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SPEECH

AGAINST

Sir Robert Walpole's

PROPOSAL

For increasing the CIVIL LIST Revenue:

As it was Spoken in the House of Commons, July 3. 1727.

By William Shippen Efq;

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PROPOSAL, &c.



AGREE with the Honourable Person who spoke first, That on His Majesty's Happy Accession to the Throne, there ought to be no other Contention amongst Us, than who should most contribute to His

Service,

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Service, than who should express their Duty, and Loyalty, in the most Respectful and the most Extensive manner. But then I hope He will agree with me, That this is to be done, with some Regard to Those We Represent: That this is to be done, consistent with the Trust reposed in us, consistent with that Frugality, which this House is bound to use, whenever the Crown is pleased to call upon it, to exercise its Great Power of giving Money.

Now, notwithstanding what has been urged, I think we shall so far depart from this Rule of Frugality, as we exceed the Revenue granted to His late Majesty, whether that Exceeding shall amount yearly to Ninety Three Thousand Pounds, as computed at the highest by the Honourable Person, or to Above an Hundred and Thirty Thousand Pounds, as I have seen it more truly computed by Another.

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ther. For I remember very well, that the yearly Sum of Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds (tho' now thought too little) was not obtained for His late Majesty, without a long and solemn Debate; and it was allowed by every one that contended for it, to be an Ample Royal Revenue. Nor was it ask'd inconfiderately, and on a sudden; it was asked on mature Deliberation, after the Queen's Civil List Branches were found deficient; it was asked after many Computations had been made of every Charge requifite to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to maintain the present Royal Family: It was asked after duly weighing, what Provision would be sufficient to answer all the ordinary and extraordinary Occasions of the Civil Government, what would be sufficient to answer all Proper Augmentations of Salaries, all Reasonable and Charitable Pensions, all Secret Services at Home and Abroad, necessary

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to carry on a just and wise Administration: It was asked by the Honourable Person Himself, and Others, who were entering into great Employments, who were going to taste of the Royal Bounty, and who therefore could not possibly be suspected to have any Design of cramping His Majesty, by a too contracted and narrow Revenue.

No R does the late Alteration in the Royal Family call for any Increase of Expence. For if the Establishment for the Queen should be enlarged, whose Distinguished Character, and many Princely Virtues (taken Notice of in Your Address) entitle Her to all Degrees of Grandeur, which any former Queen Consort ever enjoyed; I say, if Her Establishment should be enlarged, I presume the Establishment. for Prince FREDERICK will be much inferior to that settled on His present Majesty, when Prince of Wales. Besides, our ardent Wishes for His MajeMajesty's constant Residence in these Kingdoms, and His Royal Intentions of making us a great and happy People, give us Hopes, that many Personal, many Particular Expences in the late Reign, especially those for frequent Journies to Hanover, will be discontinued, and entirely cease.

Nor is it any Objection to the Reasoning of that Time, when the Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds were granted to the late King, or to the Computations then made, that This Sum is said to have been found by The Experience of past Times, to be answerable to the Necessities of the Civil Government.

FOR THIS EXPERIENCE could not be found in the Queen's Reign, because Her Civil List Branches seldom amounted to Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, commonly to about Five Hundred and Fifty Thousand B Pounds,

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Pounds, and sometimes to a very little above Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, as appears by Accounts formerly laid before this House, and I will not suppose those Accounts, which were brought from the Treasury to be otherwise than true, in Regard to my Honourable Friend---- I ask Pardon----I should have said, the Honourable Person, for there is no Friendship betwixt us. But He must give me Leave to observe, That when He afferts, Her Civil List Branches amounted to above Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, He can only mean the gross, and not the neat Produce, which is a very Uncandid and Fallacious way of Arguing.

THO' Her Revenues were so low, yet She called upon Her Parliament but once in a Reign of about Thirteen Years, to pay the Debts contracted in Her Civil Government; and it is a Justice due to the Memory

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of That Excellent Princess, to remind Gentlemen of the unparallel'd Instances of Her Piety and Generosity, which occasioned those Debts. She gave the First Fruits and Tenths, arising now (as the Honourable Person says) to Nineteen Thousand Pounds a Year, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy. She gave Five Thousand Pounds a Year out of the Post-Office to the Duke of Marlborough: She suffer'd Seven Hundred Pounds a Week to be likewise charged on the Post-Office, for the Publick Service, and by that Concession lost a vast Sum; the Additional Duty then producing only Eight Thousand Pounds a Tear. She gave several Hundred Thousand Pounds for building the She allowed Castle of Blenheim. Prince Charles of Denmark Four Thousand Pounds a Year. She sustained great Losses by the Tin Contract. She supported the poor Palatines. These, with many other Royal Bounties *

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ties * (which escape my present Remembrance) were the Reasons, that brought Her under a Necessity of asking for Five Hundred Thousand Pounds. But She was so sensible of the Inconvenience, and so determined never to apply to Her Parliament again in the like Manner, that She ordered a considerable Reduction to be made of Her Civil Government Expences. I have seen a Scheme of that Reduction, as it was aftually settled a little before Her Death, and intended to commence the Lady-Day following. 'Twould be tedious to go thro' all the particular Articles of it, and I will only name three or four. The Cofferer's Office Payments were reduced from Eighty Five Thousand Pounds to Seventy Five Thousand. The Allowances for Foreign Ministers,

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from Seventy Five Thousand Pounds to Thirty Thousand. Pensions and Bounties from Eighty Seven Thousand Four Hundred and Ninety odd Pounds, to Sixty Thousand. Secret Services from Twenty Seven Thousand Pounds to Twenty Thousand; a Sum surprizingly small! when compared with the late Disbursements on that Head. In short, the whole yearly Expences were defigned to be Reduced to Four Hundred Fifty Nine Thousand Nine Hundred Forty One Pounds; and that would have been done, without eclipsing the Glory of the Crown, which some Gentlemen so roundly affirm, cannot Now be maintained under almost a Double Appointment.

FROM hence it appears plainly, that this Argument of THE EXPERIENCE OF PAST TIMES, can have no Reference to the Queen's Reign. It must therefore be applied (tho' put in the Plural Number) to the

^{*} She gave An Hundred Thousand Pounds to the Uses of the War.

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the late Administration Only; and I confess, if the same Management was to be continued, if the same Ministers were to be again employed, a Million a Tear would not be sufficient to carry on the Exorbitant Expences, so often, and so justly complained of in this House. For it is Notorious, it is Fresh in all our Memories, that besides the Yearly Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds, there have been many Occasional Taxes, many excessive Sums raised, and they have been All sunk in that bottomless Gulf of Secret Service. First, the memorable Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds were raised (in Defiance of the ancient Parliamentary Methods) to secure us from the Apprebensions of a Swedish Invasion. Then. the two Insurance Offices were erected in as Irregular a Manner, by a Bill brought into this House (at the latter End of a Session, and after the Committee of Supply had been closed)

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by the Honourable Person, on His Return into Power, and those Bubbles payed near Three Hundred Thousand Pounds for their Charters. Then a new Scene of Affairs opening in Sweden, changed our Enmity into an Alliance; there was a Subfidy of Seventy Two Thousand Pounds implicitly granted to make good some secret Bargain, and Engagement with that Crown. At the same time, near Twenty Four Thousand Pounds were given for burning two Merchant Ships arrived from infected Places. But tho' the Goods, as well as the Ships, were payed for by this House, that they might (without Injury to the Owners) be destroyed for the publick Safety, yet most of them were privately conveyed into the Counties adjacent to the Port where the Ships lay, and Sold there. Then foon after a Sum of Five Hundred Thou-Sand Pounds was demanded and granted for the Payment of the Civil List Debts:

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Debts: On which Occasion His late Majesty declared in His Message, that He was resolved to cause a Retrenchment to be made of His Expences for the future. But notwithstanding that Resolution, in less than four Years (the Necessities of the Government having rendered the promised Retrenchment impracticable) there was a new Demand, and a new Grant of Five Hundred Thousand Pounds more, to discharge new Incumbrances. might mention too the Spanish Ships which were taken in the famous Mediterranean Sea-Fight, and (as we have Reason to believe) sold for a considerable Sum of Money. Nor is it possible to forget the Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds, which we could only be told the last Session (in a general unexplained Article) were secretly disposed of, for the publick Utility, for the Conservation of the Peace of Europe, and for the Security of the Commerce, and Navigation of Great Britain.

AFTER all These and Other Extraordinary Supplies (I am informed) there yet remains a Debt in the Civil Government of above Six Hundred Thousand Pounds. If so, surely there must have been a most egregious Neglect of Duty, to say no worse; there must have been a Strange Spirit of Extravagance somewhere, or such Immense Sums could never have been so foon, so insensibly squandered away. And it is amazing, this Entravagance should happen under the Conduct of Persons pretending to surpass all their Predecessors in the Knowledge and Care of the Publick Revenue: But we are not to wonder, that the World has been very free in its Censures, fince none of these Sums have been accounted for, fince they have been imployed in Services not fit to be owned. None but those, who were in the Decret.

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Secret, and who had the Disposal of them, can refute the Reflections, that are made without Doors, not only on the Ministry, but even on both Houses of Parliament.___I must say no more_____ But I heartily wish, that Time (the great Discoverer of bidden Truths, and concealed Iniquities) may produce a List of All Such (if any Such there were) who have been perverted from their Publick Duty, by private Pensions who have been the Hired Slaves, and the corrupt Instruments of a Profuse, and Uain = glorious Administra= tion. If there have been none Such, then the whole Weight, then the whole Guilt of the late Mismanagements lies on the Ministers themselves.

But it seems to be Matter of universal Joy to the Nation, that the Case is like to be altered. We hope

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we are arrived at a Day of better OEconomy, we hope such Practices will be fo far from being imitated, that they will be detested and abborred. Nor can any one entertain the least Doubt of this, when He considers, a Prince is ascending the Throne, who will choose a knowing, faithful and frugal Ministry; who will not permit His Domestick or Foreign Affairs to be negotiated by Bribery, and Corruption, for want of Sufficiency and Skill in Politicks; Whose Wisdom will enable Him, and whose Goodness will incline Him, not only to inspect the Management of His Civil List Branches, but in Justice to His Parliaments, and in Compassion to His People, to direct and require a due and exact Disposition of all the Other Publick Fonds, according to their re-Spective Appropriations.

Now, in Consequence of this most just Notion of His Majesty's C 2 Fruga-

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Frugality (which amongst other His innumerable Virtues, endears Him so much to His Subjects) I hope I may, without Offence, propose the Addition of some Words to Tour Question, that may restrain it to Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds; and in this I as much confult the Service of His Majesty, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, as Those, who are for granting the Fonds without any Restriction. For (in my humble Opinion) the Voting a greater Sum than was settled on His late Majesty, is only Voting an Indemnity, is Voting at least in Favour of Ministers, whose Conduct (as I have already hinted) if laid before You, and duly Examined, would perhaps rather deserve Your Censure, than Approbation.

BESIDES, the Surplus of these Branches is appropriated to The Sinking (2I)

Sinking Fond; and That, I thought, had been a Sacred Depostum, reserved for the gradual Discharge of the National Debt. I thought it would have been look'd upon as a Sort of Sacrilege, to have diverted the least Part of it (on any Pretence whatsoever) from its original Uses; and it is as furprizing to me, that The Honourable Person should be for destroying His own Darling Project; that He should be for pulling down the boasted Monument of His Glory, as it may be to others, that I am for supporting any Scheme of His, which might have transmitted His Name with Advantage to Posterity.

IF His Majesty was rightly apprized of these Circumstances, He would doubtless rather be content with a clear annual Revenue of Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds, than suffer

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suffer His First Demand of Money, (by any precipitate Proof of our Zeal) to carry the least Appearance of being burthensome to His People, who have long laboured under the Pressure of Grievous and Exoze bitant Taxes. For He has been graciously pleased to signify from the Throne, His Fixed Resolution,

By all possible Means to merit their Love and Affection, which He shall always look upon as the best Support and Security of His Crown.

I WILL detain You, Sir, no longer, but defire You would conclude Your Question with these Words,

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In like manner as they were granted and continued to His late Majesty, which may make up the clear yearly Sum of Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds.

FINIS.

