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DECLARATION

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OF

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MDCCLXXXIX.

SPERS OF

C O P Y, &c.

I A. B. do declare; &c.

THAT I believe in one WILLIAM PITT; maker of peers and placemen, and of all pensioners visible and invisible; who was conceived without sin, and born without passions; whose Ministry shall have no end.

I do firmly believe and maintain, that on the prefent calamitous occasion, the deliberations and votes of him and his disciples, have been solely directed to the safety of the nation, the preservation of the constitution, and the speedy establishment of such a full and efficient government, as may secure peace and good order at home, and respect and consideration abroad; without any regard to their own personal power, emolument, or advantage whatsoever. That the Minister has been falfely accused of giving useless and unnecessary disturbance to mens' minds, by agitating a mere speculative question of the right; when all men were agreed as to the person of the Regent. For it appears absolutely requisite to shew and declare the royal power to be wholly elective, and to prove the Prince had no more claim to represent the King; his father, than any other person before the designed limitations could be proposed or carried into effect.

That the law having declared the two Houses incompetent to pass bills without the royal assent, the appointing the Speaker of one House to act the part of the King, for that night only, to give the royal assent to the regency bill, is a most ingenious and constitutional device.

That if the Houses have a right to substitute a person to give the royal assent to one bill, we may defy the whole sophistry of Opposition to shew that they have not an equal right to pass any other in the same way. That we must not blame the MINISTER for using any delay he may think fit in appointing a Regent, as it obviously depends upon his pleasure whether any shall be appointed at all.

That in not causing HIMSELF to be declared PROTECTOR OF THE REALM, and GUARDIAN OF THE KING; the MINISTER has given a great example of virtue and moderation.

That in like manner the Prince is bound in gratitude to THE MINISTER for any share of power which he thinks fit to assign him.

That to accuse the Minister of having taken up whig principles on this occasion, is an infamous calumny; the proposed restraints on the crown, being by no means stipulations or declarations of rights for the people, but merely such guards as are thought sufficient to support his own power, independant on a Regent, and to prevent the personal influence and authority of the King from receiving any diminution during his illness.

That these restrictions, having on due calculation been deemed adequate to their

great

great objects (all that are worth contending for) it may be highly expedient to continue them in the event of the King's death; which may be effected, either by recurring again to the GREAT SEAL, or by bringing down the King in Person, under the Eye OF DR. WILLIS; for which Lord Hawkefbury's French precedent of the feals having been placed in the hands of a child under a

year old may very well ferve.

That every difcerning person must plainly perceive, from the tenor of the last medical report, and from the circumstance of the insanity being universal and not confined to one chain of ideas, that there is in reality little or no hope of the King's restoration to a fane mind; and from his time of life, and bodily strength, a great probability that he may live many years; fo that the MINISTER by obtaining to have the most effential and effective powers of royalty placed as a deposit in the hands of him and his creatures, during the continuance of the King's malady INDEFINITELY, has, as far as human of alampela Lemesh med no forefight forefight can go, in all probability fecured the possession of them for ever.

That the Prince, being endowed with an excellent understanding, and a humane and generous disposition, will most probably use his powers so wifely, and with so much regard for the people, as very foon to acquire their love and confidence, and fo feduce them from their allegiance to the MINISTER;

That the graces of his mind and person, and his known attachment to the female fex, may induce that fair and powerful interest to exert itself in his favour against the MINISTER.

That to obviate these dangers, the best and shortest way is to TIE UP HIS HANDS.

That in the formation of the new government, THE MINISTER has shewn himfelf confummate in political intrigue. To have come forward in his own person, would have difgusted all men. But bringing out the Queen to oppose the Prince, and retaining the power, by holding the

restric-

restrictions of the Regent in his hand, hereafter as occasion may require, to oppose the Prince to the Queen, he becomes in reality the absolute governor of both.

That whatever evils may be produced by a weak and distracted frame of government-a fundamental change in the constitution—and the long train of alarming confequences attendant upon a divided and disputed government; these evils are not to be imputed to the MINISTER, but wholly to the pride and obstinacy of the Prince; for no man in the nation has any doubt, but that if the Prince had paid the respect and obedience due from him to the MINISTER, the Two Houses would, instantly, on the declaration of the King's incapacity, leaving the dangerous question of right where they found it, have unanimously proceeded to address the Prince to take upon bim the exercise of the executive government, in the name of his father, during the Royal incapacity; and then to have passed a bill to preserve entire the personal rights of the King during his illness; and to secure to him the immediate re-possession of them, when it shall please

please God to restore him to the use of his reason; and thus the nation would have felt no inconvenience whatever from this melan-

cholly event.

That the Heir-Apparent, by connecting himself with whigs and liberty men, inclined by education, habit, and interest, to the popular fide, has shown great want of judgment and forelight; for had he contented himself with the enjoyment of the pomps and pleasures of a court during the King's life, and abandoned the cares of state to a vizier in the plenitude of power, and possessed of the minds of the people; whenever it had pleased God to advance his royal father from an earthly to a heavenly crown, then might he have received the sceptre of these kingdoms.augmented in ftrength and improved in splendour .- A minister with the passions of the people at his command-a government -undefined by law and unknown to the constitution—a public well disposed to the regal power-must have afforded occasions for acquisitions of influence and prerogative not to be attempted under a fettled and formal B 2

formal government; and which THE MINI-STER would of all men have known the best how to improve.

That to suppose the minister has no higher views than to be the servant of a Regent implies great ignorance of his character, was this his object, his conduct must be the exact contrary to what it is. He would treat the person of the Prince with at least decent respect; and could have no desire to limit those powers he was first to confer and afterwards to administer. He would have sought to conciliate and not to provoke. And would not, by a series of personal insults, have rendered it for ever impossible for the Prince to hold any connection with him, consistently with the feelings and character of a gentleman.

That, though the proceedings of the MINISTER have been strictly legal and constitutional; yet as some factious parliament in time to come may possibly affect to think otherwise, and may follow up their opinion with unpleasant marks of disapprobation; it will be proper, pro forma, to bblige the Regent

Regent to preclude any future discussion or enquiry, by passing an act of indemnity and oblivion; and if the Prince, absurdly believing the constitution really injured, should think he has no right to prejudge the application of such remedies as the wisdom of future parliaments may think fit to apply; he may easily be obliged to give his assent, either by withholding money bills, the mutiny bill, or any other act essential to the existence of government.

That there is no ground for the base infinuations propagated by the enemies of the MINISTER—" that the most criminal arts, and "the MOST SHOCKING INFLUENCE have been exerted to deceive the nation in regard to the state of the King's deplorable malady; and the care and treatment of the royal person committed to ignorant unskilful persons, under political direction." The names of WARREN and BAKER, are, thank God, a sufficient resultation of this culumny. If Dr. Addington was a suspicious person, his authority has not been lately referred to; and though the Reverend Dr. Willis's reputation

inferior to that of Dr. Monro, yet as his Majesty's disorder affects the immortal rather than the perishable part, a clergyman and a Doctor in Divinity, whose mind is set on things above, must furely be considered as preferable to a mere earthly Doctor, who looking no farther than the body, can have no spiritual views.

That if fome flight deceptions have been employed on this subject, they are rather to be praised than blamed; as tending to quiet the general anxiety, to keep men more firm in their adherence to the person of a Sovereign, who is represented as likely to be soon restored to their wishes; and to answer other good purposes obvious to the

flightest observation.

That the fuspending for an indefinite time the only check which the constitution has provided against the encroachments of the House of Lords, cannot be attended with any danger to the balance of the three estates, seeing that the Peers are all wise and honourable men, without pride, avarice, or ambition,

tion, and the hereditary representatives of the people.

That the permanent establishment of the great offices of the crown, in persons adverse to the government, and disaffected to the person of the Regent, is a restriction on his power absolutely necessary for the salutary purposes above mentioned.

That the LORDS OF THE BEDCHAMBER are noblemen of fingular ability and known attachment to the public cause.

That as the MINISTER owes his introduction into the Ministry to the exertions of this firm and patriot band; it would now be the height of ingratitude in him to leave and abandon them to the mercy of the Prince.

That the BISHOPS have at all times been main affertors of civil and religious liberty.

That the CHANCELLOR is a man remarkable for humanity, candour, and liberality of mind, and a firm friend to the rights of the people.

That the PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL is a Ready and confistent character, and an able and judicious statesman.

That THE LORD PRIVY SEAL is a patriotic nobleman, of great political integrity.

The DUKE OF RICHMOND, is a friend to

the navy.

The DUKE OF GRAFTON, a respectable man.

The LORD HAWKESBURY, a virtuous ci-

And the whole MAJORITY IN THE PEERS formed of the most disinterested, able, and independent noblemen that ever graced the annals of Parliament.

That the minority of this House, in opposition to THE MINISTER, consists of men raifed from obscurity to the Peerage, for the

most abject and corrupt purposes.

That whatever may have been the ancient fplendor and reputation of the houses of BRUNSWICK, HOWARD, RUSSEL, CAVEN-DISH, BENTINCK, PERCY, STANLEY, HAST-INGS,

by opposing the Minister, they have forfeited all claim to public regard, and ought
to be considered for the future as inferior to
the houses of Petty, Pitt, Dutton, Delaval,
Cocks, Kenyon, Jenkinson, Thurlow, &c. names,
which if they are not to be found in past
history, may perhaps deserve to be recorded
in that which is to come.

That in advancing HIS BROTHER, THE EARL OF CHATHAM, a man of deep know-ledge, great ability, and tried experience, to the important office of first Lord of the Admiralty;

His COUSIN OF BUCKINGHAM, a man of splendid talents, engaging deportment, and great sweetness of manners, to the high station of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland;

His cousin, W. Grenville, a man of the readiest and clearest conception, the most liberal and impartial spirit, and of long experience in the rules and orders of the House, to the Chair of the Commons.

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His brother's FATHER-IN-LAW, a nobleman of fine accomplishments, to the great situation of Secretary of State;

And other near relations to other important places;

The Minister has not been moved by any mean defire to enrich or aggrandize his own family, but folely by the confideration, that these respectable individuals are each of them better qualified than any other man, for the department assigned to him.

That the faction, distinguished by the name of the Rockingham Party, having, during the whole of the King's reign, perfevered in combating, sometimes successfully, the undue influence of the Crown, public and private; having set their faces against favorites and secret advisers; having procured a declaration of the illegality of general warrants; decisions in favour of the right of juries to judge of libels, and of the liberty of the press, to give an account to the public of the proceedings in Parliament; secured the subject from vexatious fuits

fuits in the name of the Crown; a Stually repealed the fatal American Stamp Act; and uniformly and strenuously opposed the American war; was justly become obnoxious to the King, and had forfeited the regard of a dutiful and loyal people.

That Lord North, by giving up the principles on which the American war had been carried on, and adopting those of the Rockingham faction, has been defervedly

execrated by the friends to that war.

That the MINISTER, by coalescing with LORD MULGRAVE, LORD GOWER, MR. DUNDAS, MR. JENKINSON, JACK ROBINSON, BILLY EDEN, &c. &c. the warmest supporters of the American war, did nothing unworthy of the purity of his character; receiving these men, not as allies, but as useful servants, with something of the same policy, which country gentlemen use in making game-keepers of incorrigible poachers.

That in taking the last of these men, warm out of Lord North's bosom, THE MINIS-TER gave an instance of that gentle and for-

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forgiving temper, for which he is fo remarkable.

That to affert, that THE MINISTER ought to have convened the Houses of Parliament in Ireland, that they might have gone hand in hand with the British Convention, is impertinent and absurd. The scandalous dispersions with which they treated his Irish Propositions, having rendered them justly unworthy of any future condescension on his part.

That whatever may be the attachment of the Irish to the NAME OF BRUNSWICK, and their generous feelings for the Prince, there is do doubt, but that the Marquis of Buckingham will have sufficient influence to carry the measures of the British Minister through the two Houses in Ireland.

That to affert, that the MINISTER is a needy adventurer, unpledged to the public, either by a family, or any private fortune, depending upon office for existence, and ready to adopt the most desperate expedients, to preserve or increase his power,

is the highest degree of contumacy, and little short of actual rebellion.

That the professions of the best men, not being to be taken literally, or wholly relied upon, the safest judgment is to be drawn from their actions, and the public acts of the Minister have been all highly advantageous to the country, and each of them calculated to bring forward some one of his admirable qualities to the common view.

In his fair and impartial discussion of the Westminster Scrutiny, he exhibited the utmost candor and liberality; and a sincere regard for the freedom of elections.

In his Bill for the GOVERNMENT OF OUR POSSESSIONS IN INDIA, and the subsequent DECLARATORY ACT, he has shewn a due and very commendable attention to the improvement of the influence of the crown; which had lately received some diminution from an attack of the Rockingham faction; and by framing an Indian constitution upon principles diametrically opposite to those of the late British Constitution, and instituting a Supreme Court of criminal judicature,

cature, in which JURIES ARE LAID ASIDE, he has taken one step towards a better form of government; and at the same time established a precedent which will be found of essential service in continuing and completing that great work.

In first concealing his views under obfcure and ambiguous terms; and as soon
as the attention of the people had subsided,
obliging Parliament to understand and explain these dark passages so as to confer
the most unbounded power; he shewed a
truly delicate attention to the public feelings; and great foresight and skill in the
art of governing.

In his Commutation Act, his gratitude and bumanity are chiefly confpicuous. His gratitude to the Company, by freeing their monopoly from a charge of 600,000l. per annum; and his humanity in commuting for an article absolutely necessary to existence, a commodity which people may do without if they please. Had he obliged every family to purchase a specific quantity of light and air, as is done in France with

with falt, this might possibly, by some discontented persons, have been represented as oppressive; especially as it has somehow happened that the article commuted for is not cheaper than before, and the revenue considerably diminished. But he has at once obviated all complaint, by leaving every man at liberty to have no windows in his house at all if he pleases.

In his plan for fortifying the seaports, by which the British navy might at all times have rode secure in their harbours; and by superfeding a number of brave and veteran commanders; his attachment to the wooden walls of England has been shewn;

His love for THE ARMY, by a great augmentation of their numbers;

His love for the PEERAGE, by creating forty-three Peers;

His love for THE COMMONS, by condescending to take upon bimself alone the sole direction of their House;

His love for THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL, by introducing excisemen into their bouses;

His

His love for the people of London and Westminster, in particular, by the Shop Tax.

His love for the FEMALE SEX, by HIS TAX UPON WOMEN!

By his bill for the reform of Parliament, his bonour and integrity, as a man and a Minister, are for ever determined. He fulfilled his engagements with his bonest Yorkshiremen by actually voting for his own bill; and prudently refused to offer any violence to the nice consciences of a Dundas or a Mulgrave, on the only point on which they have ever differed since their coalition:

That though some persons may think, that THE MINISTER makes too much use of the credulous imbecility of the people; this belief is not justified in fact; for the people have certainly a right to resign their best privileges whenever they please: nor does it appear that he has relied too much upon the national delusion in point of prudence; far from having exhausted this abundant source, if more is wanting, more may be had;

had; for the infatuation of the multitude feems to know no other term than the moral impossibility of being carried any farther.

That as the temporary incapacity of the King gives a fair occasion to strip the executive branch of its best powers,

To pluck the eagle's wing,

So the temporary fatuity of the people furnishes a convenient opportunity for curtailing their troublesome and impertinent privileges

To pinion the goose,

that under the new constitution it will be highly expedient to restrain the press.

That it is reported with a high degree of probability, that the Lords of the Household, having no other occupation during the King's illness, are to be employed in the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk, and the cones at Cherbourg.

That to hold or maintain

The natural claim of the Prince to represent his father;

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The absolute expediency of avoiding the weakness and confusion inherent upon minorities, by placing the regal powers in the hands of an Heir-Apparent of full age and

capacity;

The supposed danger of introducing a fourth supreme, independent, irresponsible estate into the constitution; and of suspending the only constitutional check on the ambition of the Lords, &c. &c. tends to establish dangerous and damnable errors, and ought not to be allowed in a christian

community;

And that the contrary of these positions is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to loyal persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of the Minister, drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well as because it doth greatly establish and confirm the faith of eternal promotion to be enjoyed through the Minister; and because it doth fervently kindle their love towards him;

That the MINISTER is undoubtedly the best chess player in Europe. He has played his BISHOPS, his ROOKS, and his PAWNS, with infinite ingenuity and success; and by a most bold and skilful movement of his Queen, has finally given e chec et mat.

FINIS.

