom the House had sworn allegiance. In the history of the country, there was no instance

instance where the throne was full, that any subject was ever invested with the Royal Authority.

The Speaker, after combating, with much legal and constitutional doctrine, the arguments on the opposite side, concluded with declaring, he would give his hearty negative to the amendment.

Mr. Welbore Ellis insisted, that a greater question was never agitated within the walls of the House, than that at present before it. He wished that the House would adopt the principles of the Precedents selected from the time of the Revolution, as far as they were analogous.

The powers entrusted to the Crown, he observed, were entrusted by the people. If any visitation fell on the King, by which he was incapable of exercising those powers, Parliament was called on to restore those powers, as far as the necessity of the case required, and the powers of the Crown, to which the people are entitled, as springing originally from them, in case of incapacity in the King, could not be withheld.

Rewards, emoluments, and honours, he observed, are the principal instruments of government; for merits called out into action, should meet a suitable reward; but if you stop the source of royal munificence, and deprive the Prince of this part of his prerogative, you then, indeed

"Place a barren sceptre in his gripe."

It was a wise maxim, he said, which mentions, that the "*King can do no wrong*," and as long as that principle was admitted, he saw no dread of those abuses being committed by the Prince, which had been insinuated.

With regard to Peerages, he could not see, on the recovery of his Majesty, how he would be embarrassed to find a few deserving and loyal subjects raised to the dignity of the Peerage; and he confessed, that he saw no colour for any of the Right Hon. Gentleman's restrictions, except that which went to the limitation of granting reversions, which might harass his Majesty in case of recovery. He would therefore vote for his Hon. Friend's amendment.

th Colonel Fullarton insisted, that if the powers of the Sovereign, in his present lamentable situation, were to be withheld from the Prince, and that the Right Hon. Gentleman argued in favour of their remaining unoccupied and unproductive, he would repeat, as the Right Hon. Gentleman had the temerity to repeat to an Hon. Friend of his, on a former debate, that his (Mr. Pitt) arguments were *treason* against the State.

He wished to know, if the King's powers were to be considered as his wardrobe, and never to be worn but at the caprice

of the Sovereign? This was a proposition that no man would presume to support, for those powers are not lodged more in the person of the King for his good, than for the benefit of the country.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that every thing withheld from the Regent, was gained to the state. But he begged leave to differ, for the King is the legislative Sovereign, and the executive Magistrate, and the Constitution could not be safe, when one branch infringes or mutilates the other. He quoted Montesquieu in favour of his proposition, who asserts that "the Constitution of England is that instant in imminent danger, when the legislative power is suffered to violate the executive."

He next alluded to the case of Charles VI. of France, whose history he recommended the Right Hon. Gentleman to recollect. There he would find the Queen of that unhappy Monarch, under the influence of a Chancellor and his party, who were afraid they should lose their situations, if they did not prevail on her to combine in their artifices and intrigues against her son.—They were successful in their villainies, and they prevailed on the weak woman unnaturally to combine against the Prince; and for the purpose of depriving him of his rights, the Great Seal of Charles the Sixth was put to an instrument by the Chancellor for that purpose. The Prince being of course driven from his kingdom, and stript of all his powers by a wicked faction, had at length the good fortune of rescuing it, and under the character of Charles the Victorious, was afterwards the comfort and adoration of his people.

Colonel Fullarton excused himself for introducing any thing so unpopular as foreign history, but could not resist introducing a Precedent, amid the rage for ransacking old books, to prove what can never be justified against the Heir Apparent. He would therefore give his hearty suffrage for the amendment.

The question was then put on Mr. Powys's amendment, "that the words originally proposed, stand part of the question."

On a division, the numbers were,

Ayes	—	—	227
Noes	—	—	154

Majority against the amendment

73

The original question was then carried.

The question was afterwards put from the Chair, on the *second* Resolution, respecting the *restricted* creation of Peers.

On this a conversation of some length took place, in which, amongst others, Mr. Fox took a share; but as all strangers were then excluded, it is impossible to give it in detail.

A division

A division took place, on which the numbers were,

Ayes	—	—	216
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Noes	—	—	159
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Majority for the Resolution			57
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The consideration of the remaining Resolutions was postponed to Monday, on account of the lateness of the hour.

At half past two o'clock, the House adjourned to Monday.

MONDAY, JANUARY 19.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE REGENT.

THE *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the reading of the order of the day.

Mr. M. A. Taylor begged leave, before the order of the day was read, to observe, that rumours had gone abroad of the Prince of Wales having heard of the restrictions. The present Question was a Question of no common moment, but affected every thing dear to Englishmen; it went to the undermining the Constitution, and overthrowing the Government of this country; he, therefore, requested first to be informed, if his Majesty's Ministers had had the Resolutions communicated to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and his next question was, whether his Royal Highness had given any answer to such communication; if he had, *Mr. Taylor* said, he should move, that the papers be laid before the House, and the answers to them, previous to their proceeding any farther.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* doubted whether the Hon. Gentleman had any regular grounds to go upon, when he asked, if the confidential servants of the Crown had communicated with the Prince of Wales, upon a subject under discussion in the House of Commons? Or whether he could shew to whom the House could issue orders for the production of such papers?

Mr. Taylor conceived the Right Hon. Gentleman meant to say, that no ground had been laid before that House. He said, there could not be any, under the present circumstances. But it is very easy for the House to be put in possession of the sort of information necessary, as there was a Member in that House, who must have knowledge of such letters passing, if any had passed.

Communications ought to have been made to the Prince ; if they had not, the Cabinet had not done their duty ; and if they had, he thought it very singular, that they were refused to be produced to the House, which ought not to proceed without them.

Mr. Jolliffe said, the Right Hon. Gentleman owed such a communication to the House, who ought to be acquainted whether the Prince would, or would not, accept of the Regency under such and such terms ; it was but decent, he said, that the Right Hon. Gentleman should answer explicitly to the House.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the Hon. Gentleman (*Mr. Jolliffe*) had furnished him with a sufficient argument against giving any intimation of the kind. - It would certainly be not only very unparliamentary, but nothing could be so presumptuous and improper, as to say on what restrictions, or in what manner the Regency would be accepted, at the moment the House was deciding in what manner it should be given.

Mr. Jolliffe, in his own justification, said, that he conceived it would be deluding the House, if the Right Hon. Gentleman should propose such restrictions upon the Regency for them to adopt, that he knew his Royal Highness would not accept it upon.

The question on the order of the day was then put and agreed to, after which the House resolved into a Committee, *Brook Watson, Esq.* in the Chair.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* reminded the Committee, that the four Resolutions he had proposed, on a former night, being agreed to, it was necessary for him to venture again to trouble the Committee, by speaking more particularly than he had before done, to the fifth Resolution, which he should that day have the honour to propose for their consideration.

The foundation he had gone upon, for all the measures he had proposed, was, the exigency of the case ; they were bound to provide the means for the dispatch of public business, and for the discharge of the Executive Authority ; they were also equally bound to two other objects, the care of the Royal Person of his Majesty, and the preservation of his dignity, which ought to be inseparable from him during his present indisposition.

With a view to both, but especially the latter of these points, the last Resolution went. On the first he would but lightly dwell, conceiving that all must agree to the care of his Majesty's Person being entrusted to the Queen : he would not, he said, for a moment entertain an opinion, that to her guardianship there could exist the least objection ; he would not anticipate, because he did not believe the existence of a difference opinion on that subject ; he, therefore, thought it unnecessary and difficult to argue, as it appeared like arguing a proposition that was self-evident : for, under the character, under the virtues, and under the natural feelings

feelings of that great and amiable Personage, he was confident, that there would hardly be a heart in the country, that while it deplored the fatal and melancholy necessity that existed, would not, at the same moment, feel a considerable degree of support and alleviation, in the remembrance, that under such guardianship, with so much propriety and safety, might be entrusted the care of their Sovereign. He would say no more on that subject, feeling it not respectful to the Committee, to argue on a propriety of conduct so self-evident, until he should hear, if it was possible to be heard, an argument against the propriety of delegating such a trust.

The next point of the Resolution he should have to offer, and on which he presumed they might differ, was with regard to the powers given to the Queen, to discharge such trust on the one hand, and, on the other, to maintain the dignity of his Majesty's person. The Committee were to remember, that while they were delegating part of the Executive Authority to be exercised in the King's name, that they were bound to provide for the safety of their King, that it might appear, that they had not forgot that he was still their Sovereign; and that the Representatives of a faithful and loyal people, ought not to endeavour to deprive his Majesty, in his present melancholy situation, of that dignity, which he enjoyed at the moment of health.

On that ground he submitted the principle on which he went, contending that it was necessarily inseparable from her Majesty, in the care to be entrusted to her, to have the whole direction of all about the person of the King; the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse, could only be considered as the great leading parts of the several divisions of the Household; the only question then that could arise on the propriety of their being under the direction of the Queen were, whether the alteration of circumstances made it a fit thing, that any alteration should be made in the expence or duty of such officers, as would render it fit or decent for Parliament, in the present situation of his Majesty, which could be considered but temporary, and which all hoped might be short, to new-model his Household, and render it less suitable to his dignity? and whether the management of his Majesty's domestic affairs should still remain to be carried on, through the same hands as it had for some time been, or whether a new management was to be introduced during the present temporary interval?

The noble Lord opposite him, who could not help speaking with ingenuity, and who possessed much real information, but who, on a former day, had only displayed his ingenuity, and withheld his information, had told them of the ease with which those officers might be separated from the Household; but he had not told them how it was to be executed. He did not contend that

that it was impossible to be so. He would allow that means might be found to separate those officers from the Household; but he wished to ask this question, Whether it would be decent, at such a moment, whether it would become them, thus early, and with the well-grounded hopes of a recovery, to try the experiment, how far they might new model and limit his Majesty's Household? —He maintained, that it was not consistent with the affection of the people at such an anxious period, to be trying experiments, in order to introduce a new system. [Here a cry of *hear! hear!*] He hoped that the noble Lord, and those who so noticed his assertion, would attempt to prove to the Committee, in a manner at least as rational, consistent, and parliamentary, the contrary; but for what he asserted, he appealed not only to the feelings, but to the reason of the Committee. It was an appeal, which the more considered, would be found the more to deserve the attention of that House. He wished to ask, whether it was expedient to annihilate every appearance of external dignity; whether it was consistent with reason and sound policy, at the moment the Sovereign was incapacitated from exercising his authority, to separate all appearance of Sovereignty from him? When these questions should be considered, he could not see how it was possible to deny the propriety of allotting the direction of the Household to her Majesty; or to assert, that the preservation of the external dignity of the King was inconsistent with the duty of the people.

The general grounds on which they had heard it objected to was, that such power being entrusted to her Majesty, would form so large an influence, and so extensive a patronage, as to render it impossible that any Government should be carried on with effect. To that, however, he should reserve himself to speak, when he should hear it more fully explained. He would, nevertheless, speak shortly on the argument upon which this principle turned; it supposed that a degree of political influence would necessarily follow patronage. He admitted, that a degree of political influence, likely to be exercised, was an evil. He wished, however, to ask those Gentlemen, who contended against the power, that the proposed establishment might create, whether establishments had not been created, much more likely to have been exercised against the Executive Authority? When Gentlemen recollected, that such establishments had been formed, he did not take too much upon himself, when he contended, that what had not been denied to branches of the Royal Family, ought not to be denied to the Sovereign himself, while labouring under temporary illness; an argument that reverted to the propriety of continuing to his Majesty that establishment. If Gentlemen disagreed to such a continuance of his Majesty's Household, if they were less regardful of his Majesty's dignity at the present moment, than when in health,

health, it would be expected from them to shew their reasons, and state the danger of such patronage as would be obtained by the necessary powers, for a temporary, and, perhaps, a short interval. The argument of the danger of the patronage turned, he said, upon the supposition that those who were now in his Majesty's service, would be in opposition to another Administration. If that was offered as an argument against the Restrictions, he denied the truth of it. Suppose, for a moment, and for the sake of argument, that such a conduct was likely to be pursued.

A factious opposition, he was bold to say, they never would engage in; he wished not, however, that any man should rest on his assertion, or upon the assertion of any other man; it was public conduct that alone spoke to the people the conduct of public men; he then wished to ask whether, if they pursued the conduct of a desperate faction or cabal, it was likely that they should meet with support from the people, support equal to that which they had received while in Government; was it likely that such a faction should be supported by the authority of the country at large; would it not depend on the independant Members of that House, and on the people.

Whatever might be the patronage annexed to the powers proposed to be granted to her Majesty, he wished to ask, whether it was likely, that the patronage intrusted to such hands would be granted to enable a faction, to obstruct with its weight, the Government of the Regent? Was it likely, if so given, that it could make it predominant to the accumulated patronage of Government? or, was it likely, that the Queen would support a faction, by that means to oppose the wise and prudent measures of the Government of her son? Was it likely that his Majesty's Ministers, in the present calamitous and distracted state of affairs, forgetful of their duty to their country, forgetful of their duty to their Constitution, and forgetful of their duty to him whose dearest interest was the welfare of his empire, would neglect the interest of the people, to form a factious opposition, in order to obstruct the necessary measures of Government. Could it be supposed, that persons standing in such a situation, would factiously unite to the injury of a country, to the Government of which they might, on his Majesty's recovery, again be called, and the interest of which it appeared to be, and ever would be, their honour and ambition to advance. It was an idea he did not believe was felt, or imagined by any one, and on which he, therefore, would not dwell any longer.

He concluded by saying, that it was due to his Majesty from a loyal people, not to destroy that system his Majesty had adopted for the management of his Household:—that the Committee ought not to destroy the dignity due to his Majesty, and that the care of his Majesty, and the government of the Household, ought to be
entrusted

entrusted to the Queen. The Chancellor handed the following motion to the Chairman.

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his present illness, be committed to the Queen's most excellent Majesty; and that her Majesty be enabled to exercise the power to remove, nominate, and appoint to his Majesty's household, as they may see cause, disposing and making all other matters, relating to his Majesty, as she shall think proper; and that to enable her Majesty the better to execute this trust, a Council be appointed to advise her Majesty, with powers to examine, from time to time, the Physicians, touching his Majesty's health."

Lord Maitland rose with great animation, and said, called upon, as he had been, he could not avoid rising to say that if he had answered the Right Hon. Gentleman's argument in any other way, than by the gesture or expression that he had betrayed, he should have forgot what was due to himself as a Member of that House. After some farther warmth, his Lordship said, he was ready to agree with every panygeric on the virtues of her Majesty; she was universally known to be eminently amiable and virtuous, and as such he admired her. On her amiable qualities, however, the question did not rest; the proposition for maintaining the dignity of his Majesty, he conceived to be particularly misplaced at the present; it was a dignity under his present unfortunate and mortifying circumstances, unfit to be bestowed, and could only beget contumely; it was a dignity that tended not to make his subjects look up to him with reverence, but to make them contemptuous scoffers.

If the House was not lost to every principle, it could not adopt the Resolution proposed. At the instigation of the Right Hon. Gentleman, the House had agreed, that in conjunction with the other House, they had a right to provide for the deficiency of the Executive Government, a Resolution that he had thought wrong; but it had passed, and the Prince was acknowledged as a proper person to fill the situation of Regent; the House considered, that he, who was interested in the preservation of the Empire, because he was to fill the throne in future, was of course the fittest person to be trusted with the Regency; they had also resolved, on a very good principle, that the Prince, being interested, should not be trusted with the care of the Royal Person of the Sovereign: if the Committee should agree to the present Resolution, they would give the lie to their principles.

That her Majesty should feel an interest, was natural. She had an interest as a wife; the Prince had an interest as a son. Her Majesty stood under the Resolution in a very different light. He would readily agree, that if her Majesty had no part of the executive

executive power, she would be the fittest person to have the care of his Majesty; but, interested as she was proposed to be by the Resolution, she would be, in his opinion, more interested than the Prince, and possessing such power, be highly improper, and inadequate to such trust.

Novelty was a fascinating thing to the human mind, and the new possession of power might warp and prejudice the purest bosoms. Independent of that argument, he had, however, a special objection to her Majesty's being intrusted with the King's person, arising out of the Report on the table. They knew what must be her Majesty's anxiety; they all felt her anxious, her virtuous, and her dutiful wishes on the occasion; they felt, that that anxiety might lead her to a belief of a too favourable Report of the state of her Royal Consort's Health; and though such commendable anxiety might redound to her honour, and for which she might be most justly esteemed, it operated against her being solely intrusted with the care of the Sovereign; especially, when there were Princes of the Blood in the Country, the King's brother's. The Right Hon. Gentleman, on a former night, had spoke of the necessity of continuing about his Majesty, his usual attendants; that, however, would not be effected by the present Resolution; for it gave her Majesty the power not only to continue but to remove.

By the Resolution before the Committee, they were going to sever the executive power of the country, and give a great part of it to the Queen, without any responsibility; who was to be the person that was to be responsible? Were they to look to the Queen?—No! Were they to look to her Council of Advice?—No! For they were not a Council of Power. The Queen would be intrusted with a patronage of upwards of *eighty thousand pounds* yearly; such power, he conceived, would, in a great measure, take away, if not totally annihilate, all responsibility in the Regent's Ministers; it would be creating that monster, hitherto unknown to the Constitution, a fourth Estate in the realm; it would be exercising all that unbounded ambition, all that wish for patronage, all the unconstitutional attempts charged, but falsely charged, upon his Right Hon. Friend.

On the comparison of his Right Hon. Friend's India Bill, with the present proposition, he could dwell with pleasure, but not then; at a moment like the present, he conceived it improper to amuse the House with ridicule. If the Right Hon. Gentleman would shew him how the present motion would facilitate the King's recovery, he would willingly compliment the Right Hon. Gentleman with his vote; he believed that no such reason could be shewn, he believed no reason at all, like it, could be shewn. Perhaps there were some secret reasons, which those
who

who knew the human heart, might guess, but no mortal could judge of.

The Right Hon. Gentleman might have once climbed into power, by a contemptible line of politics; and the Right Hon. Gentleman, he saw, had a plan, again to wound the constitution of his country, for which reason, he would not give him his vote. He had not, he said, the most sanguine hopes of his Majesty's recovery; he had examined the register of the principal hospital for the malady in the kingdom; and had found, that out of *one hundred and twenty-five*, received in the course of ten years, there had not more than one in four recovered.

When the welfare of his Sovereign, the Prince of Wales, and the House of Hanover, came in competition, it was not, he said, easy to assert, which weighed most with him. The Committee could not consent to the Resolution, without abandoning the principles of the Constitution. His Lordship concluded, by declaring, that notwithstanding the Right Hon. Gentleman's majorities, he was sure he would that day be defeated.

Mr. Sturt, conceiving that he was one of the persons who were included in the censure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for having raised the cry of *hear! hear!* against him, rose in his own justification to say, that it was the only way in which he could declare his disapprobation. He was no *orator*—no *Demosthenes*—and as he could not *quote Greek*, (*alluding to Lord Belgrave*) so was he incapable of making a speech on the subject. To a matter of fact, however, he could and would speak. An Address had been contrived to be got from the borough of Bridport, signed by one hundred and seventy names. This place he had the honour to represent, notwithstanding which circumstance, and his having been there lately, he had never heard of that Address, till it had arrived, ready signed, in London. He, therefore, should continue to express, in the best manner he could, his abhorrence of the Right Hon. Gentleman's clandestine manoeuvres.

Mr. M. A. Taylor delivered some arguments on legal and constitutional grounds, against the Resolutions. He thought the celebrated India Bill, which had been so much scouted, by no means went the length of these measures. If there was, in that Bill, a new Estate created in the Constitution, it had responsibility attached to it—here there was none. Those who should have the care of his Majesty's person, he contended, ought to have no other interest whatever; the power proposed to be given, he considered as unknown to the Constitution, and as tending to cripple the new government, and fettering the Prince, who ought to lie under no restraint whatever. The invasion of the executive power was more palpable, and more dangerous in the present, than in the former case—for which, and several other reasons

sions that he assigned, he declared himself against all the Restrictions.

Sir John Swinburne made his first speech in Parliament against the Resolution. He thought, that in their consideration of the respect that they professed for the Queen, Gentlemen seemed to forget what was due to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He entertained that proper respect for her Majesty, which every Member of that House, he trusted, did in common with himself; at the same time, he was not ready to allow, that it was proper to entrust her Majesty with the entire custody of the Royal Person, the controul of the household, and a patronage of not less than *three hundred thousand pounds* a year. He considered the present Resolution as improper; it tended to introduce a divided government, and such a government must necessarily be weak.

As a noble Lord, Sir John said, had quoted Greek, he would quote a few words of Latin, it was *imperium in imperio*, which was the character of the Regency as about to be established. They were going to take out of the hands of the executive power, the executive trust, and give part of it over to those hands, which were not responsible, to those who were completely abstracted from all share in the Government, who were never likely to enjoy such power on his Majesty's recovery from his present disorder, nor ever ought to be possessed of.

He called upon the Gentleman of the law to know, whether property did not always *descend*, and whether it was ever *ascendable*? He saw no good end the Resolution could obtain, on the contrary, it appeared to be calculated to promote anarchy.

Mr. Pulteney spoke at some length in vindication of the Resolution before the Committee. It was impossible that any evils could result from the patronage in question. The Lords of the Bedchamber should, in his opinion, be retained, as being the first likely to be called for by the Sovereign on his recovery; and in the House of Lords, it was impossible that their votes could have such an operation, as to interrupt the executive government. With respect to the other influence, which must accompany the payment of the money thus allotted, no inference could be drawn from this, unless it was asserted, that it would be in the power of a set of *butchers* and *bakers* to overturn a state. He had, on a former occasion, voted, that the influence of the Crown ought to be diminished; and he could not, therefore, consistently oppose any reduction it may sustain in this instance.

Sir James Swinburne spoke in explanation. He added, that the distribution of three hundred thousand pounds *per annum* must be accompanied with more effect, than the Hon. Gentleman, who spoke last, seemed willingly to allow.

Sir James Johnstone rose to propose a question; the answer to which, he said, might decide his vote on this occasion, and his

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was—Whether, in case of the Queen's demise, the same powers were to be continued to any other person; and if so, to whom were these powers to be consigned?

The *Hon. Mr. Bouverie* expressed his dissent to that part of the Resolution, which gave her Majesty the controul over the household, and expressed his wish, that it may be omitted, or reserved for a distinct question.

Lord North observed, that the Resolution consisted of three questions perfectly distinct from each other. The custody of the King's person; the controul of the Household; and the establishment of a Council. These questions, so distinct, he hoped that Mr. Pitt would feel no reluctance to divide.

[On this subject a conversation took place across the table, when *Mr. Fox* pressed the necessity of dividing the Resolution; *Mr. Pitt* said, that it being his intention to move for the full powers, as incident to the custody of the King, any alteration would come better in the shape of an amendment, from the other side!—It ended with *Mr. Bouverie's* persisting to move for the omission of the *second* part of the Resolution.]

Mr. Grey then began a speech of much force, by remarking on the disorders which were inseparable from such a division of government. The safety of the King's Right was made the ostensible plea for every measure now introduced, however hostile to their feelings—however it may militate against the duty which they owed to their country. But when the business came to be considered, it would be found, that the Limitations proposed for this purpose, were absurd and ridiculous in the extreme!—An *Hon. Gentleman*, (*Mr. Powys*) had very properly observed, how idle such Restrictions must prove, if seriously considered, to a person who had, at the same time, the army and navy at command!

The powers vested, on such an occasion, should certainly be equal to the necessity; but in the present instance, the want of permanency was, in itself, a want of strength! The Restriction, therefore, respecting the Peerage, was unnecessary, and spoke in the plainest language the existence of that conspiracy which had been so often mentioned from the other side of the House. If his Majesty had the power of creating Peers, to counteract a confederacy or cabal in the House of Lords against his government, the same necessity might exist on the part of the Regent. The marks of dignity, which were proposed to be kept up for his Majesty, he conceived to have been provided for the discharge of the King's offices, not for the gratification of an individual, but as part of the Regal State, and would, consequently, belong to the Regent, who would be the first Magistrate. They had deemed it necessary to dwell, with particular EMPHASIS, on the name of influence, and the impropriety of introducing it into
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that House: but every person, who had watched the changes of our Constitution, could not but know, that the mild dominion of influence had, for many years, superseded the harsher dominion of the prerogative.

After a retrospective view of the fourth Estate, supposed to have been created by Mr. Fox's India Bill, and exposing, with much success, those aggravations which nugatory dullness would have affixed to that measure, Mr. Grey passed on to a description of the present situation of her Majesty, on whose character he disclaimed in terms of the warmest eulogy. She, however, he observed, had gained her chief praise from having never joined in any political cabal. He hoped that this might be the case in the present instance. He distrusted much the council of *advice*, as it was termed; and declared his dislike to the present Resolution, if on no other grounds but one, namely, that it vested a power where it was not possible, by any act of theirs, to attach a responsibility!

Mr. Dundas attempted, at some length, to vindicate the propriety of the Resolution. He said, that the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had been too frequently guilty of acts of imprudence, for the House to suppose, that he would have asserted the Right of the Prince of Wales to assume the government, if he thought the superstructure, which he was to raise, could have been placed on any other foundation. A noble Lord (North) had given also a strong vindication of the Resolution, in pronouncing it the natural offspring of the preliminary Resolutions which had passed that House. Mr. Dundas had little, in the remaining part of his speech, to entitle him to a particular Report, except in one part, where he said, he would not let the power out of *his* hands, meaning, he explained, the hands of Parliament!—And in another instance, where he contended, that the Prince would have the full influence over every part of the household, through the intervention of the Council, and by means of his Mother.

Lord North replied, that his learned Friend, who had spoken last, had totally mistaken his meaning, if he supposed him to have said, that the present Resolutions were the natural offspring of the former. He had, on the contrary, said emphatically, that these were the *unnatural* offspring; and had expressed his surprise, that a bad precedent should so soon be followed by that which would have been an abuse of the worst. His Lordship said, they had heard, from the beginning, that the Resolutions were of a temporary nature, and that it was but for a little time, that they were to provide for the defect of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority. Thus, as it was but for a little time, they were expected to sacrifice the Constitution, and persuaded to do without it for a few months, and withhold the necessary pow-

ers from the Regent ! But the Right Hon. Gentleman had said he would have the powers that were necessary, and had asked could a black or a white stick be necessary. The duty of the Regent would be to govern a large empire, and every power the Crown found necessary to the discharge of that important duty, the Regent ought to have. Had the Right Hon. Gentleman any rule to judge by, of what was necessary for a King, other than what was necessary for a Regent to enjoy.—It had been stated, he observed, as if this phalanx, to be preserved, in the House of Lords, might prevent another India Bill, if any effort were made for the introduction of such a measure ; but this, he observed, was a kind of posthumous remedy, like that of giving *physic* to a *dead* man ! The Bill of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had accomplished all the purposes of the former, which had been so much reprobated ; or if any thing had been left undone, it was fully perfected by the Declaratory Act, which had passed in a succeeding session.

The precautions which had been held forth so studiously on this business, his Lordship regarded as springing not from real, but affected fear. The King, on his ascertained recovery, no doubt might easily resume his power. In the present situation of things, it was not a Regent merely—it was not a King of *twenty* years standing, that could resist a solemn decree of the Legislature.—It was somewhat singular, in the terms which had been used, that the House had been called to *leave* those powers in the hands of the Queen, when it was, in every respect, a *removal*—and again, that they were called to yield, for a *little* time, by those men who, by refusing to fix any term, seemed to wish the time as *indefinite* as possible.

The Hon. Gentleman had said, would they introduce a new system into his Majesty's household ? If they gave the patronage of the household to the Queen, and withheld it from the Regent, that would be to introduce a new system, and separate the patronage of the Crown from the Kingly office. But the Hon. Gentleman had said, his Majesty's mind would be uneasy, when, upon his recovery, he should find his household changed. Was it reasonable to say, that during his Majesty's incapacity, the offices of the household were disposed of, not to his wish, but according to the ideas of the Prince, that his Majesty would be uneasy. Could it be supposed, that when he could alter it back again, that he would be uneasy. With regard to the state officers, as his Hon. Friend behind him had said, they were useful only for political purposes. Why then ought they not to be employed in political services ? The Hon. Gentleman had voted on the motion some years since, " that the influence of the Crown had encreased, was encreased, and ought to be diminished."—

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He had opposed it, and so had his Hon. and learned Friend, and yet his Hon. Friend now wanted to diminish it a little more.

The power of making Peers, and the patronage of the household, were necessary to the Crown as the fountain of honour, and they were equally necessary to the Regent. It was said, would it do the Regent any harm to be without those powers for a little while? In answer to this, he asked, would it do the public any harm to be with them for a little while? the whole turned on *a little while*. How did the Hon. Gentleman know the advantage, the holding of those powers might be of to the government of the Regent, in the interim? If his Majesty's recovery should be protracted, then it was said, the restrictions would die away. Would they die away because Parliament might abolish them?

His Lordship complained of the Motion as complicated and embarrassing. It consisted of three distinct Propositions. First, it stated, that the person of the King should be entrusted to her Majesty. There he said, he agreed with the Hon. Gentleman, and, he believed, the House would agree with him. The next Proposition was, that her Majesty was to dispose of the offices of the household, a patronage consisting of about *four hundred* places in number! The third Proposition proposed, that her Majesty should have a Council of Advice. The first and last Propositions might, in his mind, be well supported, although they had not yet been sustained by any good argument. His Lordship concluded with declaring, that he should give his vote for the Amendment.

Sir Gregory Page Turner spoke of the extreme importance and the extreme delicacy of the subject, when the character of the Prince of Wales, on the one hand, and the character of the Queen, on the other, were brought forward. He said, he knew not how to give his vote in that House, without disputing the merits of either one or the other. He admired the virtues of them both, but he came there as a Member of Parliament, to do his duty upon public principles. He must, that night, vote differently from the Right Hon. Gentleman at the head of the Exchequer, to whom, on a former occasion, he had been proud to pay just compliments and encomiums, and those not only to his talents but to his integrity. He respected those talents and that integrity, but the Question was, whether the Prince of Wales was to be appointed Regent or no Regent! There must, he said, be an Administration in the country, but he should contend, that if the King's household was put under the management of the Queen, there would be a double household and a double Administration; and a double Administration could have no power equal to the carrying on of a vigorous Government.